CHURCH OR MUSEUM?
TOURISTS, TICKETS AND
TRANSFORMATIONS

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A thesis submitted to the University of Western Sydney
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Early Image of San Lorenzo - Codex Rustici.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Jack and Sheila Ryde who were always unwavering in their support and encouragement in my life choices. This project would not have been possible without their love and care.
Acknowledgements

My profound thanks go to my supervisors Dr Pamela James and Dr Russell Staiff for their outstanding mentorship throughout this endeavour. They have provided me with insight, guidance, valuable discussions, enthusiasm for my research and the determination to complete. I also thank Dr Carol Liston whose encouragement was crucial to commencing this thesis.

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My research would have been more difficult if not for the support of the University of Western Sydney librarians, especially Ms Narelle Oliver, always most generous with her time and energy, and also Ms Jenny Davis who sought out obscure Italian texts for me.

Finally, special mention goes to my wonderful daughter Alessandra for her unwavering encouragement and unconditional support as well as her technical advice and expertise.
Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>ACI</td>
<td>Automobile Club d’Italia</td>
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<tr>
<td>APT</td>
<td>Azienda Promozione Turistica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAPSAE</td>
<td>Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici, Paesaggistici, Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici per le province di Firenze. (Superintendency for Architectural, Landscape, Historical, Artistic and Ethno-anthropological Assets for the provinces of Florence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAI</td>
<td>Club Alpino Italiano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEI</td>
<td>Conferenza Episcopale Italiana (Italian Episcopal Conference)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIPE</td>
<td>Comitato Interministeriale per la Programmazione Economica. (Inter-ministerial Committee for Economic Planning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.L.</td>
<td>Decreto Legge</td>
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<td>D.Lgs.</td>
<td>Decreto Legislativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.P.R.</td>
<td>Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica (Decree of the President of the Republic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIU</td>
<td>Economist Intelligence Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENIT</td>
<td>Ente Nazionale per l’Incremento delle Industrie Turistiche</td>
</tr>
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<td>EPT</td>
<td>Ente Provinciale del Turismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC</td>
<td>Fondo Edifici di Culto (Foundation for Religious Buildings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCD</td>
<td>Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione. (Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICOM</td>
<td>International Council of Museums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICOMOS</td>
<td>International Council on Monuments and Sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRPET</td>
<td>Istituto Regionale Programmazione Economica della Toscana (Regional Institute for Economic Planning of Tuscany)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Legge (Law)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LNI</td>
<td>Lega Navale Italiano</td>
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<tr>
<td>MiBAC</td>
<td>Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali (Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Mons.</td>
<td>Monsignor</td>
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<tr>
<td>OML</td>
<td>Opera Medicea Laurenziana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONLUS</td>
<td>Organizzazione Non Lucrativa di Utilità Sociale (Non-profit Organisation for the Public Good)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONT</td>
<td>Osservatorio Nazionale del Turismo, (National Tourism Observatory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSC</td>
<td>Opera di Santa Croce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNF</td>
<td>Partita Nazionale Fascista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.D.L.</td>
<td>Regio Decreto Legge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBAP</td>
<td>Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio (Superintendency for Architectural and Landscape Assets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSPSAE</td>
<td>Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze (Special Superintendency for the Historical, Artistic and Ethnoanthropological Assets for the Polo Museale of the City of Florence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCI</td>
<td>Touring Club Italiano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNWTO:</td>
<td>The United Nations World Tourism Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTTC</td>
<td>World Travel and Tourism Council</td>
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Abstract

This thesis considers whether the commodification of the Renaissance through the increase in international heritage tourism is impacting Catholic Church sites in Tuscany, Italy holding Renaissance heritage materials resulting in the introduction of contemporary museum management practices. In apparently one of the most devout Catholic countries in the world, it appears that the Catholic Church is faced with the dilemma of maintaining the integrity of its sites as sacred spaces while addressing invasions by visitors whose primary focus may not necessarily be spiritual. The relationship between the Catholic Church and heritage tourism is examined through the case study of four Catholic Church sites in Tuscany, three of which are located in the city of Florence.

The case studies are presented against a historical background for the development of State and Catholic Church cultural heritage policy in Italy. The research findings have revealed a clear linkage between the development of cultural heritage policies and legislation by both the Italian State and the Vatican State, the growth in international heritage tourism and the resulting economic benefits. It argues that cultural heritage has increasingly become a resource to be exploited and, therefore, a driver of revenue raising strategies for the economies of both States.

The case studies are also set against a background of the development of heritage tourism in Tuscany and specifically Florence, a city heralded as the ‘cradle of the Renaissance’. The research has, in addition, established that, as a result of its privileged position both in the scholarly arena and the public imagination, the Renaissance has become a powerful global brand and is a major revenue raiser for the Italian economy. The Renaissance is more persuasive than any other cultural period in winning the tourist euro or TEuro. It can be argued that this iconic ‘marking’ has been a key driver of the transformation of the urban landscape of the city of Florence as well as the transformation of specific monuments that have become significant tourist attractions and consequently now integral to the city’s economy.
Findings from the case study sites highlight that six hundred year old churches, whose Renaissance artefacts were never meant to be distinguished from their religious function, are increasingly ill equipped to cope with the pressures presented by contemporary tourism. The study has further revealed some evidence of tension between the maintenance of traditional spiritual functions in churches and meeting the increasing demands of heritage tourism. Reluctantly or otherwise this tension appears to be resolved in the transformation of religious spaces and the blending of spiritual functionality with museum-like practices. Consequently, the churches studied seem to be unintentionally transforming into quasi museum spaces, and in the process their key stakeholders forced to adopt more formal management structures and practices particularly to address pressing financial, security and conservation issues. The investigation of the resulting management interventions at the study sites suggests a positive association between the size of the heritage site, the strength of the site as a tourist attraction, the nature of the management structures and museum likeness, the number of visitors and the economic benefit generated, or TEuros. It is precisely the nature of these linkages that has opened up a window for a different museum type in Italy.

The findings and conclusions drawn from this study are limited to one region and in particular the city of Florence, albeit one that is most strongly associated with the development of the Renaissance. The study has also focussed on only four sites. Further research could be extended to cover other religious sites throughout Italy potentially enabling the creation of a hypothetical landscape to graphically portray the relationship between TEuros, religious sites and their management structures across the Italian territory.

Finally, the study argues that the Catholic Church appears to conform to the multiple forces linking consumer culture, tourism and economics rather than resist the invasion of its spaces by large numbers of visitors. Therefore, whilst its traditional congregations may be diminishing, the Church appears to welcome a new type of pilgrim. This research suggests that the Church may be actively capitalising on heritage tourism, consciously allowing it to flourish as it recognises opportunities to fulfil its evangelist mission.
Introduction

… Italy is the goal … after Italy, you will understand everything else by the light of what you have learned in the ‘cities of the soul’ – Venice, Rome and Florence … Italy is the key by which you may unlock the secret of Europe.¹

The name of Italy has for the educated world a kind of magic sound.²

This study examines the impact of heritage tourism on Catholic Church sites in Italy. It investigates whether the apparent tension between the Church and heritage tourism is driving the transformation, reluctantly or otherwise, of the nature of church space from its traditional spiritual function into one with a more museum-like orientation. The study proposes that this transformation is prompted by a marked increase in the numbers of tourists to heritage sites leading to the emergence of quasi museums. The transformation is examined through case studies of four churches in Tuscany, Italy, holding significant collections of Renaissance heritage artefacts. The study is cross disciplinary, informed by Tourism Studies, Renaissance Historiography and in particular by Museum Studies especially in the Italian context.

Background

The tourism industry has been identified as one of the principle contributors to the world’s economy in the last two decades.³ The United Nations World Tourism Authority (hereafter UNWTO) estimated that by the end of 2012 annual world tourist arrivals would reach one billion⁴ and this is expected to increase to nearly two billion by 2030.⁵ Italy holds more World Heritage Sites than any other nation⁶ and has

⁵ Ibid. P. 2.
become one of the world’s leading tourist destinations so much so that the UNWTO ranks Italy as the third most visited country in Europe and fifth on the list of the ten most visited nations in the world.\(^7\) UNWTO statistics show that in 2011 about ninety-five million tourists spent about three hundred million nights in a range of accommodations in Italy.\(^8\) International tourists contributed to about forty-five percent of these stays. Italy currently generates one of the highest levels of tourism revenue in the world and tourism is a key sector in the Italian economy.\(^9\) According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (hereafter WTTC), tourism contributes to about eight and a half percent of Italy’s gross national product and is responsible for about ten percent of the nation’s employment.\(^10\) Venice, Rome and Florence, account for about one third of Italy’s tourism business.\(^11\)

Whilst tourism in Italy in the post war years was characterised by a focus on coastline areas and the lakes,\(^12\) the so-called phenomenon of cultural heritage tourism became the fastest growing sector in the nation’s tourism industry from the 1980s onwards. Analysis also revealed this as a trend throughout the Western world,\(^13\) and one that is still on the increase.\(^14\) An interpretation of the reasons for this growth is that the economic realities of the 1980s caused a marked shift in motivations for recreational travel from escapism to enrichment.\(^15\) Travellers were becoming more knowledgeable seeking more specialised, structured and authentic travel experiences with a desire to gain an appreciation of the past. In Italy this sector of the tourism industry is currently estimated to be worth about fifteen billion Euro annually.\(^16\) The

\(^12\) Baggio and Mottironi, (2012), op.cit. P. 5.
relationship between tourism and economic benefits will be expressed in this study by the composite indicator $TEuro$.  

In Italy, therefore, the last three decades have seen a strong growth in tourism to the so-called città d’arte or ‘cities of art’ due to this interest in culture and heritage. In 1990 the Economist Intelligence Unit (hereafter EIU) stated that,

… there are few destinations, if any in the rest of Europe which can match the combination of history, culture, artistic treasures, scenery, food and wine offered by Italy.  

According to the Osservatorio Nazionale del Turismo, (National Tourism Observatory, hereafter ONT), since 2000 there has been an almost twenty-five percent increase in the cultural heritage tourism sector in Italy, an increase greater than in any other sector in the tourism industry in this nation. This increase was matched by a growth in interest in cultural heritage tourism from the economic sector triggering a plethora of studies. The boom in heritage tourism has been most noticeable in those cities of the soul, Rome, Florence and Venice that, as stated above, account for about one third of Italy’s tourism business.

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17 The term teuro was first used in the satirical German magazine *Titanic* in 1997 when the idea of introducing a common European currency was floated and the term euro was proposed. In that context it is a blend of teuer (expensive) and euro. It therefore expressed price increases after the Euro was introduced.

18 The term città d’arte is used by Italian scholars publishing in tourism studies, cultural heritage and museology. A selection of these include: G.C. Argan, “Beni Culturali, Ma di Chi?,” *Insegnare II*, 7(1986); S. Dell’Orso, *Altro Che Musei*. (Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 2002); A. Paolucci, *Mille Anni d’Arte Italiana*. (Firenze: Giunti, 2006).


23 Allen, (1901), op.cit. P. 33.

the so-called *turisdotto* or ‘tourist pipeline’, the itinerary traditionally followed by large groups of international tourists. Antonio Paolucci defines the ‘turisdotto’ as

... il percorso forzato che porta nel nostro Paese milioni di turisti culturali. È una specie di via obbligata, costruita dai ‘tour operators’ e passivamente subita dalla gente, che prevede pochi passaggi: Venezia, Firenze ... I Fori Romani, la deviazione ‘religiosa’ di Assisi e quella ‘ludica’ di Pompei.

Italy is often called a *museo aperto* or ‘open air museum’ due to its rich cultural wealth. Therefore, a significant draw card for many of the visitors who descend on Italy annually is the quantity of artworks held in this *museo aperto* estimated by commentators such as Sergio Romano, once Head of Cultural Relations at the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to outnumber those in any other Western country. Indeed, Paolucci has commented *Il turismo italiano è in decisiva misura turismo d’arte.* Statements are often made to the effect that over forty percent of the world’s cultural heritage is located in Italy despite the fact that this seemingly ignores intangible aspects of cultural heritage. Furthermore, it is also often estimated that the Catholic Church in Italy holds more than eighty percent of this material

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25 The term was coined by the Touring Club of Italy and often used in their publications to refer to the standard routes taken by tourists in Italy. The term has been picked up by academics, politicians and commentators on the tourism industry in Italy; C. Caliandro and P.L. Sacco, *Italia Reloaded.* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011). P. 93; P. Morelli, ed. *Beni Culturali e Turismo nelle Città d'Arte Italiane.* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2003). P. 65.

26 Antonio Paolucci was a former Director of the Uffizi, briefly Minister for Cultural Heritage from 1995-1996 under the Dini government and is currently Director of the Vatican Museums.

27 … the obligatory itinerary that brings millions of cultural tourists to our Nation. It is a kind of compulsory route, constructed by tour operators, passively followed by people that allows few stages: Venice, Florence … the Roman Forum, the ‘religious’ detour to Assisi and the ‘recreational’ detour to Pompeii’. My translation from A. Paolucci, *Museo Italia: Diario di un Sopraintendente-ministro.* (Livorno: Sillabe, 1996). P. 45.


30 ‘Italian tourism is fundamentally tourism focussed on art.’ My translation from Paolucci, (1996), op.cit. P. 44.

cultural wealth\textsuperscript{32} although, at present, only rough estimates of this patrimony are possible due to the current lack of full inventories.\textsuperscript{33}

Renaissance artworks in these città d’arte command special interest since they are often considered to be the key to Renaissance culture that has become a potent, marketable historical period in the sector of heritage tourism.\textsuperscript{34} Therefore, the heritage city of Florence, a premier città d’arte and archetypal Renaissance city,\textsuperscript{35} attracts most of these visitors to view artworks that are primarily religious in purpose and subject matter. A dominant narrative in tourism representations of this city and the region of Tuscany is the myth of Florence as the ‘cradle of the Renaissance’.\textsuperscript{36} This epithet is commonly used by stakeholders in the tourism industry who feed off and continue to perpetuate the idea of Florence as the archetypal Renaissance city.\textsuperscript{37} Indeed, it is the underlying principle of the management plan for tourism of the Municipality of Florence:

\begin{quote}
Il mito della Firenze rinascimentale con l’incredibile densità di monumenti e capolavori d’arte è alla base della fortuna turistica della città.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{35} Many of the Renaissance artefacts in Florence are located in the historic centre of the city in high profile churches such as the Cathedral, the Medici church of San Lorenzo as well as the churches of the mendicant orders; the Franciscan church of Santa Croce and the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella.


\textsuperscript{37} An example can be found in the Schultz text ‘1000 places to See Before You Die’ in which the author refers to Florence as the ‘Cradle of the Renaissance’. P. Schultz, \textit{1000 Places to See Before You Die}. (New York: Workman Publishing, 2005). P. 203. Further to this a colleague reports that an audio guide for the Guild Hall of the Judge and Notaries in Florence refers to the city as the ‘Cradle of Western Civilisation’!

The growth of the popularity of the Renaissance as a draw card for both international and national (Italian) heritage tourism and the consequent pressure of the number of tourists on Florence meant that in 1993 the Catholic Church took the unprecedented decision\textsuperscript{39} to introduce admission fees to high profile churches in the city. These fees were introduced as a tourist management mechanism to address the increasing numbers of visitors to ecclesiastical buildings.\textsuperscript{40} The decision was controversial and provoked an immediate debate both nationally and internationally. Part of the debate both within the Catholic Church and in the press was the question of whether these sites had now become more museums than churches and if not, whether it was ethical to charge entrance fees to spiritual places.\textsuperscript{41} The debate centred on the perceived negative image of making a profit from visitors to hallowed spaces and also the perception that the possible commercialisation of these sites through tourism would compromise the original function of such sites.

Therefore, in apparently one of the most devout\textsuperscript{42} Catholic countries in the world, it appears that the Church is faced with the dilemma of maintaining the integrity of its sites as sacred spaces whilst addressing invasions by visitors whose primary focus may not necessarily be spiritual. This phenomenon is not only pertinent to Italy. As Dean MacCannell in his seminal text \textit{The Tourist}, has remarked,

\begin{quote}
‘…traditional religious institutions are everywhere accommodating the movement of tourists…Throughout the world, churches, cathedrals, mosques and temples are being converted from religious to touristic functions’.
\end{quote}

Thus, in Renaissance heritage centres such as Florence, six hundred year old churches, whose Renaissance artefacts were never meant to be distinguished from

\textsuperscript{39} Before this date no entrance fees were charged to Catholic Church spaces in Italy. Prior to this, sources of funding were donations, slot machines that illuminated artworks and entrance fees to ecclesiastical museums attached to some churches.


\textsuperscript{42} The ‘devout’ nature of the Catholic Church is its presence rather than the number of Italians who attend. When numbers of the devout are declining worldwide, paradoxically churches are now more visited than before by a new type of ‘congregation’.

their religious function, are increasingly ill equipped to manage the pressures of contemporary tourism. Many of these churches appear to have become quasi museums without any intention of doing so, and have, therefore, been forced to adopt management structures to address organisational and financial concerns, as well as security and conservation issues. These interventions appear to reflect museum practices. Such practices include the labelling of specific artworks, lighting design, the employment of security staff and the use of alarm systems, the inclusion of turnstiles and ticket offices, the presence of shops selling a wide variety of souvenirs and the creation of conservation and restoration offices.

**Overview of the Site Selection**

The sites for the four case studies have been chosen on the basis of the following criteria: geographical location, site diversity and relative size, heritage value, depth and breadth of collections of artefacts, prominence as tourist attractions, level of site visitation, management structure and presence of museum-like attributes. All four sites are situated in Tuscany, the region that is linked to the development of the Renaissance, the historical period popularised by centuries of scholarly and popular literature and that is a major draw card for heritage tourism in Italy. 44 See Figures 1 and 2 below for location of the sites in Italy.

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Three of the sites are situated in Florence and are the Church of Santa Trinita, the Basilica of San Lorenzo that forms part of the Laurentian Complex, and the Basilica of Santa Croce that is part of the Santa Croce Complex. Furthermore, these three sites, highlighted in red in Figure 3 below, are located within the compact historic centre of the city that has a high density of heritage monuments, highlighted in black, within a well-defined area. Florence has been targeted for this study since it is this city in Tuscany that is most closely associated with the often used epithet the ‘Golden Age of the Renaissance.’ As Russell Staiff comments, ‘Florence [is portrayed] as a source of “artistic genius” that produced a revolution in the visual arts and society’.46

The fourth site is the Pieve di San Pietro situated about thirty kilometres south of Florence in the small town of Cascia, in the Reggello province. (See Figure 2 above for the location of Cascia in relation to Florence). This site has been chosen because of its particular characteristics that provide a counterpoint to the centrally located monuments in Florence.

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Figure 3: Map of Florence showing principle monuments and location of the three case study sites in the historic centre.

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46 Ibid. P. 609.
47 A ‘pieve’ is the term for a small parish church usually in a rural setting.
The four sites vary considerably in monumental size, building orientation, external and internal architectural features and diversity of internal spaces. All sites have significant heritage value with complex historical backgrounds spanning several centuries and each site holds an important collection of Renaissance artifacts as well as other notable works of art. All are repositories of some of the major works of painting, sculpture and architecture of the Renaissance with masterpieces by premier artists such as Masaccio, Brunelleschi, Donatello, Michelangelo, Verrocchio, Ghirlandaio and Filippo Lippi amongst others.

All four sites are important tourist attractions impacted in a variety of ways by visitor numbers. They all feature prominently in popular guidebooks and are well established on the canon of key accredited sites to visit on tourist itineraries due to their artistic, cultural and political significance. These sites are a significant attraction to tourists seeking the Renaissance experience in Tuscany and especially in Florence. The management structures at each site are diverse in terms of legislation, relationships with key stakeholders, visitor numbers and adoption of museum-like practices.

In summary, two questions are raised in this investigation. Firstly, how does the Catholic Church manage the impact of tourism at these four sites? Secondly, have management interventions at the sites meant that these monuments have been transformed into quasi museums demonstrating a trend towards contemporary museum management practices and in particular those in Italian museums?

Theoretical Framework

The framework for the investigation of the four sites is cross-disciplinary drawing on Renaissance Historiography, Tourism Studies and Museology.

An overwhelming body of literature exists in the disciplines of Renaissance historiography, 48 tourism 49 and museology. 50 Studies have also been prolific on the

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48 Seminal texts in Renaissance Historiography include studies by Bernard Berenson, William Bouwsma, Gene Brucker, Jacob Burckhardt, Kenneth Clark, Wallace Ferguson, Felix Gilbert, Ernst
impact of tourism on sacred spaces (particularly cathedrals) in Great Britain and Europe that have become tourist attractions and where entrance charges have been introduced.\textsuperscript{51} Whilst Italian scholars have been prolific in their examination of cultural heritage policy in Italy\textsuperscript{52} and its impact on museum management practices and economics,\textsuperscript{53} it appears that there is a gap in the scholarship in what seems to be the articulation of a possible different type of museum in Italy in the specific context of the Renaissance. Furthermore, this research is timely since the survey of the literature shows that no examination has been undertaken in either Italian or English scholarship about how the popularisation and commodification of the Renaissance as a product of heritage tourism in Italy has forced the Catholic Church to reassess the use and function of its sacred spaces. There has also been no examination of what appears to be a lay dimension within sacred spaces in Italy and in particular in those that hold extensive collections of Renaissance artefacts.

The Italian Renaissance enjoys a privileged position both in scholarly writings as well as in the popular imagination and has been considered the most historically


important premier cultural mode for Western Art by scholars in the field.\textsuperscript{54} This historical period has attracted the interest of many scholars and popular writers internationally; however, few if any works have been written on the subject by Italian scholars. Foreign scholarship dominated and still dominates the historiography of the Renaissance developing the Renaissance both as a concept and historical period in the nineteenth century. Ironically the Italian economy is now reaping the benefits of this scholarship in the tourism industry.

**Renaissance Historiography**

The privileged position of the Renaissance as a field of study can be traced to the work of Jacob Burckhardt (1818-97) who published *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy: an Essay* in 1860.\textsuperscript{55} In this seminal text he presented the Renaissance as a foundation era for modern Western culture by making a connection between the emergence in the Renaissance of republican ideals, civic humanism and secularism and the origins of the modern world. His ideas paved the way for the development of the modern historiography of the Renaissance and have underpinned discussions of the term and the phenomenon ever since.\textsuperscript{56}

Beginning with scholars such as John Addington Symonds and Walter Pater,\textsuperscript{57} Burckhardt’s text inspired wide-ranging studies by art historians, and social and political historians in the first half of the twentieth century in America and Britain. Art historians such as Bernard Berenson, Ernst Gombrich and Kenneth Clark developed theories of art and aesthetics documenting the potency of the Renaissance as a period in which artists and architects strived to emulate the highest ideals of beauty established in antiquity. These ideals were demonstrated physically though painting, sculpture and architecture and these art historians saw this as the foundation

\textsuperscript{56} Burckhardt’s development of an organizing principle for understanding The Renaissance in providing both a timeframe and a location was anticipated by Vasari’s biographical work *Lives of the Artists* in which he used the term *rinascita* and organised the period into three Ages. G. Vasari, *Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Architects, Painters, and Sculptors from Cimabue to Our Times.*, trans. Gaston de Vere (London: Everyman's Library, 1996).
\textsuperscript{57} Symonds, (1935), op.cit.; ———, *Sketches and Studies in Italy*. (1879); Pater, (1980), op.cit.
for modern Western culture.\textsuperscript{58} At the same time, social and political historians were eager to show how Renaissance republican ideals reflected post war liberal democratic ideologies in Europe.\textsuperscript{59} As John Jeffries Martin has observed,

Burckhardt's idea of the Renaissance … turned out to be perfectly suited to a triumphant United States (and to some degree a triumphant Western Europe) in the first decades of the cold war.\textsuperscript{60}

Economic historians such as Robert Lopez\textsuperscript{61} and Richard Goldthwaite\textsuperscript{62} (and more recently Lisa Jardine\textsuperscript{63}) later challenged the views of these social and political historians arguing that the defining feature of the Renaissance was rampant consumerism not humanism, political ideologies and aesthetic sensibilities.

In recent decades, postmodernist scholars such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Francois Lyotard have also rejected early Renaissance scholarship.\textsuperscript{64} They have argued that the traditional grand narrative of Western European history linking the Renaissance to the modern world as part of a linear process is simplistic. They have been skeptical that the foundations of one era can be found in another and that coherent portraits can be drawn of specific epochs. As William Bouwsma has commented,

the argument that attached the Renaissance to the modern world was based on two assumptions; that the modern world does, in fact, constitute some kind of intelligible entity, and that modernity has emerged by way of a single linear process.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{64} Martin, (2003), op.cit. P. 11.
\textsuperscript{65} W.J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," \textit{American Historical Review} 84, (1979). P. 4.
More recently D. Medina Lasansky has also proposed that the Renaissance is a political construct and that the current popularity of this past in Italy is largely due to the manipulation of Renaissance ideals by the Fascist regime. She argues that the regime capitalised on the appeal of the Renaissance to Italians during the Risorgimento and subsequent Unification of Italy in 1868 and restaged it to suit their ideological rhetoric. Rosanna Pavoni has termed this the ‘use and abuse of the Renaissance’.

Despite these scholarly debates questioning the usefulness of the term as an explanatory category in traditional narratives of Western history, the Renaissance has retained its potency in the public imagination. Almost in parallel to scholarly inquiry with its detached academic view, the popular image of the Renaissance is the culmination of a lengthy process of definition and canon formation that has taken place outside the sphere of this scholarship and debate. The contemporary perspective has been choreographed by a six hundred year legacy of opinions of writers, artists, connoisseurs, collectors, patrons and tourist promoters all with a variety of vested interests and agendas in shaping Western European culture and particularly the economic benefits of tourism.

In recent decades scholars have also argued that the contemporary fascination with high profile pasts such as the Renaissance stems from psychological factors such as a nostalgia for imagined pasts, the search for identity in a chaotic world and the need to find stability through collective memory in remnants of the past. The term Renaissance is particularly compelling in this context with its meaning of rebirth.

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67 Tessitore has also demonstrated that the Renaissance past was easily manipulated to suit contemporary agendas. F. Tessitore, “Idea di Rinascimento nella Cultura Idealistica Italiana tra ’800 e ’900,” in Storiografia e Storia della Cultura, ed. F. Tessitore (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990).
Foucault refers to the fascination for the past as ‘the exotic charm of another system of thought’.\textsuperscript{71}

An overarching element in the popularity of the Renaissance is that it has a strong tangible physical presence in the survival of objects, works of art, and architecture concentrated in one country and often in specific centres – an attractive combination of aesthetics and accessibility.\textsuperscript{72}

As a result then of its privileged position both in the scholarly arena and the public imagination, the Renaissance is more powerful and persuasive than any other cultural period in winning the \textit{TEuro}. It has become a thoroughly marketable historical period internationally and is a major revenue raiser for the Italian economy. Its capacity to attract the \textit{TEuro} is particularly reflected in the travel industry’s fastest growing sector: heritage tourism.\textsuperscript{73} As Lasansky has commented,

\begin{quote}
In contemporary Italy, medieval and Renaissance culture remains a central component of cultural, economic, and political identity. It is the key feature of an ever-expanding business of heritage tourism.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Tourism Studies}

The second body of scholarly work that informs this thesis is research in the field of tourism that Chris Rojek and John Urry term a ‘complex set of social discourses and practices’.\textsuperscript{75} Studies in this field have been prolific and wide-ranging and have spawned contributions from a diverse set of disciplines including economics, sociology, anthropology, and geography.\textsuperscript{76}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} Foucault, (1972), op.cit. P. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Martin, (2003), op.cit. P. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit.: P. xxvii.
\item \textsuperscript{76} A selection of scholars contributing research on tourism in these disciplines are Erik Cohen, Tim Edensor, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, David Lowenthal, Dean MacCannell, Mary and Sidney Nolan, Susan Pearce, Daniel Timothy, John Urry, Jan van der Borg. Full citations can be found in the Reference List.
\end{itemize}
Tourism has proved to be a slippery concept to define and a widespread theme in the literature is the difficulty of forming a definition to encompass all aspects of the phenomenon as well as the people who inhabit it called ‘tourists’. In their anthology *Transformations of Travel and Theory* Rojek and Urry debate the questions, ‘Is there such an entity? Does the term serve to demonstrate a usefully distinct sphere of social practice?’

This thesis is placed within a framework of one of the subsets of tourism studies: heritage tourism. The phenomenon has become a lucrative cash card for the so-called ‘heritage’ cities, monuments and their related infrastructures, and is one of the drivers of the transformations examined in this research. This thesis will also draw on studies in the field of religious tourism since the case studies chosen for the research are ecclesiastical sites.

Culture, as an important motivator for travel resulted in this aspect of tourism becoming the fastest growing sector in the tourism industry in the twentieth century, particularly in the 1980s. This gave rise to cultural tourism being branded more commercially as ‘heritage tourism’. As Catherine Palmer has commented the terms ‘heritage tourism’ and ‘heritage industry’ then became the ‘buzz words’ of tourism research in the 1990s and, as mentioned above, the focus of interest in related disciplines. David Lowenthal aptly commented in 1996,

> All at once heritage is everywhere … It is the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. … the whole world is busy lauding – or lamenting – some past, be it fact or fiction.

A survey of the literature reveals a range of perspectives on the phenomenon of heritage tourism and two predominant schools of thought emerge. On the one hand, heritage tourism is treated as a concept based on specific site attributes, that is, as tourism to places classified according to a series of attributes as heritage and historic

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78 Ibid. P. 315.
sites.\textsuperscript{81} On the other hand, heritage tourism is treated in the research as based on tourist motivations and perceptions of a site.\textsuperscript{82} As Yaniv Poria, Richard Butler, and David Airey comment, heritage tourism is ‘defined in terms of the interplay among a site, its tourists and their subjective perceptions.’\textsuperscript{83} Researchers are also now exploring the ‘experiential’\textsuperscript{84} or the interaction of tourist and space in contrast to the separation of visitor and place visited.\textsuperscript{85} Thus, it is argued that people not only come to ‘gaze’\textsuperscript{86} but also to possibly have a ‘spiritual’ experience.\textsuperscript{87} These perspectives have been incorporated into this research.

Furthermore, investigation has focussed on heritage as a growth industry with studies on management and also supply and demand.\textsuperscript{88} This approach has also been valuable to the case studies of this thesis in the investigation of how increased demand is managed at the chosen sites.

Important also for this thesis is the research carried out in the field of religious tourism as the present study explores the interface between the tourist and holy sites. As Thomas Bremer has stated\textsuperscript{89} these sites ‘exhibit a simultaneity’ of place so that


\textsuperscript{85} E. Waterton and S. Watson, eds., \textit{Culture, Heritage and Representation} (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010).

\textsuperscript{86} J. Urry, \textit{The Tourist Gaze}. (London: Sage, 2002).


neither the religious visitor nor the tourist can make a complete claim on the space. In this sharing of space both types of visitors enjoy different experiences and it is this tension that the Church seeks to manage and make viable. Themes to emerge in religious tourism research relevant to this thesis include the management of religious sites and the relationship between visitors, the sites and other stakeholders. Richard Butler, Erik Cohen, Frances McGettigan, Myra Shackley, Boris Vukonic, Dallen Timothy and Daniel Olsen have made notable contributions to this field of research.90

Finally, contemporary tourism studies now make reference to ‘post tourism’ and current research has turned to the exploration of concepts of ‘mobilities’,91 ‘performance’,92 and ‘embodiment’.93 Aspects of this research will be valuable to the present study particularly in evaluating features of the sites examined and the interface between visitor and space.

Museology

The third body of scholarly work that informs this thesis is the discipline of museology.

Studies have been prolific in the field of museology with a broad range of perspectives and debate relating to both theory and practice across several related disciplines. A survey of the literature reveals that themes investigated include the

The historiography of the museum and conceptual foundations, the definitions and functions of the museum, the role and purpose of the museum, the clientele and their needs and expectations, and the management of museums.

The historiography of the museum and early conceptual models have been examined by scholars such as Edward Alexander, Germain Bazin, Tony Bennett, Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Kenneth Hudson, Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, Susan Pearce, Nick Prior and Niels Von Holst amongst others.\(^94\) These studies range from generalist chronological descriptions to the implications of collecting and the aesthetics of taste.

The question of what constitutes a museum and its collections, especially in the contemporary arena, has been widely debated in the literature spawning an array of publications including the seminal text by Peter Vergo, *The New Museology*.\(^95\) This text initiated debate about the theory and praxis of museology in the late 1980s and prompted the publication of a broad variety of studies. Discussion ranges from the museum as ‘shrine’,\(^96\) to the museum as a market-driven industry catering to a consumer base fuelled by heritage tourism,\(^97\) to the museum as a ‘colonising space’\(^98\) that shapes culture,\(^99\) and to the concept of the post-museum with a new focus on

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museum pedagogy, a re-evaluation of the museum and its functions and the recognition of intangible heritage.\textsuperscript{100}

Whilst studies on the nature of the museum and its objectives in European and American scholarship have been wide ranging, it is the definition proposed by the International Council of Museums (hereafter ICOM) that informs the present study. This definition, updated periodically in line with changes in the international museum community, states,

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.\textsuperscript{101}

The role and purpose of the museum as community, as an expression of heritage and identity and as an educational tool has been examined by Gerard Corsane, John Falk and Lynn Dierking, George Hein, Hooper-Greenhill and Ivan Karp et al amongst others.\textsuperscript{102} The acknowledgment of a more discerning, knowledgeable and diverse public has also generated a plethora of studies into museum visitors, their expectations, needs, attitudes and preferences. A selection of studies can be found in the collection of papers compiled by Hooper-Greenhill in the anthologies \textit{Cultural Diversity} and \textit{Museums and Their Visitors}.\textsuperscript{103} Other studies can be found in Falk, UK: Altamira Press, 2000); G.E. Hein, \textit{Learning in the Museum}. (London: Routledge, 1998); E. Hooper-Greenhill, ed. \textit{The Educational Role of the Museum}. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); I. Karp, C. Mullen Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds., \textit{Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture}. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); C. Kreps, \textit{Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curating and Heritage Preservation}. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).


Caroline Lang, John Reeve and Vicki Woollard, and Richard Sandell. Italian contributions can be found in Simona Bodo, Antonella Huber, Alessandra Mottola Molfino, Ludovico Solima and Pietro Valentino and Rita Delli Quadri.

The literature also reveals a wide range of publications on museum management practices and services. Diverse themes have been explored such as marketing, curatorship, resources, funding, museum informatics, user facilities, media, space, and display.

This study will reference the frameworks proposed by ICOM and Luciana Lazzeretti, Tommaso Cinti and Marco Mariani in determining whether museum practices have been introduced at the sites chosen as cases studies for this research. It will also reference the characteristics of cultural display developed by Bella Dicks that can be applied to the context of the museum as well as the ‘technologies and


107 The International Council of Museums (ICOM), (2010), op.cit.


micro-processes’ of museums proposed by Hooper-Greenhill. 110 Both the latter frameworks suggest attributes that are relevant to a museum environment.

Finally a comment on Italian museological traditions is pertinent as the research for this study is located in Italy. In the Italian context, museum practices have been shaped by historical conditions, the collecting habits of founders, ideological needs, as well as national and regional politics. 111 The comparatively late development of the sector due to legislative factors 112 has contributed to a more conservative approach to museum management than other European countries although this has been redressed in the last few decades. 113

The Italian museological tradition with its origins in the *studiolo* 114 in the Renaissance was the initial manifestation of the public museum as known in modern times. 115 The origins of museum practices in Europe and America can be traced to these ‘princely galleries’. 116 However, despite the influence that early museum traditions in Italy had on shaping conceptual models and setting early precedents for other European museums, a number of factors contributed to differences between contemporary museological practices in Italy and those in other European countries as well as in America. 117

Firstly, the comparatively late unification of Italy (1861) in relation to other European nations meant that legislation establishing museums as public, secular and

113 Zan, (2003), op.cit.
114 English translation of studiolo is ‘little study’. Collecting became the passion of the rich and spread quickly through Italy and other European countries. Objects such as artefacts, antiquities, scientific curios and various natural specimens were displayed in an overcrowded and indiscriminate manner in private apartments while paintings were hung in long corridors called gallerie.
national spaces was not put into place until the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast, museums such as the Louvre had already become ‘monuments to democracy, civilisation and international domination’ at the beginning of that century.

After Unification in 1868, government policies were developed to destroy any vestiges of the former city-states that might conflict with the new ideologies of nationhood. Management of cultural heritage was placed in the hands of sopraintendenze or superintendencies/commissions whose mandate was to safeguard heritage. Emphasis was placed on material aspects, conservation and protection. This may explain the conservative structure of Italian museums, the impression that many museums are ‘storehouses’ and that visitors ‘are often regarded as a dangerous source of potential damage to valuable objects’. As Giovanni Pinna has remarked, per la politica culturale italiana il museo deve essere innanzitutto un luogo di conservazione e a esso – in quanto istituzione pubblica – viene perciò negata qualsiasi funzione di elaborazione culturale e di divulgazione popolare.

Secondly, Italian museums have seen their role as repositories of traditional connoisseurial values since the eighteenth century with conservation and preservation of the ‘princely collections’ as the underlying principles. Although Britain also possessed aristocratic collections, museums were seen as having an educational purpose. In the contemporary context Italian museums have been less interactive and didactic in approach compared to their counterparts in other European countries.

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119 Ibid. P. 45.
123 ‘For Italian cultural policies the museum must be above all a place for conservation and therefore - as a public institution – any development or expansion into the popular arena is denied.’ My translation from Binni and Pinna, (1989), op.cit. P.155.
125 As Prior notes, ‘by 1874, museums were believed to improve the moral health of the subordinate classes by improving their inner selves, their habits, manners and beliefs.’ Prior, (2002), op.cit. Pp. 43-50.
countries and America due to this focus on conservation and preservation. They are also characterised by a rigid centralised bureaucratic management structure.

In addition, a fundamental factor in the difference between museological practices in Italy and other countries lies in the distinction made in Italy between the two terms patrimonio culturale (cultural heritage) and beni culturali (cultural assets). It is the latter term that is used in legislation, in official government, ministry and administrative documents relating to artworks, historical documents and monuments. Therefore, in using the term asset, material importance is given precedence over other considerations. This has had ramifications for the organisation of Italian museums that have been based on policies derived from this interpretation.

Italian museological practices received an overhaul in 1993 with the Ronchey Act that triggered much debate. As Jan van Der Borg and Paolo Costa point out, the principal problem for Italian museums had been ‘the eternal conflict between…conservation and utilization’. The main innovation introduced by the Ronchey legislation was that State museums were to be seen as places for public enjoyment and education and this legislation paved the way to approaches to museum practices that were more aligned with those in other European countries and America. Despite this overhaul it has been argued that conservation activities still take precedence in the Italian museum system.

132 The legislation provided for the extension of opening hours and the introduction of support services such as restaurants, cafes, and merchandising. However, these changes were defined as additional services and focus given to the economic implications of the introduction of these such as entrance fees, rights to reproductions and contracts for the management of the services. It should be noted that non-state museums had long broken with these ancient museum practices and introduced cultural and educational practices for their visitors. Bagdadli, (1997), op.cit.
In Italian museological practice, therefore, there has been what appears to be a mismatch on the one hand between museums seeing themselves as repositories of artefacts and on the other hand the demands of a visitor base seeking all the services provided by similar museum structures in other European countries and America. This approach has meant that Italian museums, especially State managed sites, have been slow to change their management structures to meet the needs and expectations of their largely international visitor base.\textsuperscript{134}

**Sources for the Study**

The sources for this study have been drawn mainly from interviews with key stakeholders at the four sites under investigation and also from documents of the institutions concerned. In addition, important sources have been Italian State legislation in relation to the management of Italian cultural patrimony. These have given essential information about the historical evolution of attitudes and policy relating to Italy’s cultural assets.

Invaluable to the study have also been policy documents released by the Vatican and in particular the Pontifical Commissions addressing the management of the cultural patrimony of the Catholic Church. In addition to these, an important source has been Vatican documents relating to the historical development of policies relating to its cultural patrimony.

Other sources include newspaper articles examining controversies about the local management of heritage centres in the face of increasing tourism and Vatican and Italian State practices in relation to the management of cultural patrimony.

**Organisation of the Thesis**

This thesis is organised in the following manner. The first four chapters lay a foundation for the case study investigations. They focus on an examination of

Florence in the context of heritage tourism, and an investigation of policy development relating to the management of cultural patrimony in Italy. The remaining four chapters present the case studies, findings and conclusions.

Chapter One: Heritage Tourism and Florence, sets the thesis against a background of heritage tourism and in particular the city of Florence. It presents an overview of the development of the tourism industry in Italy and examines the conditions leading to the emergence of Florence as a focus of heritage tourism. The chapter argues that the Renaissance is the key feature of the ever-expanding business of heritage tourism in Florence. It investigates the triggers for this and examines how the myth of the Renaissance has been exploited and manipulated as big business by the tourism industry in the city. It explores the impact that this growth industry has had on Florence and examines some of the issues in tourism planning and management. The chapter argues that an increase in heritage tourism in Florence is driving transformations both at the macro level of the urban fabric of the city as well as at the micro level of specific monuments. The principle sources consulted for this chapter are Emilio Becheri, Christopher Hibbert, Lasansky, Lowenthal, John Pemble and John Towner. In addition, a range of early travel writings have been consulted including those of Henry James, Edward Verrall Lucas, John Ruskin and Johann von Goethe.

Chapter Two: Cultural Heritage Policy in Italy – Historical Overview, presents a historical outline of the development of cultural heritage policy in Italy from early recognition of the importance of this discipline in Ancient Rome until the end of the nineteenth century in early post Unification politics. The chapter examines the relationship between the nation’s political history and its cultural policy development in order to provide a background to later chapters that examine contemporary

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cultural heritage policy. It argues that the Catholic Church has provided the major impetus for the development of cultural heritage policies in Italy in later centuries. It also argues that the rich and wide-ranging program of initiatives aimed at preserving cultural heritage in Italy have their origins in early Church policies related to its cultural patrimony. Sources consulted for this chapter include publications by Francesca Bottari and Fabio Pizzicannelli, Andrea Emiliani, and Mario Speroni.137

Chapter Three: Cultural Heritage Policy and the Italian State, provides a historical overview of the development of cultural heritage policy in Italy in the contemporary arena and specifically from Unification until the present day with a particular focus on the establishment of stable and consistent legislation applicable to the whole territory. This overview is divided into three main periods of policy development: the post-Unification years until the demise of Fascism, the post-war years until the 1970s, the decades of the 1980s to the present day. The chapter examines recent legal and administrative trends and debates within the sector regarding the arts and economics that are of relevance to this thesis. It also examines the various tiers of government engaged in the administration of Italy’s cultural wealth and outlines their respective competencies. It argues that there is a link between the increase in heritage tourism and the recognition by the State of the commercial value of cultural patrimony as a means of raising revenue and the reinforcement of this in the legislation. It also argues that there is an increasing trend towards managerial language, market principles and references to economic profitability. In tracing the development of contemporary heritage policy various Italian scholars were consulted including Luigi Bobbio, Ruggero Boschi and Pietro Segala, Emiliani, Paolucci and Salvatore Settis.138

Chapter Four: Cultural Heritage Policy and the Catholic Church examines the approach of the Catholic Church to its cultural patrimony after Unification and in particular focuses on the dynamics and the problematics of the relationship of the Church to the State regarding the management of this cultural heritage. It explores

the dilemma faced by the Catholic Church in the face of heritage tourism. It argues that the Church and the State have overcome long-term differences and developed a collaborative relationship mediated by revisions to the Lateran Pacts. It demonstrates that the Church has developed a management framework for its cultural heritage that replicates the administrative structure of the State. Scholarly texts referenced for this chapter include publications by Carlo Chenis, Emiliani, Giorgio Feliciani, and Luca Mezzetti.\textsuperscript{139}

*Chapters Five to Seven* present the four case studies. The case studies are presented in a sequence that reflects the size of the sites and the numbers of visitors to the sites. Chapter Five presents the first two case studies: the Church of Santa Trìnita in Florence and the Pieve di San Pietro in Cascia, Reggello situated thirty kilometres south of Florence. These two sites are presented in one chapter due to the apparent lack of complexity of both sites in terms of visitor numbers and management structure. Chapter Six presents the third case study, the Laurentian Complex, and in particular the Basilica of San Lorenzo, located in Florence that is distinctive for its management structure. Chapter Seven presents the final case study, the Santa Croce Complex, also located in Florence, that appears to have a sophisticated management structure and has devised elegant solutions to address tourism concerns.

Each case study presents a historic profile of the site and the site selection criteria that includes the reasons for the site popularity as a tourist destination and an exploration of the management structure of the site. General findings are presented and preliminary conclusions are drawn to ascertain whether there may be an association between the numbers of tourists visiting the sites, the nature of the management structures and the tendency for these structures to mirror those found in mainstream museums.

Three main site investigation criteria are used in the study. The study applies the concept of key ‘Markers’ for tourist attractions derived from the Model of Tourist

Attractions adapted by Staiff from the research of MacCannell and Urry. This Model is introduced in Chapter Five in which the first case studies are presented. The investigation also evaluates the characteristics of the management structures at each site in relation to specific criteria. These criteria, or characteristics of the management structure itself, are complexity, sophistication, innovation, integration, collaboration, effectiveness and elegance. In presenting the findings the study applies a composite set of museum-like attributes drawn from ICOM as well as Lazzeretti, Dicks and Hooper-Greenhill to ascertain the museum-like nature of each site. Comments from interviews with key stakeholders in the administration of these sites are used to support the findings and also to illustrate aspects of the transformations occurring at the sites.

Primary sources consulted for the historical background to the sites include Francesco Bocchi, Gaetano Cambiagi, Domenico Moreni and Giuseppe Richa. Contemporary references include Alberto Busignano and Raffaello Bencini, Caterina Caneva, Armando Ciralli, Anne O’Connor, Paolucci and Howard Saalman. In addition, studies in Florentine historiography were consulted including Gene Brucker, Roger Crum and John Paoletti, Goldthwaite, John Najemy, Patricia Rubin, Nicolai Rubinstein and Richard Trexler.

140 MacCannell, (1999), op.cit.
141 J. Urry, Consuming Places. (London: Routledge, 1995). Urry states ‘the tourist gaze is increasingly signposted. There are markers which identify what things and places are worthy of our gaze.’ P. 139.
The *Summary of Findings and Conclusions* provides an overview of the principle findings and the conclusions for the study. It also provides recommendations for further research. It will suggest that the set of primary indicators used as investigation criteria for each site, Markers, Management Structure and Museum-like Attributes might be extended to include the *TEuro* indicator (tourists x Euro generated). These ratings could then be translated into a hypothetical landscape to graphically portray the relationship between heritage tourism, religious sites and their management structures throughout Italy.

In summary, this study is placed at the intersection of heritage tourism, artefacts and holy spaces as the Catholic Church grapples with the increase in heritage tourism to its religious sites. It appears that this cultural and religious relationship is proving to be a difficult marriage. The study is conceived as a starting point in determining how heritage tourism impacts religious sites. Whilst this thesis is located in Florence, it is expected that the findings will have applications for further studies examining the relationship between heritage tourism and religious institutions as well as the emergence of museum practices at other sites throughout Italy. If this research encourages further examination of the impact of heritage tourism on religious sites, then this study will prove to be a success.

Chapter 1: Heritage Tourism in Florence

Honour the tourist; he walks in a halo of romance.  

Tourists are vulgar, vulgar, vulgar.

In contemporary society heritage plays an important role in the economic and social fabric of tourist destinations. This is particularly true for Italy that is often showered both in the Italian press and in scholarly articles with metaphors such as *Italia museo aperto*, 151 *scrigno d’arte* 152 and ‘a gigantic cultural warehouse’, 153 due to the depth and breadth of its cultural heritage. Italy receives over ninety-five million tourists annually and Rome, Venice and Florence receive over thirty percent of this business. 154 In this context Florence, a city inscribed on the list of world heritage sites by UNESCO in 1982 due to its high concentration of Renaissance artefacts and historic centre, is particularly prized as a tourist destination. 155 Furthermore, Florence is second only to Rome in terms of the concentration, breadth, depth and number of museums in Italy. 156

This chapter firstly presents a brief overview of factors leading to the development of the tourism industry in Italy with implications not only for the international traveller but also for the Italians themselves. Secondly, it examines the factors leading to the emergence of Florence as a centre of heritage tourism: the privileging of the city as a Renaissance centre through the Grand Tour, its role in the Unification of Italy and the manipulation of the Renaissance with Florence at its centre, by Mussolini and the National Fascist Party. Finally, the chapter explores the impact that heritage tourism

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156 Lazzeretti, Cinti, and Mariani, (2004), op.cit. P. 38.
as a growth industry has had on Florence, its residents and on selected monuments in the city.

It could be said that Italy was established as a tourist destination well before the rapid expansion of tourism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and this early tourism is evident in a myriad of forms. The development of the tourism industry in Italy can be linked to a variety of factors. One of the earliest forms of tourism in Italy can be traced to the period of the Roman Empire that created official travel offices: the *Cursus Publicus*. These early forms of travel agencies issued travellers with permits and maps of lodging locations as well as supplying information about different transportation services. In later centuries as Venice became an important city-state and began expanding her territories through the crusades, the city became a principle tourist destination for crusader pilgrims. A lucrative type of tourist industry grew up around this phenomenon. These pilgrims often found themselves forced to wait for extended periods in the city as ships were being prepared to transport them abroad. Primitive versions of the modern guidebook indicated where the most famous relics of saints could be located and gave advice on hotels and hostelries built to house the crusaders. An early version of the modern tour guide can be found in the form of priests who developed itineraries of saints’ relics to be found in the city. As Lutz Kaelber points out, ‘medieval travel exhibits early forms of the commercialisation and commodification as well as the mix of secular and religious motives for travel’. This is explored in the modern context in this thesis in the intersection of sacred sites and tourists of diverse backgrounds.

159 Ibid. P. 9.
Examples of commercialisation in the Medieval context are early package tours to the Holy Land,\textsuperscript{163} the selling of indulgences and pilgrim badges (possibly the precursor of souvenirs),\textsuperscript{164} the construction of the \textit{sacri monti}\textsuperscript{165} or a type of religious theme park for those who could not afford to travel afar, and pilgrim hostels, as mentioned above for Venice, as the forerunner of the hospitality industry.

Religious tourism in the form of pilgrimages and missionary travel continued to be an important source of revenue for sites across the peninsula holding various saints’ relics or famous for particular religious events.\textsuperscript{166} The medieval pilgrim can be seen as a prototype of the modern tourist.\textsuperscript{167} Other types of tourist pilgrimages developed as centres such as Florence, Venice, Urbino and Rome became renowned in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance for their extensive collections of Greek and Latin manuscripts and, therefore, attracted the intellectual pilgrim interested in examining these and exploring humanist ideals.\textsuperscript{168} As the fifteenth century drew to a close the traditional religious pilgrimage had given way to pilgrimage motivated by curiosity. This paralleled the changes in European society at the time with an awakening of curiosity for new places and new experiences.\textsuperscript{169} However, the Grand Tour, the extended journey to Europe undertaken by young aristocrats considered a necessary part of their education, is considered the starting point for contemporary tourism. The Italian peninsula and its major cities holding antiquities was the core destination.\textsuperscript{170} As Hibbert remarks, ‘Italy was the goal, and the highways and rivers of France the paths that led to it’.\textsuperscript{171}

The first major factor leading to the emergence of Florence as a centre of heritage tourism is the gradual privileging of the city as a Renaissance centre through the Grand Tour. This phenomenon played a pivotal role in the evolution of the tourism

\textsuperscript{165} The \textit{sacri monti} are ‘sacred mountains’ or devotional complexes situated on the slopes of mountains.
\textsuperscript{166} Paloscia, (1994), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{170} Towner, (1985), op.cit.
industry in Italy and especially in Florence.\textsuperscript{172} It stimulated the beginnings of the Italian hotel industry, pioneered the guided tour and influenced the whole concept of museums. It was thus responsible for the establishment of the canon of sites now visited by the modern tourist to Italy and to Florence in particular. The Grand Tour has spawned a plethora of research in diverse disciplines that have examined this phenomenon from a wide range of economic, socio-cultural, political, educational and tourism perspectives.\textsuperscript{173}

The Grand Tour\textsuperscript{174} had its origins in the cultural changes of the fifteenth century that had prompted an awareness of the individual and a focus on a liberal humanist education. Earliest manifestations of this phenomenon were the journeys during the Elizabethan period and funded by Queen Elizabeth I who recognised the importance of a period of experience abroad for gentlemen in training for diplomatic careers in her government.\textsuperscript{175} These journeys across Europe culminating in an extended visit to Italy, then became a feature of English aristocratic culture. Considered an appropriate step in the education of the elite,\textsuperscript{176} the Grand Tour became the journey to Italy taken between the early 1600s and the first decades of the 1800s by young, mostly male British aristocrats and their tutors on the trail of intellectual enlightenment and realisation of the self amongst other delights.\textsuperscript{177} As Harry Lieberson has commented, ‘travel in this form was secularised pilgrimage undertaken to regenerate the soul and revive one’s faith in culture through contact through its visible remains’.\textsuperscript{178} This phenomenon was similar to the contemporary ‘gap’ year taken by students between high school and university. The earlier form as an intellectual, social and sexual ‘rite of passage’ spanning almost two centuries was an adventure and life-changing journey for young men freed from the shackles of their families and accompanied only by a tutor/chaperone. These young men could

\textsuperscript{173} Towner, (1985), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{174} The expression \textit{Grand Tour} was probably used for the first time by Richard Lassels in his account of his travels through Italy. R. Lassels, \textit{The Voyage of Italy or a Compleat Journey Through Italy}. (Paris: John Starkey, 1670).
\textsuperscript{177} It should be noted that in addition to educational motivations, health was another impetus for travel during this period. Ibid. P. 176.
be regarded as the pioneers of the contemporary tourist. By the mid eighteenth century when the Grand Tour was at its height, Italy was receiving about thirty thousand tourists annually.\textsuperscript{179} As Dr Johnson opined, ‘a man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see’.\textsuperscript{180}

The route taken by these ‘Grand Tourists’ once they arrived in Italy was relatively fixed and focused on major cities such as Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples\textsuperscript{181} as well as some smaller cities such as Verona and Padua. Their journals, letters, guidebooks and diaries provide evidence of their tastes, attitudes and particularly of the sites visited.\textsuperscript{182} Their writings on Italy contributed to the dissemination of knowledge about the country and thus encouraging more visitors. Ancient Rome was seen as the culmination of Western civilisation (or, as it was then seen, civilisation in general) and many Grand Tourers thus aimed to make this city the last stop on their tour. Often travellers were emotionally overcome by cities such as Florence that was viewed as the apotheosis of art (especially Renaissance art), and Rome as the apotheosis of civilisation as a centre of antiquity as well as a centre of Christianity. This response manifested itself in the syndrome made famous by the writer Stendhal who was overcome to the point of fainting by the quantity of beautiful artefacts to which he was exposed.\textsuperscript{183}

Many Grand Tourists were so inspired by what they saw on their travels that they took ideas back to England that would serve as inspiration for new building programs. An important example of this influence was the work of the architect Christopher Wren and the writer, gardener and diarist John Evelyn\textsuperscript{184} who both presented plans based on their experiences on the Grand Tour for the rebuilding of

\textsuperscript{179} Towner, (1985), op.cit. P. 304.
\textsuperscript{181} These cities and Rome, Florence and Venice in particular are part of the so-called \textit{turisdotto} or ‘tourist pipeline’, the itineraries used by many international travellers who in effect are following in the footsteps of the Grand Tourists.
\textsuperscript{182} Towner, (1985), op.cit.
London after the Great Fire of London in 1666. In fact, Wren’s St Paul’s Cathedral is reminiscent of both St Peter’s Basilica and also Bramante’s Il Tempietto.

By about 1830 the Grand Tour of the British elite lasting two years or more no longer existed. However, it was the travels of the Grand Tourists that heralded heritage tourism as a phenomenon. Innovations in transport such as steamship travel, improvement in roads and the construction of railways radically democratised the European travel experience, making it accessible economically and socially to the British and American middle classes thus heralding the beginnings of organised tourism. It was this democratisation of transport coupled with the increases in the incomes and leisure time of the middle classes that gave rise to changes in tourism as a form of what Jozsef Böröcz has termed ‘travel-capitalism’. Travel to Italy increased markedly. Tourists followed the same routes established by the Grand Tourists of the past although the journey was shorter in duration lasting two to three months instead of two years. Florence was high on the list of cities to be visited.

A survey of the history of tourism shows that the first mentions of Florence in early tourist literature can be traced to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries particularly in the writings by travellers on the Grand Tour who were inspired by the city. This phenomenon, triggered by the myth of the Renaissance with a special emphasis on Florence, would constitute a major influence on the subsequent development of tourism in the city. The priority given to Florence as a Renaissance centre can be traced to Giorgio Vasari (1550) and Jacob Burckhardt (1860) who


188 By the late 1840’s according to a writer of the period, the number of visitors to Florence was estimated to be about 11,000 each year. J. Whiteside, Italy in the Nineteenth Century. (1860). P. 33.


190 It could be argued that tourism to Florence began still earlier with humanist pilgrimages to sites such as San Marco, and San Lorenzo which held extensive collections of Greek and Latin manuscripts of interest to these intellectuals.

both focussed on the artistic and intellectual output of Tuscany drawing attention to this region and city rather than others despite equally important developments in art and architecture in other centres.\textsuperscript{192} As Donald Preziosi remarks, 

Vasari worked to establish what was to become the dominant art historical and critical tradition in which the heritage of Florentine art was seen as paradigmatic of a revived antique glory.\textsuperscript{193}

Furthermore, not only did Vasari focus on Florence as the birthplace of the Renaissance but he also linked its major achievements to the Medici family.\textsuperscript{194} In his Lives\textsuperscript{195} Vasari favoured biographies of predominantly Tuscan artists while Burckhardt placed the origins of the Renaissance in Florence. These two texts provided a foundation for the creation of stereotypes of the city by subsequent generations of writers and have contributed to attracting centuries of visitors beginning with the Grand Tour to this Italian city in particular.

It was during the period of the Grand Tour then that the canon of sites of Renaissance art and culture to be visited in Florence was established with the focus on monuments and museums holding anthologies of artworks by famous personalities of the Renaissance\textsuperscript{196} already highlighted by Vasari in his Lives.\textsuperscript{197} As Dr Johnson opined, ‘The imitator treads a beaten walk’,\textsuperscript{198} a comment pertinent to this research in its examination of the impact of tourists choreographed by the tourist industry to visit heritage sites on what Buzard calls the ‘beaten track’.\textsuperscript{199}

The growth in the travel sector in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was accompanied by an increase in travel literature and small hand held guidebooks in particular. In the 1840s travel books were appearing at the rate of four a year with such titles as Diaries, Notes, Wanderings, Scribblings, Jottings, Sketches, Gleanings,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{192} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{195} Vasari, (1996), op.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{196} Towner, (1985), op.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{197} Vasari, (1996), op.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{198} Cited in Buzard, (1993), op.cit. P. 156.
\item \textsuperscript{199} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
**Glimpses, Tales and Letters.** During the following decades Florence featured strongly in texts by popular travel writers such as Susan and Joanna Horner, Mrs Margaret Oliphant, Janet Ross, and A. Sketchley. Ross was particularly prolific with works on Florence and Tuscany ranging from biographies of Renaissance families to cooking books. Typical was the work of Edward Verrall Lucas (1868-1938) a popular English travel writer of the period who devoted detailed chapters in *A Wanderer in Florence* to specific sites of aesthetic pilgrimage such as the church complexes of San Lorenzo and Santa Croce both of which are sites chosen for this research. Typical also were comments about Italy by writers such as J.A. Symonds,

> As poets in the truest sense of the word we English live and breathe through sympathy with the Italians. The magnetic touch which is required to inflame the imagination of the North is derived from Italy.  

The mid nineteenth century marked the beginnings of the cheap package tour and the democratisation of travel made possible by the growth of transport technologies.

In 1864 Thomas Cook and his agency led the first group of travellers to Italy and pioneered the highly organised concise package tour for large groups. This, coupled with the creation of the traveller’s cheque by American Express, was a further step towards the globalisation of travel. The period also heralded the advent of the guidebook genre that reinforced the canons of Renaissance sites to be

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204 Symonds, (1879), op.cit. P. 185.  
visited in Florence already established by earlier travel literature. Particularly influential in tourist behaviour were the first mass produced guidebooks: Murray’s series of Handbooks, in particular the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* first published in 1842, and the red guidebooks to Northern Italy published by Baedeker from 1870 onwards. The Baedeker guidebooks are famously ridiculed by E. M. Forster in *A Room with a View* when the principle character Lucy Honeychurch visits the mandatory tourist sites in Florence. She enters the Church of Santa Croce, one of the ‘must see’ Renaissance monuments, but without her Baedeker she struggles to make sense of the site. She walks ‘about disdainfully, unwilling to be enthusiastic over monuments of uncertain authorship or date’. As Jill Steward has pointed out,

Guidebook commentaries promoted and reinforced particular ways of seeing people and places. Read in front of the actual buildings, guidebooks appeared as ‘scripts’ controlling what and how they were seen.

This has also been noted by Buzard when he comments that these guidebooks restricted the tourist to a specific routine with step-by-step instructions. As Urry has also commented, ‘the tourist gaze is increasingly signposted. There are markers that identify what things and places are worthy of our gaze’.

Italy responded to the increasing interest in travel with the creation of a number of associations aimed at the promotion of the nation as a tourist destination as well as the provision of assistance and other services. In 1863 the *Club Alpino Italiano* (hereafter CAI) was formed followed in 1893 by the *Touring Club Italiano* (hereafter TCI). The TCI became, and still is, an important association publishing maps, guidebooks, and tourism magazines for travellers. In 1899 the *Automobile Club*

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d’Italia (ACI) was formed to provide assistance to car owners and in 1901 the Lega Navale Italiano (LNI) for marine sports.\textsuperscript{215} Tourism infrastructures began to appear at a rapid rate and in 1894 two hundred hoteliers formed the Società Italiana degli Albergatori (Italian Hoteliers Association).\textsuperscript{216}

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the image of Renaissance Florence continued to be perpetuated by the city’s expatriate Anglo-American community\textsuperscript{217} who took upon themselves the responsibility of the preservation, collection and study of Renaissance works.\textsuperscript{218} They largely defined the self-image of Italian cities particularly Florence. The atmosphere was saturated in Renaissance culture and they founded libraries and institutions such as the British Institute, undertook research, began collections of art and patronised civic projects. Both scholars and amateur enthusiasts alike actively promoted the study of the Renaissance, especially the idea that Florence was the capital of the Renaissance and that this period was the foundation of Italian culture. As Michael Levey has also opined, ‘Florence was conventionally treated as a hugely important stage in the development of Western civilisation’.\textsuperscript{219} Indeed, Renaissance art scholars of the period such as Berenson and Pater perpetuated the idea that the development of Western Art had its origins in the Early Renaissance in Florence and particularly with the work of Giotto, Donatello and Masaccio.\textsuperscript{220} As Levey has also commented, ‘the nineteenth century invested Florence with a semi-sacred aura’.\textsuperscript{221}

About six thousand British and American expatriates were living in Florence by the end of the nineteenth century\textsuperscript{222} many creating retreats in the style of the Renaissance. These included Bernard Berenson, Herbert Horne, and John Temple-

\textsuperscript{216} C. Berrino, Storia del Turismo in Italia. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009); S. La Francesca, Il Turismo in Italia. (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2003).
\textsuperscript{217} About six thousand British and American expatriates were living in Florence by the end of the nineteenth century many creating retreats in the style of the Renaissance. For the size of the foreign community see R. Bosworth, Italy and the Wider World, 1860-1960. (London: Routledge, 1996).
\textsuperscript{221} Levey, (1996), op.cit. P. 3.
Leader whose writings again drew attention to particular historic sites holding Renaissance artworks identified as fundamental to the development of Western Art.\textsuperscript{223} In fact, many made careers out of selling the image of Renaissance Florence.\textsuperscript{224} Their stay in Italy, however, would be curtailed by the rise of Fascism and the outbreak of World War II.

Florence also features significantly in writings by literary figures and opinion leaders of the period such as Byron, E. M. Forster, James, D. H. Lawrence, Maupassant, Stendhal and von Goethe amongst others.\textsuperscript{225} These writers greatly contributed to the increase in tourism potential to this city. By 1897 over four hundred thousand foreigners were spending vacation time in Italy.\textsuperscript{226} Particularly influential in perpetuating the image of Renaissance Florence was Ruskin’s text \textit{Mornings in Florence}.\textsuperscript{227} A prolific writer on art and architecture especially in Venice and Florence, and a recognised academic in his field, Ruskin’s texts were, therefore, treated as guidebooks by the huge numbers of British tourists travelling to Italy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{228} He was also to exert an influence on Fascist rhetoric in its development of propaganda celebrating the qualities of the Renaissance, with its premises of rebirth and order, as a reflection of the Regime’s ideals.\textsuperscript{229}

Other important elements in reinforcing the stereotype of Florence as a Renaissance city were photography and souvenirs. Firms such as Fratelli Alinari and Giacomo and Carlo Brogi in Florence marketed photographic reproductions of paintings, buildings and sights to the middle class tourist creating instantly recognisable images

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\textsuperscript{224} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit. P. 34.
\textsuperscript{225} Forster, (1908), op.cit.; James, (1909), op.cit; D.H. Lawrence, \textit{Twilight in Italy}. (New York: B.W.Heubsch, 1916); von Goethe, (1786-88, 1994), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{226} Formica and Uysal, (1996), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{227} Ruskin, (1876), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{229} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit. P. 22.
\end{flushleft}
to be taken home as memorabilia. The dissemination of the image of Renaissance Tuscany and the definition of a Renaissance urban landscape through photography also contributed to firming national interest in this past. In addition, small copies of buildings and other souvenirs could be bought on street markets and contributed to reinforcing the canon of sites defining Renaissance Florence for the tourist market as well as fuelling interest in visits to this city when these souvenirs were shown back home. As Sarah Benson has remarked in relation to souvenirs,

Their replication of ancient remains, religious relics and shrines, and Renaissance monuments … were instrumental to the development of the scholarly and touristic interest in cultural patrimony.

The second major factor contributing to the growth of Florence as a future tourist mecca was the role it played in the Unification of Italy and in particular the proclamation in 1865 of the city, as the political capital of the new State. Nicholas Doumanis refers to the need for the new State to establish italianità explaining that,

[w]hen the Italian nation-state was established in 1860, the new political order was well aware that the task of creating a nation of Italians, of creating an ethnic identity was before them.

Pinna also expresses the view that there was a need to destroy symbols of the former city-states in the interests of the new nation.

When Italy was first united, the new national government set up a cultural policy that was designed to destroy the symbols of the former Italian states dating from the period before Unification. At the same time, it sought to construct and disseminate other symbols, namely those of a new nation.

Florence, already heralded as the cultural capital of the country, took centre stage in the new politics of the peninsula and therefore began to attract Italian visitors. It was celebrated for its language (that of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch), its culture and

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232 ‘a sense of being Italian’. My translation.
its image. The potency of Florence as a repository of collective memory was highlighted when it became the capital of the emerging union. The city was seen to have a special link with the greatness of Italy’s past exemplified by the presence of burial tombs of famous men particularly those in the Basilica of Santa Croce, a site examined as a case study for this thesis. Much literature of the period was devoted to the glorification of the dead. This was the era of nationalistic fervour and across Europe there was a focus on past heroes seen as exemplars of leadership for future generations.

The new nationalists in Florence were also inspired by Burckhardt’s seminal text *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, published in 1860. Burckhardt heralded the Renaissance as a ‘golden age’, linking the emergence of republican ideals, civic humanism and capitalist entrepreneurialism with the dawning of the modern world. In doing so he prioritized Florence as a political, artistic and intellectual centre *par excellence* echoing, as mentioned previously, Vasari’s focus on this city and region in his *Lives*. These texts provided the impetus for policy makers to reference the city’s Renaissance credentials as a model for Unification. The text was especially pertinent since it celebrated the guild systems, communal government and fledgling democracy of Republican Florence that closely resembled the political objectives of the Risorgimento period. Indeed, politicians aligned the terms Renaissance and Risorgimento as they sought to strengthen and define the new nation and develop a national identity. The communal era of the Renaissance past and features of the political organisation of the city-states provided a common history for the emerging nation. Unification was seen as another Renaissance, another rebirth, and was linked to the Renaissance historiography of Florence that

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was celebrated as the new national history.\textsuperscript{242} This would also be picked up and manipulated by the Fascist Regime in the early twentieth century in service of their propaganda.

The Renaissance was, therefore, celebrated across the territory but particularly in Florence, not only the new capital of the unified nation but also as the capital of the Renaissance. It was, thus, both the focus of contemporary politics and also the key to the development of national identity. A variety of initiatives were deployed in Florence to generate this national sense of identity and, therefore, contributed to the attraction of the city as a centre of excellence. This would be picked up by savvy Florentine businessmen and future generations of tourist operators with acute business acumen.

Some of these initiatives were the creation of new museums such as the Bargello\textsuperscript{243} in the historic centre of the city, special exhibitions, restaging of historical festivals, contemporary painting, contemporary scholarship and architectural projects designed to emulate the Renaissance often at the expense of historic authenticity. Not only would these contribute to reinforcing a sense of national identity during the period of Unification but they would also contribute over the next century to the attraction of Florence as a Renaissance centre and to the increasing numbers of visitors both Italian and international to the city.\textsuperscript{244}

One of the most significant urban interventions in nineteenth century Florence was the design of the new façade for the Duomo completed in 1887. Three international competitions were held with over a hundred designs submitted from which a design by the Italian architect Emilio De Fabris was selected.\textsuperscript{245} A particularly interesting outcome of public debate\textsuperscript{246} about the most appropriate form for the façade was that a Renaissance style cornice, mirroring those of famous Renaissance houses such as

\textsuperscript{244} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit. P. 26.
\textsuperscript{246} Public discussions were extensive in La Nazione, the local Florentine newspaper.
the Palazzo Medici, the Palazzo Strozzi and the Palazzo Rucellai, seminal Renaissance architectural works of the period, was chosen over a pointed Gothic element. The decision was made through a public ballot since, in effect, businessmen of the period were already shrewd in their understanding of the importance of celebrating the relationship between Florence and the Renaissance anticipating the benefits this nexus would bring to the economy of their city in the form of tourism. This is also reflected in modern day business practices in Florence that exploit the city’s identification with the Renaissance to the maximum. Examples of these include naming hotels and restaurants after prominent Renaissance figures especially the Medici family, shops selling a wide range of Renaissance souvenirs and the staging of Renaissance related festivals. The economic exploitation of the Renaissance in Florence is pertinent to this thesis since the research focuses on the relationship between tourism, economics and the transformation of spaces.

In addition to these interventions, other historic sites were restaged within a modern urban context in order to convert what was, in effect, a medieval historic centre into a modern, functioning capital to emulate other modern European capitals such as London, Paris and Vienna. City walls were removed to make way for wide avenues, fourteenth century palaces demolished or remodelled and the old market pulled down. Many neo-Renaissance style buildings were constructed to breathe new life into the city. The restructure was not only confined to the historic centre but was also extended to the suburban landscape. Examples of this are the creation of the Piazzale Michelangelo, the construction of the CASCINE, the ‘Hyde Park of Florence’, and the development of the neo-Renaissance villas in the hills near the BOBOLI gardens. Therefore, the contemporary tourist’s expectation of enjoying an authentic experience of Renaissance Florence that is reinforced by guide book rhetoric, is partly mediated by a nineteenth century construct/facsimile. As Lasansky comments, ‘a nineteenth century urban ideal was created in Florence at the expense

247 Period photographs document the experiments for both architectural elements. In these both a Gothic arch modelled in wood and a Renaissance cornice can be seen. 
248 Examples of hotels are: Hotel Giotto, Hotel Cosimo de’ Medici, Hotel Duomo, Hotel Strozzi, Hotel Pitti, Residenza Vespucci, Machiavelli Palace, Signoria Apartments, Hotel Vasari, Hotel Boccaccio, Hotel Medici, Hotel Brunelleschi, Hotel Dante. 
249 Baron Hausmann’s urban project in Paris was an inspiration for these renewal projects. 
250 Architect and town planner Giuseppe Poggi was given the brief to transform Florence into a capital in 1864. Becheri, (1995), op.cit. P. 346. 
of a historic reality. Staiff has also argued that the representations of Florence in the contemporary tourist mind are removed from historical reality in a sort of modern myth of the Renaissance now a shared cultural memory.

Also instrumental in promoting and strengthening Florence as a drawcard of Renaissance excellence was the criticism of the destruction of historical sites in the name of modernity voiced by foreigners living in the city through organizations such as the Associazione per la Difesa di Firenze Antica. This was even more poignant since Florence’s moment of glory as the capital of the new nation was short-lived since it was moved to Rome in 1871. Therefore, it seemed that the urban renewal had been in vain. However, it was through associations such as the Difesa and the writings of historians of the period that an unwavering interest in Florence’s Renaissance past was created and that its status as above all a ‘Renaissance’ city was ensured. The image of Renaissance Tuscany and in particular Florence as a Renaissance city par excellence was perpetuated through magazine articles focussing on the Renaissance past, newspaper columns suggesting places of interest, historical essays, fiction and so on.

The third major factor contributing to the development of the tourism industry in Florence was the privileging and manipulation of the Renaissance by Mussolini and his National Fascist Party (hereafter PNF) between 1922 and 1935 to promote ideals of republicanism, classicism and humanism as propaganda to further their political motives. An important feature of the Fascist campaign was the way in which history, and in particular Medieval and Renaissance history, was used to legitimize the new regime in the eyes of the Italian people. When the Fascist Regime seized power in October 1922, it absorbed an image of the Renaissance that had been used in the rhetoric of the Risorgimento to develop a sense of nation and strengthen national unity. This was especially relevant in Florence that had a dual role historically as the cradle of Renaissance ideals and subsequently as the first capital of the State.

253 Staiff, (2010), op.cit.
Some scholars have indeed proposed that the Renaissance is a political construct and that the current popularity of this past in Italy is largely due to the manipulation of Renaissance ideals by the Fascist Regime. It has been argued that the Regime capitalised on the appeal of the Renaissance to Italians during the Risorgimento and subsequent Unification of Italy in 1868 and restaged it to suit their ideological rhetoric. Pavoni has termed this the ‘use and abuse of the Renaissance’.

The Renaissance past was deployed as propaganda and, therefore, aspects of the Renaissance city-state were repackaged to suit Fascist social, economic and political agendas. In Fascist texts comparisons were made between Mussolini’s charisma as a leader and powerful Renaissance leaders such as Sigismondo Malatesta, Filippo Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza. His military prowess was linked to Renaissance condottieri who had fought for their respective city-states in the face of foreign invaders. His statesmanship was also compared to that of Lorenzo de’ Medici and Duke Federigo di Montefeltro of Urbino and his political savvy was aligned to that of Dante and Macchiavelli.

The Regime embarked on a program of education and cultural initiatives drawn from the Renaissance that were designed to attract the Italian tourist and showcase the new ideals of the Regime in its quest to preserve the integrity of the Italian culture in terms of its Renaissance legacy and, therefore, to emphasize the legitimacy of their totalitarian state. Renaissance civic rituals such as the Sienese Palio, the Florentine historic soccer game, il calcio fiorentino, and the Procession of the Magi for Epiphany celebrations were revived and redesigned. Epic period film projects with Renaissance themes were encouraged and city squares such as Arezzo and

257 Tessitore, (1990), op.cit.
Marostica redesigned to suit a Renaissance perspective.\textsuperscript{263} Monuments such as Dante’s house in Florence were recreated\textsuperscript{264} and the mounting of exhibitions became an important way to connect with the population.\textsuperscript{265} Particularly relevant for this thesis is the staging of themed exhibitions in Florence as the business community, aware of the growing tourism market, were seeking ways to capitalise on the credentials of Florence as a Renaissance centre with its array of museums and monuments.\textsuperscript{266} Furthermore, a guidebook on Florence specifically catering to Italian tourists was published in 1938.\textsuperscript{267}

The contribution of the architect Giuseppe Castellucci to the revival of the Renaissance during the nineteenth century and the subsequent celebration of this particular past in the early twentieth century by the Fascist regime for its political objectives cannot be overstated. His prolific career spanned both Unification and the Fascist period. He undertook hundreds of projects during these periods both in the private and public sector, restoring and redesigning the Renaissance built environment.\textsuperscript{268} As Lasansky has pointed out,

There is no doubt that Castellucci was a key facilitator of the revival of the Middle Ages and Renaissance during the first four decades of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{269}

In a sort of redefinition of the Grand Tour the State, that is the Fascist Regime, for the first time actively targeted working class Italians and encouraged them to visit sites such as Rome, Siena and Florence.\textsuperscript{270} In 1925 the \textit{Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro} (National Leisure-time Foundation) was founded followed by \textit{Sabato Fascista} (Fascist Saturday), both of which were aimed at raising awareness of leisure time.\textsuperscript{271}

\textsuperscript{263} D. Medina Lasansky devotes two chapters in her text \textit{The Renaissance Perfected} to the restaging of Arezzo and Marostica. Lasansky, (2004), op.cit. Chapters 3 and 6.
\textsuperscript{266} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit. P. 74.
\textsuperscript{267} F. Bigliazzi, \textit{Come Vistare Firenze e i Suoi Dintorni}. (Milano: Cesare Capello, 1938).
\textsuperscript{269} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit. P. 47.
\textsuperscript{270} Berezin, (1997), op.cit. P. 47.
Italians were, therefore, encouraged to participate in a culture that had previously been reserved for the foreign elite. Indeed, the earlier ‘Grand Tourists’ had been scathing of Italian regard for their cultural heritage and used this as an excuse to appropriate artefacts so as to ‘ensure’ their preservation.\textsuperscript{272} The Regime developed a wide range of programs in collaboration with the TCI and the \textit{Federazione Italiana degli Escursionisti} (Italian Federation of Excursionists) encouraging Italian tourism and travel was sponsored and subsidised by the government through discount train fares and also special guided tours.\textsuperscript{273} Italians were thus encouraged to become tourists in their own country in order to cultivate a sense of national identity and to encourage their support of Fascist, read Renaissance, ideals. In this way through a reworking of history the PNF was able to reinforce the idea of Italian traditions and the Italian self.\textsuperscript{274} It was also in the Fascist period that the two main public tourist boards that operate today were created: \textit{Ente Nazionale per l'Incremento delle Industrie Turistiche} (hereafter ENIT) in 1919 and the provincial tourist boards \textit{Ente Provinciale del Turismo} (hereafter EPT) in 1935.\textsuperscript{275}

Post-modern ideas have added another dimension to the fascination with cities such as Florence holding extensive collections of Renaissance artefacts that would subsequently become centres of heritage tourism. In recent decades scholars have argued that the contemporary fascination with high profile pasts such as the Renaissance stems from psychological factors such as a nostalgia for imagined pasts, the search for identity in a chaotic world and the need to find stability through collective memory in remnants of the past.\textsuperscript{276} The term Renaissance is particularly attractive in this context with its meaning of rebirth. Foucault refers to the fascination for the past as ‘the exotic charm of another system of thought’.\textsuperscript{277}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[274] Berezin, (1997), op.cit. P. 5.
\item[277] Foucault, (1972), op.cit. P. 12.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Tourism today, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, is a major driver for global economies and one of the main sources of revenue for both the Italian government and the Vatican. Indeed, Italy has historically been one of the world’s leading tourist destinations. The EIU states,

… there are few destinations, if any in the rest of Europe which can match the combination of history, culture, artistic treasures, scenery, food and wine offered by Italy.\(^{278}\)

An often quoted slogan dating to the 1980s in Italian cultural heritage politics is *l’arte è il petrolio dell’Italia* or ‘artworks are the ‘oil’ of Italy’.\(^{279}\) This has been reinforced by many commentators on heritage and tourism in Italy including renowned tourism expert Emilio Becheri.\(^{280}\) It was also famously used by Giuliano Urbani, Minister of Culture between 2001 and 2005.\(^{281}\) Despite criticism from heritage commentators who have been scathing about the government’s alignment of cultural patrimony and oil resources,\(^{282}\) the metaphor is particularly true for centres such as Florence that is now privileged as a heritage tourism mecca. Statistics also show that nationally Florence is second only to Rome for concentrations of museums in its city centre and these are also exceptional in terms of the depth and breadth of their collections.\(^{283}\) As Paolucci has commented, *Firenze è la città dei musei ... nessun altra città in Italia dispone di una rete altrettanto vasta e diramata di pubbliche collezioni*.\(^{284}\) Florence along with Rome and Venice is a global tourist magnet and one of the most ‘touristed’\(^{285}\) cities in Italy but has become the archetypal tourist centre due to its Renaissance credentials.\(^{286}\)

\(^{278}\) Economic Intelligence Unit, (1990), op.cit. Pp. 5-21.


\(^{284}\) ‘Florence is the city of museums. No other city in Italy enjoys such a vast and wide-ranging network of public collections.’ My translation from Paolucci, (1996), op.cit. P. 58.

\(^{285}\) Term used by Robert C. Davis and Garry R. Martin in the title of their text *Venice, the Tourist Maze* - *A Cultural Critique of the World’s most Touristed City*.

The relationship between Florence and Renaissance art is integral to its economy and vested interests have always made sure that the city’s identification with the Renaissance is exploited to the maximum.\(^{287}\) This link is expressed overtly in the Management Plan of the Municipality of Florence: *Il mito della Firenze rinascimentale con l’incredibile densità di monumenti e capolavori d’arte è alla base della fortuna turistica della città.*\(^{288}\) The city is ranked among the top four cities to visit by magazines such as *Travel and Leisure* and *Conde Nast Traveler*\(^{289}\) and has inspired a plethora of both scholarly and general literature on its place as the ‘cradle’ of the Renaissance\(^{290}\) and even as ‘the sacred cradle of modern Western civilisation’.\(^{291}\) Florence then is firmly linked to the particular past of the Renaissance and is, today, constructed principally for tourist consumption. Florence is a city that has become an ‘exhibition of itself’.\(^{292}\) Even back in the 1980s the Italian writer Pier Vittorio Tondelli remarked the Florence was ‘the Disneyland of the Italian Renaissance’.\(^{293}\)

In 1982 the city was assigned world heritage status by UNESCO a designation bringing wide-ranging implications both positive and negative for the city. These include a higher profile in local and international contexts, increased visitor numbers and marketing opportunities, changes to urban space, museumification of the city, demographic changes, increases in property values, traffic congestion, pollution issues especially waste management, the degradation of monuments, the disappearance of artisans, and the development of tourist infrastructures.\(^{294}\)

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\(^{290}\) Florence has over sixty-six museums and other monuments of which a considerable proportion are ecclesiastical buildings. (Full list in Appendix D).


\(^{292}\) Dicks, (2003), op.cit. P. 1.


\(^{294}\) These advantages and disadvantages are discussed in the Florence Municipal Council’s Management Plan. Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit.
Mention has already been made of the principle factors contributing to the construction of Florence as a Renaissance heritage city. In particular the discussion has focussed on programs of urban renewal that took place during the period of Unification as well as the manipulation of the city and its Renaissance past by the Fascist regime. However, the true emergence of Florence as a fully fledged heritage tourist attraction with the drawcard of the Renaissance would be seen during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with a systematic reframing of the city driven by an exponential increase in tourism.

Official accommodation statistics confirm that Florence receives an in flow of over seven million tourists annually averaging about twenty thousand visitors daily.\textsuperscript{295} This figure does not take into account the presence of millions of one-day visitors to the city many of whom arrive in the hundreds of tourist coaches that descend daily on the city. In 2005 these reached three hundred per day in peak periods.\textsuperscript{296} Becheri estimates the number of daily excursionists to be a further seven million (another twenty thousand daily) putting the average daily tourist in flow at forty thousand.\textsuperscript{297} The population of the city is currently about three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants with about sixty-seven thousand\textsuperscript{298} of these living in the city centre comprising an area of just over eleven square kilometres.\textsuperscript{299} Therefore, this implies that in the peak tourist periods between April and October the number of daily visitors to the city is likely to equal and possibly exceed the estimated population of the historic centre.\textsuperscript{300} Most visitors converge on the small area of the historic centre known as the triangolo d’oro or ‘golden triangle’.\textsuperscript{301} Little deviation occurs from this small area that is endowed with the highest concentration of monumental and architectural structures, works of art, museums and galleries.\textsuperscript{302} It is also home to the highly commercialised Uffizi, one of the world’s ‘superstar’ museums\textsuperscript{303} that

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{295} Istituto Regionale Programmazione Economica della Toscana, (2011), op.cit.
\bibitem{296} Becheri, "Un Rospo da Baciare". P. 55.
\bibitem{297} Ibid. P. 67.
\bibitem{299} Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit. P. 45.
\bibitem{300} Becheri, (1995), op.cit. P. 199.
\bibitem{301} Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit. P. 49.
\end{thebibliography}
receives an estimated one and a half million tourists annually. Figure 4 below displays the principle tourist routes in the historic centre.

Figure 4. Plan of the Historic Centre of Florence showing principle tourist routes.

The consequences of this tourism ‘pollution’, a term used by the Mayor of Venice in the 1980s, have been wide ranging. There is ample evidence to argue that tourism density has had a significant impact on the contemporary urban space of Florence and that it is in danger of becoming a theme park (if not one already) focussed on servicing the needs of its tourist clientele rather than its residents. Mariella Zoppi, Dean of Architecture at Florence University, in her aptly titled Firenze Fast Food dell’Arte remarks, ‘If you ask, the Florentines [they say] they no longer feel that Florence belongs to them’. This is also reinforced by Becheri’s research

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commissioned by the Municipal Council of Florence. Whilst Vernon Lee remarked in 1894, ‘honour the tourist; he walks in a halo of romance’ Florentines might also remark as did James that ‘tourists are vulgar, vulgar, vulgar’.

As mentioned above, tourism is vital to the economics of the city of Florence so much so that the stated aims of the Municipal Council of Florence in its Management Plan is to strengthen tourist flows, increase the average stay of tourists and expand the range of services available. This ‘Renaissance’ city has, therefore, become an incubator for entrepreneurial activities related to tourism and investment is promoted that attracts the tourist Euro. The historic centre has become a shopping precinct comprising six thousand mostly tourist related retail outlets competing for the TEuro. These shops are predominantly high-end fashion stores that attract international visitors with money to spend, tourist souvenir booths, leather stores and duty free stores that have agreements with tour guides. Employees in these stores are multilingual and often not Italian. In addition to these shops, there is a plethora of food outlets with tourist menus offering the stereotypical foods of the region. Furthermore, the Municipal Council mounts a variety of year round cultural events such as special exhibitions, fashion shows and musical events to attract commerce and entertain tourists.

The effects of such policies have been many and varied. Major changes to the demographics of the city are evident with statistics pointing to a persistent haemorrhaging of the population and a crowding out of the host community due to

309 Becheri, "Un Rospo da Baciare". P. 76.
313 The link between the Renaissance and the promotion of tourism has already been discussed in this chapter.
315 Examples of these are Gucci and Prada who employ Japanese staff in particular who can communicate better with the large numbers of Japanese customers.
316 Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit. Pp. 33-40. An example is the annual re-enactment in Florence of the procession of the Magi at Epiphany on 6 January. This initiative, as mentioned earlier in this Chapter, was also taken by the Fascists. Staiff identifies this as part of the culture of ritual display of the city. Staiff, (2010), op.cit. P. 607; Becheri, (1995), op.cit. P. 199.
the overwhelming predominance of tourists.\textsuperscript{318} Anna Maria Petrioli Trofani, Director of the Uffizi, has commented that Florence has undergone a sort of *snaturamento* or ‘distortion’ due to the exodus of residents dissatisfied with both the management of tourism and the cultural wealth of the city with a resulting deterioration in quality of life.\textsuperscript{319} Residents also complain that excessive numbers of tourists keep them away from the city’s museums even if entrance is free for them.\textsuperscript{320} This ‘consumption’ of cities such as Florence by tourists and the related disenchantment of the local populous has been explored by Urry in his text *Consuming Places*. He comments,

‘Spaces’ of a neighbourhood, town or region may become overwhelmed by visitors so locals no longer feel that it is their own space/place any more. So many visitors pass through, visually appropriating the spaces and leading locals to feel that they may have ‘lost’ their space. Visitors are viewed as the ‘other’.\textsuperscript{321}

Property prices have risen in the historic centre so much so that it is now occupied by affluent visitors rather than by residents with the working class excluded from the core.\textsuperscript{322} Hotels predominate in the historic centre as well as investment properties used for other types of tourist accommodation such as bed and breakfast and longer rentals. Transport problems have also contributed to an exodus of residents from the historic centre.\textsuperscript{323} Traffic movement and parking is restricted in the city centre and the main streets have been converted into pedestrian thoroughfares. Florence has one of the first and largest traffic limitation zones in Europe.\textsuperscript{324} This has not only meant consequences for mobility but also for issues such as waste management. There have been changes to the behaviour and visiting habits of tourists\textsuperscript{325} with a move from individual or small groups of tourists to large groups marching like armies between one monument and another leading to congestion and overcrowding in public spaces. This is particularly frustrating for residents trying to go about their daily business although from remarks made by a nineteenth commentator, visitor crowding has not much changed since the growth of tourism in that century.

\textsuperscript{318} Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit. Pp. 67-68.
\textsuperscript{320} Mottola Molfino and Morigi Govi, (2004), op.cit. P. 41.
\textsuperscript{321} Urry, (1995), op.cit. P. 166.
\textsuperscript{324} Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit. P. 52.
\textsuperscript{325} Ibid. p. 50.
The cities of Italy [are] now deluged with droves of these creatures, for they never separate, and you see them forty in number pouring along a street with their director – now at the front, now at the rear, circling around them like a sheepdog - and really the process is as like herding as may be.\textsuperscript{326}

Studies on urban tourist crowding in Florence have also shown that not only is there dissatisfaction on the part of the residents but there is also considerable frustration expressed by tourists themselves, particularly those who travel independently or who spend longer periods in the city.\textsuperscript{327}

The exodus of residents from the historic centre has had a number of other social consequences.\textsuperscript{328} The population that has remained is aging, a factor that also brings its own array of difficulties in terms of service provision and access to facilities.\textsuperscript{329} There has been a decrease in the number of shops providing essential goods and services as well as a decrease in the number of community services such as schools and medical facilities. The systematic decentralisation of the population has also meant a significant decrease in church congregations that has implications for the management of these religious institutions. This is confirmed in interviews with stakeholders at the case study sites.\textsuperscript{330} The phenomenon is particularly relevant for this thesis and will be examined in the case studies in later chapters.

The degradation of the city due to increases in tourism became the centre of heated debates in the 1980s\textsuperscript{331} and continued to be a focus of discussion in the 1990s when the Municipal Council of Florence decided to explore an array of defensive strategies to address pressures on the historic centre. A series of Action Plans was also initiated in 2008 by the Council to improve management issues in the city.\textsuperscript{332} Various measures have been introduced to improve tourist flows, increase commercial benefits and provide for the conservation of the historic centre. In July 1996 the Council introduced a requirement for tour groups to book visits to the city in advance

\textsuperscript{326} Cited in MacCannell, (1999), op.cit. P. 9.
\textsuperscript{329} Comune di Firenze, (2008), op.cit. P. 45.
\textsuperscript{330} Appendix A, Interviews 1, 3, 4, and 9.
and to also pay an entrance fee to enter the city. In addition, the daily flow of tourist buses was reduced from three hundred per day to one hundred and fifty so as to manage tourist traffic and parking in the city. A tourist tax (per person per night) was also reintroduced in July 2010 on all accommodation in the city. This move has been welcomed by stakeholders in heritage conservation as it is seen as at least one way to generate funds. Professor Piero Roggi, city councillor in charge of tourism and the economy during this period commented in relation to the visitor/host community relationship,

We have a very narrow path we have to tread. On one hand, we want to be hospitable: It is our duty to the rest of the world to let people visit the birthplace of modern society. But we also have to keep in mind the needs of Florentines, who are a very exacting population.

Florentines have been encouraged to turn their apartments into accommodation for tourists to alleviate shortages in hotels. Increased tourism demands have resulted in the extension of opening times at some of the principle museums. Entry restrictions and on line bookings have been also introduced. Crowd control barriers have been constructed at major monuments in the city such as the Duomo, the Uffizi and the Accademia to organise the queues of visitors often waiting for over three hours for entry during peak tourist periods. Itineraries have been developed to encourage tourists to move away from the congested areas and visit sites off the beaten track so as to spread the tourist flow. Entry fees have been introduced at some of the churches that are major heritage sites and impacted by the increase in tourism to the city. The transformations at these monuments will be examined in the case studies for this research.

Another negative and more important consequence of this increase is tourism is the deterioration of the historic centre and the degradation of monuments. Examples of this deterioration due to heavy tourist traffic at specific sites will be examined in

333 Ibid. P. 52.
335 Appendix A, Interview 3.
338 Ibid. P. 48.
the case studies for this thesis. Many of the open-air monuments, for example the Loggia of the Lanzi in the Piazza della Signoria, are now roped off as a protection measure and the city police and private security companies patrol some of these on a twenty-four hour basis. As a result the Council has implemented conservation projects and allocated funding for the upgrading of the historic centre that is heralded as *un vero scrigno di opera d’arte e di architettura*.

In summary, by the arrival of modern heritage tourism in the twentieth century, it could be said that the image of Florence had been firmly established through the glorification of the particular past of the Renaissance and the positioning of the city as the ‘birthplace of modern society’. This had been perpetuated and exploited by different sectors for different purposes: by politicians during Unification who wanted to develop a sense of national identity for the new State, by the Fascist regime who wished to promote their political ideas and by foreigners who had had a love affair with the city for several centuries, many of whom depended on the city’s Renaissance image for their livelihood.

Florence has thus been ‘marked out’ as a venue for heritage tourism through over five hundred years of popular travel writing, literature and socio-political agendas as the iconic Renaissance city with a canon of accredited tourist sites to be visited. This canon of sites survives today in the wide range of modern guidebooks on the market. A survey of the best known of these demonstrates how little this canon of sites established by the Grand Tourist and reinforced by the middle class traveller of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has changed.

As a result of its privileged position both in the scholarly arena and the public imagination, the Renaissance with a particular focus on Florence at its centre, is more powerful and persuasive than any other cultural period in winning the tourist Euro. It has become a thoroughly marketable historical period internationally and is a

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339 ‘A real treasure trove of works of art and architecture.’ My translation. Ibid. P.63.
340 See comment by Roggi cited on p. 56 of this Chapter.
341 MacCannell, (1999), op.cit.
342 John Urry has argued that tourists come to sites with a particular gaze. Urry, (2002), op.cit.
343 Eyewitness Travel: Italy; Eyewitness Travel; Florence and Tuscany, Fodor’s Essential Italy; Fodor’s Florence and Tuscany; Frommer’s Italy; Lonely Planet Florence; Lonely Planet Best of Florence; The Rough Guide to Florence and Siena; The AA Explorer Guide to Italy; Insight Guides Italy. For full citations see the Reference List.
major revenue raiser for the Italian economy. Its capacity, therefore, to attract the TEuro is particularly reflected in the travel industry’s fastest growing sector: heritage tourism.\textsuperscript{344} As Lasansky has commented,

\begin{quote}
In contemporary Italy, medieval and Renaissance culture remains a central component of cultural, economic, and political identity. It is the key feature of an ever-expanding business of heritage tourism.\textsuperscript{345}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{344} Term from Ashworth and Tunbridge, (1990), op.cit. See also van der Borg, Costa, and Gotti, (1996), op.cit. P. 306.
\textsuperscript{345} Lasansky, (2004), op.cit.: P. xxvii.
Chapter 2: Cultural Heritage Policy in Italy - Historical Overview

L’arte è il petrolio d’Italia.346

This chapter is the first of three chapters that examine the development of cultural heritage policy in Italy. The chapter presents a historical overview of the early development of these policies prior to Unification in 1861 to provide a foundation to the following two chapters that examine policy development in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Specifically this chapter seeks to demonstrate the beginnings of trends towards cultural heritage as a ‘resource’ to be exploited and, as a consequence, a key contributor to the economics of both the Vatican State and the Italian State. In addition, the chapter seeks to establish a linkage between these embryonic developments in heritage policy that are peculiar to the Italian context and the subsequent management structures at the case study sites.

Cultural heritage, especially tangible heritage, and tourism have been closely linked for centuries in Italy where the relationship between the two is often associated with a particular historical theme. This nexus is exemplified in Florence especially where the Renaissance, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, has been privileged over other historical periods and deployed as a drawcard for heritage tourism. In Italy the concept of cultural heritage expressed by the term beni culturali or ‘cultural assets’ is characterised by a long and varied history in terms of definition, legislation, and guardianship (the State, the Church, public and private). This is in part due to the depth and breadth of the cultural wealth located on the Italian peninsula since Italy is quite particular in terms of the quantity and quality of artworks, monuments, archaeological sites and so on present on the territory. Commentators often estimate this cultural wealth to exceed that found in any other Western country.347

347 Whilst this may be accurate, estimates such as these and related statistics often cited in tourism and cultural policy literature should, however, be treated with some caution. As Max Singer points out, such comments may take on a life of their own without the original source ever being verified. M. Singer, "The Vitality of Mythical Numbers," The Public Interest. 23(1971).
Italy’s cultural wealth is multifaceted and multilayered. A survey of just the tangible cultural wealth of the nation estimates that the territory holds ninety-five thousand church monuments, forty thousand castles and fortresses, thirty thousand historic houses, twenty thousand historic centres as well as six thousand libraries, thirty thousand archives, four thousand historic gardens, nearly four thousand museums and over two thousand archaeological sites.  

In addition, of the over nine hundred World Heritage Sites listed by UNESCO, forty-seven of these are situated in Italy, that is more than that listed for any other country in the world. Furthermore, commentators estimate that the percentage of cultural patrimony still to be found in situ is much greater in Italy than that in any other country in the world.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the heritage sector is one of the most important in Italy. This is reflected in the existence of a special Ministry and Minister dedicated to the administration of Italy’s cultural wealth as well as the complex legislative framework that defines this and exemplifies Italy’s cumbersome, dense legislative system. It is estimated that about ninety thousand laws exist in the area of public administration alone. As Augustin Girard has observed,

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\text{Italy has an extraordinary array of legislation relating to culture, which never ceases to grow at a steady pace both at national and regional level. This plethora of rules and regulations, which especially affects the cultural heritage, seems to have the effect of gradually making the actual implementation of the laws more and more difficult.} \]

Furthermore, it is estimated that about eighty percent of the cultural wealth on the peninsula comprises artefacts of religious significance owned by the Vatican, an independent State yet with real estate located on Italian State territory. These are

350 Located in the context for which it was originally intended and/or created.
352 Italy was one of the first countries to create a Ministry that was dedicated to cultural heritage. This was created under the Fascist regime in the 1920s and was called the Ministry for Popular Culture.
353 As Augustin Girard has observed, Council of Europe/ERICarts, “Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Country Profile Italy,” (2012).
recognised as immense economic and social resources for the State as well as for the Church and, thus, require special legislation and delicate diplomatic agreements to manage. Therefore, Italian cultural wealth is characterised by the complexity of its location and the complexity of its legislation.356

This chapter will firstly examine the term beni culturali in the Italian legislation and then give an overview of the evolution of State cultural policy and its related legislation from a historical perspective focussing on the period from Classical Rome until the end of the nineteenth century. Developments in cultural policy legislation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will be examined in the Chapter Three due to the complexity of this after Unification that necessitated a special relationship between the Italian State and the Vatican. In tracing the historical development of the Italian model of cultural heritage policy and its administration, these two chapters will demonstrate an emerging realisation of the marketability of heritage resources. The examination will show that the trajectory in the development of cultural heritage policies increasingly takes into account the potential of the nation’s heritage resources to act as a drawcard for tourism, economic growth and revenue generation. The convergence of these elements is most evident in the 1980s and 1990s, decades characterised by an exponential growth in heritage tourism and the parallel development of legislation for cultural heritage.357

This chapter will demonstrate that Italian cultural heritage policy is deeply rooted in the Italian cultural context and the nation’s political history. Therefore, the primary focus of this chapter is an examination of policy development within the context of Italian politics and the arts prior to Unification in 1861 and in the immediate half century after, in order to provide a historical contextualisation to later chapters of this thesis and the transformations that are examined. As Maurizio Carta358 argues, a historical examination of the formation of the legislation for cultural heritage is important because of the social and political environment in which it developed revealing, therefore, the value and functions of heritage to the Italian people. Whilst cultural policy in Italy now covers a wide range of cultural patrimony both tangible

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and intangible (the traditional and the representative arts, the environment and landscape and so on) the discussion will be limited to the sector of *beni culturali* that is concerned with the traditional arts: architecture, painting, and sculpture due to relevance of the sector for this thesis.

The term *beni culturali* was used for the first time in relation to Italy’s cultural heritage by the Franceschini Commission in 1964. This was the Commission set up by the Parliament through legislation (L.310/1964)\(^{359}\) whose task was to carry out a detailed examination of the organisational structure of the bodies responsible for the administration of Italy’s cultural wealth as well as to survey the quantity of cultural assets held on the territory. The term was used following the lead of the *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, the international treaty signed by the United Nations in 1954 in response to the damage caused to cultural property in many countries during WWII.\(^{360}\) Prior to this Italian legislation had used the generic term of *cose* or ‘items’ to refer to objects of historical, cultural and artistic interest. This was reflected in L.1089 called the Bottai Law, passed in 1939 and specifically with the words *Tutela delle Cose di Interesse Artistico e Storico* or the ‘Protection of Items of Artistic and Historic Interest’. The Bottai Law was the first piece of legislation to introduce a comprehensive policy on Italian cultural heritage.

The semantic shift in the change of term from *cose* to *beni* is important as *beni* better expresses the value of the artefact not only in cultural terms but also in terms of economic significance. Semantically *beni* has the capacity to refer to a wider range of ‘assets’ or ‘common goods’ (paintings, sculpture, landscape, buildings, documents, manuscripts and so on) and both moveable and immoveable cultural property that enriches or benefits the whole community. The term *patrimonio culturale* (cultural heritage) is used to refer to the range of *beni culturali* as a complete set. Some commentators\(^{361}\) have argued that in using the term *beni* or


'assets', material importance is given precedence over other considerations. This has had ramifications for the organisation of Italian museums, for example, that is based on policies derived from this interpretation. Indeed, metaphors such as l’arte è il petrolio d’Italia (‘art is Italy’s oil’), giacimento culturale (‘cultural deposits’), and risorsa per occupazione (‘employment resource’) are often adopted, as mentioned previously, in relation to Italy’s cultural wealth thus reflecting its economic value. As discussed above, such metaphors adopted by cultural policy makers in the 1980s have attracted much criticism from heritage commentators who have been scathing about the government’s alignment of cultural patrimony and oil resources, seeing such an analogy as one linked to the idea of exploitation for economic gain. Paolucci has lamented the move towards the economia della cultura (‘culture as an economic cashcard’) and commented that before the 1980s nessuno pensava al museo e al patrimonio culturale come produttori di ricchezza economica. The relationship between cultural wealth and economics is an important nexus for this thesis that, in part, explores economic realities and their ramifications for church sites in Italy faced with managing the influx of tourists yet preserving the spiritual aspect of these sites as well as generating funding for conservation. It is also important in terms of what Eleonora Belfiore, in her comparative study of British and Italian approaches to cultural policy rationales, calls the ‘phenomena of growing instrumentalism’ when she discusses the so-called ‘cultural assets boom’ and the developing interest in Italy in the 1980’s of the economic potential of its beni culturali.

Awareness of the need for the protection and conservation of Italy’s cultural heritage has grown mainly during the last two hundred years beginning with the spread across Europe of notions of the universal value of culture and beliefs about the common good during the period of the Enlightenment. This heralded a new cultural climate in which heritage preservation played an important role. The new awareness was

365 ‘No-one thought of the museum and of cultural patrimony as a producer of economic wealth.’ My translation from Paolucci, (1996), op.cit. P. 120.
translated into formal, durable legislation in Italy only in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Currently four bodies of legislation inform cultural heritage policy in Italy. The Italian Constitution (1948, Article 9) establishes the commitment of the Italian Republic and its administrative apparatus to the enhancement, conservation, protection and use of cultural heritage.\(^{369}\) It also lays out how these responsibilities should be delegated across the territory, that is, in the regions, provinces, municipal councils and mountain areas. The second body of legislation is the *Codice Civile* or Civil Code (1942, Articles 822-826) that defines private and public property and the limits of public administration in this area. In addition the *Codice Penale* or Penal Code in the modifications to L.205 and L.507 in 1999 defines what constitutes damage to artworks and the natural environment and subsequent penalties. The final body of legislation is the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio* or the ‘Code of Cultural Heritage and the Landscape’, (L.42/2004) and modifications in 2006.\(^{370}\) This is the current version of three laws passed in the last one hundred years that are concerned with cultural heritage: the Bottai Law of 1939, the so-called *Testo Unico* or Consolidation Act of 1999 and the current legislation passed in 2004, a controversial law that marked a turning point in Italian politics for the arts. This legislation will be examined in detail in Chapter Three.

Prior to the creation of these bodies of legislation, sporadic attempts to raise the awareness of the importance of cultural heritage in Italy date to various epochs beginning with Classical Rome.\(^{371}\) Commentators argue that provisions made in Ancient Rome and in particular in Republican and later Imperial Rome for the preservation of cultural heritage (especially those objects taken as spoils of war)

\(^{369}\) Article 9 of the Constitution states *La Repubblica promuove lo sviluppo della cultura e dell ricerca scientific e tecnica. Tutela il paesaggio e il patrimonio storico e artistic della Nazione.* Governo Italiano, "Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana," ed. Servizio Studi della Corte Costituzionale (Roma: Il Governo Italiano, 1947). 'The Republic shall do all in its power to promote the development of culture and of scientific and technical research. It shall also protect and preserve the countryside and the historical and artistic monuments which are the inheritance of the nation.' Translation: Council of Europe, (1995), op.cit. P. 9.

\(^{370}\) Bottari, (2002), op.cit. P. 73.

\(^{371}\) Carta argues that the beginnings of the legal and administrative apparatus for the preservation of cultural policy can be dated to Republican Rome that wished to reserve its spoils of war as an indication of its political supremacy and power. Carta, (1999), op.cit. P. 47.
anticipate, to a certain extent, modern approaches in this field.\textsuperscript{372} It was in this era that specific legal and administrative norms were created for the protection of cultural and artistic objects. Bottari and Pizzicannella\textsuperscript{373} explain that the attitude of the Romans towards the preservation of works of art is not particularly clear from documentary sources; however, there are examples that give some idea of approaches to the value of cultural patrimony in the period. Pliny the Elder makes clear reference to the importance of works of art as public patrimony in the Roman era including those held in private collections.\textsuperscript{374} A growing community awareness of what might be termed early notions of cultural heritage can be seen in particular in the legislation passed in Imperial Rome.\textsuperscript{375} Regulations were put into place for the appropriate treatment of urban spaces and to maintain the integrity of buildings, streets, squares and so on. In the Augustan period a special body called the \textit{comites nitentium rerum} or ‘public magistrate’ was set up with the responsibility of ensuring the preservation of public and private buildings so as to prevent indiscriminate demolition as well as the removal of marbles and other ornamentation\textsuperscript{376} that was one of the main concerns during this period.

In summary, legislation in the Roman era provided early examples for many of the principles that inform cultural heritage policy in the modern era. Unfortunately, the decline of the Roman Empire meant progressively less rigorous implementation of any regulations and this was accompanied by a systematic demolition of buildings with the removal of ornamentation and works of art. The stripping of ancient monuments in Rome became a widespread practice so much so that the city took on


\textsuperscript{373} Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 82.

\textsuperscript{374} Pliny the Elder refers to the removal of Lisippo’s Apoxyomenos statue from the Thermal Baths near the Pantheon by the Emperor Tiberius who wanted it to decorate his bedroom. The subsequent public outrage was so great that Tiberius was forced to restore the statue to its public site. Pliny, therefore, indicates public recognition of the artistic and symbolic value of this artwork and an instance of an awareness to protect public cultural patrimony. Pliny the Elder, "The Natural History. Book XXIV, Chapter 19." (77-79 AD), http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0137:book=34:chapter=19. Retrieved 6 May , 2012.


the appearance of a quarry site, a situation that was to last for several centuries especially when the popes moved to Avignon and Rome became a backwater.

It could be said that the rise of Christianity may have contributed to the demolition of Rome as the new religion in iconoclastic fervour aimed to destroy any antiquities that were references to a classical pagan past. In its determination to suppress any pagan cults and temples the Pontifical State issued several rulings between 346 and 408 AD. Despite this, other rulings were issued that recognised the architectural and aesthetic value of these pagan buildings and, thus, sought to protect them from destruction. The situation was, therefore, paradoxical. On the one hand then, it appeared that extremists wished to destroy all vestiges of the pagan past and on the other hand it seemed that pragmatists recognised the value of recycling materials for buildings for the new religious cult and, therefore, preserving a link with the past however symbolically. The first legislation put in place to protect monuments built on papal property was the Edict of Maggioranus issued by the Church in 455 AD.

Although the systematic demolition of buildings and recycling of relics of the classical past continued in the early Christian era, there were again a few exceptions to the norm. In particular the enlightened Gothic king Theodoric (474-526 AD) was a relatively isolated case in his recognition of the importance of antiquities. His views led to some important decisions related to the restoration, valorisation and preservation of these in his kingdom of Ravenna. Not only this but he also initiated a program to educate his citizens about the importance of their city’s cultural legacy. His contribution is acknowledged as the first Western official act of informed protection and promotion of cultural heritage. A second important contribution was made around this time by the Byzantine General, Belisarius, who dissuaded the Gothic King Totila from his intentions to sack Rome. Belisarius convinced the king that he would effectively be committing a crime against humanity since his actions would destroy all evidence of mankind’s past ingenuity for future

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377 Quinto Settimo Fiorente Tertulliano (160-220 AC) was the first Christian apologist to express opposition to the pagan past and its heretics. Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 85.
378 Ibid. P. 47.
379 Ibid. P. 47.
382 Ibid. P. 88.
generations. He is reported by Procopius, the historian who accompanied him during the Gothic War, to have written, *[sarebbe] un delitto contro l’umanità di ogni tempo, perché toglierrebbe agli uomini del passato la memoria del loro ingegno e a quelli del future la vista di tali opere.*\(^{383}\) His statement and attitude was groundbreaking as it both raised awareness at the time of the importance of cultural heritage and anticipated future legislation regarding the guardianship of this for the sake of posterity. In summary, these attempts to recognize and protect antiquities, or what might be identified in the contemporary era as cultural heritage, by enlightened individuals were stepping stones, however small, towards a fully-fledged legislative structure.

The later centuries of the Middle Ages saw a renewed desire to commemorate and protect the classical heritage. The defilement and despoliation of ancient buildings continued but often the popes inadvertently paved the way for the preservation of cultural wealth. They frequently gave buildings to the wealthy but only if they guaranteed to maintain and restore them. In addition, an important contribution in the late Middle Ages to the safeguarding, protection and continuity of the classical past was provided by the *scriptoria* in monasteries, convents and medieval courts. A primary example of this was the court of Charlemagne (742-814 AD) in Aquitaine. The Carolingian period is considered by many historians to be an early Renaissance and the collection and translation of Greek and Roman literary works by the *scriptorium* of this court was a foretaste of the humanism of the later more famous Renaissance in Italy. Furthermore, when Charlemagne became Holy Roman Emperor he appointed his future biographer Abbot Eginard (770-840 AD) as head of the guardianship and conservation of monuments in his empire.\(^{384}\) This era saw a rebirth of classicism in all areas of the arts and a fervour that unfortunately meant further desecration of ancient monuments as artists sought original materials not only as models but also for construction purposes.

\(^{383}\) ‘[This would be] a crime against humanity for all time because it would destroy the legacy of the talents of men of the past and no record would be visible for future generations.’ My translation from the Italian translation by Pontani of Procopius. Procopio di Cesarea, "La Guerra Gotica. ,” ed. F.M. Pontani (Roma 1974). III, 22.

\(^{384}\) Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 89.
However, apart from these isolated examples, the Medieval period until the era of the Communes in the twelfth century is characterised by the progressive disappearance of any form of overt legislation for the safeguard or conservation of monuments and other works of art from the past apart from those that were on Church property and thus covered by the Edict of Maggioranus mentioned above. It could be said, therefore, that legislation for cultural patrimony lay quasi dormant for the best part of eight hundred years.385

Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the notion of civic pride appeared in the city-states in Italy; that is, the idea that the appearance of the city was an important reflection of a good civic life. Public architecture (town halls, churches and so on), for example, was a symbol of civic identity as well as a peaceful community and, therefore, a common asset to protect and value.386 This was also an expression of the notion that monuments belonged to the entire community. Documents and legislation controlling building works and protecting and conserving monuments begin to appear in this period.387 Paradoxically, monuments and ancient ruins were the focus of artists visiting Rome from all over Europe and it became a centre for the formation of a new aesthetic, yet the systematic destruction nevertheless continued unabated. Petrarch in a famous letter to Cola Di Rienzo lamented this state of affairs commenting, Così poco a poco le rovine stesse se ne vanno, così se ne vanno ingenti testimonianze della grandezza degli antiche.388

Although scarce attention was given to the protection of cultural heritage in the Medieval period in Italy, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were characterised by a new awareness of cultural heritage created by the political and cultural stance taken by the popes in Rome. In this city the papacy used the image of Ancient Rome to reinforce its spiritual and secular supremacy thus creating a symbolic link between the grandeur of Imperial Rome and the strength of Christianity.389 The myth of

Ancient Rome reinforced that of the new Christian city. Classicism became a buzzword and there was renewed interest and concern, however embryonic, for continuity and, therefore, the protection and conservation of cultural heritage. New building initiatives, however, outshone protection. The desire for new urban spaces meant demolition to make way for the new classical or antique style. Examples are the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, the town of Pienza and the Piazza della Signoria in Florence.

The new awareness coincided with the increase in art acquisitions both by private collectors and also the popes themselves. Early papal legislation focused on establishing a definition of cultural goods and stressed the necessity for the protection, conservation and management of ancient monuments as well as forbidding the removal of artworks from churches. These laws indicate that the Church was beginning to focus on the value of its artworks. Papal objectives were to transform Rome into a second Imperial city taking inspiration from ancient Rome and this approach was manifested in a change of attitude towards the urban fabric of the city. Certainly the desire to emphasize the strength and prestige of papal authority by making symbolic comparisons with the Ancient World was politically motivated. This period, therefore, saw a burst of activity linked to cultural heritage and particularly the extensive development of regulations through the issuing of a series of Papal edicts and bolle pontificie or ‘papal bulls’, for the protection of classical monuments; papal initiatives that would serve as examples for other city-states across the peninsula.

A brief overview of this activity follows and is examined in detail in Chapter Four when the relationship between State and Vatican legislation in relation to cultural heritage is examined. The first hints at planned restoration can be seen in the pontificate of the Neapolitan Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) with restoration works at two important churches in Rome, Santi Apostoli and San Pietro in Vincoli. Pope Martin V (1417-1431) developed important regulations under the Papal Bull Etsi de

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390 Ancient Rome would be used again by the Fascists as an example. This has been discussed in Chapter One of this thesis.
cunctarum (1425) to protect cultural heritage. His major contribution was the creation of the magistri viarum or ‘street magistrates’ employed to oversee the maintenance of the city, resolve any related problems and prevent the removal of cultural assets from ancient sites and churches. Subsequent popes were more and more attentive to policy development related to cultural wealth. Nicholas V (1447-1455), who followed Pope Martin V, instigated a revamp of the urban structure of the city and protection of its ancient ruins. One of the first great patrons of the Renaissance, he also promoted many public works and founded the nucleus of the Vatican Library. Pope Pius II (1458-1464), the Piccolomini pope was responsible for the Papal Bull Cum alman nostrum urbem (1462) that banned the indiscriminate demolition of ancient buildings as well as the appropriation of marbles for the construction of new buildings.

It was his successor Pope Sixtus IV in 1471 who can finally be credited with the rich and wide ranging program of initiatives aimed at preserving cultural heritage. Between 1474 and 1486 he set in place a series of projects aimed at the beautification of Rome, the restoration of ancient Roman monuments and early Christian churches, as well as the improvement of the city’s infrastructure. He initiated the practice of employing experts to manage heritage projects so that artists and architects were given positions of importance. Perhaps the first example of a program explicitly aimed at the protection of cultural heritage was his sponsorship of the construction of libraries for the conservation of ancient manuscripts. Sixtus IV focused in particular on an appreciation of the artistic patrimony of Rome during the Imperial period. He donated several statues from the Lateran palaces to the Roman people. These were set up in the Campidoglio and formed the nucleus of what today are the Capitoline museums. This collection and public exhibition had two objectives. The first was to be a statement or declaration that the popes were the politico-cultural heirs to the Roman Empire and the second was a declaration of papal monopoly on the increasing trade in antiquities. Two important papal bulls of

this period were the *Cum provida Sanctorum Patrum decrete* (1474) that placed limitations on private enterprise imposing a papal monopoly on the traffic of antiquities and an update of the *Etsi de cunctarum civitatum* (1480) reinforcing the role of the *magistri viarum* created by Pope Martin. A further papal bull from the same Pope, the *Cum provida*, prohibited the removal of any work of art from churches.397

However, it was the brilliant administrator and financial genius Pope Julius II (1503-1513), nephew of Sixtus, who was responsible for the most wide-ranging and ambitious urban reform in Rome, the *renovatio urbis*.398 The specific objective of this reform was to embellish the city with great works of art and architecture and restore the Papal State to its former grandeur and prestige. This translated into the reconstitution of the Papal State into the form it would retain for the next four centuries. His legacy was not so much the protection of cultural heritage, since in fact he pulled down the old St Peters to make way for the new, but more a recognition of its political power.399 During his papacy the nucleus of the Vatican museums was formed through his personal sculpture collection. As Bazin has commented, the creation of both the Vatican library and the Capitoline Museums was more of a political move than a declaration of museological intentions.400 In this, the age of humanism, an awareness of cultural heritage, the new patronage of the arts and the birth of private art collections were all closely interwoven.401 Therefore, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the protection of heritage became closely linked to developments in art historiography, the machinations of the antiquities market and art collecting.402

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399 He was also the first to undertake archaeological excavations at Tivoli and also in Rome of Nero’s residence the Domus Aurea. It was during his papacy that the Belvedere torso, the Apollo, the Venus Felix, the Hermes and the Laocoonte (now in the Vatican collections) were discovered.
400 Bazin, (1967), op.cit. P. 49.
Pope Leo X (1513-1521) who succeeded Julius II, extended the definition of cultural patrimony to include painting, sculpture and other objects. In 1515 he appointed the artist Raphael Sanzio to the position of praefectus marmorum et lapidorum or the first Director General of Art, Curator of the Antiquities of Rome.\(^{403}\) His brief was the protection and conservation of the patrimony of the Church and his appointment was a recognition of the new social status of intellectuals able to interpret and put into practice the ideas and edicts of those in power.\(^{404}\) The past was to be considered no longer a source for looting items but a valuable model for the present. His legacy is the impassioned appeal he made in a letter to Pope Leo regarding the destruction of the past that signals an emerging sense of the need to preserve the past and an awareness of cultural heritage as a common right and not just belonging to the elite.\(^{405}\) It had a profound and long term effect on the debate, still relevant today in Italy, concerning the meaning of culture and the merit of the conservation of heritage. After Raphael the past was seen less as a ‘territory’ to destroy and appropriate but rather something to discover, value, emulate and protect. Consequently all papal bulls, edicts and other provisions published by the Roman Curia\(^{406}\) expressed a new concern regarding the decision about what exactly constituted grounds for protection, a debate that resonates in the contemporary context of cultural heritage policy. This was also relevant in the immediate years after Unification when decisions, motivated by the financial concerns of the new government, had to be made about prioritising what should be conserved.\(^{407}\)

Further initiatives to protect cultural heritage can be seen during the Farnese papacy when Pope Paul III (1534-1549) with his hidden agenda of asserting power and developing prestige began restoration works on a series of monuments and public spaces such as the Campidoglio. He also created the position of Commissariato alle Antichità or ‘Commissioner of Antiquities’ considered to be the first


\(^{405}\) F.P. Di Teodoro, Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la Lettera a Leone X. (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1994).

\(^{406}\) The Roman Curia is the complex group of administrative bodies of the Holy See that assists the pope in his pastoral capacity. Included amongst these bodies is the Commissione per i beni culturali della Chiesa or ‘Commission for the Cultural Wealth of the Church’. Council of Europe/ERICarts, "Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Country Profile Holy See," (2011). P. 7.

Superintendency of cultural patrimony a position that absorbed the functions of the former *magistri viarum*.\(^{408}\)

The papal bull of Gregory XIII (1572-1585), *Quae publice utilia* (1574), introduced measures against the expropriation of antiquities, introduced compensation for owners in the restoration of the old quarters of the city as well as regulations for the compulsory reconstruction of property in danger of collapse. These edicts were also the first to include private property considered to be of heritage value as well as to emphasize the importance of this for the collective good rather than the enjoyment of private individuals. This initiative was strengthened by the later measures of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1611) and of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1658).\(^{409}\) Under the pontificate of Alexander VII, the Chigi pope (1655-1667), norms for the protection of cultural wealth were improved and more importantly widened to include antiquities in private collections as well as to impose penalties that extended to imprisonment for the private sale of these.\(^{410}\)

Whilst there was a flurry of activity in a revitalised Rome under the popes, in other city-states there was also recognition of the fragility of cultural patrimony and the necessity to take action to preserve this. Generally, the first norms for the protection of heritage in other parts of the peninsula have their origins in the eighteenth century with the exception of Tuscany (that, at that time, comprised the Republics of Florence and Siena) whose legislation in this regard was aligned with that of the papacy in Rome and particularly in relation to the control of the movement of ancient and contemporary works of art.\(^{411}\)

In summary, it cannot be said that these individual initiatives spanning four centuries provided fundamental and durable legislation for the protection of cultural wealth or


\(^{410}\) Emiliani, (1978), op.cit.

\(^{411}\) Examples of legislation in Tuscany are: the creation of the Accademia, the development of customs laws, the creation of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure by Duke Ferdinand I for conservation purposes, and Cosimo I’s law against the removal of any part of a building that was linked to the public memory – a law that anticipated the notion of civic identity.
that they were particularly effective in preventing the destruction and theft of antiquities. They are, however, an indication that even in this fledgling form there was a growing awareness of the importance of cultural patrimony and that protection of this heritage needed to be addressed. The situation in reality remained precarious and full of paradoxes until the nineteenth century although these are probably visible only from the perspective of twentieth and twenty-first century sensibilities towards heritage as well as towards the science and regulation of heritage conservation. It was only after the Napoleonic invasion that legislation specifically related to the protection of cultural wealth really had any lasting effect.

In the period spanning the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a considerable increase in the number of edicts issued (often by influential cardinals in the Curia) related to the protection of cultural wealth. These were also more precise, detailed and wide ranging in terms of what should be protected. The Papacy focused mainly on safeguarding any excavation work prohibiting the destruction of materials, arbitrary excavations or any type of commercial exploitation of finds.\(^{412}\) This was a sign of a growing awareness of the aesthetic and economic value of cultural patrimony and its international prestige. The legislation in this period demonstrates, as Belfiore argues, ‘a more precise formulation and widening of boundaries’.\(^{413}\)

Some of the important initiatives in this period were those of Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) and Cardinal Alexander Albani (1692-1779) whose edict of 1733 was the first aimed at creating a taxonomy of cultural patrimony and dividing cultural assets into various categories. It was particularly important also for its recognition that cultural wealth was an economic asset that could be deployed as a drawcard for tourists.\(^{414}\)

Two key events in the eighteenth century, however, were major turning points in the landscape of cultural heritage policy in Italy: the Grand Tour and the Napoleonic

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\(^{412}\) Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2002), op.cit.
invasion. The consequences of these events would provide the impetus for a serious development of cultural heritage awareness and legislation in the centuries to come.

Firstly, the Grand Tour had a considerable influence on a growing awareness of the importance to preserve cultural heritage in Italy in this era. Whilst the phenomenon of the Grand Tour has already been examined extensively in Chapter One, it is important to make further comment here due to the nature of the activity of the Grand Tourists related to cultural patrimony. Although the Grand Tour had its origins in the sixteenth century, it was in the eighteenth century that it reached the height of its popularity with increasing numbers of visitors arriving in Italy from all over Europe in search of an aesthetic experience with a particular focus on Rome. This was in part due to the number of archaeological discoveries that had been made in this city with increasingly scientific approaches to excavations and particularly with the discoveries of Paestum, Pompeii and Herculaneum. Such discoveries changed the way the Ancient World was viewed and contributed to changing aesthetic tastes during the period of the Enlightenment.

Italy, with its cities housing outstanding artworks, its magnificent collections of Greek and Roman antiquities and its recently discovered archaeological sites was the destination par excellence for the Grand Tourists. Compared to previous centuries the visitors were no longer either pilgrims or small groups of intellectuals but were cultured international visitors aware of the social role (and the value) of artworks and antiquities. The effect of this was to increase the lucrative market for art and especially antiquities. Whereas in previous centuries buildings had been stripped and artworks appropriated for the Italian elite, now this practise was taken up by visitors wanting souvenirs or others wanting art and antiquities to embellish their collections at home and in particular in England. A notable example of this was the collection of the British aristocrat, Charles Townley, made during three Grand Tours as well through works sent to him by Roman art dealers. His collection would form the nucleus of the collection of classical statuary in the British Museum.415

One of the justifications by the English to legitimize the removal of artworks from Italy was the assertion that the Italian people were no longer worthy of their cultural past due to their provincialism.\(^{416}\) Indeed, the attitude that Italians were incapable of caring for their cultural heritage prevailed up to the 1970s with some English travel agencies advertising tours to Italy with slogans such as ‘Visit Italy before the Italians destroy it’.\(^{417}\) Many of the new archaeological excavations undertaken in the eighteenth century were financed by wealthy British collectors whose principle purpose was to increase their collections.\(^{418}\) Ironically it was two international visitors, the celebrated German writer Goethe (1749-1832) and the equally celebrated French art critic and archaeologist Antoine-Chrisostome Quatremère de Quincy (1775-1849) who would write about both the disgraceful ‘theft’ and the dangers of the dispersion of Italian cultural patrimony.\(^{419}\) These comments triggered a new awareness and concern amongst the elite in Italy of the value of cultural patrimony and the persistent drain of this from the territory so much so that at the beginning of the nineteenth century serious and well-articulated provisions for its safeguard were put into place at least by the Papal States.

The second key event that would have long term consequences for the recognition of the value of cultural patrimony and the resulting development of well articulated policies was the Napoleonic campaign in Italy in 1796 and the subsequent occupation of Rome in 1798.\(^{420}\) A passionate lover of the arts, Napoleon used concessions exacted in the various peace treaties from the Armistice of Bologna in 1796 to the Tolentino and Campoformio Accords in 1797 to systematically remove many key works of art from Italy as spoils of war in so-called compensation for French war expenses.\(^{421}\) No amount of protest from Italian intellectuals such as the sculptor Antonio Canova and again Quatremère de Quincy would stem this flow. It

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\(^{417}\) Toscano, (1999), op.cit. P. 17.
\(^{421}\) Napoleon wrote to the French Directorate about the *buon raccolto* or ‘great collection’ he had ‘acquired’ in Italy for France. This comprised many pieces from Ravenna, Rimini, Venice, Pesaro as well as about a hundred artworks from the Vatican and manuscripts, coins, rare texts. He also ‘acquired’ pieces from the Capitoline and Quirinale collections, the private collections of aristocratic families and suppressed religious institutions; Curzi, (2004), op.cit. P. 71-72; A. Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa*. (Milano: Mondadori, 2001). P. 67.
was only between 1815 and 1816 after Napoleon’s defeat and exile that many of these artworks were returned.\footnote{Many Italian artworks still remain in France. A notable example is the Veronese ‘Nozze di Cana’ still located in the Louvre.} This cultural spoliation triggered the need for strong legislation capable of stemming the dispersion of Italy’s artistic patrimony as well as providing measures to prevent this happening again. The event also triggered a greater awareness that works of art and their historical origin should not be separated. Furthermore, it sharpened the Italian realisation of the fragility of their cultural heritage.

Only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, did the Vatican first initiate serious systematic measures to protect its cultural wealth. Pius VII issued an important Chirograph in 1802 and appointed renowned sculptor Canova as Inspector General of Fine Arts to implement papal policies.\footnote{Emiliani, (1978), op.cit. P.11; Levi, (2008), op.cit. P. 109.} Canova managed to secure the return of most of the stolen art works from France.\footnote{After the defeat of Napoleon and the Treaty of Paris in 1815 the first semblance of an international agreement for the protection of cultural patrimony was proposed as other European countries such as Spain and the Low Countries met in Paris to try to retrieve artworks removed during the French occupation. Volpe, (2005), op.cit. P. 41.} In 1820 the edict of Cardinal Pacca established new regulatory measures for cultural patrimony and further consolidated the Vatican’s management structures of its cultural wealth.\footnote{Emiliani, (1978), op.cit. Pp. 130-145.} Many of the city-states in pre-unified Italy then followed the lead of the Papal States in developing measures to secure their cultural heritage.\footnote{Particularly vigilant were the Grand Duchy of Florence, the Kingdom of Naples, the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Republic of Venice.} Both the Chirograph and the Pacca Edict laid the foundations for the first durable legislation for the protection of national cultural heritage passed by the Italian government in 1902.\footnote{Levi, (2008), op.cit. P. 108.}

It was, therefore, in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century under the papacy of Pius VII that a strengthening of resolve to protect cultural heritage in Italy was made and that decisive policies drawn up. Key figures in the renewed interest in cultural heritage were Abbot Carlo Fea (1756-1836) and Cardinal Doria Pamphilj Landi.\footnote{Curzi, (2004), op.cit. Pp. 52-53.} The first, the archaeologist Fea, appointed Commissioner of Antiquities and Excavations by the Curia, was responsible for the introduction of scientific
methods in excavations and the systematic organisation of archaeological sites as well as for the documentation of all previous attempts towards cultural policy. His main contribution was the raising of awareness of works of art as public assets that not only had long term importance for generations to come but were also an important economic asset to attract artists and visitors. As Bottari and Pizzicannella comment,

...il riconoscimento dell’oggetto d’arte come bene pubblico … è mossa da un duplice intento: da un lato stringere la comunità intorno ai beni in cui essa si riconosce, dall’altro perseguire un interesse economico, poiché un patrimonio ben conservato attira in città artisti e visitatori italiani e stranieri.

Fea’s view was avant-garde for the period and showed enormous foresight for the future development of cultural policy.

His innovative and progressive approach was reflected in the so-called Pamphilj Edict of 1802 drawn up by Cardinal Doria Pamphilj Landi under the papacy of Pius VII. This was the first papal decree related to cultural patrimony and would lay the foundations for subsequent papal legislation. Its importance lay in the wide-ranging regulations laid out that, in effect, summarised all prior significant papal bulls, edicts and other norms focussed on cultural heritage as well as the recognition of the economic importance of these. In addition, it was the first time that the Pontifical State’s jurisdiction over cultural heritage included the property of private individuals. This would be extended in the later Pacca Edict of 1820 to be examined below. Important innovations in the Pamphilj Edict were the extension of the definition of cultural assets to include both moveable and immovable heritage, the prohibition of the exportation of works of art and the imposition of penalties for this illegal activity. The Edict also proposed the creation of a fund to purchase

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430 ‘... the recognition of artworks as a public asset … had a double objective: on the one hand it was a way to unite the community around a heritage which it could relate to and the other it was a way to pursue its economic value since a well preserved heritage attracts artists and both Italian and international visitors’. My Translation from Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 122.
431 Curzi, (2004), op.cit. Appendix VI.
433 Ibid.
artworks. Other eminent contributors to this Edict were Quatremère de Quincy and Canova in his role as Inspector General of the Arts and Antiquities.

Four years after the return of artworks from France, Pope Pius VII again gave further impetus to policies related to cultural heritage with the Pacca Edict of 7 April 1820. This was of the greatest importance for future cultural policy in Italy as it was the first comprehensive body of law to regulate cultural patrimony in the Peninsula and became an important frame of reference and model for all future legislation in the cultural heritage sector. It also marked a move away from scholarship based on antiquarianism to a focus on the history of art in which monuments and artworks were seen as linked to universal socio-cultural values heralded by the Enlightenment. The Edict was inspired by issues raised by Canova in his political mission to France and was innovative because of its rigorous administrative plan for the protection of cultural heritage. It stressed the inherent problems of trying to the safeguard cultural wealth both within and outside of the Papal States.

The Edict made several important contributions. It created norms to regulate the licences for the excavation of antiquities that, despite past attempts, was still out of the control of authorities. It introduced sanctions and heavy fines to control the exportation of antiquities and fine artworks. It established guidelines, even if rudimentary, for the creation of catalogues of all artworks that were to be under the strict control of the Vatican and updated regularly. These anticipated modern criteria for cataloguing systems. It also proposed the creation of a structure of administrative bodies appointed to guarantee the protection of cultural heritage through a permanent committee based in Rome with representatives across the peninsula in the other cities within the domain of the Papal States. Although the Pacca Edict was never fully implemented due to the nature of the political structure in Italy at that time with the existence of the city-states, it became the model for these city-states in planning their political strategies in the cultural heritage sector and would also serve as a

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436 Italy at that time was a series of city-states with diverse laws that were culturally and regionally specific.
model after Unification in 1861. Cultural policy in the remainder of the nineteenth century in the Papal States was focussed on fine-tuning the Pacca Edict.

The Papal States, therefore, were at the forefront of policy development for the protection of cultural heritage and influential across the Peninsula. This was particularly so due to the increasing importance of Rome as the focus of the Papacy and as the centre of the late Renaissance so that many artists and international visitors, especially those on the Grand Tour, converged here. From the late Renaissance onwards other city-states in pre-unified Italy followed the model of the Papal States in developing cultural heritage policy, especially those in Tuscany, each adapting the Papal legislation to suit their own specific needs and cultural traditions. This was even more marked in the nineteenth century with release of the Pacca Edict that had a ripple effect throughout the peninsula as different aspects of these norms were adapted in line with the respective needs of each city-state. Indeed, many of these norms remained valid in the individual regions even after Unification in 1861 and even until the first Law for the protection of cultural heritage to encompass all the territory of the new Italian State was passed in 1902 (L.185/1902).

Mention has already been made of the cultural policies developed in city states in Tuscany (mainly those of Florence and Siena) and a short examination of the policies developed by the Grand-Duchy of Florence follows due to their relevance for this thesis. This city-state had tended to align its cultural policies with those of the Papal States principally since the seventeenth century despite differences in the types of artefacts requiring protection, that is, the wealth of Renaissance architecture, sculpture and paintings. Of particular importance for the development of modern principles for the protection of cultural wealth and approaches to the meaning of cultural heritage for posterity was the donation in 1737 of the enormous Medici collection of artworks accumulated over three centuries to the city of Florence by the last of the Medici dynasty, Anna Maria Ludovica. Her legacy was her stipulation that this collection was for the educational benefit and enjoyment of the public as well as

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439 See footnote 411, p. 73.
to attract foreign visitors. A further stipulation was that this collection was to remain in Florence and was never to be sold. These fundamental principles laid down in the eighteenth century have informed the discipline of cultural heritage in Italy in recent decades and particularly in the areas of valorisation, conservation and protection.440

As can be seen today, this collection is a major drawcard for heritage tourism and, therefore, an important economic resource for the city of Florence and the Italian State.

Similar initiatives were taken in other city-states in Italy during this period. In the Kingdom of Naples legislative measures were put in place under the Bourbon King Charles VII (1716-1788) to safeguard excavation work in Pompeii and in Herculaneum and especially to prevent the wholesale removal of antiquities.441 His son and successor King Ferdinand I (1751-1825) continued his father’s policies of protecting cultural patrimony. Important initiatives were the creation of the Service for the Protection of Monuments in 1778 and restoration and maintenance work at the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum in 1822.442 In the same year and following the lead of the Pacca Edict, he created a Commission for Antiquities and Fine Arts whose mandate was to select artworks from Pompeii and Herculaneum to be kept in the Palace of Capodimonte. This reflected the enlightened ideas of the period in terms of cultural wealth and also anticipated ideas of conservation and protection of cultural heritage.443

In the Kingdom of Sardinia, a state that had never before had any legislation for the protection of cultural wealth, King Carlo Alberto set up a Junta for the Antiquities and Fine Arts in 1822.444 This was a type of commission consisting of a group of eminent academics with a mainly advisory function. A similar type of commission was set up in the region of Valle d’Aosta in 1846. In Genova a Conservation

441 On his return to Spain to take the throne as Charles III he left all personal artworks in Italy demonstrating the aesthetics of an enlightened intellectual who did not see works of art as personal property but belonging to the Italian public. Indeed, he began construction of the Palace of Capodimonte to be purpose built as a gallery to house the collection donated to him by his mother Elizabeth Farnese in 1734. This collection forms the nucleus of what is now one of the richest public art galleries in the world.
Commission was set up in 1858 whose responsibility was to catalogue the architecture of the city and surrounding territory and that, in 1859 established a set of regulations for the conservation of ancient monuments, a project that would be an important model after Unification. During the nineteenth century in the Kingdom of Lombardy and the Veneto under Austrian domination the government recognised the need for a wide-ranging systematic structure for the protection of monuments and therefore created a Commission in 1850 charged with drawing up a catalogue of heritage artefacts and investigating the state of conservation of all monuments. In 1853 this Commission laid out a program for the nomination and responsibilities of conservators whose role was to guarantee the protection of heritage across the territory. This innovative organisational model would inspire legislation in post-unified Italy.445

The Venetian Republic was particular in its approach to its cultural patrimony given that its strong international trading links meant the ‘acquisition’, principally through looting from the beginning of the twelfth century onwards, of an conspicuous collection of prestigious artefacts that became property of the State and, therefore, for the people and their common good.446 One method of retaining control of this, especially in a political system that was focussed on the State and not on individual wealth, was to devise a system of detailed systematic inventories, again a system that is a fundamental principle of contemporary approaches to the knowledge and conservation of cultural heritage.447 In 1771 The Council of Ten, the principle administrative body of the Republic, created the first institution for the protection of cultural wealth, whose director, following the practice already established by the Papal States, was an eminent scholar or artist with expertise in the field of the arts. His main responsibilities were to review the inventories periodically to check correspondence between the information in the catalogues and the artefacts, to check the state of conservation and to initiate any restoration works where required, a practice aimed at preventing any sale or illegal export of these artefacts.

Briefly, it can be seen that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an increase in
the awareness of the value of cultural patrimony across the Peninsula in a pre-unified
Italy as well as the creation of corresponding legislation and commissions to protect
this, many following the model of the Papal States. Furthermore, many of these
initiatives, although different in each city-state, would provide a foundation that
would underpin future legislation for cultural patrimony in the new unified Italy.

Following full Unification in 1870 the body of legislation developed in pre-unified
Italy was absorbed by the new Italian State and more or less unchanged. Most likely
cultural heritage policy was not high on the agenda of the new government.
However, it should be noted that in 1872 there was an awareness of the lack of a
comprehensive national legislation on cultural patrimony.448 However, it was not
until 1902, thirty years after Unification that the first national law for the protection
of cultural heritage was passed (L.185/1902) followed by the so-called Rosadi-Rava
Law in 1909 (L.364/1909).449 A discussion of this and subsequent legislation will be
examined in the next chapter.

In summary, this chapter has provided a historical overview of the development of
cultural heritage policy in Italy from early recognition of the importance of this
sector in Ancient Rome until the end of the nineteenth century in early post
Unification politics. This examination has shown the relationship between the
nation’s political history and its cultural policy development and, therefore, provides
a backdrop to later chapters that examine contemporary cultural heritage policy and
particularly the relationship between the Vatican and the State. The chapter has
identified three major themes unfolding over the period examined.

Firstly, whilst there were sporadic attempts to address concerns about the protection
of cultural wealth, the main impetus in the Classical and post Classical periods came
mainly from a few enlightened individuals. Their vision was ground breaking in
raising awareness of the importance of cultural heritage and in anticipating future
legislation regarding the protection of this for the sake of posterity.

Secondly, the major impetus for the development of cultural heritage policies in later centuries can be traced to politics in the Papal States rather than to those in any of the other city-states that mainly followed models created by the popes for Rome in particular. Three main bodies of legislation were particularly important and would serve as models for contemporary legislation; the papal bulls *Cum alman nostram urbem* of 1462 and *Cum provida* of 1474 as well as the Pacca Edict of 1820. This last was used as a model by many city-states. The predominant characteristic of policy development was the *protezione* or ‘protection’ of cultural assets. An awareness of the need for an increasingly more specific and well-articulated legislation was closely related to the realisation that priceless artefacts were disappearing from the Peninsula either legally or illegally through collectors of antiquities, particularly during the Grand Tour, or later as spoils of war as in the case of the Napoleonic and Austrian campaigns.

Finally, the growing awareness of the importance of cultural heritage and, therefore, the need for stable, consistent and enduring legislation is related not only to the realisation of the value of cultural patrimony for future generations but also the economic value of this to the State in terms of attracting international visitors.
Chapter 3: Cultural Heritage Policy and the Italian State

It is a gigantic cultural warehouse.\textsuperscript{450}

The previous chapter focussed on the embryonic and, as demonstrated, quite spasmodic evolution of cultural heritage policy in Italy. This chapter provides a historical overview of the development of cultural heritage policy in the nation from a contemporary perspective and specifically from Unification in 1861 until the present day. Particular focus is given to the establishment of stable and consistent legislation applicable to the whole territory as well as to the increasingly explicit nexus of heritage, tourism and economic benefits. Three main periods of policy development will be examined: the post-Unification years until the demise of Fascism, the post-war years until the 1970s, and the decades from the 1980s to the present day. The chapter investigates recent legal and administrative trends and debates within the sector that are of relevance to management policies of the sites examined in this thesis. The overview also examines the various tiers of government engaged in the administration of Italy’s cultural wealth and outlines their respective competencies as this is valuable for an understanding of the management of the sites examined in the case studies for this thesis.

Cultural heritage policy in unified Italy is characterised by three defining features. The first is the development of an increasingly complex body of legislation compared to previous centuries accompanied by several significant institutional programs of reform. This is due to the greater recognition of the unparalleled and multi-layered cultural assets held by the nation and the increasingly urgent need to manage and protect these as well as to provide conservation strategies. It is also pertinent for this thesis that, in Italy, \textit{tutela} or ‘guardianship’ became the principle focus of public policy development in the cultural sector\textsuperscript{451} due to the recognition of the economic importance of this ‘giant cultural warehouse’\textsuperscript{452} as well as the burden it

\textsuperscript{450} Romano, (1984), op.cit. P. 12.
\textsuperscript{451} Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2012), op.cit. P. 3.
\textsuperscript{452} Romano, (1984), op.cit. P. 12.
created for the taxpayer. Commentators have argued that the survival of so much heritage in Italy and, therefore, the strong focus on guardianship is linked to historical reasons such as the political structure prior to Unification, economic stagnation over centuries that meant a lack of funds to demolish old structures in order to build modern buildings and finally the conservative nature of the Catholic Church and the aristocracy.

A second defining feature of cultural heritage policy in Italy is the emergence of different stakeholders in the management of heritage as well as the movement of responsibilities for the sector from one ministerial portfolio to another culminating in the creation of a Ministry dedicated to this sector. The third feature is the changing cultural policy rationales and related debates with the growing recognition of the importance of the economic benefits of cultural heritage to the nation and to individual stakeholders. A further aspect to consider regarding developments in cultural heritage policy in Italy in the last century is the relationship between the State and the Catholic Church due to the changing political status of the latter after Unification. This will be examined in a separate chapter due to its complexity and also its specific relevance for this thesis.

The development of cultural policy in Italy after Unification was introduced briefly in the previous chapter. It was also noted that, prior to this, a dominant theme historically was an increasing awareness of the economic value of the nation’s cultural assets and that, therefore, the predominant focus of policy development was the protezione or ‘protection’ (later termed tutela or ‘guardianship’) of the nation’s cultural wealth. In the immediate post Unification period the new Italian state, preoccupied with other more pressing political matters, at first paid scarce attention to managing the nation’s vast cultural patrimony despite a growing debate and need for legislation. The tardy importance given to the sector meant that even by the beginning of the twentieth century Italy did not have a particularly strong cultural heritage policy or accompanying legislation. This factor would contribute to the ease with which the Fascist regime was later able to manipulate the situation to suit their

propaganda aims. Commentators have also remarked on the difficulties that the new government had in managing the new nation’s enormous heritage and also of deciding which Ministry was best suited to its administration in view of protection and conservation issues.455

Three options were available: the Ministero dell’Interno (hereafter Ministry of the Interior), the Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici (henceforth Ministry of Public Works) and the Minstero dell’Educazione Nazionale (hereafter Ministry of National Education). Initially administrative responsibilities were allocated to the Ministry of Public Works that could provide expertise for conservation works through its provincial departments of civil engineering but in 1865 the Belle Arti or ‘Fine Arts’ sector of the portfolio were removed to the Ministry of National Education due to the perceived connection between art and education. Conservation remained with Ministry of Public Works.456 After several departmental restructures within this ministry457 the department finally created to specifically manage cultural patrimony was the Direzione Generale degli Scavi e dei Monumenti (Directorate of Excavations and Monuments) later renamed the Direzione Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti (Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts).458 The fragmentation of responsibilities across different ministries as well as a lack of ministerial direction are predominant features of the management of cultural heritage in Italy and prevailed until the creation of one unified Ministry of Culture as late as 1975.

In the aftermath of Unification not only did the early government have difficulties in setting up an administrative framework for managing the new State’s cultural heritage but it also had difficulties in deciding what constituted national heritage and what was worthy of protection.459 Linked to this were also decisions about what form and what direction any legislation should take with a general consensus that it was more opportune to rely on the quite sophisticated corpus of laws already in place.460 Thus, legislative acts introduced in this early period were largely inspired by the pre-

456 This ministry was later renamed the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione or ‘Ministry of Education’.
Unification Pacca Edict of 1820. The focus, therefore, was again placed on the protection of heritage, and in particular the protection of cultural patrimony from private appropriation and trade on the art market. Measures were introduced to restrict any movement of property that was of cultural and historic interest.

However, it took forty years after Unification before the first reorganisation of cultural heritage policy was undertaken at a national level. Apart from the measures outlined above, the body of legislation remained more or less unchanged until as late as 1902\textsuperscript{461} when the first national law, the so-called Nasi Law\textsuperscript{462} (L.185/1902) for the protection of cultural heritage was passed. This was subsequently refined in the Rosadi/Rava Act of 1909 (L. 364/1909) entitled *Per le Antichità e le Belle Arti* or ‘Antiquities and Fine Arts.’\textsuperscript{463} Measures were introduced for the first time by this Act that were applicable to the whole territory for the protection of all objects of historical, artistic and archaeological interest irrespective of whether they were public or private property.\textsuperscript{464}

Early legislation continued to focus on the ‘protection’ of heritage.\textsuperscript{465} In this period the generic term *protezione* was replaced with the more specific term *tutela* or ‘guardianship’ and this remained a central feature of all subsequent cultural heritage policy and legislation until the 1990s.\textsuperscript{466} Indeed this premise, as one of the cornerstones of Italian cultural policy, together with its underlying concepts of the prevention of the dispersal of cultural artefacts has meant that Italy has one of the strictest regulatory structures in the world.\textsuperscript{467} Restrictions were put into place particularly for privately owned cultural artefacts; that is, privately owned assets considered to be of cultural significance for the national community as a whole, were subject to a series of regulations to control any movement of, or changes to, this property. The legislation also introduced measures to allow the State to intervene as a third party in any private sales of artworks considered to be of heritage value to the

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\textsuperscript{462} Named after the Minister at the time.
\textsuperscript{463} Volpe, (2005), op.cit. P. 77.
\textsuperscript{464} Rossano and Rossano, (2002), op.cit. P. 111.
\textsuperscript{465} Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2012), op.cit. P. 3.
\textsuperscript{466} Rossano and Rossano, (2002), op.cit. P. 117.
Italian people and to also purchase these if necessary. This was important given the growth of the art and antiquities market and the fear that much of the State’s cultural heritage owned by private concerns or individuals would leave Italy never to be recovered. It was also motivated by Rosadi’s metaphor that, la cava non dava più marmo or ‘the quarry has no more marble to give’, inferring that artistic genius was already extinct and that, therefore, it was imperative to preserve the past.

Another important feature of the legislation at the time and one that still persists today was the debate raised as to whether a centralised or decentralised model of administration should be adopted. The adoption of a ‘centralised yet dispersed’ model where the State resisted giving power to lower levels of government has been discussed by Belfiore who argues that communication and coordination between bureaucratic levels is poor and relationships often in conflict. Pinna argues that the decision to adopt the centralised management model was fundamental to the future development of heritage policy. He comments,

This centralised management resulted in the deliberate destruction of the symbolic and cultural significance of the heritage of various Italian communities, and emphasis was inevitably placed more on the material aspects of the objects, as distinct from their signification in any historical context. This then is how ‘heritage’ was transformed into ‘cultural assets’.

His view is particularly relevant for this thesis as he argues that the decision for centralisation determined that future policy decisions would place emphasis on the economic benefits of cultural heritage rather than the symbolic significance of heritage for specific communities. The decision was, therefore, the beginning of the particularly Italian notion of beni culturali or heritage seen as ‘assets’ that would be introduced in the legislation in the 1960s. This concept was clarified in the previous chapter. Furthermore, as Pinna also argues, the emphasis placed on heritage protection meant that it was privileged over public access to the heritage itself.

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469 Carta, (1999), op.cit. P. 56.
473 See Chapter Two, Pp. 61-63.
This has had implications for approaches to museum management in Italy as discussed in the Introduction in that Italian museums seem less interested in visitors and are less ‘user oriented’ than their European and American counterparts.\(^{475}\)

The Rosadi/Rava legislation was also responsible for the creation of the administrative bodies located throughout the territory called the *Sopraintendenze* (hereafter Superintendencies) specifically set up to manage monuments, archaeological sites and art galleries.\(^{476}\) These bodies still function today at the local level for State owned sites. In addition, importance was given in the legislation to archaeological research as well as to the creation of a systematic and uniform inventory following the lead of the Venetian Republic mentioned in Chapter Two.\(^{477}\) As a result the first list of heritage monuments in Italy was published. In the ensuing years further legislation was mainly aimed at fine-tuning the various provisions laid down in the Rosadi/Rava Act. An important amendment was passed in 1922 under the new Minister, Benedetto Croce, who introduced the first law for the protection of the environment as cultural heritage.\(^{478}\)

The subsequent twenty-year period of Fascism from 1922 to 1943 was an extremely important era in the development of cultural policy and legislation in Italy, ironically because innovative and far-sighted provisions were made by a repressive dictatorship.\(^{479}\) Reference has already been made in Chapter One as to the reasons for the Fascist preoccupation with cultural heritage and in particular the privileging of the Renaissance. Economic exploitation of Italy’s rich cultural heritage was never the focus for the Regime. Instead, it used a variety of cultural initiatives to engage with the masses and to strategically create opportunities for propaganda purposes. As Doumanis has commented,

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\(^{475}\) Belfiore argues that this point of view may no longer be as relevant since there have been changes in the last decade to make museums more user friendly so as to emulate British and American didactic approaches to museum management. Belfiore, (2006), op.cit. P. 242, Footnote 123.


\(^{477}\) These inventories, drawn up by noted academics, historians and archaeologists of the period, are now held in the Uffizi Archives in Florence. They number about 200,000 spanning a period of about eighty years from 1892 onwards. Ironically they themselves have become part of Italy’s cultural patrimony.


\(^{479}\) Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2012), op.cit. P. 3.
Mussolini sought to develop a national culture that engaged directly with the masses, that appealed to their sensibilities and which they might find emotionally uplifting. … Mussolini’s government was demonstrably incompetent, but where it showed considerable ingenuity was in recognising the importance of culture in politics.480

The Fascist era is, therefore, characterised by extensive and wide-ranging legislative activity in the sector of cultural heritage that is underpinned by a focus on the civic function of culture, a notion that would remain important in subsequent cultural policy development in Italy.481 Under the twenty years of Fascist domination between the 1920s and 1940s, Italy became one of the first countries to establish a ministry dedicated solely to the cultural sector: the Ministero della Cultura Popolare (also called the Minculpop) or the ‘Ministry for Popular Culture’.482 Commentators widely agree that the legislation drawn up under the Fascist Regime, although linked to ideological propaganda, was innovative and farsighted in its understanding of the importance of institutionalising the nation’s cultural heritage and also the role that the State should take in this regard.483 This was even more relevant given that the nation had no encompassing cultural policies prior to Fascist interventions.484 Specific laws passed by the Italian Parliament in 1939 (L.1089/1939, and L.1042/1939) that regulated the guardianship of cultural patrimony and also the landscape, provided the foundation for current legislation.485 These laws remained substantially unchanged until 1975.486 The most crucial of these was Law 1089, Tutela delle Cose di Interesse Artistico e Storico, or ‘Guardianship of Items of Artistic and Historic Interest’. This was the so-called Bottai Law487 that established guiding principles still fundamental to heritage policy today.488 Commentators on the cultural sector agree that this was the most influential piece of legislation developed by the Fascist Regime and that this law represents Italy’s first fully fledged cultural

487 Named after Giuseppe Bottai, Minister of National Education from 1936 to 1943 during the Fascist period.
strategy.\textsuperscript{489} As Belfiore observes, the depth and breadth of this law was such that its influence can still be seen in the objectives laid out in the 1999 \textit{Testo Unico} that will be discussed below.\textsuperscript{490} Indeed, the Bottai Law was only replaced in 2004 by the current law the \textit{Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio} (L.42/2004) or ‘Code of Cultural Assets and the Landscape’. Antonio Paolucci,\textsuperscript{491} former Minister of Culture, has remarked on the strength of the Bottai Law,

\begin{quote}
La legge Bottai, la mitica 1089 del 1939, era e resta un capolavoro di civiltà e sapienza giuridica. Era impossibile distruggerla, era impossibile modificarla. … È simile a un ponte, solido e perfettamente costruito, che attraversa un fiume che non c’è più perché ha mutato corso.\textsuperscript{492}
\end{quote}

The main innovations of the Bottai reform were to develop a coherent and wide-ranging framework that unified all prior attempts at cultural heritage legislation. It provided an umbrella to envelope all areas of heritage protection and it provided for the setting up of a support body, the Council of Education, Science and the Arts. The Superintendencies were restructured and a well articulated policy statement was formulated regarding the social role of cultural heritage for the nation. Cultural heritage was viewed as the link between the Italian State and its people, that is, a fundamental expression of the identity of the nation.\textsuperscript{493} Responsibilities for heritage protection under this law were allocated to the \textit{Ministero dell’Educazione Nazionale} (Ministry of National Education) that was subsequently renamed simply the \textit{Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione} (hereafter Ministry of Education).

Even after the demise of Fascism, key cultural competencies relating to the guardianship/protection of heritage, freedom of artistic expression, and the promotion of culture developed by the Regime were retained, split between different ministries and incorporated into the new Italian Constitution of the Italian Republic.

\textsuperscript{490} Belfiore, (2006), op.cit. P. 250.
\textsuperscript{491} As mentioned previously Paolucci was also the former Director of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and is currently Director of the Vatican Museums.
\textsuperscript{492} ‘The Bottai legislation, the mythical Law 1089 of 1939, was and is a masterpiece of civilisation and of legal wisdom. It was impossible to modify it or to destroy it. … It is like a bridge, solid and perfectly constructed that crosses a river no longer there because its course has changed’. My translation cited in Baldacci, (2004), op.cit. P. 9.
in 1947 (Articles 9, 21, and 33). The first two competencies were taken up as important goals whilst the third remained dormant for some years.

In summary, highlights of cultural policy formation in Italy from the immediate post Unification period until the demise of Fascism were the Rosadi/Rava legislation of 1909 and the Bottai reform of 1939 that established a framework for all subsequent legislation until the present day.

The second period of cultural policy development examined in this chapter is that of the post war years until the 1970s. Italy emerged from the Second World War with wide-ranging destruction of her cultural patrimony as well as the loss of many works of art to Germany under the German Reich. Much of this heritage was recovered but the destruction of monuments revealed the inadequacy of respective institutions to undertake restoration and conservation works. Italy moved from a Monarchy to a Republic after the referendum of 1946 and the Articles of the new Constitution placed special emphasis on the nation’s cultural heritage with a continuing focus on the concept of tutela that is an ongoing feature of the Italian model of heritage. In fact, cultural heritage has its deepest expression through Article 9 in the first section of the Constitution devoted to the Principi Fondamentali or the ‘Fundamental Principles’ defining the new Republic. This reflects the centrality of cultural heritage to the national identity. However, despite the awareness of the importance of heritage as expressed in the Constitution, the post war years were inevitably devoted to the reconstruction of the nation and little attention was given to the cultural sector.

The 1950s were marked by wide-ranging urban expansion and the coming of age of Italy as an industrialised nation yet marked by a continuing neglect of its cultural

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495 After the war many artworks were recovered by a delegation set up by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and headed by Rodolfo Siviero who had been instrumental in tracing these works during the war. Volpe, (2005), op.cit. P. 95.
These were the years of the so-called ‘economic boom’: an expansion and increase in all sectors of industry and agriculture coupled with mass internal migration from the South to the North as well as the emigration of millions to the Americas and Australia. It was not until the beginning of the 1960s that there was a growing awareness of the urgent need to address the increasing deterioration of the nation’s cultural patrimony. Characteristic of the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s was the creation of a series of commissions formed to collect data on the state of the cultural heritage. The Bottai Law of 1939 was still the primary legislation guiding the sector; however, although its underlying principles were strong, its provisions for the administrative apparatus were outdated in the face of the nation’s expansion at that time.

Steps to rectify this state of affairs were first taken in 1956 with the creation of the Commissione Mista per la Tutela del Paesaggio e la Valorizzazione del Patrimonio Artistico e Culturale or the ‘Commission for the Guardianship of the Landscape and the Valorisation of Artistic and Cultural Patrimony’. Important for later legislation is the introduction of the term valorizzazione (valorisation). The mandate of this first Commission for cultural heritage was the investigation of institutions with responsibilities for the administration of the nation’s cultural assets. More influential and far reaching in its outcomes was the so-called Franceschini Commission set up in 1964. Its mandate was to examine the state of the nation’s cultural patrimony and to provide recommendations to government for the improvement of heritage administration and for amendments to the existing legislation. It was clear from the Commission’s report in 1966 and the follow up three-volume document released in 1967, Per la Salvezza dei Beni Culturali (‘For the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets’) that Italy’s cultural patrimony was in a deplorable state both in terms of protection and administration. The legacy of this

503 Named after Francesco Franceschini, the member of parliament who chaired the Commission.
document was the introduction of the term *beni culturali* or ‘cultural assets’ that would become a hallmark of future terminology both in the legislation and in the branding of cultural heritage institutions. Mention of this semantic shift has already been made in Chapter Two. Until the 1960s tangible heritage had traditionally been conceptualised as *cose di interesse storico-artistico* or ‘items of historical and artistic interest’. From this point onwards, as already argued above, cultural heritage became linked with the economic concept of ‘assets’ and, therefore, with all the connotations it would have for the future management of heritage in relation to tourism. The new terminology and its implications would raise heated debates in future decades as the economic value of cultural heritage became more and more evident especially with the entry of the private sector.

Despite recommendations made by the Franceschini Commission for reform to the 1939 legislation no changes were made and in 1968 another two parliamentary commissions, both named the Papaldo Commissions, were set up to propose a legal framework for the reform of the administrative bodies managing Italy’s cultural heritage. Recalled in 1971, the second Commission’s major recommendation was the creation of an autonomous ministry whose sole mandate would be the administration of the cultural patrimony of the nation. The Commission also set up a framework for innovative legislation that, in essence, was a reform of the 1939 Bottai Law. Despite the urgency of the recommendations by both Commissions no legislation was enacted until the mid 1970s.

The 1970s were an important turning point in the landscape of cultural heritage policy with wide-ranging institutional reform and innovation across many governmental portfolios including that of cultural heritage. This was also the period when the fifteen ordinary Regions provided for in the 1947 Constitution were finally established. Pertinent for this thesis is that the new region of Tuscany became particularly active in policy development as it realised the potential of its cultural

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509 This commission was also named after its chairman Antonino Papaldo. Palma and Clemente di San Luca, (1987), op.cit. P. 26.
heritage would have for future economic development. \(^{511}\) As discussed in Chapter One, this was especially so in the Municipality of Florence that recognised the importance of its cultural wealth and its links with the Renaissance as a drawcard for revenue through tourism. \(^{512}\) As discussed in Chapter Two the Grand-Duchy of Florence had already developed significant heritage policies in pre-Unification Italy following the lead of the Papal States. \(^{513}\)

A significant development of the 1970s at State level was the creation in 1975 by the Aldo Moro government of a Ministry of Culture, the *Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali* or ‘Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Assets’. This was the long anticipated realisation of the recommendation of the Papaldo Commission discussed above and meant the subsequent move of responsibilities for museums and monuments, libraries, cultural institutions and archives to the new ministry from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prime Minister’s Office. This was also a formal ratification, both legally and institutionally of the term *beni culturali*. \(^{514}\) It is important to note that a specific choice was made to name this body the Ministry *for* Cultural and Environmental Assets and not the Ministry *of* Culture. The careful consideration of the choice of preposition was to make sure that culture could not be used as a political handball as occurred in the Fascist era. \(^{515}\) Amongst the distinguished ministers to be given this portfolio, two would go on to become Directors of the Pontifical Commissions for the Church’s cultural assets, Franco Rutelli and Antonio Paolucci, \(^{516}\) the latter a former director of the Uffizi and former Minster of Culture as already mentioned. Both are the first lay experts to be employed in high level Vatican Commissions.

Rather than undertake a full reform of the Bottai Law as recommended by the Papal and Franceschini Commissions, the first leader of the fledgling Ministry, Giovanni Spadolini, used its framework to develop a series of norms passed by the parliament to address specific problems in relation to the protection of cultural

\(^{511}\) Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2012), op.cit. P. 3.  
\(^{513}\) See Chapter Two. P. 73.  
heritage. The Spadolini policies saw the much-needed reallocation and decentralisation of responsibilities for cultural patrimony shared between the State, the newly formed Regions and local Municipalities.\footnote{These policies were ratified by the Presidential Decree D. pr. 619/1975. Despite this decree, however, no guidelines or funding were given for its implementation and the Regions and local authorities remained frustrated by the continuing highly centralised administration.} An eminent historian as well as a member of parliament, Spadolini’s principle objective was to make the Ministry and cultural heritage central to the nation’s political and public life.\footnote{Palolucci, (1996), op.cit. Pp. 102-103.} However, in reality Italian politicians viewed his idealism as of little importance to mainstream political issues\footnote{Palma and Clemente di San Luca, (1987), op.cit. P. 14; Council of Europe, (1995), op.cit. P. 27.} and the Ministry became a sort of dumping ground when the sharing of positions was required in various political reshuffles.\footnote{S. Fabbrini, “Political Change without Institutional Transformation: What Can We Learn from the Italian Crisis of the 1990s?,” \textit{International Political Science Review} 21, no. 2 (2000). P. 173-196; Palolucci, (1996), op.cit. P. 104.} The result was that cultural policy was weakened and marginalised.\footnote{Belfiore, (2006), op.cit. P. 270.} Therefore, despite the idealism and excitement that accompanied the creation of the new Ministry and the anticipated changes in policy and planning, the pre-existing cultural policies of guardianship and conservation continued to dominate in the new Ministry.\footnote{Palma and Clemente di San Luca, (1987), op.cit. P. 14.} These priorities began to shift in the late 1970s with the increasing recognition of the economic potential of the cultural wealth of the nation and, as Belfiore has noted, the legislation is marked by an increasing instrumentalism in this regard.\footnote{Belfiore, (2006), op.cit. P.231.} These developments raised heated debate amongst many commenters and administrators in the cultural sector particularly over concern about the rationales underpinning cultural policy development in the cultural heritage arena.\footnote{Settis, (2002), op.cit.} This is of special relevance to the present thesis that, in part, explores the nexus between tourism, economics and culture particularly in relation to the Catholic Church.

Important also in this decade was the clarification of the roles and responsibilities of the State and its various administrative bodies throughout the Regions and Municipalities in relation to the cultural wealth of the Church held on State territory. Chapter Four will examine this aspect.

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517 These policies were ratified by the Presidential Decree D. pr. 619/1975. Despite this decree, however, no guidelines or funding were given for its implementation and the Regions and local authorities remained frustrated by the continuing highly centralised administration.
In summary, cultural heritage policy in the post-war years until the 1970s is characterised by the creation of a series of parliamentary commissions set up to investigate the state of the nation’s cultural heritage especially in view of the growing concern at the state of the heritage in the aftermath of the Second World War. In addition, the period also saw the growing interest of the Italian people in their cultural heritage and a commitment to its protection and conservation. Finally, this period is also important for the creation of an autonomous Ministry for Culture and steps towards the decentralisation of the management of heritage. The efforts of the Commissions as well as the creation of the new Ministry in the decades prior to the 1980s were indicative of the policy changes that were to take place in the following decades. A comprehensive and badly needed reform was inevitable not only to address gaps in the legislation of the time and to keep abreast of major changes in attitudes towards cultural heritage in the global arena but also to keep pace with the increase in tourism and particularly heritage tourism in Italy itself. Despite these needs, it was, however, only towards the close of the twentieth century that pertinent legislation came to fruition.

The final period of cultural policy development examined in this chapter is from the 1980s until the present day. In the 1980s cultural heritage as a precious economic resource for the State was finally given the political recognition it deserved and the development of legislation in this sector accelerated exponentially in this decade. This was due to the unprecedented growth in funding available for cultural heritage. According to Massimo Montella, investment in the sector increased by eighty percent with significant increases in funding to the Regions and Municipalities. The situation was rather unusual given that an economic crisis was beginning to be felt in the 1980s after the years of plenty during the ‘economic boom’ of the sixties and seventies. Despite the impending crisis a huge amount of funding was injected into the cultural sector. As commentators have argued, this appeared to be directly related to the realisation of the economic benefits of cultural heritage linked to the

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525 This growing awareness was anticipated in the creation of Italia Nostra (Our Italy) in 1955 that became one of the most important organisations for safeguarding heritage and whose primary objective was to sensitize the Italian people to the relevance of their cultural heritage. The flooding of the Arno in 1966 was also an important event that galvanised public awareness of the value of cultural heritage and the responsibilities for its protection for future generations. Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. Pp. 168-170.

explosion of heritage tourism.\textsuperscript{527} Funding cultural heritage and its anticipated positive effects were possibly seen as an answer to Italy’s economic problems and particularly unemployment.\textsuperscript{528} The 1980s then became a turning point in cultural policy development in Italy marked by profound changes, still hotly debated today, largely because the concept of \textit{tutela} that had been the cornerstone of heritage policy in the past, began to take second place to economic considerations and managerial rhetoric.\textsuperscript{529}

A particular innovation in the 1980s was the formal ratification, both legally and institutionally of the term \textit{valorizzazione} (hereafter valorisation) in relation to cultural heritage that had originally been used in the naming of the first of the Commissions in 1956 discussed above. Again the introduction of an economic term to the cultural sector appears to reflect the growing awareness of the economic value of heritage to the nation.\textsuperscript{530} Settis together with other commentators in the cultural heritage sector expressed deep concern about linking heritage to economics arguing that economic rationales were taking over from traditional approaches to the detriment of the protection of the nation’s heritage.\textsuperscript{531} They remark that heritage became an economic cash card to shore up a government searching for ways to generate income in a time of economic stress especially since cultural ‘assets’ could be linked to the expanding tourism market.\textsuperscript{532} Metaphors such as \textit{giacimenti culturali} (cultural deposits), \textit{gioelli di famiglia} (family jewels), and \textit{l’arte è il petrolio d’Italia} (art is Italy’s oilwell) began to appear in government debates as well as in the media clearly reinforcing the political agenda of the period. It is pertinent to remember that, as mentioned in Chapter Two in which a historical overview of cultural policy development in pre-Unification Italy was presented, the Papal States had already recognised the economic potential of cultural heritage. Avant-garde

\textsuperscript{528} Montella, (2003), op.cit. P. 98. 
\textsuperscript{530} ‘Valorization’ was the concept introduced by Karl Marx in Das Capital, his critique of political economy. It refers to the increase in the capital value of an asset. 
policy for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage had taken into account the potential for cultural heritage not only to generate revenue through attracting foreign visitors but also the increase in the market value of the nation’s cultural assets.\textsuperscript{533}

The increasing awareness of the economic value of cultural heritage was combined with a growth in the attention given to the development of government policies in this sector by economic analysts, the media, academics and so on.\textsuperscript{534} Not only was there recognition of the importance of cultural heritage in all its forms as a source of knowledge fundamental to the national identity and to the development of its citizens but there was also a recognition of its importance as an economic resource especially in the employment sector. This realisation was accompanied by a variety of publicity strategies designed to raise public awareness. These included seminars and conferences on heritage related themes, television documentaries and so on aimed at educating the public and raising debate. The term \textit{turismo culturale} or ‘cultural tourism’ enters modern parlance. In 1985 the first annual \textit{Settimana dei Beni Culturali} (Culture Heritage Week) was held and 1986 saw the inauguration of what is considered to be the first Italian forum on culture named \textit{Memorabilia: il Futuro della Memoria} (Memorabilia: the Future of Memory).\textsuperscript{535} This was a national initiative set up to examine the whole field of cultural heritage and to provide recommendations for future directions in the sector. The forum was wide-ranging and involved administrative personnel across the territory, the Ministry, experts and academics from various disciplines such as restoration, art history, archaeology and so on.

The emphasis on the economic benefits of cultural heritage continued into the 1990s with increasing intensity in the aftermath of the economic recession of the eighties. The discourse of the period also reflected this with the introduction of economic terminology such as ‘profitability’, ‘marketing’, ‘investment’ and ‘outsourcing’.\textsuperscript{536} Reduced government spending on the arts and culture meant that there was an ever

\textsuperscript{533} The 1802 Chirograph of Pope Pius VII makes specific reference to the social and economic sustainability of Italy’s cultural patrimony.
increasing reliance on the nexus between cultural heritage and tourism to both generate revenue, benefit local communities and to fund conservation.\textsuperscript{537} This political and economic climate was reflected in the introduction of the so-called Ronchey Act (L.4/1993)\textsuperscript{538} in 1993. The Act was, as Dell’Orso comments, a \textit{spartiacque} or ‘watershed’ in cultural policy development in Italy since it paved the way for the involvement of the private sector in cultural heritage that has been a hallmark of heritage management in Italy ever since.\textsuperscript{539} The underlying premise of the Act was that Italian museums should be financially self sufficient and self funded.\textsuperscript{540} Two aspects of the Ronchey Act are important to the development of cultural heritage policy from the 1990s onwards. Firstly, the Act allowed for cultural assets to be ‘rented out’ or \textit{concedere in uso} to other public institutions, private individuals and companies.\textsuperscript{541} Secondly, and the aspect that has generated the most debate in the sector,\textsuperscript{542} the Act allowed for the establishment of the so-called \textit{servizi aggiuntivi} (additional services). This provision in the legislation allowed state owned museums to contract services such as bookshops, cloakrooms, coffee shops and other visitor facilities to private companies.\textsuperscript{543} The legislation created alarm in the cultural heritage sector as the decision was seen as the beginning of an instrumentalist and entrepreneurial approach to cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{544} In fact, its implementation was slow due to the resistance of many of the \textit{sopraintendenti} (superintendents), the administrators of state heritage at regional, provincial and municipal levels.\textsuperscript{545}

Further measures to expand the \textit{servizi aggiuntivi} were introduced in 1995 with legislative decree 41 under the Dini government (D.Lgs.41/1995). Under the decree ‘outsourcing’ could include guided tours, educational activities, restoration works, the preparation of inventories and catalogues, the production of exhibition

\textsuperscript{537} Zan, (2003), op.cit. Pp. 17-18.
\textsuperscript{538} Named after Alberto Ronchey, the minister who developed the legislation.
\textsuperscript{539} Dell’Orso, (2002), op.cit. P. 128.
\textsuperscript{541} Jalla, (2003), op.cit. P. 94.
\textsuperscript{545} Jalla, (2003), op.cit. P. 95.
catalogues, technological support and the mounting of exhibitions and special events.  

Further legislative measures were passed in the 1990s to coordinate relationships between the State, the Regions, the Provinces and the Municipalities. The other most significant piece of legislation in this period, after the Ronchey Act was the Bassanini Act of 1997 (L.59/1997) that focussed on administrative reform and in particular the simplification of bureaucratic structures, the decentralisation of administrative responsibilities and a clarification of the competencies of the State and Regions. The long awaited and greatly applauded reform of the Ministry was initiated in 1998 beginning with a name change from Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali to Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali or ‘Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities’ (hereafter MiBAC). The nomenclature thus brought the ministry into line with other European Ministries of culture and also merged with the Ministry of Sport and the Performing Arts. It also finally ended the rather bizarre situation in Italy where cultural heritage responsibilities were dispersed (and still are to some extent) between several ministries.

Finally in 1999, sixty years after Bottai Law was passed in 1939, all subsequent norms, decrees and laws passed in relation to cultural heritage were amalgamated into one document called the Testo Unico sui Beni Culturali (D.Lgs.490/1999) or the ‘Sole Law on Cultural Assets’ (hereafter Testo Unico). The importance of the Testo Unico should not be underestimated as it paved the way for the first complete reassessment of cultural heritage policy since 1939 and this brought the discipline firmly into the twenty-first century. Its importance lies in its attempts to address the problems of the institutional framework of Italian cultural policy characterised by a

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549 The dispersion of competencies was a response to the highly centralised Minculpop created by the Fascists and to the fear that a similar organisation could appear. Council of Europe, (1995), op.cit. P. 9.
550 A detailed analysis of the Testo Unico is beyond the scope of this thesis but this can be found in M. Cammelli, La Nuova Disciplina dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali. Testo Unico Approvato con Decreto Legislativo 29 Ottobre 1999, n. 490. (Bologna: II Mulino, 2000).

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high degree of fragmentation and distribution of administrative responsibilities.\textsuperscript{551} A further outcome of the decree was the focus on the function of cultural heritage in the formation of the nation’s citizens.\textsuperscript{552} This resulted in the collaboration of the Ministry of Education and MiBAC in funding educational programs for schools and museums. The \textit{Testo Unico} focussed not only on changes in the public psyche about the importance of heritage but also on the economic relationship between tourism and cultural heritage. Furthermore, it paved the way for the introduction of the first legislation since the Bottai Law of 1939. The new legislation was the \textit{Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio} or the ‘Codex of Cultural Assets and the Landscape’ ratified in 2004 (hereafter \textit{Codice}) and still in force today after some modifications in 2006 and 2009.\textsuperscript{553}

The twenty-first century is marked by an ever-increasing instrumentalist approach to cultural heritage administration coupled with the increased involvement of private enterprise as the Italian government has sought ways to finance the sector. The new \textit{Codice} clarified and expanded much of the \textit{Testo Unico} and particularly the definitions of \textit{tutela} (guardianship), \textit{valorizzazione} (valorisation) and \textit{gestione} (management) especially in relation to the specific competencies of the two main administrative bodies, the State and the Regions. Furthermore, the role and responsibilities of the Catholic Church and its heritage in relation to the State needed clarification. This will be examined in the next chapter. The most controversial aspect of the \textit{Codice} has been the continuation of the decision taken under the \textit{Testo Unico} to privatise aspects of cultural heritage. Critics have commented that mixing economics with heritage may spell the end of Italy’s cultural patrimony with the fear of the irretrievable loss of cultural assets.\textsuperscript{554}

The final part of this chapter examines the various tiers of government engaged in the administration of Italy’s cultural heritage and outlines their respective competencies.

\textsuperscript{552} Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 177.
In the current political landscape in Italy the administration of heritage is shared by four levels of government; the State, the Regions, the Provinces and the Municipalities.\textsuperscript{555} The first two are the principal institutions in this administrative picture. An organogram of this structure can be found in Figure 5 below. In general terms cultural heritage administration still follows a centralised model where the State holds the most important management and legislative functions in the governance of the cultural sector.

Figure 5. Italian State: Institutional Structure for Cultural Heritage Administration.\textsuperscript{556}

At the national level, as mentioned previously the principle administrative areas in the cultural sector, that is both tangible and intangible heritage, State archives, libraries and the visual and performing arts fall under the portfolio of MiBAC. The other four bodies at this level, the Prime Minister’s Office, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for Economic Development are responsible for media, art education, international cooperation and communications respectively.\textsuperscript{557} MiBAC has undergone several reforms since its

\textsuperscript{556} Adapted from Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2012), op.cit. P. 4.
\textsuperscript{557} Ibid. P. 7.

At the regional level of government all twenty Regions have legislative powers and administrative structures in the cultural sector: the Regional Directorates of Culture. The Regions, however, are divided into two groups: the five autonomous Regions that have extended or independent responsibilities for their own cultural assets, and the fifteen ordinary Regions that have legislative powers concurrent with the State in the protection, valorisation and management of cultural heritage. The Regional Directorates coordinate the Superintendencies that manage specific areas of the cultural heritage such as fine arts, archaeology, landscape. Of the more than seventy Superintendencies across the territory, four have special status. These are the so-called *polo museale* that have been created in cities with high concentrations of museums and cultural assets. The largest of these is the *Polo Museale Fiorentino* in Florence.

The provincial level of governance is the least active and powerful in the cultural sector. The competencies of the Provinces are mainly limited to the management of cultural institutions such as libraries and provincial museums. Discussions are presently underway for an amendment to the Constitution to abolish the level of the Provinces in which case the current functions of the Provinces would be moved to other levels of administrative hierarchy.

The Municipalities are necessarily the most effective administrative structures in the sector of cultural heritage at the local level. Their mandate is the direct management of cultural institutions, local museums and heritage sites, archives, libraries, theatres and cultural centres. Other roles include the responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of local cultural assets under the supervision of the MiBAC, capital

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558 These five Regions were created in post war Italy in recognition of their linguistic and cultural differences as well as to prevent the secession of these Regions from Italy after the war.
561 Rome, Florence, Venice and Naples.
investment in art museums and performing arts centres and the promotion of cultural activities and festivals.\textsuperscript{563}

In addition to the different levels of government whose competencies are cultural heritage management, it is also opportune to mention inter-ministerial cooperation at the State level as well as international cooperation in order to complete the picture of cultural heritage politics in Italy. This gives some perspective on the role of heritage, as discussed above, in terms of the nation’s economics.

As discussed above, the sharing of responsibilities of cultural heritage management in Italy amongst several ministries has been a characteristic of Italian cultural heritage politics since the post war years. Thus, cooperation at the inter-ministerial level has traditionally been through ‘memoranda of understanding’ between MiBAC (and its previous incarnations) and the various ministries with cultural heritage competencies: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding cultural relations abroad, and the Ministry of Education regarding arts training and education. A key development in inter-ministerial cooperation has been the inclusion of MiBAC in the Inter-ministerial Committee for Economic Planning (CIPE) formed in 1999 by the Ministry of Economy. This Committee is responsible for the allocation of European Union structural funds of which several million euros have been allocated for capital investments in the heritage sector especially in the underdeveloped South.\textsuperscript{564} This further demonstrates the high profile given to cultural heritage for the nation’s economy.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century there has been an increasing awareness in Italy of the political and economic importance of international cooperation in the cultural arena. This is particularly reinforced by the realisation of the advantages of exploiting the international image of Italy’s rich and multifaceted cultural wealth for economic returns as well as for diplomatic relations. Somewhat disadvantageous to the maximisation of international cooperation is the traditionally fragmented distribution of cultural heritage management between disparate ministries rather than competencies concentrated in one dedicated body. This has in

\textsuperscript{563} Ibid. P. 13.

\textsuperscript{564} Ibid. P. 14.
part been rectified through the ‘memorandum of understanding’ signed by MiBAC and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Both ministries meet periodically to discuss international strategies for the promotion of Italy’s cultural heritage. At the regional level the ratification of Constitutional Law 3 in 2001 redefined legislative competencies between the State and the Regions and opened Italy up to a more federally oriented institutional system. This has allowed for the involvement of the Regions in cultural cooperation with foreign countries and the development of cultural activities abroad such as cultural exchanges and bilateral agreements, for example, the ‘twinning’ of cities.

In summary, this chapter has provided a historical overview of the development of cultural heritage policy in post Unification Italy and it has also examined the administrative responsibilities of various government bodies. The overview provides the necessary background to an understanding of contemporary policies and administration of cultural heritage in the nation. An important milestone in the aftermath of Unification was the creation in 1875 of the Ministry of National Education, the first ministry responsible for the protection of cultural heritage. This Ministry would hold responsibility for all areas related to the protection of historical, artistic and environmental heritage for over a century. The first half of the twentieth century saw the move to extensive and high quality legislation beginning with the 1909 Rosadi/Rava Act and culminating in the Bottai reform of 1939 under the Fascist Regime. This period also marked a shift from protezione to the more specific tutela or ‘guardianship’ that would define approaches to cultural heritage management in the second half of the twentieth century.

A period of relative inactivity in the sector followed. The 1960s, the years of the so-called ‘economic boom’, were characterised by a series of parliamentary commissions of which the most influential, the Franceschini and the Papaldo Commissions, highlighted the need for the reform of cultural policies. The one major development in this period was the unification in 1975 of the various competencies responsible for the nations’ cultural heritage at that time dispersed amongst various government ministries. The outcome was the formation of the Ministero per i Beni e
le Attività Culturali or ‘Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities’ under Giovanni Spadolini. The introduction of the term beni culturali (cultural assets) is significant for this thesis as it highlights a growing focus on the economics of cultural heritage. The 1970s also saw a gradual decentralisation of responsibilities with the allocation of competencies for the protection of cultural heritage to the Regions.

The 1980s were characterised by major changes to policy rationales with a growing awareness of the economic possibilities of cultural heritage. The rhetoric of the period was filled with managerial language, market principles and references to economic profitability. Metaphors for cultural wealth such as ‘family jewels’, il nostro petrolio (our oil wells), and giacimenti culturali (cultural deposits) became common parlance in the language of cultural heritage. It was also the period in which the term valorizzazione (valorisation) entered the terminology of cultural policy. Thus, cultural heritage increasingly became a ‘resource’ to be exploited in order to contribute to the nation’s economy.

The 1990s were a defining moment in the history of the development of cultural policy generation in Italy, in particular with the Ronchey Act since this changed the relationship between the public and private sectors in the management of heritage. This period was marked by a consistent effort to interest private, profit-making enterprises to become involved in the cultural sector. The Ronchey Act paved the way for the unprecedented involvement of private enterprise in cultural heritage administration in the twenty-first century that was underwritten by legislation. It was supported by the Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio or the ‘Codex of Cultural Heritage and the Landscape’ (L. 42/2004) and modifications to this in 2006 and 2009. This involvement has been one of the hallmarks of contemporary heritage policy in Italy and one that still continues to generate heated debate amongst commentators in the sector.567

566 Paolucci remarks that the source of this slogan is unknown but it was taken up with fervor by the press and used to great effect in the politics of the Eighties. Paolucci, (1996), op.cit. P. 120.
Important for this thesis is the nexus between the increase in heritage tourism and the recognition by the State of the commercial value of cultural patrimony as a means of raising revenue and its reinforcement in the legislation. It has had major ramifications for the way in which monuments are managed and, as this thesis will demonstrate, also for the way in which the Catholic Church manages its cultural wealth in the face of the growth of heritage tourism.

The following chapter examines the approach of the Catholic Church to its cultural patrimony as well as the inevitably complex relationship between the Church and the State in this sector.
Chapter 4: Cultural Heritage Policy and the Catholic Church

'*Libera Chiesa in Libero Stato*\(^{568}\)

*Date a Cesare quel che è di Cesare e a Dio quel che è di Dio.*\(^{569}\)

This chapter examines the approach of the Catholic Church to its cultural patrimony after Unification with a particular focus on the dynamics and the problematics of the delicate relationship between the Church and the State regarding the management of this cultural heritage. The chapter discusses the term *beni ecclesiastici* or church cultural patrimony as well as the special nature of the cultural heritage of the Church that determines management structures at the case study sites of this study. This chapter also examines the tension between the Church, its artworks and its visitors that is the focus of this research and in particular the resulting changes to the management of the Church sites investigated. In addition, it examines the ecclesiastical bodies whose competencies are concerned with the management of Church's cultural patrimony and outlines the funding arrangements in place. These competencies underpin the management structures at the sites examined in this study.

The Catholic Church is a principle actor on the stage of cultural heritage politics in Italy. Its high profile in this sector is chiefly due to its vast cultural wealth comprising various types of artifacts accumulated across two millennia of both political and pastoral activity. Although much of this cultural wealth is held in the autonomous Vatican State, an enormous quantity is spread across the peninsula and therefore subject to State legislation.


\(^{569}\) ‘Give to Caesar [ie the State] what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God’. My translation from ibid.
In 2004 Monsignor Giancarlo Santi, the then Director of the Ufficio Nazionale per i Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici (National Office for Ecclesiastical Cultural Patrimony) defined the cultural patrimony of the Catholic Church as,

... multifaceted and multilayered comprising diverse yet interrelated typologies that are spread across the whole territory ... the question is often asked how many church assets can be found in Italy. At present it is not possible to give a response since an inventory is in progress and even this is limited for the moment to moveable assets such as paintings, wooden sculptures, candelabra and vestments that are easily open to theft.

Santi’s definition and the following statistics give some idea of the depth and breadth of the Church’s cultural wealth and implicitly express the complexity of managing this vast patrimony. It has been estimated that about eighty percent of Italy’s cultural patrimony is of religious derivation. As stated in Santi’s definition, the inventory of this immense cultural wealth is in progress. Data collected so far reveal that the territory has over two hundred dioceses containing twenty-six thousand parishes in which there are over one hundred thousand churches and sacristies each containing their respective artworks and liturgical equipment. In addition, there are more than three hundred cathedral complexes on the territory with their respective clergy. Santi estimates that, on the basis that each parish would hold about one hundred cultural assets, the total of church assets across the territory for just the parishes would be about three million. This is a conservative figure and limited to only a part of the vast cultural wealth held by the Church.

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570 Santi was Director of this body from 2000-2010. The current director is Don Stefano Russo appointed in March 2011.
Statistics from a variety of sources\textsuperscript{574} indicate that the territory also has one thousand five hundred monasteries, three thousand seminaries, \textit{sacri monti} \textsuperscript{575} (sacred mountains), ecclesiastical buildings, and \textit{case di spiritualità}, over five thousand libraries,\textsuperscript{576} twenty-seven thousand ecclesiastical archives, and more that six hundred ecclesiastical museums. These statistics do not include the vast collection of paintings, sculptures, vestments, tombs and so on that form part of the cultural heritage of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, they do not include the vast number of buildings, artifacts of various descriptions, archives and libraries that were removed by the State with the suppression of religious orders in the nineteenth century after Unification much of which was sold off and is now unaccounted for.\textsuperscript{577}

The previous two chapters have highlighted the role of the Papal States in the development of legislation for cultural heritage policies and legislation in Italy. Prior to Unification and particularly in the Medieval and Renaissance eras the relationship of the Catholic Church in Italy to its cultural patrimony in individual towns and cities was relatively straightforward. Artworks were commissioned by the church or by the owner of a chapel within a particular church and had specific functions. These included enlightenment of the congregation, enhancement of the prestige of both the church and the donor and the opportunity to display the wealth of both. In addition, many donors viewed the commissioning of religious artworks as a security mechanism against damnation.\textsuperscript{578}

It has been pointed out in previous chapters that, with the return of the Papacy to Rome after the Schism and the resulting cultural reawakening of this city together with the expansion of the Papal States, the popes began to realise the importance politically, socially and economically of the immense artistic patrimony of the Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{579} As the Church acquired more property and as the number of artworks increased so did the realization of the value of these as well as their value as a draw card for international visitors and, therefore, as a potential source of revenue.

\textsuperscript{575} a ‘sacred mountain’ is a devotional complex situated on the slopes of a mountain.
\textsuperscript{576} Only 1,496 of these have inventories.
\textsuperscript{579} This has been examined in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis.
This realisation was coupled with an awareness of the need to develop structures to manage this cultural patrimony. The historical reasons for this have already been discussed and mention has already been made of the vision shown by the Papacy as it took up the mantle of city patron. As Chenis has remarked, the Catholic Church has always been a type of cultural agency that has guarded its cultural wealth and viewed its responsibilities as protecting artworks for their service of the cult.\textsuperscript{580} Its avant-garde approach towards its cultural patrimony made it a major contributor to the development of legislation for the protection of its cultural wealth. In fact, no other state in Europe or city-state in Italy dedicated so much care and judicial wisdom towards the conservation and protection of its own cultural patrimony as did the Papal States.\textsuperscript{581} It was this impetus that laid the foundations for cultural heritage legislation in the contemporary arena in Italy.

In the following examination of the Catholic Church’s approach to its cultural patrimony and the dynamics of the relationship between Church and State regarding cultural heritage management, three considerations are taken into account.

Firstly, it is important to clarify the term \textit{beni ecclesiastici} or church cultural patrimony. The term refers to three categories: property under the direct jurisdiction of the Vatican State established under the Lateran Pacts of 1929; the property and cultural assets of Italian ecclesiastical bodies such as parishes, dioceses, confraternities, congregations and so on that are non-profit making organizations; cultural assets belonging to other individuals or organizations but which have some religious and cultural interest. State legislation combined with Church legislation extends to the latter two listed above, that is, cultural patrimony belonging to Italian ecclesiastical institutions and any patrimony of religious interest or value.\textsuperscript{582}

A second important consideration is the special nature of the cultural heritage of the Catholic Church. On the one hand, the many artifacts found in religious institutions are an expression of the liturgy of the Christian faith and linked to a specific religious community and the religious functions that support it. On the other hand,

the artifacts are an expression of the artistic output of humankind and have become linked in economic terms with the business of heritage tourism. This nexus, also expressed in the relationship between the State and Church, is a crucial feature of cultural heritage in Italy given the quantity of heritage held by the Catholic Church and its attraction for the \( TEuro \). Therefore, for the Church, heritage is a *bonum comune* or a tool for use in a religious context, whereas for the State, heritage is a *bonum publicum* or cultural memory of the past for public use with material value. This ‘duality’ has been extensively reviewed in terms of a sacred/secular divide in the religious tourism literature; however, the merits of the dichotomy are beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, given the increase in heritage tourism to religious sites from the 1980s onwards the Church has been forced to address this nexus and the resulting tension more seriously. This is evident in the 1995 creation of a papal commission specifically dedicated to cultural assets, the *Pontificia Commissione per i Beni Culturali della Chiesa* (Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Assets of the Church), and also in the inaugural speech given by Pope John Paul II. He states,

*Questo incontro mi offre la gradita opportunità di ribadire l'importanza dei beni culturali nell'espressione e nell'inculturazione della fede e nel dialogo della Chiesa con l'umanità.*

It is precisely this tension between the Church, its artworks and its visitors that is the focus of this research. The particular focus of the study is the examination of changes to the management of Church sites in the face of high tourist numbers and this is investigated in the case studies in the following chapters. Indeed, as one interviewee

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586 The forerunner to this under the Roman Curia was the more general Pontifical Council for Culture created by Pope John Paul in 1982. Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2011), op.cit. P. 7.
587 ‘This meeting gives me an opportunity to reinforce how important cultural heritage as an expression and teaching of the faith and as a dialogue between the Church and humanity.’ My translation from Pope John Paul II, "L’Importanza del Patrimonio Artistico nell’Espressione della Fede e nel Dialogo con l’Umanità,” *L’Osservatore Romano* 1995.
for this thesis opined,\textsuperscript{588} the introduction of entrance tickets to religious sites experiencing large visitor numbers is an attempt to mediate between the contemplative environment of the Church and the tourist flow.

A final concern is the question of protection and conservation of Church cultural heritage in the contemporary arena. The level of security, alarm systems and maintenance of these sacred spaces is often inadequate\textsuperscript{589} and this, coupled with the fact that the detailed inventory mentioned above is far from complete, leaves these sites vulnerable to theft and vandalism.\textsuperscript{590} It has been estimated that more than four thousand thefts occurred from churches between 1996 and 2000.\textsuperscript{591} Often the number of thefts are significantly higher that those reported in the media.\textsuperscript{592} Furthermore, there is a dearth of specialist talent for conservation purposes within the Church as well as an urgent need to transfer liturgical equipment, no longer in use after the Vatican Council II, to purpose-built ecclesiastical museums. An age old mistrust between the Church and the State exists over cultural heritage, a mistrust that dates to the period of the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy followed by Unification. Despite this, the last few decades have seen a new sensitivity on the part of Church bodies and in particular the Conferenza Episcopale Italiana (Italian Episcopal Conference, hereafter CEI),\textsuperscript{593} towards the safeguarding of its cultural patrimony with the realization of the economic value of this and, therefore, the need to collaborate with the State.\textsuperscript{594} Importantly a need has been identified for the compilation of detailed inventories and catalogues of cultural assets on the territory. The challenge for the Church and the State has been to collaborate efficiently despite their different competencies underpinned by legislation, so as to manage these aspects in a harmonious way.

\textsuperscript{588} Appendix A, Interview 5.
\textsuperscript{591} Ibid. P. 18.
\textsuperscript{592} Toscano, (1999), op.cit. P. 14.
\textsuperscript{594} The Codex iuris Canonici of 1983 proclaimed by Pope John Paul II begins to address conservation and protection concerns related to the Church’s cultural assets. G. Feliciani, "Autorità Ecclesiastiche Competenti in Materia di Beni Culturali di Interesse Religioso," Aedon 1(1998).
As previously discussed,\textsuperscript{595} the foundations for the subsequent development of cultural heritage policy in Italy leading up to Unification were principally laid by the Papal States as it recognized the value of its cultural patrimony and the need for its protection and conservation. In the early days of Unification this contribution was not recognized by the new State as an important outcome of wise and far sighted cultural politics whose focus had been the protection and conservation some of mankind's greatest achievements. Instead, the State chose to see the cultural heritage of the Church as a symbol of the ancient privileges of a temporal power that was not just politically opportunistic and contrary to a unified Italy, but which was in conflict with the fundamental mission of the Church.\textsuperscript{596}

The State’s anticlerical policies were in keeping with the secular principles of the new nation and the view that the Church exerted too much influence in both the public and political arenas. Furthermore, the new political leaders in the climate of the new liberalism inspired by philosophers such as Adam Smith,\textsuperscript{597} were convinced that, if the Church was to be relieved of its worldly interests or temporal power manifested in its cultural moveable goods and property, it would be able to regain its spiritual or eternal authority. Indeed, Cavour, in his address at the first sitting of the government on 27 March 1861 during which Rome was declared capital of the new State, stated that the Church would only be able to regain its true spiritual and pastoral functions by renouncing its material wealth. Hence his famous phrase ‘Libera Chiesa in Libero Stato’ or ‘free Church in a free State’ with which he intended to encapsulate the importance of Catholicism in the psyche of the Italian people as well as the commitment of the State to freedom of religious choice.\textsuperscript{598} His other motto of the time was \textit{Date a Cesare quel che è di Cesare e a Dio quel che è di Dio.}\textsuperscript{599} This was seen by many, however, to be a justification on the part of the State

\textsuperscript{595} See Chapters Two and Three.
\textsuperscript{597} Smith was a philosopher and economist of the eighteenth century and a pioneer of modern economics. His legacy is the theory of liberal market principles based on free trade. N. Phillipson, \textit{Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life}. (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
\textsuperscript{598} Di Cavour, "Discorsi Pronunciati alla Camera dei Deputati ai 25-27 marzo 1861- Secondo Discorso (27 marzo)."
\textsuperscript{599} 'Give to Caesar [ie the State] what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God'. My translation. Ibid.
to confiscate the cultural assets of many Church bodies and gave rise to the so-called *Legislazione Eversiva dell’Asse Ecclesiastico* (Legislation for the Confiscation of Church Assets). The legislation comprised the two laws, R.D.L.2987 and R.D.L.3848 passed in 1866 and 1867 respectively, that led to the suppression of religious orders and corporations and the confiscation of the cultural assets of the Church that subsequently became State property. This meant the complete suppression of almost all the religious orders considered superfluous across the peninsula as well as the confiscation and often sale of their assets.

The suppression, initiated during the Napoleonic period, was just the beginning of the nationalization of Church property with the progressive removal of both moveable and immoveable assets to the public domain. Only those churches still in use for religious functions were exempt. Many immoveable assets were declared public museums if thought sufficiently important to the public interest and, therefore, for the heritage of the nation. Other moveable assets were placed in museums or sold off. This activity was also in line with the progressively secular politics of the State. The free circulation of these Church assets was an important period for both the definition of what the term cultural patrimony really meant as well contributing to the growth of museums, libraries and archives at all levels: national, civic, private and academic. It was also an important period for the continued growth of the popularity of the Renaissance in Florence discussed in Chapter One. Art and antiquities’ collectors such as the Florentine Stefano Bardini, capitalized on the growing interest in Renaissance artworks and began buying and selling assets from churches and convents on the international art market. As Paolucci comments, whilst the negative impact was the dispersion of Italian cultural heritage on a global scale, the positive impact was that many of these artworks bought by art dealers such

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606 The Palazzo Bardini is an important gallery in Florence housing prestigious Renaissance artworks amongst other notable works.
as Duveen, as Duveen, formed the basis of the Renaissance collections of the great museums in America so much so that this publicity would impact the growth of tourism particularly to Florence. This further contributed to the prestige given to the Renaissance.

From 1866 onwards, confiscated assets were assigned to an autonomous public institution called the Fondo per il Culto (Foundation for Religious Affairs) whose mandate was to manage the suppressed estates. This institution was first placed under the portfolio of the Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia e dei Culti (Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs) and from 1932 onwards under the Ministry of the Interior. Currently over seven hundred monuments are under the administration of this Foundation. Important for this thesis is that two of the sites examined, the Basilica of Santa Croce and the Basilica of San Lorenzo were assigned to this administrative body. The main competencies of the institution were to provide for the clergy, to safeguard the confiscated sacred sites, to move the cultural assets to the respective municipal councils and provinces and to make church real estate ready for incorporation into State assets ready to be sold off.

Rome, however, was still under control of the Papacy and it was not until 1870 with the capture of Rome by the Italian army that the Italian Government was able to take its seat in the new capital. Leading up to this, the annexation by the Kingdom of Italy of territories belonging to the Papal States culminating in the Sack of Rome by force, opened a long period of mistrust and conflict between the Church and the State. It could be said, however, that the two structures that underpin Italian society, the Church that manages spirituality and the State that manages politics, the economy and law, have always interacted and often been in conflict historically. The loss of temporal power and territory was unacceptable to Pope Pius II who retreated to the Vatican Palace. After the occupation of Rome the State attempted to mediate its relationship with the Church through the Leggi delle Guarantigie (Laws of

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610 It should also be noted that many religious institutions hid their assets and later sold them off privately to raise revenue. Montella, (2003), op.cit. P. 184.
Guarantee) that were passed on 13 May 1871.\footnote{D. Gilmour, The Pursuit of Italy. (London: Allen Lane, 2011). Pp. 253-254.} These guaranteed the Pope full exercise of his functions as head of the Catholic Church, recognizing his sovereign rights and allocating a substantial annuity. They also abolished all legislation pertaining to the Papal States at the same time giving the Church spiritual autonomy in Italy and full control of the Papal residences. As a unilateral act on the part of the government this was unacceptable to the Pope\footnote{G. De Micheli, "L’ Opera di Santa Croce: Otto Secoli di Impegno con Francescani e Laici," Città di Vita, no. 3-4 (2007). P. 234.} who responded with the encyclical \textit{Ubi nos} in 1871 followed by the \textit{Non expedit} in 1874 in which he expressed his criticism of the State and urged all Catholics in Italy to refuse to support the new State.\footnote{Subsequent popes took a more moderate line and in 1919 after the Second World War the \textit{non expedit} was abolished. Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 287.} The Church was thus seen as a threat to the State and in fact some commentators have pointed out that it would have been better to have the Church on side as this situation divided Italy.\footnote{Gilmour, (2011), op.cit.}

This triggered the so-called \textit{Questione Romana} (the Roman Question) when the Pope and his successors refused to accept the legitimacy of the Italian State and the abolition of the Papal States with the removal of its cultural assets.\footnote{Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 287.} The impasse was not resolved until sixty years later in 1929 under the Fascist regime. Mussolini, seeking the support of the Church settled the hostilities with the signing of the \textit{Patti Lateranensi} (hereafter Lateran Pacts), a bilateral agreement between the Italian Republic and the Catholic Church.\footnote{Cuocolo, (1988), op.cit. Pp. 116-117.} It was this situation that would have long-term ramifications for the relationship between the State and the Church over cultural heritage policy; however, it took until the 1980s and 1990s to achieve a more harmonious collaboration.\footnote{Aurea Camassa, (1995), op.cit. P. 168.} However, despite the rift between Church and State, the Church still managed to take two important steps in cultural heritage policy before the Pacts were signed so that in a limited way in post unification Italy the Vatican State was still able to develop mechanisms for the control and management of its cultural patrimony.
Firstly, in 1918 the *Codice di Diritto Canonico* (Code of Canon Law) was first created that provided guidelines for the whole territory on a variety of themes such as ecclesiastical archives, the conservation and restoration of sacred spaces and responsibilities for these, the development of inventories and so on.\(^{622}\) The second initiative was the establishment in 1924 of the *Pontificia Commissione Centrale di Arte Sacra per L’Italia* (Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art in Italy) that remained active until 1989.\(^{623}\) This Commission was positioned under the Congregation of the Clergy within the hierarchy of the *Curia Romana* (the Roman Curia - the governing body of the Vatican State).\(^{624}\) Its overarching mandate was the conservation and expansion of all the cultural patrimony of the Catholic Church including architecture, paintings, sculpture, vestments, tombs, relics and so on. Individual diocese commissions throughout Italy were also given a variety of tasks including the compilation of inventories of artworks, the establishment and management of museums and the promotion of the culture of sacred art in the diocese.

On 11 February 1929 Mussolini and Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Papal Secretary to Pius XI signed the Lateran Pacts that were subsequently ratified by law, (L.810/1929). These Pacts became the fundamental document that mediated the relationship between the State and the Church and are of particular interest for this thesis as they also included the protection of the cultural patrimony of the Church.\(^{625}\) The Pacts established several protocols through a Treaty of Conciliation, a Concordate and a Financial Agreement.\(^{626}\)

The Treaty of Conciliation resolved the Roman Question by setting up the Vatican City as an independent State although it was a vestige of the former Papal States that had extended across the territory.\(^{627}\) This new but small independent state comprised St Peter’s Basilica and the Basilicas of San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Paolo and the papal palace of Castel Gandolfo. It also guaranteed the sovereignty of the Pope.

\(^{622}\) Ibid. P. 171.
\(^{625}\) As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Fascist Regime was only interested in the nation’s cultural heritage as a pedagogical tool for propaganda purposes not as an economic return.
\(^{626}\) Petroncelli Hubler, (1996), op.cit. P. 42.
The Concordate regulates the relationship between Church and State in both religious and civil matters. During negotiations the Church presented a proposal to include a Commission for Cultural Assets whose objective was the conservation and protection of artifacts within sacred spaces: an attempt at a sort of 'privileged custodianship'. The Government, however, refused any attempt to undermine its stance on the protection of the nation's cultural heritage by other bodies. It was only open to the drawing up of agreements in this regard. The Church backed down and the Concordate contains no reference to the protection or conservation of the Church's cultural assets. One institution that did remain was the fabbriceria or 'vestry board'. This institution is relevant for this thesis and will be discussed in the following chapter in relation to the Santa Croce Complex. It was in the best interests of the State to retain this organization as it contributed to the conservation and protection of the cultural heritage of the nation as well as being a lay organization with legal status. It was also important as the fabbricerie were able to fund restoration works and relieve the State of this burden. A further important inclusion in the Pacts was the stipulation that the artworks situated within the Vatican and the Lateran Palaces were to be made available to the public although the Vatican State reserved the right to regulate access to these. In this way the Government was able to fulfill its policies regarding cultural heritage. On the other hand, the State reserved the right to modify cultural assets belonging to the Church but on State territory without authorization or consent from the Vatican State.

The Financial Agreement rectified the damages incurred by the Vatican State following Unification by compensating it for the loss of its territories. This situation that had long term ramifications for the relationship between the State and the Church over cultural heritage policy and it was only in the 1990s that a more harmonious collaboration was achieved.

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Following this reconciliation period and after the reconstruction period following the Second World War, Pope John XXIII (1958-1963) opened the Second Vatican Council\(^{632}\) to address questions such as world peace, poverty and reform to modernize the Church. This Council concluded in 1965 under the Papacy of Paul VI (1963-1978) with unclear outcomes in terms of reform.\(^{633}\) Consequences for cultural patrimony were disastrous as ill-advised choices were made in adapting ancient sites to new liturgical needs and many artifacts changed status. The result was that an enormous quantity of religious objects were made obsolete and, due to the scarcity of funds and lack of adequate museum facilities, were discarded or were sold on the open art and antiquities markets.\(^{634}\) In a Circular published in April 1971 this question was tentatively raised by the *Congregazione per il Clero* (Congregation of the Clergy) one of the bodies of the Curia that released the document *La Cura del Patrimonio Storico-artistico della Chiesa* (The Care of the Historical and Artistic Patrimony of the Church). This document called on the Church to exercise caution in adapting the old to the new. Recommendations were made to place obsolete works of art and other precious objects in museums in the respective dioceses.\(^{635}\) A series of canons were also developed in response to the increasing number of thefts and act of vandalism related to Church heritage.\(^{636}\)

On the 14 June 1974 the CEI published the *Norme per la Tutela e la Conservazione del Patrimonio Storico-artistico della Chiesa in Italia* (Guidelines for the Protection and Conservation of the Historical and Artistic Patrimony of the Church in Italy). This document raised the issue of the compatibility of culture, art, and religious functions and was a major turning point in the Catholic Church’s approach to its heritage management.\(^{637}\) Importantly the guidelines maintained that each diocese was to collaborate with the State bodies whose competencies were cultural heritage but without detracting from the fundamental spiritual function of sacred sites. Only artifacts in need of restoration were to be removed from their original context. Furthermore, if this was the case then these artifacts were to be valued in strict

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\(^{632}\) Del Baldo, (2012), op.cit. P. 79.


\(^{635}\) Del Baldo, (2012), op.cit. P. 79.


\(^{637}\) Ibid. P. 182.
relation to their function within the religious community.\footnote{Del Baldo, (2012), op.cit. P. 71.}{638} Most important, however, was the realization that, if the Church wanted to protect its own assets, then not only was collaboration necessary but also the technical and economic support of the State would be required.\footnote{Aurea Camassa, (1995), op.cit. Pp. 182-183.}{639}

The 1980s were a landmark decade for the Church and its cultural heritage. In 1983 the question of the protection of the cultural heritage of the Church again became a focal point with the ratification of the new \textit{Codice di Diritto Canonico} (Code of Canon Law).\footnote{Bottari and Pizzicannella, (2007), op.cit. P. 289.}{640} In particular, the Code established that individual dioceses, parish churches and religious orders had the right to ownership of their own specific cultural property.\footnote{Council of Europe/ERICarts, (2011), op.cit. P. 19.}{641} A substantial number of canons were devoted to archives, inventories, furnishings, restoration works, the use of sacred spaces and to the employment of experts in the construction and conservation of churches, security systems for these and so on.\footnote{Ibid. P. 16.}{642}

However, the most important initiative of the 1980s was the reform of the Lateran Concordate of 1929 under the Socialist government led by Bettino Craxi. This would bring it up to date with the political and social transformations that had taken place in Italy in the sixty years since the Second Vatican Council. Indeed, the preamble to the Accord acknowledges these changes: \textit{[tenendo] conto del processo di trasformazione politica e sociale verificatosi in Italia negli ultimi decenni e degli sviluppi promossi della Chiesa dal Concilio Vaticano II.}\footnote{[taking into] account the political and social transformations that have taken place in the last few decades as well as the changes initiated by Vatican II}. The new document comprising fourteen articles was signed off on 14 February 1984 by Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and Vatican State Secretary Cardinal Agostino Casaroli and ratified by law (L.121/1985). This agreement became the framework for further decrees related to specific areas and disciplines. It is an important law as it radically changed the relationship between the Church and the State from its previous separatist nature to one of
collaboration and bi-partisanship.\textsuperscript{644} This aspect is particularly relevant for the case study sites in which the management structures are collaborative arrangements.

Important also for this thesis is Article Twelve of the Accord that is concerned with the cultural patrimony of the Church. Importantly the term \textit{beni culturali di interesse religioso} (cultural assets of religious interest) appears for the first time in the legislation.\textsuperscript{645} Specifically, the Accord states that the Vatican State and the Italian Republic should collaborate in the protection of the historic and artistic heritage of the Church.\textsuperscript{646} It also specifies the necessity for the 'harmonious application of Italian Law in line with needs of a religious nature'\textsuperscript{647} and states that the various administrative bodies of both parties should agree on how to safeguard, valorize and conserve the cultural assets belonging to various ecclesiastical bodies. Therefore, as explained earlier, the Church and the State jointly administer the cultural heritage of the Church. It is this bilateral administrative structure that makes the management of highly 'touristed' sites complex.

The organization of ecclesiastical bodies concerned with cultural patrimony within the Vatican State is multilayered and shows an increasing alignment with the State. Several changes have been made to accommodate changes to the State's approach to cultural heritage as well changes to tourism particularly in the last few decades. Firstly, in 1988 the \textit{Pontificia Commissione Centrale di Arte Sacra per l'Italia} (Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art in Italy) was changed to the \textit{Pontificia Commissione per la Conservazione del Patrimonio Storico e Artistico della Chiesa}, (Pontifical Commission for the Preservation of the Church's Patrimony of Art and History) and the definition of what constitutes the cultural patrimony of the Church was widened.

This Commission then underwent another transformation in 1993 when Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) transformed it into the \textit{Pontificia Commissione per i Beni Culturali della Chiesa} (Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Assets of the

\textsuperscript{645} Ibid. P. 164; Del Baldo, (2012), op.cit. P. 80.  
\textsuperscript{646} La Santa Sede e la Repubblica italiana, nel rispettivo ordine, collaborano per la tutela del patrimonio storico ed artistico. Governo Italiano, (1984), op.cit.  
\textsuperscript{647} Ibid.
Church.\footnote{C. Capizzi, "La Chiesa e il Suo Patrimonio Artistico e Storico. A proposito di una Nuova Commissione Pontificia," La Civiltà Cattolica 141(1990). Pp. 26-38.} His inaugural address has been referenced at the beginning of this chapter.\footnote{See p.114.} More significantly the pope also declared this Commission to no longer be a part of the Congregation of the Clergy but now an autonomous organisation with its own area of competence at a higher level in the Curia with its own President who is also a member of the Pontifical Council for Culture.\footnote{Pope John Paul II, "Apostolic Letter Given Motu Proprio. Inde a Pontificatus," Libreria Editrice Vaticana, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/motu_propr/documents/hf_jp-ii_motu-propr_25031993_inde-a-pontificatus_en.html. Retrieved 8 July, 2012.} This was to ensure mutual cooperation between the various Commissions and also shows the changing perspective of the Church in relation to its cultural wealth and the need for an independent body specifically devoted to this. It has retained the nomenclature and position in the Curia to the present day. The Commission’s mandate is to ensure a unified approach to cultural heritage throughout the world in order to prioritize action needed in relation to this. Forming part of the reform of the Curia, Pope John Paul’s directive was for the new Commission 'to centralize the main activities relating to cultural heritage, identify the needs for restoration purposes, and safeguard, catalogue and protect them.'\footnote{Città del Vaticano, "Pontificia Commissione per i Beni Culturali della Chiesa," Città del Vaticano, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_commissions/pcch/documentspcch/documentsrc_com_pcch_pro_20011008_it.html. Retrieved 8 July, 2012.} Furthermore, focus was given to the concept of valorization to gain a better knowledge and understanding of the heritage and its iconography in order for it to be used as a tool in the catechism. The competencies and functions of this Commission can, therefore, be paralleled to those of the Italian State’s Ministry of Culture.

While the Commission holds responsibility for the general overall organization of the cultural wealth of the Catholic Church at the international level, its directives at the national level are actioned in Italy by the CEI that communicates with Italian State departments in matters of Church heritage.\footnote{F. Marchisano, "Azione della Commissione per i Beni Culturali della Chiesa," in Beni Culturali di Interesse Religioso, ed. G. Feliciani (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995). Pp. 277-292.} Information is communicated through Lettere Circolari (Circulars) that are sent to all archbishops and presidents of the various CEI.\footnote{Chenis, (1999), op.cit. P. 117.} The CEI can also release its own documents so as to adapt
directives to local contexts. In the last few decades the CEI’s initiatives have been increasingly opportune and far-reaching. In 1989 it created the *Consulta Nazionale per i Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici* (National Consultancy for Cultural Assets of the Church) and reformed the 1974 *Norme per la Tutela e la Conservazione del Patrimonio Storico-artistico della Chiesa in Italia*, (Guidelines for the Protection and Conservation of the Historical and Artistic Patrimony of the Church in Italy). This change was made in order to keep abreast of the changes taking place at State level in the 1970s and 1980s, that is, the more active role of the Regions in government, the Ministry for Cultural Assets (1975), and the signing of the new Concordate (1984).

In the 1990s the CEI decided to review, update and develop further policies in relation to its cultural heritage. In 1992 it published the document *I Beni Culturali della Chiesa in Italia. Orientamenti* (Cultural Assets of the Church in Italy. Orientation). Although this document had no legal status, it carried great authority as bishops not wishing to follow its directives were called upon to search their conscience deeply if they chose not to comply. Particularly important was its focus on the principle of collaboration and the recognition that collaboration with the State, and its Regional and Provincial bodies was fundamental to the valorization and protection of the cultural heritage of the Church. It, therefore, aligned the many bodies responsible for cultural heritage in the Church hierarchy with the appropriate administrative bodies of the State at various levels.

Significantly, in an attempt to counterbalance the increase in visitor numbers the Catholic Church developed a series of cultural policies aimed at inspiring a possible spiritual experience in these visitors. One such initiative was the development of programs implemented by the CEI for the training of the clergy in art history so that they could engage with tourists and art could be use in the *servizio del culto* or ‘in service of the faith’. In 1997 a cultural project was launched by the President of the CEI, Cardinal Camillo Ruini, aimed at the *evangelizzazione della cultura e*

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654 Ibid. P. 118.  
659 This was published in the Circular of 3 February 1995. Chenis, (1999), op.cit. P. 117.
dell’inculturazione della fede or ‘evangelization of culture and the enculturation of the faith’. Evidence of these programs can be seen particularly in Tuscany with art history courses developed by Monsignor Timothy Verdon for the Florentine Diocese. These policies reflect the concept of pastoral care, a fundamental premise of the Catholic Church. They also support the notion that works of art in churches were created as visual texts with didactic purposes for the spiritual enlightenment of the congregation rather than as merely works of art to be viewed by a secular audience. This is also further reinforced in the publication by the Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Assets of the Church of the text *Abitare il Bello* that laments the reduction of many Church sites to museums and specifically promotes the potential of exploiting religious art for evangelical purposes with the increase in tourists to these sites. For the first time lay experts also began to take important positions within the Commission in the administration of cultural heritage. Thus, it seems that the Church is actively capitalising on the increase in visitor numbers, consciously allowing this to flourish as it recognises opportunities to fulfil its evangelist mission.

The CEI also released a series of documents that created a foundation for subsequent *Intese* or 'Accords' with the State. The first of these Accords between the State and the Vatican State was ratified with the 1996 legislative decree D.P.R.571/1996. It established regulatory mechanisms for the collaboration between the State and the Vatican and provided for a direct dialogue between the Minister and the President of the CEI or their delegates. Decisions made are filtered down to the dioceses that

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666 This dialogue takes place through meetings at which the Minister informs Church bodies of proposed work regarding Church cultural assets and in return obtains proposals as to how this should be carried out and vice versa. The collaborative process is overseen by the *Osservatorio Centrale per i Beni Religiosi di Proprietà Ecclesiastica* or 'Central Observatory for the Cultural Patrimony of the Church', comprising members of both the Ministry and the CEI.
then coordinate and collaborate with the respective Superintendencies of the various Regions, Provinces and Municipal Councils. When the State decided to decentralize administrative responsibilities for cultural heritage in 1998 giving more autonomy to the Regions, the Church responded by creating the *Conferenza Episcopale Regionale* (Regional Episcopal Conference). A member of this body sits on the Regional Directorates (State bodies) whose competencies are to coordinate the initiatives and directives of the State for the Regions, Provinces and Municipalities. The Regional Episcopal Conferences in Lombardy and Tuscany are particularly active and thus of relevance for this study since the management of tourism to holy sites is an important theme of these conferences.

The 1990s also saw the development of important initiatives towards creating a national catalogue of the cultural assets of the Church already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. As Monsignor Giancarlo Santi stated at the National Convention of Dioceses in 2004,

> in order to collaborate in a responsible and believable way with both private and public bodies the fundamental aim is to have an analytical knowledge of Church cultural wealth. Obviously cultural assets that are unknown cannot be administered.

The creation of an inventory was considered particularly urgent given the vulnerability of many churches and other sacred spaces to theft and damage due to lack of security systems as discussed earlier. Indeed, one of the sites examined for this thesis, the Pieve di San Pietro, removed artworks to its ecclesiastical museum partly for this reason. In 1992 the CEI called upon dioceses across the territory to coordinate the compilation and publication of inventories in all parishes under their administration. The dioceses were then to collaborate with the respective Superintendencies at both regional and municipal levels, in the development of catalogues of the Church's cultural assets according to guidelines laid down by the State. The absence, however, of a central body to specifically coordinate this directive meant a lack of impetus and therefore, yet another Church body was

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667 This was discussed in Chapter Three.
created, the *Ufficio Nazionale per i Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici* (National Office for the Cultural Assets of the Church).\(^671\) Its mandate was to promote and coordinate this project. As a result, the ‘Convention for the Creation of Inventories and Catalogues of Church Cultural Assets’\(^672\) was signed in 2002 by the CEI and the Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation (ICCD). Thus, a framework was established at the national level for the collaboration between State and Church, a delicate and complex relationship.

In January 2005, a new Accord between Church and State was signed in order to mirror changes made with the introduction of the 2004 State *Codex of Cultural Assets and the Landscape*. The Minister and the CEI agreed on a number of procedures related to inventories, catalogues, restoration and conservation, building interventions at sacred sites and the museumification of artifacts. Clear guidelines regarding the management of these were developed that reflected their intrinsic spiritual function as a first consideration.\(^673\) Important for this thesis is the agreement that all artifacts should, if possible, be kept in their original context and that monuments should retain their original physiognomy.\(^674\) Again the framework is complex with a three-tiered administrative structure for both State and Church, at the national, regional and local levels.\(^675\) The articulation of this structure is to ensure a unified and well-coordinated approach within the hierarchy although some freedom of initiative is encouraged: a fine balance between autonomy and collaboration. Figure 6 below illustrates the hierarchical administrative structure and relationship between Church and State bodies in cultural heritage management.


\(^{672}\) Santì, ( 2004), op.cit.; Santì, Giacomini Miari, and Mariani, (1997), op.cit.


\(^{675}\) Ibid. P. 82.
In matters of funding, the Vatican State may request support from the State under the 1996 and 2005 Accords. At the National level the Ministry and the *Ufficio Nazionale per i Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici* (National Office for the Cultural Assets of the Church) collaborate annually to develop a budget for the allocation of funding to the regional and local bodies.\(^{676}\) At the local level both the respective State and Church bodies decide on the distribution of the allocated funds to specific individual or team projects. The Vatican State can of course apply for funding from private organizations. Indicative also of the Church’s involvement in the economics of heritage is the membership of clergy on the boards of private organizations such as banks.\(^ {677}\) From the Church's perspective (expressed by the CEI in 1992) this is not

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just a funding exercise but also an important way of involving local communities especially the respective local Catholic community and raising awareness of its immense and often unknown cultural assets as well as using them as a proselytizing tool.678

In summary, this chapter has presented a historical overview of the management of the cultural wealth of the Catholic Church. In the early period of the development of the Church the approach to cultural asset management was straightforward. However, as understandings and attitudes developed regarding the merit of artworks and artists so that these were seen as both an economic asset as well as an intrinsic part of the liturgy, then the protection and conservation of these became a much more complex issue. This chapter has particularly focused on the management of heritage since Unification because the period saw the abolition of the Church’s temporal power and the confiscation of much of its enormous material wealth. It appears that both the Church and the State have overcome their long term differences and suspicions as a result of this politically motivated situation with a resulting collaborative relationship, a collaboration albeit 'controlled' by the Lateran Pacts.679

The collaborative relationship can be seen in several ways: the extensive cataloguing initiative, the agreements and understandings between both bodies, the accords underwritten by the Minister for Cultural Heritage and the CEI, the funding arrangements, the number of lay people given responsibilities by the Church in specialist heritage work, the creation of new Church bodies with competencies specifically in the area of cultural heritage and the creation of new training opportunities in the discipline.

As can be seen from this overview, the division of responsibility for the management of Italy’s cultural patrimony poses challenges for the Catholic Church in relation to its artworks. Since unification a three tier structure of Church, State and Regional and local councils exists so that cultural heritage is managed by different organisations: Vatican administrative bodies, the State run MiBAC, and Regional Councils with departments created for the management of heritage. There is,

therefore, a complex and multi-layered structure in place to oversee the cultural heritage of the Church in relation to the State.

Within the Catholic Church itself the relationship between the Vatican bodies and its diocese and other religious organisations is also complex. Parish churches, therefore, need to manage a variety of relationships linked to their artworks: relationships with their congregations, with heritage bodies, and with tourists seeking to ‘experience the Renaissance’ whose numbers vary according to the size and importance of the heritage sites. In addition, Church bodies need to address the financial and conservation issues related to their sites. These dynamics are increasingly being tested by the tourist juggernaut.

It is in the context of the historical overview presented in this and the previous chapters on the links between heritage tourism, State and Church policy development, and legislation in the sector of cultural heritage that the discussion will now turn to an examination in the following chapters of the impact of tourism on the four sites chosen for this study.
Chapter 5: Case Studies One and Two - Santa Trinita and the Pieve di San Pietro

Foras muros Florentiae civitatis prope ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis

The Catholic Church, especially in Italy, is a primary custodian of both tangible and intangible heritage. Conflict has developed between the traditional historic and religious role of the Catholic Church in Italy and the current demands of international heritage tourism with the result that the impact of tourism is changing the function and purpose of many holy sites. A coincidental and synchronous trend is the marked decrease in church attendance in Italy so much so that, as Volonzinkis points out, 'churches are emptied of worshippers while they are full the rest of the time with tourists, frequently non-Christians.' Thus, tourists from a myriad of cultural backgrounds with different world-views, cultural references and religious persuasions visit sites whose function was (and still is ostensibly) primarily spiritual and focussed on the Catholic liturgy. This has resulted in a changing interface between the religious institution and its contemporary visitors. A new range of stakeholders with different needs and interests has, therefore, emerged.

As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, the aim of the study is to investigate whether the apparent tension between the Catholic Church and heritage tourism is leading to the transformation, reluctantly or otherwise, of the nature of the church space from its traditional spiritual function into one with a more museum-like orientation. The study proposes that this transformation may be driven by a marked increase in the numbers of tourists to heritage sites. The relationship between the Catholic Church and heritage tourism is examined in the following three chapters through the case studies of four Catholic churches or church complexes in Tuscany.

680 ‘outside the walls of the city of Florentia near the Church of Santa Trinita’. My translation from a contract registered in 1077. AA.VV., “Diplomatico, Badia di Ripoli,” (Firenze: Archivio di Stato, 19 luglio, 1077).
682 Museums and their management features have been discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. Pp. 17-23.
Three of these are situated in Florence and are the Church of Santa Trinita\textsuperscript{683}, the Basilica of San Lorenzo that forms part of the Laurentian Complex, and the Basilica of Santa Croce that is part of the Santa Croce Complex. The fourth site is the Pieve di San Pietro\textsuperscript{684} situated about thirty kilometres south of Florence at Cascia, Reggello. All four sites are characterised by high tourist numbers, significant site markers, location and various levels of complexity in their management models. They also hold substantial examples of Renaissance heritage materials, some with more collections than others.

The previous four chapters have laid the foundations for the case study investigations by presenting an overview of heritage tourism in Italy and specifically Florence as well as examining the development of cultural heritage policies by the Catholic Church and by the State both prior to Unification in 1868 and after Unification. The particular focus of these chapters was the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State and the development of a collaborative environment in which the protection of the nation’s cultural heritage could be better managed. Important for this thesis are the implications that the relationship has for the introduction of museum-like infrastructures in Catholic Churches that are also high profile tourist sites.

An important consideration to preface this and the following chapters is that the sites chosen for the study are amongst those most visited by tourists seeking the Renaissance experience in and near Florence, the city ‘branded’ in many tourism discourses as the archetypal Renaissance city. This is a dominant narrative in tourism representations of the city and the region of Tuscany despite scholarly debate to the contrary.\textsuperscript{685} Indeed, as Paoletti and Radke opine, its reputation has made other famous cities such as Rome and Venice ‘seem like cultural and artistic satellites of the Tuscan capital’.\textsuperscript{686} Also of interest in this regard is the comment from one of the interviewees for this study, Franca Arduini, Director of the Laurentian Library from 1996 to 2009 who has said, secondo me questa identificazione di Firenze col

\textsuperscript{683} The accent is placed on the first syllable to indicate the Florentine pronunciation of this word that would usually have an accent on the final ‘a’.
\textsuperscript{684} A ‘pieve’ is the term for a small parish church usually in a rural setting.
\textsuperscript{685} Staiff, (2010), op.cit.
The persistence of this narrative is crucial to the present study as it underpins the principle reasons for the huge numbers of tourists visiting Florence and the consequences it brings to the sites chosen for the study.

The four case studies selected for the study are organised in a sequence of chapters that reflects the site size and the numbers of visitors to the site. The overall Site Selection Matrix in Figure 7 below diagrammatically represents the four sites in relation to three primary selection criteria: the physical size of the site as represented by the area of the bubble, the number of tourists (low to high) and the perceived relative strength of the management structure (weak to strong).

This chapter presents the first two case studies; an investigation of the Church of Santa Trinita in Florence and the Pieve di San Pietro at Cascia. Both churches hold significant collections of Renaissance heritage materials amongst other notable works of art. The two sites are presented in one chapter due to the apparent lack of complexity of both monuments in terms of their management structures, the smaller number of Renaissance artefacts held by these sites compared to those of the other two case studies and the lower numbers of visitors to each site. Chapter Six examines the Laurentian Complex and Chapter Seven explores the Complex of Santa Croce.

*In my view this identification of Florence with the Renaissance impoverishes her*. My translation. Appendix A, Interview 5.
The investigations seek to establish whether there may be an association between the numbers of tourists visiting these sites, the complexity of the management structures and the tendency for these structures to mirror those found in mainstream museums.

**Case Study Structure**

All of the case studies are similarly structured. Firstly, a site profile presents a background to the investigation. Secondly, the site selection criteria for each monument are discussed. This includes a more detailed investigation of the basis for the popularity of the site as a tourist destination and an exploration of the site management structure. Finally, general findings are presented and preliminary conclusions are drawn regarding the impact of heritage tourism on each site and whether management structures being implemented parallel those found in mainstream museums. Three main site investigation criteria are used in the study.

Firstly, the study applies the concept of key ‘Markers’ for tourist attractions derived from the Model of Tourist Attractions adapted by Staiff from the work of MacCannell\(^{688}\) and Urry\(^{689}\) (see Figure 8 below and full diagram of Staiff Model in Appendix B). According to MacCannell a tourist attraction comprises three elements: the Site/Sight, the Tourist and the Marker(s). The Site/Sight is the physical space/target of the Tourist ‘gaze’,\(^{690}\) and the Marker points the Tourist to the attraction.

![Figure 8. Model of Tourist Attractions. (Source: © Staiff)](image)

The term ‘Marker’ refers to the set of values attached to the site through information derived from a variety of sources such as guidebooks, local tourist information,  

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\(^{688}\) MacCannell, (1999), op.cit.  
\(^{689}\) Urry, (1995), op.cit. Urry states ‘the tourist gaze is increasingly signposted. There are markers which identify what things and places are worthy of our gaze.’ P. 139.  
\(^{690}\) ———, (2002), op.cit.
historical accounts, scholarly texts, anecdotal reports from other tourists and so on. Interest is generated and the tourist can relate to and interpret the various features of the site. A Marker provides meaning and also signifies the attraction. As MacCannell states, the Marker/information may be on-sight or off-sight. Staiff has expanded the term ‘Marker’ to a set of nine elements and his model suggests that these may be weak or strong. When the attractors are particularly strong the site may be called a tourist icon. This model will be used to help ascertain if a more direct relationship exists between the ‘Markers’, the numbers of visitors to the sites and the management structure employed.

Secondly, the investigation evaluates the characteristics of the management structures at each site in relation to specific criteria. These criteria, or characteristics of the management structure itself, are complexity, sophistication, innovation, integration, collaboration, effectiveness and elegance. Complexity indicates the range of organisational elements present in the management systems at each site whilst sophistication indicates the way these elements have been enmeshed to create a harmonious balanced system. Innovation is used to separate the traditional and conservative approaches to management from the visionary. Integration illustrates the extent to which the religious functions of the site are separated from the artefacts and other elements, and collaboration indicates the nature of the relationship between the key stakeholders and other partners at the site. Effectiveness is an overall performance indicator expressing the success of the site managers in fulfilling their objectives and elegance refers to the apparent seamlessness with which the site achieves its organisational aims.

Thirdly, in presenting the findings a composite set of museum attributes (see Appendix C) drawn from ICOM and Lazzeretti, Dicks and Hooper-Greenhill is used to ascertain the museum-like nature of each site. Comments from interviews with key stakeholders in the administration of these sites are incorporated

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693 Lazzeretti, Cinti, and Mariani, (2004), op.cit. Pp. 43-46
694 Dicks, (2003), op.cit. Pp. 7-13
in the findings to help illustrate aspects of the transformations occurring at each site in the face of increased visitor numbers.

The Church of Santa Trinita

Figure 9. Façade of the Church of Santa Trinita. (Source: © J. Ryde)

Site Profile

The history and the architecture of this church are complex and have been much discussed by historians and scholars\(^{696}\) since Vasari first attributed its design to

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Nicola Pisano.\textsuperscript{697} The first documentation relating to the existence of the Church of Santa Trinità is a deed of contract published in 1077 that makes reference to an ecclesiastical structure, known as Santa Trinita, located outside the walls of the city: \textit{foras muros Florentiae civitatis prope ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis}.\textsuperscript{698} However, Saalman who undertook an archaeological excavation of the site between 1957 and 1958, identified an older structure under the current nave that was possibly a small oratory dating to the Carolingian era. He calls this Trinita I and he posits that it may have been a small pilgrimage chapel.\textsuperscript{699} His conclusions were based on architectural similarities with other buildings in Italy and wider Europe that date to the same period.\textsuperscript{700}

Between ca.1060 and ca.1180 a Romanesque church that Saalman calls Trinita II, still partly visible today, was built over the earlier structure.\textsuperscript{701} The Church came into the possession of the monks of the Vallombrosan Order\textsuperscript{702} in 1092\textsuperscript{703} and, under their custodianship, further modifications were carried out to serve their religious functions.\textsuperscript{704}

Between ca.1250 and ca.1415 the present church was reconstructed in the Gothic style.\textsuperscript{705} A sacristy was added in the fifteenth century and the final major alterations were made in 1592 when Buontalenti build the Mannerist façade.\textsuperscript{706} He also

\textsuperscript{697} Vasari, (1996), op.cit. This attribution has also been much discussed and regarded as erroneous by the scholarly community. Despite this tourist guidebooks continue to cite Vasari’s view.
\textsuperscript{698} See footnote 680 of this chapter for the translation.
\textsuperscript{700} Ibid. Pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{701} Ibid. P. 9.
\textsuperscript{702} The Vallombrosan Order was founded in 1036 by St. Giovanni Gualberto and is a Catholic Monastic Congregation that is part of the Benedictine Order. The monastery was founded in Vallombrosa situated 33 kilometres south of Florence near Reggello. It was sacked by Napoleon and the abbey fell into disrepair. It was then secularised after Unification.
\textsuperscript{704} Saalman associates two separate structures with this period that he calls Trinita IIa and IIb. Saalman, (1966), op.cit. P. 10. He also provides evidence of a third construction phase in the mid thirteenth century. Ibid. P. 19-30.
\textsuperscript{706} Saalman, (1966), op.cit. P. 4.
designed the cloisters for the monastery that are no longer part of the church.\textsuperscript{707} In summary, the Church of Santa Trinita spans a period of over a thousand years making it one of the oldest Christian buildings in Florence. It also represents one of earliest examples of Gothic architecture introduced to Italy by the Cistercian monks in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{708}

The current church has a footprint of about fifteen hundred square metres divided into a broad nave and two side aisles. It comprises twelve side chapels, five chapels in the transept including the high altar, and the sacristy that was once the memorial chapel of Onofrio Strozzi, one of the Medici family’s chief bankers. See Figure 10 below for a plan of the Church. Santa Trinita is the third largest of the heritage tourist sites examined in this thesis.

The building itself was well known and highly appreciated by artists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and its plan was imitated by many architects of this period.\textsuperscript{709} Early evidence of the prestige of Santa Trinita can be found in what might be considered the first guidebook to Florence written by Francesco Bocchi in the late Sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{710} Bocchi comments that the Church \textit{risponde all’occhio con molta grazia ... [e] ... dagli uomini intendenti è tenuta in molta stima}\textsuperscript{711} also remarking that Michelangelo admired the \textit{somma bellezza} or ‘outstanding beauty\textsuperscript{712} of this church and that as a particular favourite he spoke of it as \textit{la mia dama} or ‘My Lady’. Michelangelo reportedly used to say, \textit{vado a sentire messa dalla mia dama}.\textsuperscript{713}

\textsuperscript{707} The monastery was suppressed during the Napoleonic period and this together with its cloisters was secularised. The buildings became property of the Italian State after Unification and the cloisters currently belong to the University of Florence. Ibid. P. 36.
\textsuperscript{709} Gaston, (2006), op.cit. P. 332.
\textsuperscript{710} Bocchi, (1591), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{711} ‘responds to the eye with a immense grace ... [and] is held in high esteem by those who are qualified in these matters’. My translation after Bocchi. Ibid. P. 185.
\textsuperscript{712} Ibid. P. 185.
\textsuperscript{713} ‘I am going to mass at My Lady [Santa Trinita]’. My translation. Michelangelo cited in ibid. P. 185.
This church has been chosen as a case study for two reasons. Firstly, it is a popular, although not high profile, heritage monument located in the heart of the historic centre of Florence and attracts a significant number of tourists. Secondly, it has a
management structure that may provide a useful benchmark for comparison purposes as all religious institutions develop new ways to manage increased visitor numbers, some of which appear to reflect practices found in mainstream museums.

**Site Popularity**

The Church of Santa Trinita attracts significant numbers of visitors for four reasons: its historical and architectural importance, its accessibility within the historic centre of Florence, the publicity given to the site in guidebooks and other sources of tourist information on the city and most importantly its collection of Renaissance artefacts amongst other notable works.

Firstly, this church is one of the oldest churches in Florence and is therefore of significant historical and architectural importance. It is a document to the development of architectural styles in Florence and in particular is an outstanding example of Gothic architecture introduced to the city in the thirteenth century that was a sign of the modernity of the time.\(^{714}\) A brief historiography of the church was presented in the site profile above.

Secondly, it is a popular site because it is recommended to tourists in information published widely in guidebooks and other significant sources particularly the *Azienda Promozione Turistica* (APT), Italy’s national tourist board that also has a branch in Florence. The most popular guidebooks both in Italian and English\(^{715}\) tend to be consistent in the amount of information provided and the format used. A short text is presented without plans or photographs, usually within the body of the content under the section for the administrative Quarter of Florence where the church is located (the *Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella*). The text singles out two key highlights for the tourist at this site: the frescoes by Domenico Ghirlandaio and the altarpiece and frescoes by Lorenzo Monaco. A survey of the most popular

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\(^{714}\) See footnote 708, p.139 of this chapter.  
\(^{715}\) City Secrets: Florence, Venice and the Towns of Italy; Eyewitness Travel: Florence and Tuscany; Eyewitness Travel: Italy; Fodor’s Essential Italy; Fodor’s Florence and Tuscany; Frommer’s Italy; Insight Guides: Italy; Lonely Planet: Florence; Lonely Planet: Best of Florence; Mandragora Guides: Firenze; Touring Club Italiano: Toscana; The Rough Guide to Florence and Siena; The AA Explorer Guide to Italy. For full citations see the Reference list.
guidebooks found that, while Santa Trinita is listed as one of the sites to visit in the historic centre of Florence, it is not highlighted as a star attraction.

Thirdly, the Church of Santa Trinita is popular as a tourist attraction due to its location in the historic centre of Florence making it easily accessible to tourists, particularly those who spend a maximum of two days or less in the city.\footnote{Becheri, (1995), op.cit. Pp. 207-208.} Since speed, accessibility and efficiency are key components of the modern tour, ease of access and a central position within a small compact historic centre make this site attractive to tour operators devising itineraries for tourists with limited time.\footnote{Kaelber, (2006), op.cit. P. 53.}

Finally, and most importantly, Santa Trinita is popular because it holds a significant collection of Renaissance artefacts amongst other notable works. Thus it attracts many visitors seeking evidence of the Renaissance in Florence.

Mention has already been made in this chapter of the predominance of tourism representations of Florence as the archetypal Renaissance city. Many of the church’s wealthy patrons commissioned the artworks found at this site and the building is, therefore, a testament to the religious and social fabric of the city of that period. It is particularly renowned for important works by major artists of the so-called Early Florentine Renaissance such as Gentile da Fabbriano, Fra Angelico, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Giuliano da Sangallo, Desiderio da Settignano, Luca della Robbia and Domenico Ghirlandaio, some of which are still in situ. Furthermore, Santa Trinita once held the outstanding ‘Maestà’ (ca.1280) by Cimabue commissioned for the high altar, now displayed in the Uffizi gallery.

Arguably the most important works of art in situ, and those that attract the most visitors to the church, are the Renaissance frescoes in the Sassetti Chapel. (See Figure 10 for the position of this Chapel in the church). These were commissioned from Domenico Ghirlandaio by Francesco Sassetti between 1483 and 1486. It is these frescoes that are highlighted in guidebooks to Florence for this site. As an attraction they are often linked to viewing the frescoes by the same artist in the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella. Importantly Francesco Sassetti and his wife Nera...
Corsi are both buried in sarcophagi within the chapel. Usually laymen were buried either outside the sacred space in cemeteries and *avelli*\(^{718}\) or if inside the Church under the floor of the nave. It was an exceptional occurrence and, therefore, a mark of the prestige of the patrons if buried, as are the Sassetti, within the Chapel itself.\(^{719}\) The black marble sarcophagi are also important works of art attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo, the Renaissance architect who worked for Lorenzo de' Medici.\(^{720}\) The other outstanding work of art in the Chapel that completes the ensemble is its altarpiece, the ‘Adoration of the Shepherds’ (1485) also commissioned from Ghirlandaio. This is an important painting as it signals the incorporation of Flemish style and techniques that had been introduced to Renaissance Florence through the Portinari Diptych by Hugo Van der Goes now located in the Uffizi Gallery.\(^{721}\)

The Sassetti Chapel is particularly attractive to visitors seeking the Renaissance experience in Florence because it portrays scenes of contemporary life in Medicean Florence. It is the Medici family who are most closely associated with all that is seen to define the Florentine Renaissance\(^{722}\) and whose relationship with the city is a principle drawcard for heritage tourism. The fresco celebrates Sassetti’s status as a close associate of the Medici family as the general manager of their bank and Ghirlandaio has included many identifiable portraits of this family, their friends and associates. He also includes a portrait of himself and his brother in law and collaborator Sebastiano Mainardi.\(^{723}\) In addition, this fresco is an important historical document that gives a view of the Piazza Santa Trinita in the fifteenth century as well as the Romanesque façade of the Church before the Mannerist reconstruction of this by Buontalenti in the sixteenth century.

The Sassetti Chapel is also an important structure in documenting the introduction of rights given to lay individuals to purchase privately owned memorial chapels in

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\(^{718}\) *Avelli* are the arched niches in the exterior walls of churches such as those found at the Basilica of Santa Croce, the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella as well as Santa Trinita.

\(^{719}\) Borsook and Offerhaus, (1981), op.cit. P. 17. Other examples of this prestige are the tombs of the Baroncelli and Bardi within their chapels in the Basilica of Santa Croce and the Medici family in the Sacristy in the Basilica of San Lorenzo.


\(^{721}\) For a detailed analysis of these two paintings see the monograph on Santa Trinita by Eve Borsook and Johannes Offerhaus. Borsook and Offerhaus, (1981), op.cit.


\(^{723}\) For a detailed examination of this fresco cycle see Eve Borsook and Johannes Offerhaus’ seminal monograph on the site. Borsook and Offerhaus, (1981), op.cit.
public sacred spaces for delivering masses to the dead. This ‘privatisation’ of sacred spaces was popular between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and was introduced as a way of raising funds for the construction and renovation of churches. This also served a dual purpose of facilitating a display of wealth and prestige as well gaining absolution for owning such wealth. It also enabled the family to physically position itself close to the high altar so that come Judgement Day they would be in the aura and visual sight of the rising saints whose relics were so located. The introduction of this practice impacted church architecture of the period more widely but changed the appearance of urban space particularly in Florence that experienced a boom in ecclesiastical construction beginning with the Cathedral. It also corresponded with the demand for more chapels in response to the Black Death.

Another popular focus for visitors to Santa Trinita is the Bartolini-Salimbeni Chapel that holds premier works by the artist Lorenzo Monaco working in Florence in the early fifteenth century. (See Figure 10 for the position of this Chapel in the church). The frescoes and the altarpiece of the Annunciation painted between 1420 and 1424 are important because they signal stylistic changes in Florentine painting after Giotto.

Management Structure

The second reason for the choice of this monument as a case study is the nature of its management structure.

Of importance in examining the management structure is that the Vallombrosan Order ministering the religious functions of the Church of Santa Trinita was suppressed by the Italian Government in 1866 after Unification and the Church

724 Ibid. P. 16.
became the property of the State.\footnote{This legislation and its ramifications have been discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis.} This site is now only one of the four remaining monasteries of the Vallombrosan Order in Italy and it is where the Abbott General resides. Santa Trinita then is both a monastery and a functioning religious institution but is the property of the State. The site managers are both the State through the Superintendency of Florence and the Vallombrosan Order. The dual management structure derives from the collaborative agreements in the Lateran Pacts of 1929 and important amendments to the Concordate in the 1980s that paved the way for the establishment of mutually beneficial relationships between the State and the Catholic Church relating to the cultural wealth of the Church.\footnote{This has been examined in Chapter Four.} The State through the Florentine Cultural Heritage Commission (SSPSAE)\footnote{The administrative body for State monuments within the city of Florence is the Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale per la Città di Firenze (SSPSAE). This institution has special autonomy (as do those in other heritage cities such as Venice and Rome) under the Ministry for Cultural Wealth. Florence is divided into four administrative areas and one specialist is responsible for all the State monuments within the respective areas in the city.} manages the conservation and restoration of the artworks and the building and is remote from the Church. The Vallombrosan Order manages the site on a daily basis and is responsible for the maintenance of the building and the safety of the artworks. The Order employs an \textit{oblato} or lay brother to be present in the Church for surveillance purposes when the monks cannot attend.

**Findings**

Unfortunately no precise information on visitor numbers to the site is available as there is no entrance fee. Observations by the author over a period of two weeks\footnote{Visitors observed over a period of two weeks both in low and high season averaged about 250 daily.} together with anecdotal evidence from the site managers, the Vallombrosan monks, puts estimates at about two hundred visitors daily and eighty-five thousand annually. A review of the available site visitor demographics indicates that this church is still primarily an active religious institution with a relatively large congregation. The numbers attending religious functions suggest on average around twenty participants attend the various masses during the week, while a large congregation of about three hundred attends the morning mass on Sunday. These statistics were confirmed in an interview with Padre Gabriele, Prior of the Church at the time of writing. However, it
was noted that, whilst once Santa Trinita was a thriving parish church with an active congregation, this is now changing. Now that most of the buildings in the city centre are either offices or shops, very few families have continued to live in the area so the congregation is now aging and is more transient. Whilst it is not unusual to see people coming to pray throughout the day as tourists are visiting the site, tourism seems to be peripheral to the role of this Church despite the reasonably large numbers visiting it daily.

Padre Torello Nocioni, Abbot of the Vallombrosan Order from 1966 to 1972 who published a short guidebook to the Church, noted an increase in tourism to the site as far back as the 1960s. This corresponds with the growth of air travel with increases in tourist numbers particularly rapid in the 1970s when jumbo jets (Boeing 747s) were introduced in 1972. Whilst not stating any specific numbers for that period, he comments on the *folle di turisti* or ‘crowds of tourists descending on the site’. Nocioni, (1980), op.cit. P. 8.

When interviewed, Padre Gabriele expressed the view that, although numbers of tourists to the church are increasing, there are generally no problems with overcrowding and at present the monks feel that tourism in under control in this space. Unlike other more heavily visited religious sites along the so-called *turisdotto* or ‘tourist pipeline’ of Florence, areas are not roped off as dedicated spaces for those wishing to pray. It appears that this site is still first and foremost a functioning religious institution serving the local community.

Although situated in the historic centre of Florence and, therefore, within the range of monuments easily accessible to visitors, Santa Trinita is not included in the group of premier sites singled out by guidebooks as ‘must sees’ in the city.

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733 Appendix A, Interview 7.
734 The term was coined by the Touring Club of Italy and often used in their publications to refer to the standard routes taken by tourists in Italy. Morelli, (2003), op.cit. P. 65.
Santa Trinità can, thus, be considered as being slightly off the so-called ‘beaten track’. Figure 11 above shows the location of the Church in relation to the principle tourist routes shaded in grey.

Accessibility to the site is somewhat compromised by the restrictions in opening hours. The Church is only open in the mornings and late afternoon and closed on Sundays except for religious functions. Padre Gabriele commented that the Order is satisfied with these hours and sees no likelihood of changes in the near future. Tourists are asked not to enter during any religious functions so that visits have to be coordinated to suit these hours. Therefore, this site is not as accessible as other sites from a tour operator perspective. Many scholars and critics have written about the Church beginning with Vasari who, as pointed out in the Introduction, together with Burckhardt is closely associated with popularising Florence as the centre of the

735 ‘Off the beaten track’ is a term used in popular guide books to suggest alternative places to visit to avoid heavily touristed sites. James Buzard converts the term into ‘the beaten track’, to indicate well used tourism routes. Buzard, (1993), op.cit.
736 These hours are set by the Florentine Town Council in order to regulate church functions and particularly the ringing of bells before 7 am.
737 See footnote 696, p. 138 of this chapter for seminal texts on this site.
Italian Renaissance. However, less has been written about the monument in popular travel writing and contemporary literature. Thus, the site is also less familiar to tourists visiting Florence and, therefore, not as ‘marked’ as a tourist destination, therefore attracting fewer tourists compared to the so-called key sites.

As remarked in the introduction to this chapter, Staiff (after MacCannell and Urry) proposes a set of nine attributes or ‘Markers’ that might identify a site as an attractive tourist destination. Those aspects of Santa Trinita found to be aligned with some of these ‘Markers’ include the following. It enjoys strong aesthetic, historical, heritage and cultural value as outlined above. It is a unique site due to its architecture and artefacts although the integrity of the site is somewhat compromised due to the removal of several of its original artworks. This will be discussed below. The familiarity of the site through information available from guidebooks, tourism websites and other sources, also ‘mark’ it out as a tourist attraction although not as a premier monument in Florence. Finally, it plays a role in one of the popular tourist narratives of Florence as a Renaissance city.

However, despite being secondary to the main ‘pilgrimage’ tourist route in Florence and perhaps not as well known as other churches in this city, Santa Trinita has become a focus of visits by heritage tourists because of its important collection of Renaissance artworks that have been outlined above. It is more likely to be visited by tourists who spend more than one day in Florence and have time to visit less prominent monuments. Furthermore, it seems these visitors are more likely to have specialised knowledge of the site. Padre Gabriele also remarks that many school groups visit the Church during the annual spring gite scolastiche (school excursions) but that other tourist groups are usually small in size. He commented that sometimes problems arise with tour leaders who can often be strident especially when several tour groups are visiting the site concurrently. Whilst his comments were conciliatory, the impression from the interview was that tourists are often an annoyance and that the monks would really prefer not to have them at the site.

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738 Interviews have not been carried out with tourists visiting the site and this would be an interesting focus for future research.

739 The school system in Italy provides a period each year in April and May for students to embark on school excursions with a cultural heritage focus. They have initiated great debate regarding their value to the school curriculum and the disturbance and overcrowding they cause in heritage sites.
Another factor that may also influence the number of tourists to the site is the quantity of artworks available in comparison to the more high profile sites. The integrity of the site appears to be somewhat compromised as it does not contain its entire collection of original works. The Gentile da Fabriano altarpiece made for the Strozzi Chapel, now serving as the Sacristy, was removed from the site and is held in the Uffizi Gallery. (See Figure 10 for the position of the Sacristy in the Church). The Fra Angelico ‘Deposition’ also painted for the Strozzi family, was removed to the Accademia Gallery and is now in the Museum of San Marco. The Cimabue ‘Maestà’, commissioned for the main altar, is now also located in the Uffizi Gallery. This altarpiece was replaced by Alessio Baldovinetti’s ‘Holy Trinity and the Saints’, now in the Accademia and again by a third altarpiece, Mariotto di Nardo’s triptych. This painting was originally commissioned for another chapel in the body of the Church, removed for restoration after the flood of 1966 and then placed above the choir on the right side of the high altar. The Florentine superintendency then placed it as a centrepiece for the high altar. This has caused some conflict between the Florentine Superintendency and the Vallombrosan monks. When interviewed, Padre Gabriele expressed dismay that the altarpiece has been placed in a position that obstructs the administering of the liturgy. He points out in the interview that this altarpiece was not painted for the high altar and at the time of writing discussions are in progress to have its position addressed.

Not only have many of the works been removed but the displays within the site have also been somewhat re-managed. As pointed out by Padre Gabriele, the integrity of Santa Trinita is further compromised by the importation of many of the artworks in the side chapels that were not intended for this Church. He remarked that, memorial chapels, once the property of local wealthy families who paid for their decoration by high profile artists, have now become simply display cases for artworks brought here by the Florentine Cultural Heritage Commission from the Uffizi Gallery storage rooms. Furthermore, a significant number of works were lost when the walls were whitewashed during the renovations in the late seventeenth and

741 Appendix A, Interview 7.
742 Ibid.
early eighteenth centuries\textsuperscript{743} and have unfortunately not been retrieved in the various restorations of the building.

The aging of the clergy and their replacement is an important issue that has bearing on the future of the Church. The interview with Padre Gabriele revealed that only four monks remain at Santa Trinita, half the number present in the 1980s and the current monks are all elderly. He also comments on the general decrease in the numbers of the Vallombrosan clergy and the difficulties of replacing the aging monks, an ongoing problem at all the monasteries of the Order. This raises the question of the future management of Santa Trinita. At present there is always a monk or lay brother present in the body of the Church but there may be some security issues in the future as has occurred with the Basilica of San Lorenzo, the case study that will be presented in the next chapter.

The management structure is traditional in nature and contrasts with the more complex management structures found in the larger churches chosen as case studies for this thesis. The site shows some rudimentary introduction of museum-like attributes and facilities. The organisation of the site is time driven since visits are regulated by limited opening times. Some concessions have been made to accommodate visitors but the religious functions appear to have precedence over visits by tourists. This appears to be directly related to the numbers of tourists visiting the site. There is no entrance fee and therefore the monument has no commercial profile.

There is a collaborative relationship between the two administrative bodies and they are in frequent contact. According to Padre Gabriele, the Order is happy with this arrangement and particularly that the building and artworks are managed by the Superintendency as they have the expertise. This is advantageous for the Order as it means it has no financial responsibility for the restoration and conservation of the Church as a monument. Although the State is responsible for funding, in reality little money is forthcoming and it has been suggested that the Vallombrosans look for sponsorship for restoration projects. The Order is totally opposed to the introduction

\textsuperscript{743} Nocioni, (1980), op.cit. P. 25.
of an entrance fee and Padre Gabriele commented that, if this were to occur, it would be preferable for the artworks to be removed and placed in a museum. He stated,

... noi vogliamo mantenere una nostra basilica in quanto Benedettini, come luogo di culto, luogo di preghiera, luogo casa di Dio. Eccolo! E se le esigenze delle opera d’arte lo esigono, facciano qualche museo in centro.\footnote{‘... we want to keep our church as a Benedictine church, as a spiritual place, a place of prayer, a place which is a house of God. There it is! And if the needs of the artworks dictate otherwise, then a museum should be created in the city centre.’ My translation. Appendix A, Interview 7.}

Some rudimentary facilities have been put in place for tourists and reflect simple services provided to visitors in museums. The main similarity is the information provided. However, the information available to tourists at this site is both limited and unsophisticated and very little published portable material is provided. The main information available is in the form of text panels inside the entrance to the Church that give historical details as well as a plan of the site. The information is given in only Italian and English on double sided boards.

A small simple pamphlet translated into several languages giving historical and artistic information about the site is also available. This is part of a series of pamphlets giving information on Florentine churches published under the coordination of Mons. Verdon.\footnote{A set of pamphlets were produced for all the principle churches in Florence by the \textit{Ufficio Diocesano per la Catechesi attraverso l’Arte} or Diocese Office for Catechesis through Art, a department of the Archdiocese of Florence under the coordination of Mons. Verdon. See footnote 661, p. 127.} There are no explanatory text panels within the

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure12.jpg}
\caption{Text Panel at entrance. (Source: © J. Ryde)}
\end{figure}
chapels to give information about the artworks. Small plaques attached to the exterior walls of the chapels are the only identification texts. There is no shop on site but a small desk has been set up near the Sassetti Chapel where texts that have been written and published by the monks can be purchased; however, most are only available in Italian. One of these texts has been translated into English. One audio-guide slot machine is provided with two headphones but the recording is poor and out of date as is the technology. There is no website for the monument.

Finally, short guided tours on the history of the site and its artworks are offered by voluntary guides affiliated to the Assciatione Ars et Fides.746 However, these are

746 Ars et Fides (Art and Faith) is an international non profit organisation set up in 1984 to communicate the Christian faith through art. Volunteer guides are trained by the Catechism office of the Archdiocese of Florence and provide short tours in a number of languages in the four main churches in Florence: the Cathedral, Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella and San Lorenzo as well as a number of smaller churches in the city.
only available on a sporadic basis as most of the guides give their services to the larger monuments. A small table and chair is set up in a side chapel for this service.

A stronger emphasis has been placed on retaining natural lighting in the Church. There is minimal use of artificial lighting and where used it is subdued. The lower level of lighting evokes different sensations and moods creating a more contemplative space. Interviews\(^\text{747}\) confirm that this lighting is a conscious management choice to retain the quality of the meditative space: a more haptic and less Euclidean experience of space as explored by Staiff in his study ‘The Somatic and the Aesthetic: Embodied Heritage Tourism Experiences of Luang Prabang, Laos’.\(^\text{748}\) The senses are more concentrated, focused and integrated and the monks are, therefore, able to maintain the reverence of the space. This approach is also in keeping with the original functions of these religious spaces. In the past churches and especially side chapels would have only been lit by candles or natural light. In effect, as Jonathan Katz Nelson has commented, these spaces and their artworks were originally intended as private spaces and closed off to public viewing.\(^\text{749}\) He states that in adapting these church spaces for modern tourism an understanding of the original function has been lost. He goes on to say,

> Not surprisingly, we often conflate these ecclesiastical settings with modern temples of culture - the museums - where the paintings and sculptures once found in chapels are now conserved in environments radically different from those for which they were intended.\(^\text{750}\)

There is, however, a nod towards providing a clearer, if brief, visual experience for tourists wishing to see the artworks. Most chapels with the exception of the Sassetti chapel have muted spotlights that can be switched on by tourists if they wish, but observations in the church indicate that these are rarely activated, as the particular focus of interest for visitors is the Sassetti Chapel. This Chapel has a coin-operated light that is also one of the few means for the monks to earn some revenue. The Bartolini-Salimbeni Chapel is permanently lit but with low-level lighting. Therefore, it appears that the monks are meeting the visitors/customer needs to a certain point.

\(^{747}\) Appendix A, Interview 7.  
\(^{748}\) Staiff, (2012), op.cit.  
\(^{749}\) Nelson, (2006), op.cit.  
\(^{750}\) Ibid. P. 374.
but this is also left to the discretion of the user. Thus, the monks allow the visitor to engage with the space in a more museum-like way but this is subtle and user-activated.

Figure 14. Santa Trinita Image Set 2 (Source: © J. Ryde)
Top, left to right: Lighting in the nave; Bartolini-Salimbeni Chapel
Bottom, left to right: Sassetti Chapel in natural light; Sassetti Chapel illuminated by coin operated lighting

In summary, the first case study of this chapter has examined a site with a conservative, simplified management structure that reflects the numbers of visitors, the size of the monument and the depth and breadth of the artefacts located at the site. Whilst the church is located in the historical centre of Florence, the tourist literature does not point to this monument as a high profile site to be visited in the
city. Two bodies, the State and the Vallombrosan Order share the administrative responsibilities of the monument in a harmonious relationship although there is some suggestion of isolated examples of conflict. Despite its simplistic organisational structure, some evidence of the facilities available to visitors in mainstream museums can be observed but this is mainly exemplified in the rudimentary information provided to visitors and the way in which the illumination of artworks is managed.

**The Pieve di San Pietro**

The second case study presented in this chapter is the Pieve di San Pietro\(^{751}\) located in the town of Cascia in the province of Reggello in the Valdarno area, thirty kilometres south of Florence.

![Figure 15. Map of Tuscany showing Cascia in relation to Florence.](image)

This area is famous for its 'pievi' or parish churches situated along the ancient pilgrim route from Fiesole to Rome. The town of Cascia was a *pagus* or administrative centre built along the route to maintain the road. The Roman *pagus*

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\(^{751}\) The parish church of St Peter.
subsequently became the centre of a plebs\textsuperscript{752} with the advent of Christianity and an early palaeochristian church with a baptismal font was built here.

![Figure 16. Exterior: Pieve di San Pietro. (Source: © Museo Masaccio)](image)

**Site Profile**

The Pieve di San Pietro was constructed in the eleventh century in Cascia and was later replaced by the present Romanesque construction.\textsuperscript{753} The Pieve is located on the Cassia Vetus, the old Roman consular road from which Cascia derives its name and that linked the towns of Fiesole and Arezzo. The pievi or pilgrim churches were often constructed beside a particular tree, usually an elm, that played a dual role both as a route marker and a marker of the Christian faith.\textsuperscript{754} This marker can be seen in the photograph in Figure 16 and is also present in a sixteenth century fresco of the Pieve now held in the Masaccio Museum located behind the church. (See Figure 17 below).

\textsuperscript{752} A small rural community with a parish church.
\textsuperscript{754} This is expressed in a document from 1030 written by the Abbess Itta from one of the first convents in the area of Fiesole. She writes, …adesso si deve prendere esempio dall’olmo nella vigna, che pur non produce esso stesso frutti utili, fa prosperare le vite con la sua ombra’. ‘… now we should follow the example of the elm tree near the vineyard, that although does not produce useful fruit itself, allows the vine to prosper with its shade.’ My translation. Text cited in M.I. Lanzarini, *San Pietro a Cascia: Notizie Diverse Intorno alla Pieve.* (Fiesole: Servizio Editoriale Fiesolano, 2000). P. 5.
The Pieve di San Pietro is an important example of Romanesque architecture with the later addition of a stone portico in 1569 that appears to be a replacement for an earlier portico possibly made of wood. Few changes have been made to the fundamental structure of the Pieve. The site was recognised as a national monument through legislation in 1939 during the Fascist Regime. Mention has already been made in Chapter Four of the contribution of the Regime to the nation’s cultural heritage legislation. As Don Failli, the parish priest, has pointed out in the interview, ...

una presa di coscienza che l’opera va tutelata, va difesa, va protetta ecco, va conservata. The architect Guido Morozzi, the Regional Superintendent for cultural heritage, carried out restorations between 1961 and 1967, removing the Baroque additions to ‘return’ the Pieve to an earlier period and perhaps, therefore, to one more in keeping with popularity of the Medieval and Renaissance periods. In addition, he identified a series of buildings annexed to the Pieve as a potential space for a future museum as well as spaces for the activities of the parish. Further restoration work was carried out on recommendation of the priest Don Failli at the end of the

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755 V. Cimarri, "Il Plebato di Cascia e la Curia del Castiglione tra Feudalismo ed Età Comunale." (Università di Firenze, 1997).
756 ‘... an awareness that this site needed to be managed, cared for, protected, and needed conservation.’ My translation of statement by Don Failli. Appendix A, Interview 1.
757 The eleven Baroque altars were removed and the floor lowered. Caneva, (2007), op.cit. P. 27.
758 Appendix A, Interview 1.
century on the belltower (probably constructed in the sixth century by the Longobards as a watchtower). \(^{759}\)

The Pieve is architecturally simple in design and the interior is divided into three naves with one central apse. There are no side chapels. Its design has been compared to the Romanesque church of San Miniato in Florence. \(^{760}\) (See Figure 18 below for a plan of the Pieve). The site occupies an area of about seven hundred square metres including the museum and the monument is the smallest of the heritage tourist sites examined in this thesis.

**Site Selection Criteria**

The Pieve di San Pietro has been chosen as a case study for two reasons. Firstly, it is a popular site attracting significant numbers of tourists despite its location. Secondly, the site’s management structure has been developed to address the increasing numbers of tourists as well as the site’s conservation issues. \(^{761}\) The administrative approach for the management of this small site invites comparisons with the larger monuments chosen in the city of Florence also faced with increased numbers of tourists.

**Site Popularity**

The Pieve has become a focus of heritage tourism for two reasons. Firstly, it is one of the most important examples of extant Romanesque architecture in the region of Tuscany. \(^{762}\) It is situated on the Via dei Setteponti that follows the old Roman consular road, the Cassia Vetus that subsequently became an important pilgrim route to Rome. Many such *pievi* can be found along this road. Visiting these pilgrim churches has become part of popular itineraries for tourists wishing to escape the

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\(^{759}\) Ibid.


\(^{761}\) One of the most important mandates of the legislation on cultural heritage in Italy alongside the principles of valorization and protection is the conservation of the nation’s cultural wealth. This has been discussed in Chapter Four.

Figure 18. Plan of the Pieve di San Pietro (Source: © A. Ryde)
tourist crowds of Florence and investigate the rich history of the Upper Valdarno area where these small churches are located. These itineraries have also been developed by the City Council of Florence in conjunction with towns such as Arezzo and Siena in order to draw visitors away from main tourist areas and showcase important works of art in provincial centres.\(^{763}\)

For example, a range of itineraries between Florence and Arezzo comprising exhibitions and other activities celebrated the sixth centenary of the birth of the artist Masaccio have been devised. These have attracted a significant number of tourists to the area and in particular the Pieve di San Pietro. Such initiatives have been supported by Paolucci, in his role as both Director of the Uffizi Gallery and Director of the Florentine Cultural Heritage Commission. He has spoken of the *museo diffuso* or ‘wider museum’ to encourage the public to visit less well-known centres.\(^{764}\) Most popular guidebooks that include sections on itineraries outside Florence or those that just focus on the region of Tuscany, mention this province as an important area to visit.\(^{765}\)

The second and most important reason for the popularity of the Pieve of San Pietro is its collection of artworks. It holds an early wooden Crucifix (possibly thirteenth century)\(^{766}\) located above the high altar, and a notable Annunciation by Mariotto di Cristofano dating to 1420, originally located above the baptismal font in the left nave. Both these artworks play a major role in the liturgy of this Pieve. The Church is also custodian of a painting by Alessandro Allori, known as Bronzino,\(^{767}\) as well as an important altarpiece by the Florentine workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio.\(^{768}\)


\(^{765}\) Cesati e Columbo: *Guida Insolita ai Segreti, alle Leggende e alle Curiosità della Toscana; Eyewitness Travel Guide to Florence and Tuscany, Frommer’s Italy; Fodor’s Florence and Tuscany; Lonely Planet: Florence and Tuscany; Florence. Guide to Museums in the City and Province; Mondadori: Toscana; TCI: Toscana; TCI: Musei Italiani; TCI: Firenze e Province; The Rough Guide to Tuscany and Umbria.* For full citations see the Reference List.

\(^{766}\) The crucifix is known as *della Cassellina.* Cassellina was the ancient oratory which once housed this cross. Caneva, (2007), op.cit. P. 27.

\(^{767}\) This painting, ‘The Annunciation’ dating to 1587, was located over one of the Baroque altars. When the Pieve was restored from the 1960s onwards that altar paintings were removed and kept in the Uffizi storerooms. They were returned to the Pieve when the Museum was opened in 2002.

\(^{768}\) This workshop was one of the largest in Florence during the sixteenth century.
commissioned by the Bishop of Fiesole, Roberto Folchi at the end of the fifteenth century. This altarpiece, the ‘Madonna and Child with Saints’ was located at the end of the right nave of the Pieve until 2007. The changes to the position of these artefacts and the ramifications of this decision for tourism to the site will be discussed in the findings below.

However, the most significant work of art in the collection and the primary drawcard for visitors to the site is the Triptych of San Giovenale, an early painting by Masaccio considered by scholars to be one of the premier artists of the Early Renaissance due to the innovations he brought to painting and particularly in his contributions towards the mastery and drawing up of geometric perspective.  

\[ \text{Figure 19. The Triptych of San Giovenale. (Source: © J. Ryde)} \]

The Triptych was neither well known nor widely cited in the literature until the twentieth century\(^{770}\) and whilst not originally located in the Pieve di San Pietro, the altarpiece was hung here in 1988 under unusual circumstances. The Triptych was first discovered in 1961 by the distinguished Masaccio scholar, Luciano Berti, then


director of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, in the Church of San Giovenale one of the oldest churches in the Fiesole Diocese\textsuperscript{771} and located about five kilometres from Cascia.

![Figure 20. Exterior of the Church of San Giovenale. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

Berti was alerted to the existence of the painting through the parish priest of San Giovenale, Don Renato Lombardi. Lombardi was concerned about the deterioration of the altarpiece due to excessive humidity in the church in 1956 and had requested assistance for its restoration from the then Florentine Superintendent of Galleries. The painting was subsequently moved to Florence in 1961 to be part of the exhibition, \textit{Arte Sacra Antica} (Ancient Sacred Art) and then remained in the city for restoration purposes.\textsuperscript{772} An intensive period of restoration and research led to the conclusion by Berti that this was an early work, if not the earliest work, of Masaccio.

The discovery prompted enormous publicity due to the importance of this painting for an artist whose output was minimal since he died at the age of twenty-eight. Many articles were published in the mainstream press as well as scholarly opinion debating the provenance and authorship of the work.\textsuperscript{773} Scholars and critics now regard the identification of the Triptych dating to the Early Renaissance as one of the


\textsuperscript{772} The restoration work was supervised by both Luciano Berti and Umberto Baldini.

most significant discoveries of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{774} As the noted art historian James Beck opines, ‘All Masaccio scholarship now must begin with the San Giovenale altarpiece although when the discovery was first disclosed, some specialists were reluctant.’\textsuperscript{775}

Once the restoration of the painting was complete, it remained in the Uffizi storehouses for some years while heated discussions took place about where it should be hung.\textsuperscript{776} Berti, in his role as Director of the Uffizi gallery wanted the altarpiece to be hung alongside Masaccio’s \textit{Sant’Anna Meterza} located in the Early Renaissance room in the Uffizi. He was, however, sensitive to calls from the town council of Reggello who had lobbied since the early 1980s for the return of the painting to its place of origin. This was also reinforced by State policies that supported the retention of artworks in their original context.\textsuperscript{777} The suggestion to hang the work in the Council Chambers was unacceptable especially to the Diocese of Fiesole since the painting, although managed by the State through the Florentine Cultural Heritage Commission, is the property of the Church. The original site of the altarpiece, the Church of San Giovenale was unsuitable due to its bad state of repair.\textsuperscript{778} Therefore, in agreement with Bishop of Fiesole and the Superintendent of Florence, the Triptych was hung above the baptismal font in the left nave of the Pieve di San Pietro, the closest church to San Giovenale. (See the plan of the Pieve in Figure 18 above for its position in the church). It remained in this location until 2007. The poster heralding the return of the altarpiece in 1988 is still proudly displayed on the main doors of the Pieve.

\textsuperscript{775} Ibid. P. 27.
\textsuperscript{777} Ibid. P. 6.
\textsuperscript{778} At the time of writing the church of San Giovenale is closed and under restoration. According to the parish priest Don Ottavio Failli, three houses have been restored but work has not yet commenced on the Church.
Dr Caterina Caneva, head until 2008 of the Valdarno area managed by the Florentine department of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio (Superintendency for Architectural and Landscape Assets, hereafter SBAP), has commented that this was an important decision because it meant that a small province had the leverage to resist pressure from the administrative centre of Florence to retain the altarpiece.\footnote{The small town of Monterchi was able to do the same with the painting of the Madonna del Parto by Piero della Francesca.} More importantly and particularly relevant for this thesis are her observations in 1999, ten years after the return of the altarpiece when it was still located inside the Pieve itself, about the economic implications of the presence of such an iconic artwork with its capacity to draw many visitors to the church.\footnote{Caneva, (1998), op.cit. Pp. 6-7.} She alludes to how such a painting was never meant to be distinguished from its religious function and to how contemporary tourism may detract from this by turning the altarpiece into merely an economic cash card. She states, \textit{Farne un semplice feticcio turistico, per quanto redditizio, sarebbe infatti un triste utilizzo, uno svilimento} …\footnote{To make it [the altarpiece] into a mere tourist fetish, for profit, would indeed be a sad use for it, a debasement’. My translation. Ibid. P. 7.}
To summarise, tourism to the Pieve di San Pietro has increased since the 1980’s for a number of reasons but primarily because it holds an artwork by a premier Early Renaissance artist. It was the discovery and subsequent placement of this artwork that has primarily contributed to the increase in knowledge about the monument and consequently in the numbers of visitors to the site.

**Management Structure**

The second reason for the choice of this site as a case study is its management structure. The background to the discovery, restoration and final placement of the Masaccio Triptych outlined above is important for an understanding of how the management structure of the site developed. The Pieve is managed by the State through SBAP and also by the Diocese of Fiesole. The on site manager is the parish priest Don Ottavio Failli and the SBAP manager at the time of writing is Dr. Iliaria Ciseri, both of whom were interviewed for the study.782

**Findings**

Four main findings emerge from the investigation. Firstly, there has been an increase in the number of visitors to the Pieve di San Pietro due to the discovery of a seminal artwork. Secondly, a series of strategies have been developed to address this increase in visitors resulting in a harmonious balance between tourism and the religious institution. Thirdly, an innovative, elegant and effective management structure has been implemented, one that is underpinned by a collaborative and intelligent relationship between the State and the Church. Finally, this approach has facilitated the adoption of a number of museum-like practices.

Firstly, Don Failli,783 confirmed that, since the discovery of the Masaccio Triptych and its return to the Pieve di San Pietro, there has been a marked increase in visitors to the site. Currently between four and six thousand tourists visit the Pieve annually

782 The interview with Dr Ciseri was not recorded on her request; therefore, there is no transcription of this interview. Notes were taken at the interview and information given in this study is taken from those notes.
783 Appendix A, Interview 1.
and these visits occur mainly during the high peak tourist periods in spring and summer. Tourists often visit both the Pieve and the museum in large groups accompanied by guides and most visitors are Italian. These statistics are supported by ticket sales and signatures in the visitors’ book for the small museum that is located directly behind the Pieve.

The Pieve is an active local parish church and is the focus of the religious life of the small town of Cascia. The size of the congregation ranges from an average of twenty-five parishioners attending the weekly masses to about four hundred at the main weekend masses and six to seven hundred at the principle religious festivals such as Easter and Christmas. It is estimated that about thirty percent of the eighteen hundred inhabitants of the town are active participants in the liturgy of the Pieve.

The number of visitors to the Pieve is quite substantial given the location of the site in a small town in the hills outside Florence that is difficult to reach using public transport. Furthermore, there are no other reasons for visiting this town unlike the larger città d’arte or ‘heritage art cities’ such as Florence that have a wide variety of tourist attractions. However, the Pieve di San Pietro has become an important destination for tourists searching for new itineraries or wishing to escape from the long entry queues at most monuments in Florence with during peak tourist periods. The main drawcard, apart from the Pieve itself, is the Masaccio Triptych and tourism to the site increased dramatically when the altarpiece was returned to the Pieve in 1988 after many years of restoration followed by heated debate about where it should be located.

The second important finding and that most pertinent to this thesis, relates to the development of clear strategies to address the increase in tourist flows. These strategies are directly linked to the curation and management of the Triptych as well as to the realisation of the economic potential of the painting itself. Significantly, when the altarpiece was finally returned to Cascia after its lengthy absence, it was

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784 This possibly explains why the Museum website is only available in Italian.
785 Appendix A, Interview 1.
786 See Appendix E for a copy of the consignment document from MiBAC.
placed back in its original position on the wall of the left nave above the baptismal font as can be seen in Figure 22 below.

Figure 22. The Triptych in its original location inside the Pieve. (Source: © J. Ryde 2006)

It remained in this position until 2007 when it was moved, together with the ‘Madonna and Child with Saints’ by the Florentine workshop of Ghirlandaio, into a museum space behind the Pieve. (see Figure 23 below)

Figure 23. Location of the Museum in relation to the Pieve. (Source: © J. Ryde)

This space, now called the Museo Masaccio, was opened in 2002 as part of the celebrations for the sixth centenary of the birth of Masaccio. It also houses artefacts from other local churches that were in danger of destruction as well as paintings
removed from the Pieve during the 1960s restorations.\footnote{Don Failli commented in the interview that nearly all the local parish churches opened museums and this was in keeping with the Paolucci policy mentioned above. Appendix A, Interview 1.} The Pieve still retains the ‘Annunciation’ by Mariotto di Cristofano and the framed Crucifix, both of which are important instruments of the liturgy.\footnote{Ibid.} At first photographs were placed on the walls of the naves to indicate the positions of the removed Triptych and the Ghirlandaio altarpiece. These have now been replaced with two less valuable paintings from the museum.

The relocation of the Triptych had been the focus of discussions for some time and the perfect opportunity arose with the mounting of the \textit{Rinascimento in Valdarno} or ‘Renaissance in the Valdarno’ exhibition in 2007\footnote{AA.VV., (2007), op.cit.} when Florentine galleries lent several high profile paintings by artists connected to the Valdarno area\footnote{Paintings were lent by the Museum of San Marco, the Basilica of Santa Trinita, the Uffizi and the Museum of Santo Stefano al Ponte.} to various local parish museums.

Don Failli pointed out that, while inhabitants of Cascia were previously unaware of the significance of the Triptych,\footnote{Appendix A, Interview 1.} there was now increased interest that appeared to be directly related to its perceived economic potential. Its notoriety attracts visitors and, therefore, brings revenue to the area. However, the decision to relocate the painting to a more museum-like space was met with some opposition by the parishioners who are proud of and also connected spiritually to the artworks in the Pieve, especially the Masaccio altarpiece. The revival of interest also seems to be accompanied by a lack of understanding about the ramifications of ‘owning’ such an important work of art particularly in terms of curation costs, ongoing conservation and maintenance, and museum security for example.\footnote{Ibid.}

These factors contributed to a number of specific reasons why the decision to move the Triptych had to be made. Firstly, there was a clear recognition that the existing facilities inside the Pieve were inadequate for the required protection and conservation of the altarpiece. Increasing concerns were raised about the inadequacy of the security systems in a space open to the public but not always attended by the
priest. Concerns were also raised about conservation of the altarpiece in an environment where there is no climate control and thus temperatures are unstable. Secondly, as mentioned above, the return of this seminal artwork meant an increase in tourists to the site resulting in an unmanageable situation for the small interior of the Pieve itself especially during religious functions at the weekend when most visits occur. Don Failli commented that large groups of fifty or more tourists often gathered around the Triptych with guides delivering loud, lengthy explanations during the religious functions especially at mass on Sunday morning. He remarked that it was not uncommon for him to interrupt the mass to ask for silence. He commented that by placing the altarpiece in the museum, its accessibility to visitors was also not restricted by suspensions to the opening times of the Pieve for religious functions and the parishioners were, therefore, not disturbed.\(^\text{794}\)

It appears, however, from the discussions with Don Failli, that an underlying motive to move the Triptych appears to be the opportunity to maximise its economic potential together with the other artefacts. In fact, he states, \textit{E si \'approfittato di quella occasione anche per metterlo dentro il museo ecco, per vedere se il museo poteva vivere.}\(^\text{795}\) Don Failli commented that, prior to the relocation, visitors in effect had free access to a Masaccio with few leaving any donations that might contribute to the expenses of the Pieve in displaying and conserving the artwork. In 2007 the Diocese of Fiesole decided to introduce an entrance ticket to the Pieve to take advantage of the increase in tourists. This decision was changed and instead the Triptych was moved into the museum. The most important benefit was that the Triptych then provided a focal point for the museum and a source of revenue from tourists who would otherwise not pay the entrance fee to visit the museum. Prior to this relocation the museum was expensive to run and, therefore, unviable economically. Don Failli remarks that, \textit{la vita del museo, senza il Trittico è … in somma non ha vita.}\(^\text{796}\) He also comments, \textit{il Trittico è per il turista.}\(^\text{797}\) However, this move was not without some cost. As Don Failli opines, the original spiritual function

\(^{794}\) Ibid.  
\(^{795}\) ‘We took advantage of this occasion to move it to the museum and, therefore, to see if the museum could survive [on ticket sales]. My translation, ibid.  
\(^{796}\) ‘the life of the museum without the Triptych is … well actually, it has no life.’ My translation, ibid.  
\(^{797}\) ‘the Triptych is for the tourist’. My translation, ibid.
of the altarpiece was lost to a certain extent in its translation to a museum environment.\textsuperscript{798}

Nevertheless, two advantages emerged from this management strategy: a way to address visitor numbers that were affecting the religious function of the Pieve and a way to earn money to keep the museum open. When the concept of key Markers proposed by Staiff is applied, this site is ‘marked’ out as a tourist attraction by several factors. It enjoys strong \textit{aesthetic, historical, heritage} and \textit{cultural} value as discussed above. It is a \textit{unique} site due to its architecture and artefacts and particularly due to the presence of an iconic painting. The site is well publicised in popular guidebooks that include sections on itineraries beyond Florence and it has an informative website although only presented in Italian. However, its \textit{familiarity} is compromised due to accessibility issues and location ‘off the beaten track’, that is, outside the main tourist centre of Florence but in a significant provincial area.

The third important finding from this case study is the implementation of an innovative and effective management structure. The monument is the responsibility of both the State and the Church and the success of the current management model is owed to the dedication and collaboration of Don Failli who is currently the on site manager and Canova, the SBAP manager and vice Director of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence for twenty years.\textsuperscript{799} This collaboration began in 1988 when the Triptych was returned to Cascia. Between them they negotiated ways of addressing visitor numbers, the development of the museum as discussed above, the relocation of the Triptych, and the most advantageous way of exhibiting the altarpiece and other artworks for the benefit of visitors as well as linking them to economic returns.

Finally, as outlined above, the Triptych is now displayed under museum conditions. It is located on its own on one wall of the central room of the museum. It is well illuminated by spotlights. The remaining walls of this room display information panels that explain the provenance, the restoration and the iconography of the altarpiece.

\textsuperscript{798} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{799} The dedication and energy of Dr Caneva is acknowledged by Don Failli in Interview 1. Appendix A, Interview 1.
The room also has viewing benches and a computer station that provides information about the life and work of Masaccio as well as the location of his other works. The museum has a security system of back to base alarms as well as barred doors and windows.

A substantial amount of information has been published about the Pieve and its artworks. All these texts, together with postcards and reproductions of the artworks are on display at the entrance to the museum and available for sale. See Figure 26 below. There is also an excellent, well designed and user friendly website although currently only available in Italian. This is an example of a small museum linked closely to a church and well curated by committed personnel.
Some funding is supplied by the State but its prestige as a monument attracts funding from local businesses and banks, especially the *Ente Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze* that has funded many restoration works as well as underwriting the insurance of the Triptych.\footnote{This is a type of financial institution similar to a bank. Antonio Paolucci, then Director of the Uffizi was on the board of this entity.} The parish priest and on site manager, Don Failli\footnote{Don Failli’s relationship and commitment to the Pieve dates to his childhood. He was born in San Giovenale where the Masaccio Triptych was discovered and remembers seeing the altarpiece during his childhood. He said in the interview, *io questo quadretto ecco l’ho sempre visto da piccolo e addirittura quand ero seminarista il parocco mi diceva ‘Vai a levare le ragnatele in chiesa e io … qualche volta le toglievo anche dal Trittico di San Giovenale. ‘I had always seen this painting when I was a child and actually when I was a seminarian the priest used to say, ‘go and remove the cobwebs in the church and sometimes I used to even remove them from the Triptych of San Giovenale. Appendix A, Interview 1.*} is passionate about the artworks and proactive in disseminating information about the site, its artworks and their relationship to the Pieve and the local area. He organises seminars and conferences, exhibitions in the museum, as well as fund raising concerts in the Pieve. Interesting for this thesis is his comment about his dual role as manager and parish priest that appears to be indicative of the changing role of churches due to the pressure of the numbers of visitors to church sites and the need to develop management structures. He remarked,

*Siuramente qualchevolta infatti più che pastore mi sento manager … non pensavo di essere coinvolto poi in quest gestione anche di un’opera d’arte con tutti gli anessi e connessi insomma, che poi si è creato ecco col museo.*\footnote{‘In fact, I absolutely sometimes feel more like a manager than a shepherd [for my flock] … I never thought I would be involved in this management even of an artwork with one thing and another that in the end resulted in a creation of a museum.’ My translation, ibid.}
In summary, the second case study of this chapter has investigated the smallest of the suite of sites chosen for this research. The Pieve of San Pietro has an administrative structure that is intelligent and forward thinking. The decision to move the Masaccio Triptych in 2007 along with other important artworks to the museum separated the functions of the monument as both a religious institution and a tourist site resulting in a positive outcome for all stakeholders. Visitors have better access to the altarpiece in terms of time and space, the artwork is well curated, the museum has an income, and the religious functions of the Pieve are undisturbed. Perhaps the price paid for moving the painting is the decontextualisation of a sacred object and its transformation into ‘high art’.

**Conclusions**

This chapter has presented case studies that have examined how two churches, holding collections of prestigious artworks have addressed the increase in visitors to their sites. The reasons for the increased interest in these sites have been discussed and the management strategies that have been put in place by both sites to address this situation have been explored. It is concluded that museum services have been employed to a greater or lesser extent at both sites. The case studies have shown that, whilst the Church of Santa Trinità receives substantial numbers of visitors, its management structure is traditional and conservative with few services available to visitors. Based on the findings there seems evidence of a suspicion amongst the monks at Santa Trinità that the Catholic Church may be fighting a losing battle in trying to retain the currency of its sacred spaces. This sentiment is supported by Padre Gabriele when he comments,

> si sta, in qualche maniera tentando quasi di levare alle chiese la loro caratteristica culturale, di luogo di preghiera, di luogo di culto a Dio, per farne luogo di culto all’arte. Non è giusto.

Furthermore, there seems to be some uncertainty for the future of Santa Trinità. However, Padre Gabriele philosophically draws on his religious convictions in

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803 ‘it’s as if they are trying in some way to remove the cultural features of churches, as places of prayer, as sacred places dedicated to God and make them into sacred places of art. It’s not right!’ My translation. Appendix A, Interview 7.
saying, *non credo che il Signore ci abbandoni*\(^{804}\) but, when asked if churches holding significant artworks were considered more as museums than places of worship, he reluctantly agreed.\(^{805}\) In contrast to Santa Trinita, the Pieve di San Pietro has developed an elegant, effective and forward thinking management structure that has facilitated the adoption of museum practices and resulted in a harmonious outcome for the majority of stakeholders. The following two chapters will examine two larger more complex sites in order to explore the evolution of their management systems in the face of increased tourist numbers.

\(^{804}\) ‘I don’t believe God will abandon us’. My translation. Ibid.
\(^{805}\) Ibid.
Chapter 6: Case Study Three - The Laurentian Complex

The previous chapter presented the first two case studies of this thesis. It demonstrated that transformations in the management structure of these sites can be directly linked to an increase in heritage tourism and that management interventions reflect the introduction of more museum-like practices. Both case studies were set against a background of the development of heritage tourism in Tuscany and specifically Florence that was examined in Chapter One. In that Chapter it was argued that the increase in heritage tourism to this city and to the region of Tuscany is directly linked to the Renaissance that has been privileged in tourist discourses over other historical eras. This is principally due to the high proportion of Renaissance artefacts located mainly in Florence. The two case studies were also presented against a historical background for the development of State and Catholic Church cultural heritage policy in Italy that was investigated in Chapters Two, Three and Four. The research has established two consistent themes underpinning cultural policy development in Italy: the growth of heritage tourism and an increasing realisation of the economic potential of this sector for the nation.

This chapter presents the third case study of the thesis: an investigation of the Laurentian Complex in Florence, and in particular the Basilica of San Lorenzo that holds a significant collection of Renaissance heritage materials amongst its many works of art. The investigation is consistent with the framework used in the previous chapter. It, therefore, also applies the Staiff Model of Tourist Attractions and evaluates the characteristics of the management structures at each site in relation to seven specific criteria. It also uses the set of museum attributes derived from ICOM, Lazzeretti, Dicks and Hooper-Greenhill to ascertain the museum-like nature of the

806 “In crossing the threshold of these holy buildings remember that you are entering a house of prayer and not a museum or a city square’. (My translation). Cardinale Ennio Antonelli, "Coordinamento Chiese di Firenze,” http://www.coordinamentochiesedifirenze.it/presentazione.asp. Retrieved 3 April, 2007.
site. As in the previous investigations, comments from interviews with key stakeholders are incorporated into the findings.

Site Profile

Figure 27. Aerial view of the Laurentian Complex. (Source: © J. Ryde)

Figure 28. Basilica of San Lorenzo. (Source: © J. Ryde)

The Laurentian Complex is one of the most renowned religious monuments in Europe and a high profile tourist site due to centuries of publicity through scholarly and popular writings. As testament to this, the Eye Witness Travel Guide to Florence and Tuscany lists the Laurentian Complex and its various components as a ‘star sight’ of the historic centre of Florence in the area of the Cathedral.807 The Guide also devotes a double page spread to the monument complete with a three-dimensional plan indicating the major points of interest. In addition, the plan includes several cartouches of photographs of the most important artworks within the site.808

The real estate of the Complex comprises several buildings each with a discrete historical genesis. The site occupies an area of about eleven thousand square metres and is the second largest of the heritage tourist sites examined in this thesis. (See Figure 7 in Chapter Five for its position on the Site Selection Matrix).809 The historiography of the three main structures, the Basilica of San Lorenzo, the

809 See Figure 7, p. 134.
Laurentian Library, and the Medici Chapels,\(^{810}\) is outlined below since these structures attract the largest numbers of visitors.\(^ {811}\) See Figure 29 below for a plan of the Complex.

The Basilica of San Lorenzo that is the particular focus of this study, is not only one of the most visited monuments in Florence but is also one of the most frequently studied sites in this city.\(^ {812}\) The scholarly writings and the popular texts\(^ {813}\) related to this monument commonly focus on the historical period spanning that of the artistic contributions of Brunelleschi and of Michelangelo. This period also reflects the interventions at the site of the Medici family who are most closely associated with all that is seen to define the Florentine Renaissance\(^ {814}\) and whose relationship with the city is a principle drawcard for heritage tourism. The Medici dynasty, that became\emph{ de facto} rulers of Florence and patrons of art and architecture within the city, in effect appropriated the local parish church of San Lorenzo for their family use as well as for wider social and political gains.\(^ {815}\) This religious institution was the centre of the liturgical patronage of the Medici dynasty from the late fourteenth century until the

\(^{810}\) The Medici Chapels comprise the Chapel of the Princes and the New Sacristy.

\(^{811}\) Sources for the historiography of this site include: U. Baldini and B. Nardini, eds., \emph{Il Complesso Monumentale di San Lorenzo: la Basilica, le Sagrestie, le Cappelle, la Biblioteca} (Firenze: Nardini, c.1984); Busignano and Bencini, (1993), op.cit.  M. Bietti, “
La Nascita del Museo delle Cappelle Medicee fra Spazio Sacro e Spazio Museale” (paper presented at the San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church Conference, Villa I Tatti, Florence, 2009); M. Maragoni, \emph{La Basilica di San Lorenzo in Firenze}. (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, c.1922); E. Marchionni, \emph{Guida per il Visitatore delle R.R. Cappelle Medicee e R. Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Firenze, Preceduta da un Breve Cenno Storico-descrittivo della Insigne Basilica di S. Lorenzo}. (Firenze,1891); G. Morolli and P. Ruschi, eds., \emph{San Lorenzo 393-1993. L’Architettura: le Vicende delle Fabbriche} (Firenze: Alinea Editrice s.r.l., 1993); Moreni, (1804), op.cit; Paolucci, (1999), op.cit; Richa, (1754-62), op.cit; Vasari, (1996), op.cit.


\(^{814}\) Cronin, (1972), op.cit.

\(^{815}\) J.H. Finkel, "Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Tragedy of the Facade” (Case Western Reserve University, 2005). P. 33.
Figure 29. Plan of the Laurentian Complex. (Source: © A. Ryde)
nineteenth century. Their financial investment in building projects in the whole Complex spanned three centuries from about 1418 to the end of the eighteenth century and this is manifested in the expensive decoration of the site by premier artists and architects during this period.

The Basilica of San Lorenzo was founded in the late fourth century outside the early walls protecting the Roman colony of Florentia. As one of the first Christian churches in Florence, it is testimony to the presence of an early community of Christians in this area and was dedicated to the martyr San Lorenzo. The Basilica was consecrated by Saint Ambrose of Milan in 393 as the city’s first cathedral thus predating the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore. The elevation of the church to cathedral status was of major significance to the prestige and subsequent development of the city of Florence, that, prior to this, was considered less important than the nearby older town of Fiesole located on one of the important pilgrim routes to Rome. The early church was transformed architecturally into a Romanesque church with major reconstruction beginning in the ninth century. The site was reconsecrated in 1059. (See Figure 30 below for the only image of the Romanesque church reconstruction sourced in the Codex Rustici, ca. 1448-50). During this Medieval period cloisters were added to accommodate the Chapter of Canons, a structure that later allowed for the establishment of the Laurentian Library.

A further reconstruction program was initiated in 1418 when the Chapter of Canons, headed by the Prior of San Lorenzo, Padre Dolfini, and a group of prominent local

818 Welch, (1997), op.cit. P. 181;
819 The Church of Santa Felicità is the earliest church that has archaeological and epigraphic documentation and was probably built on a domus ecclesiae or domestic church – part of a private house. T. Verdon, A. Coppellotti, and P. Fabbri, Chiese di Firenze. (Venezia: Arsenale Editrice, 2000). P. 12.
821 The main source of the early history of the Basilica is the work of Prior Pier Nolasco Cianfogni that was published posthumously by Prior Domenico Moreni. Moreni, (1804), op.cit.
822 Prior Matteo Dolfini obtained permission from the City Council of Florence in 1418 to demolish buildings at the rear of the church in order to begin construction from the transept. Works were inaugurated on 10 August 1421. Ibid. Pp. 189-191.

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citizens decided that the old Romanesque church needed to be restored and enlarged most likely due to an overwhelming demand for suitable family chapels.823

This paved the way for the emerging Medici family, and in particular Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici paterfamilias who had bought property in the area, to provide funding for the reconstruction. The impetus was, therefore, provided for three centuries of Medici investment and patronage that would be a major factor contributing to the popularity of the site in later centuries as a tourist destination. The family under Cosimo dei Medici would later construct their family home (now known as the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi) close by in the Via Larga, a location that would further reinforce their political and social power in the area. The fifteenth century reconstruction funded by Di Bicci and spearheaded by the architect Filippo Brunelleschi824 was a radical departure from Gothic ornamentation and signalled the introduction of a new architectural style in the city.

Therefore, historically the Basilica is one of the most distinguished and ancient Christian sites in Florence, a primary (and particularly astute) reason for the Medici
family to choose this church as their family church and to commission major architectural works and individual artworks within. These will be discussed in detail later in the chapter. The Basilica is an avant-garde architectural ensemble that showcases the talents of Brunelleschi, the proponent of the new style of the so-called Renaissance that is the dominant narrative in tourist representations of Florence. The aesthetic, historical and heritage and cultural value of this site are important ‘Markers’ that have contributed to the profile of the Basilica as a major drawcard for tourists visiting Florence. The familiarity of the site, due to its connections with the Medici family and the extensive popular and scholarly literature that focuses on this, also ‘mark’ it as a strong tourist attraction.

The Laurentian Library is another principle component of the Complex as a whole and was constructed on the upper level of the loggia of the Chiostro dei Canonici (Cloister of the Canons), the main cloister that adjoins the Basilica. The cloister is in itself an important historical document dating to the fifteenth century reconstruction of the Basilica by Brunelleschi and is also a much-visited part of the Complex. The Library was commissioned by the Medici Pope, Clement VII, in 1523 who declared that a permanent space within San Lorenzo should be created to house the valuable Medici collection of manuscripts begun by Cosimo il Vecchio, son of Giovanni di Bicci, and later enlarged by his grandson Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Library was designed and partly realised by Michelangelo between 1524 until 1534. The importance of the Library lies not only in the architectural significance of the site but also in its holdings of a core collection of manuscripts that bear testimony to the significant stages of the development of the Florentine Renaissance. It is the custodian of collections of texts of the leading humanists of the period: Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, Marsilio Ficini and Pico della Mirandola. The heritage value of this collection of priceless manuscripts in the Library together with the outstanding design of the Vestibule and the Reading Room by Michelangelo, the premier artist of the late Renaissance, therefore ‘mark’ this component of the Laurentian Complex as an important site for heritage tourism.

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The third major set of buildings within the Complex is the Medici Chapels that comprise the New Sacristy and the Chapel of the Princes both again historically linked to the patronage of the Medici family. The New Sacristy was commissioned from Michelangelo by the Medici Pope, Leo X to serve as a mausoleum for his ancestors: his father Lorenzo, his uncle Giuliano as well as his brother, Giuliano, Duke of Nemours and nephew Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino. The New Sacristy that replicates the architecture of the Old Sacristy is an ensemble of premier artworks by Michelangelo, both in terms of architecture and sculpture, and as such attracts thousands of tourists annually who wish to see his work undertaken for the Medici family. It is also important as the first commission in his career as an architect. Again this part of the Laurentian Complex is heavily featured in guidebooks on Florence. The Chapel of Princes was commissioned from the architect Matteo Nigretti in 1602 as a mausoleum for the Medici Grand Dukes. Construction began in 1604 and continued over the following centuries. Work was finalised in 1960 with the completion of the floor by the Opificio delle Pietre Dure. The monument is renowned for its lavish interior decorated with semiprecious stones and marble.

Site Selection Criteria

The Basilica of San Lorenzo as a major component of the Laurentian Complex, has been chosen as a case study for two reasons: its popularity and prestige as a heritage tourist attraction and the nature of the management structures introduced that appear to demonstrate some attributes of a more museum-like organisation.


827 A competition was held in 1602 to determine the architect. Despite the submissions by Buontalenti and Silvani, the competition was won by Matteo Nigretti who worked on the building until 1650. Paolucci, (1999), op.cit. P. 52.

828 Ibid. P. 54.

829 Most tourists who visit the various components of this site would probably have little idea of the complexity of this monument and the various stakeholders who play a part in its management. Indeed, on visiting the New Sacristy entered through the Medici Chapels museum, tourists are probably unaware of its connection to the Basilica itself.
Site Popularity.

The Laurentian Complex is attractive to the heritage tourist market for four reasons: its multifaceted history and especially its close connection with the Medici dynasty, its outstanding collection of Renaissance artefacts, its accessibility within the city's historic centre, and its integrity as a site.

Firstly, its popularity from a historical perspective derives from the Complex having been the focus of a lengthy and distinctive building program as examined above. This makes it a drawcard that helps tourists gain an understanding of the development of the city of Florence and its sociocultural fabric. As Paolucci has commented,

*Capirete subito che San Lorenzo è più che una chiesa. È quasi una città nella città, carica di storia, grandiosa per complessità strutturale e per dimensioni.*

The second basis for the popularity of this monument as a tourist attraction is that the Laurentian Complex and the Basilica of San Lorenzo in particular, hold a collection of key Renaissance artefacts. As a shrine to the Medici family it is a repository of some of the major works of architecture, sculpture and painting of the Renaissance and, as Jennifer Finkel suggests, it is an anthology of ‘Medici patronage, power, politics, propaganda and domination’.

Arguably one of the most important works of art is the architecture of the Basilica of San Lorenzo itself and especially that of its bravura set piece the Old Sacristy. This church space, that signalled a move from Gothic architecture with the introduction of classical elements, is often acknowledged as a defining moment or ‘manifesto’ for what has been termed the ‘Early Italian Renaissance’ considered by many to have its

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831 Antonio Paolucci was Director of the Uffizi and also superintendent of the Polo Museale Fiorentino, the body that manages the State museums in Florence. He was Minister for Culture and is currently Director of the Vatican museums.
832 ‘You will understand immediately that San Lorenzo is more than just a church. It is almost a city within a city, teeming with history, grandiose as much for its structural complexity as its size.’ My translation from Paolucci, (1999), op.cit. P. 7.
origins in Florence. The ‘forlorn’ and austere façade gives little indication of the luminous and harmonious interior that is an outstanding example of the new Renaissance architecture introduced to Florence by Brunelleschi.

The Old Sacristy was commissioned in 1421 by Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici, who agreed to fund the Sacristy and a double chapel at the end of the transept. The building was to serve as both the working sacristy of the Basilica and also as the mausoleum for the Medici family. Di Bicci engaged Brunelleschi, one of the most sought after architects of the period, something of a coup for the Medici patriarch in his quest for prominence in the city and ‘legitimization through display’. This commission was the beginning of an astute program of propaganda to enhance the political and social position of the Medici family already one of the wealthiest families in Florence and Europe as a result of its banking interests. It could be said that the rise of the Medici was justified by the genesis of civic humanism that legitimised material and private wealth. The purpose of the Medici commissions was to secure entry to the religious, political and civic life of the city and to ensure the duration of the Medici name in posterity. Patronage of a particularly important part of a holy site and within one of the most prestigious churches of the city due to its genesis as the original cathedral was, therefore, a politically astute choice. It is this aspect of the Medici family history that interests scholars and popular writers.

835 The validity of this taxonomy has been discussed in the Introduction to the thesis.
837 In 1516 Michelangelo was commissioned by Pope Leo X de’ Medici to design and construct the façade. This project was annulled in 1520 and the façade has never been finished. There are been several solutions have been suggested, notably by Pasquale Poccianti in the nineteenth century and also Cesare Bazzani as the winner of a competition at the beginning of the twentieth century. Currently the City Council of Florence is considering funding the construction of Michelangelo’s original design. Finkel, (2005), op.cit.; G. Morolli, "Le ‘Cento’ Facciate del Millenovecento," in San Lorenzo 393-1993. L’Architettura: le Vicende delle Fabbriche., ed. G. Morolli and P. Ruschi (Firenze: Alinea Editrice s.r.l., 1993). 
838 This Sacristy became known as the Old Sacristy with the construction of the New Sacristy begun in 1520 by Michelangelo that is located on the other side of the transept and mirrors the Old Sacristy.
839 The Old Sacristy became the burial site of Giovanni Di Bicci and his wife Piccarda Bueri as well as his son Piero. After the death of Giovanni Di Bicci patronage rights to the Old Sacristy passed to Di Bicci’s sons Cosimo, il Vecchio and Lorenzo, il Vecchio.
841 J.L. Clinton, "The Ornamentation of Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence" (Louisiana State University, 2007). P. 2.
alike and contributes to the familiarity of this site and, therefore, its attraction to tourists.

The Old Sacristy is considered by scholars to be one of the most influential buildings\textsuperscript{844} of fourteenth century architecture due to the approach to space and ornamentation in its construction. As Lucas opines in his 1928 guidebook on Florence, A Wanderer in Florence, ‘… the San Lorenzo Sacristy is one of the few perfect things in the world’.\textsuperscript{845} It was comments like these from early travellers and writers in Florence that stirred the interest of future generations of tourists to the site. This view has been reinforced by a range of contemporary guidebooks on Florence as one of the particular ‘must sees’ of the Laurentian Complex.\textsuperscript{846} Therefore, the Old Sacristy not only attracts scholars because of its revolutionary approach to architecture during the fourteenth century but also many tourists because of its links with the Medici family. Furthermore, the Sacristy is a mini anthology (within a Complex replete with important artefacts) of premier artists and architects considered pivotal to the so-called flowering of the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{847} It united artists of the calibre of Brunelleschi, Donatello, Luca Della Robbia and Andrea del Verrocchio.

Although the façade remains unfinished, there is also evidence to suggest that Medici power and domination would have been further reinforced in the iconographic program intended for the façade. This structure would have featured Medici devices and other references to the dynasty in Michelangelo’s proposed sculptural program.\textsuperscript{848} If the project had been completed, it would have been the first example of a powerful family displaying its domination and propaganda in a city through iconography on the façade of a parish church.\textsuperscript{849} In addition to its architecture, the Basilica holds an outstanding collection of sculptures and paintings. It contains works by premier Renaissance artists such as Donatello, Andrea del Verrocchio, Luca della Robbia, Agnolo Bronzino, Filippo Lippi, Desiderio da Settignano, Rosso Fiorentino and Michelangelo.

\textsuperscript{844} Ibid. P. 256.
\textsuperscript{845} Lucas, (1928), op.cit. P. 307.
\textsuperscript{846} A selection of these are: The Eye Witness Travel Guide, Lonely Planet, Florence, Fodor’s Florence and Tuscany, The AA Explorer Guide. Full citations can be found in the Bibliography.
\textsuperscript{847} See notes above in relation to the Renaissance myth and the ubiquitous description of Florence as the ‘Cradle of the Renaissance’.
\textsuperscript{848} Finkel, (2005), op.cit. P. 343.
\textsuperscript{849} Ibid. P. 19.
A third reason for the popularity of the whole Complex as a tourist attraction is related to tangible factors such as accessibility and time. Firstly, this monument is situated in the historic centre of Florence thus making it easily accessible to tourists, who generally spend a maximum of two days or less in the city. Furthermore, the introduction of the entrance ticket to the Basilica of San Lorenzo has allowed for longer opening hours. Prior to this the Church was only open during the periods of religious activity so that tourists had to coordinate their visits to suit these hours. Ease of access and a central position in a city with a small compact historic centre make this site attractive to tour operators devising itineraries for tourists with limited time. Speed, accessibility and efficiency are key components of the modern tour.850

Finally, the site is attractive to tourists because the architectural and artistic integrity of the monument has been preserved. Indeed, it is one of the few religious monuments in Florence that has managed to retain unchanged both its structure and its works of art.851 These are still in context in the architectural space for which they were originally intended and the time-space continuum is intact.

Management Structure

The second reason for the choice of this monument as a case study is the multifaceted nature of its management structure, elements of which seem to align with the administrative bodies of museums. This unusual management system can be traced to the historical division of the various elements of the Complex, which is outlined below.852

The Laurentian Complex, in its various incarnations remained a unified structure for almost two millennia from the creation of the first church in the late fourth century. This changed during the period of the Unification of Italy and the emergence of the Italian State in the mid nineteenth century when the newly formed government

852 I am most grateful to Dottoressa Monica Bietti, Director of the Museum of the Medici Chapels who kindly gave me access to her unpublished paper on the Medici Chapels Museum. This assisted greatly in my understanding of the historical background to the current structure of the Laurentian Complex. Bietti, (2009), op.cit.
decided to remove the temporal power of the Catholic Church. The decision was made legal through the *Legislazione Eversiva dell’Asse Ecclesiastico* or the ‘Legislation for the Confiscation of Religious Assets’ comprising the two laws: R.D.L.3036/1866 and R.D.L.3848/1867.\(^{853}\) These laws allowed for the suppression of religious orders and corporations and the confiscation (and often sale) of the cultural assets of the Church that subsequently came under the jurisdiction of the newly formed State. This legislation has been discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this thesis. Ironically then, as Monica Bietti points out, the loss of the unity of the Laurentian Complex paralleled the gaining of unity for the Italian nation.\(^{854}\)

Therefore, the entire Laurentian Complex with its various components became the property of the State in 1867 and was subsequently divided legally into three main sites; the Basilica of San Lorenzo that was deprived of one of its sacristies in the process,\(^{855}\) the Laurentian Library and the Medici Chapels. These were placed under the administrative umbrellas of three different government organisations, a decision that would have ramifications for the future organisation and management of the monument.\(^{856}\) The Basilica remained as a parish church as part of the Diocese of Florence responsible to the Archdiocese where it remains today.\(^{857}\) The cloisters and many of its annexed rooms used by the Chapter at first also remained as part of the Diocese but were later placed under the administration of the *Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia e dei Culti* (Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs)\(^{858}\) that would later become the Ministry of Internal Affairs.\(^{859}\) The Laurentian Library was placed under the jurisdiction of the *Ministero delle Finanze* (Ministry of Finance) and at the local level under the *Intendenza di Finanza della Provincia di Firenze* (Superintendency of Finance for the Province of Florence). The Medici Chapels were placed under the jurisdiction of the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* (Ministry of Education) and at

\(^{853}\) Regio Decreto del 7 luglio 1866 n. 3036 per la Soppressione delle Corporazioni Religiose and Regio Decreto del 15 agosto 1867 n. 3848 per la Liquidazione dell’Asse Ecclesiastico.

\(^{854}\) Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.

\(^{855}\) The New Sacristy was closed off from the Basilica and became part of the Museum of the Medici Chapels.

\(^{856}\) Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.


\(^{858}\) The Church was understandably very antagonistic towards the new government who had removed its power so the latter probably considered the creation of a Ministry of Religious Affairs to be timely and a politically savvy move.

\(^{859}\) Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.
the local level under the Direttore dell’Ufficio Regionale dei Monumenti di Firenze (Director of the Regional Office for the Monuments of Florence). This part of the monument was established as a museum and an entrance fee introduced in 1875. Figure 32 below provides an overview of the administrative structure of the Complex showing the relationships between the various bodies.

![Administrative Structure, Laurentian Complex, 1867-1907](source: © J. Ryde)

Thus, the site was separated into a holy space with religious functions (with one sacristy) and two other sites, a library and a museum that comprised the two spaces that the Medici had constructed as mausoleums intended not only as burial sites but also to the ensure the preservation of the family name in posterity. This division into separate sites followed a particular logic. The Basilica remained a parish church retaining its religious function to serve the needs of the local community but under the indirect management of the State through the Diocese. The State assumed responsibilities for the management of those sections of the Complex considered to be of heritage value and, therefore, of public interest.

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860 Ibid. No pagination.
861 This fee was introduced to all State museums with L. 2554. References to this fee for the Medici Chapels and even criticisms of it can be found in early tourist literature, for example, Lucas, (1928), op.cit. P. 86.
862 Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.
863 See Chapters Three and Four for an overview of State legislation regarding the cultural patrimony of the Church.
Another factor in the decision to divide the Basilica and the Medici Chapels in this manner was that the Medici Chapels, whilst sacred spaces, were not essential to the religious functions of the Basilica since it was still able to use the Old Sacristy as a service area. Furthermore, an access door to the Medici Chapels already existed at the rear of the Complex in Piazza Madonna Aldobrandini that continues to be used today as the entrance to the Museum.\(^{864}\)

Bietti explains, in her investigation of the origins of the Medici Chapels as a museum space, that the fragmentation of the original unified site to facilitate this new museum-like structure cambiò millenni di storia.\(^{865}\) She also comments on the delicacy of the transitional period and remarks that the division of the Complex encountered problems and contradictions from the moment that the State took over its administration in 1867.\(^{866}\)

Firstly, the question arose about the management of the Cloisters and the annexed spaces, that is, the living quarters and administrative areas of the Prior and Chapter. These were first linked to the Church and managed by the Diocese but then were regarded as public monuments so were placed firstly under the management of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and subsequently under the Ministry of Education in 1876 with the Prior as custodian. Secondly, there was little clarity about the management of the subterranean spaces, the roofs and the façades. Issues in this regard were the utilisation of these spaces, their function, conservation responsibilities and funding sources not to mention conflict about even fundamental issues of who held responsibility for the keys to specific areas of the monument.\(^{867}\)

In 1907\(^{868}\) as a result of these management difficulties the State reintegrated the three administratively dysfunctional elements under the umbrella of a non-profit

\(^{864}\) Originally the Chapel of Princes was entered from the New Sacristy, that in turn was accessed at the right corner of the transept of the Basilica. In 1791 the Austrian Grand Duke Ferdinand III created the current door in the Piazza. In dividing the Complex it was considered that the New Sacristy and the Chapel of the Princes were not required for the religious services in the Basilica and could be closed off from that space.

\(^{865}\) ‘changed a thousand years of history.’ (My translation). Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.

\(^{866}\) The first guidebook written on the Complex cites 1864 as the year in which the monument was placed under State jurisdiction. Marchionni, (1891), op.cit. However, the correct dates according to Bietti are August 1867 and more precisely June 1869. Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.

\(^{867}\) ———, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.

\(^{868}\) The OML was established on 2 September by Royal Decree 472 and began its activities in 1908.
organisation the *Opera Medicea Laurenziana*, (hereafter OML), that is responsible to the State.\(^{869}\) The new structure is shown below in Figure 33.

![Figure 33. Administrative Structure, Laurentian Complex, 1907. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

The aim of this initiative was to provide administrative coordination at the local level and the specific mandate of the OML was articulated in its mission statement,

> restituire l’unità e il decoro antico all’insigne monument Laurenziano, curarne l’incolumità da ogni eventuale pericolo, e ultimarne le parti rimaste incompiute... \(^{870}\)

The mandate was seen as urgent given the state of decay of the monument and especially the Cloisters, the Basilica and the Library.\(^{871}\) Important for this thesis is that the creation of the OML allowed for interventions in the Basilica that until then had proved an obstacle\(^{872}\) and it paved the way for what appears to be the slow ‘museumification’ of the site. As soon as the OML began functioning as a committee, many restoration projects were begun and within a few years the Cloisters had been cleaned up, parts of the Old Sacristy restored and tenants removed.


\(^{870}\) ‘to restore the unity and decorum of this renowned monument, to ensure its security and to complete any unfinished elements.’ My translation. Ibid.

\(^{871}\) Franca Arduini comments that the cloisters were filled with rubbish and stray cats and used for prostitution. The Laurentian library was rented out as local housing. Appendix 1, Interview 5.

\(^{872}\) This is expressed in the interview with Franca Arduini with her comments that without this new organization *non si potrebbe toccare niente di quello che è la chiesa* (‘nothing belonging to the church could have been touched’). Appendix A, Interview 5.
from the Laurentian Library. However, once the new organisation was created, other issues surfaced such as the membership of the committee, the management of the income from the entry fees of the museum of the Medici Chapels as well as ongoing difficulties regarding the ownership and management of the keys to the various buildings, the access to these and their respective functions.

A more harmonious relationship between the various stakeholders was not developed until 1945. This year marked an agreement between the Basilica and the then Superintendent of the Florentine Galleries, Giovanni Poggi, to put the reliquaries created for both the Old and New Sacristies on public display. This resulted in the introduction of a double entrance ticket to the Museum of the Medici Chapels (an anomalous feature of Florentine museums) and paved the way for an increase in funds for the OML. These extra funds also allowed the Museum to remain open in the afternoon. Entrance fees to the Basilica were introduced in March 2002 and these also provide more funding to the OML. This event also marked the beginning of a more museum-like orientation for the Basilica. Furthermore, of importance for this study are remarks made Fernando Lombardi, current Director of the OML, on the importance of the relationship between art and the Italian economy and how Italy’s cultural assets can generate wealth. These are opportune given what appears to be the transformation of the Basilica into a museum-like structure that generates funds. His words also mirror comments by Paolucci cited elsewhere in this thesis that ‘art is the oil of Italy’ and fundamental to its economy.

Currently there are moves to review the conventions and the Statute of the OML. Lombardi remarks that as a coordinating committee the OML faces difficulties in fulfilling its mandate of maintaining unity between the three sites of the Complex. These difficulties arise from the dispersion of competencies between the different administrative bodies that manage the Complex as discussed above. The structure changed after 1975 when the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali (Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Assets) was formed (becoming MiBAC in 1998) and
integrated the responsibilities of the other ministries.\textsuperscript{877} See Figure 34 below for the current management structure of the Laurentian Complex.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{management_structure.png}
\caption{Current Management Structure of the Laurentian Complex. (Source: © J. Ryde)}
\end{figure}

Important for this thesis and the investigation of the development of museum-like strategies is that the OML is unlike the other Opera\textsuperscript{878} in Florence that fulfill both roles.\textsuperscript{879} One of these Opera will be discussed in the Santa Croce Complex case study. Also important is that the decision to review the Statute of the OML seems linked to introducing initiatives to manage the site as a museum and thus to bring it in line with the needs of the discerning contemporary visitor.

Bietti also posits that today there is a collaborative relationship between the members of the OML.\textsuperscript{880} She remarks that many opportunities have been created for joint projects between the OML, the Basilica, the Library and the Museum. These include

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{877} This process was discussed in Chapter Three.
\item \textsuperscript{878} The Opera is a type of building committee or vestry board, also called \textit{fabbriceria}, created to ensure continuity of the building of the great churches and cathedrals in Italy. Thirty of these survive in Italy today (nine in Tuscany) and they are generally linked to the main Cathedrals. Haines and Riccetti, (1996), op.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{879} The Opera di Santa Maria Novella, the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, the Opera di Santa Croce, and the Opera Medicea Laurenziana.
\item \textsuperscript{880} Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.
\end{itemize}
the urgent restoration and maintenance works needed in various parts of the Complex, joint exhibitions that have allowed for access to the New Sacristy from the Basilica, concerts, plans to introduce a joint visitor ticket, and the creation of new facilities for visitors. These initiatives appear to be similar to those organised by museums. However, despite such positive remarks there still appear to be some underlying conflicts as revealed in the interview with Monsignor Angiolo Livi\(^{881}\) (hereafter Mons. Livi) regarding the relationship between the OML and also the public, particularly in terms of the distribution of the funds generated by the entrance ticket to the Basilica. His comments will be discussed below in the findings for this case study.

The final consideration related to the management structure of the Laurentian monument is its membership in an umbrella structure of churches in Florence, the Coordinamento Chiese di Firenze (Consortium of Florentine Churches).\(^{882}\) This Consortium was formed in 2004 to provide a united management strategy in the face of the tourist juggernaut.\(^{883}\) In launching the Consortium the Archbishop of Florence at the time, Cardinal Ennio Antonelli, made the following statement in an attempt to clarify that these churches were not museums, a statement which demonstrates the difficulties faced by the Catholic Church in relation to tourists. The statement appears to illustrate the struggle faced by the Church to conserve its religious function in areas of high tourist activity.

\textit{Nel varcare la soglia di questi edifici sacri ricordati che non stai entrando in dei musei, tanto meno in una piazza, ma in luoghi di preghiera.}\(^{884}\)

Currently four churches belong to the Consortium: the Cathedral, the Basilica di San Lorenzo, the Santa Croce Complex and the Basilica di Santa Maria Novella. Efforts have been made to develop similar management practices at all member sites such as

\(^{881}\) Appendix A, Interview 4.
\(^{883}\) The Venice Municipal Council has taken a similar initiative with the establishment of the ‘Chorus Foundation for the Churches of Venice’ that comprises sixteen churches. The Council has taken this initiative to try to attract visitors away from the main tourist areas of Venice so as to relieve the congestion in peak tourist periods as well as to provide visitors with the opportunity to visit works of art in churches that are away from the usual tourist itineraries.
\(^{884}\) ‘In crossing the threshold of these holy buildings remember that you are entering a house of prayer and not a museum or a city square’. My translation of Cardinale Ennio Antonelli, (2004), op.cit.
consistency of signage, opening hours, entrance fees and presentation of information. However, it appears that a lack of agreement between the different administrators of the four sites has led to persistent differences in management styles. Both the Director of the OML, Fernando Lombardi and the former Director of the Laurentian Library, Franca Arduini, comment in interviews about the lack of consensus amongst members. This was also confirmed by Giuseppe De Micheli, Secretary-General of the Board of the Opera di Santa Croce, the management committee of one of the four case studies for this thesis. Mons. Livi and also Lombardi comment on the character of the Florentines remarking that it is individualistic in nature and, thus, they are unlikely to work communally in such initiatives. At the time of writing this Consortium is, therefore, dormant.

Findings

An examination of visitor and parishioner demographics reveals a significant imbalance between the numbers of tourists visiting the site that far exceeds the number of parishioners attending religious functions. As expected the tourists far outnumber the congregation. It is estimated that about four hundred thousand tourists visit the site every year comprising large groups organised by tourist operators, school groups and individual tourists. In contrast, a variety of sources reveal that, despite around five thousand parishioners living in the neighbourhood of the Complex, mass is attended by only one to four people during the week with a maximum of fifty to one hundred at the mid-morning mass on Sundays. Many of these attendees were found to be visitors to the city. At the time of writing a visit to the weekday morning mass at the Basilica celebrated by two priests revealed the attendance of only one parishioner. Mons. Livi stated that most of the parishioners had left the Basilica due to the presence of tourists, the lack of parking space, the

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885 Appendix A, Interviews 5 and 9.
886 Appendix A, Interview 8.
887 Appendix A, Interviews 4 and 9.
888 Statistics taken from interview with Fernando Lombardi, Director of the Opera Medicea Laurenziana, Appendix A, Interview 9.
889 Appendix A, Interviews 4, 5 and 9.
890 May 2012
difficulties of living in a heritage city and so on. Parishioners prefer to attend less famous churches and also those where parking is more readily available.

The future of the Basilica as a religious institution also appears to depend on the replacement of church personnel. In the nineteenth century the Chapter of San Lorenzo had eighteen canons, thirty-three chaplains and sixty clerics. Today there is only one curate and one priest, Mons. Livi who has been conducting religious services at the Basilica since 1988. However, he is now ninety-eight years old and replacing him may be problematic. Despite the obvious respect and affection with which he is received by his parishioners, other parties and stakeholders seem concerned, if not rather impatient, that he has not yet retired creating the impression that his views may be more traditional and less supportive of the transition of the Basilica to a monument/museum. When questioned about the likelihood of the duration of the Basilica as a functioning church Mons. Livi was hopeful but not optimistic, acknowledging that it has become more like a museum. Similarly Arduini commented about the lack of church personnel and the disappearance of the congregation.

As remarked in the introduction to the case studies in Chapter Five, Staiff (after MacCannell and Urry) proposes a set of nine attributes or ‘Markers’ that identify a site as an attractive tourist destination. Several aspects of the Basilica of San Lorenzo can be aligned with these ‘Markers’ and contribute to the status of this site as a high profile tourist attraction. It enjoys strong aesthetic, historical and heritage and cultural value as outlined above. The familiarity of the site has been well developed through the press given to it by writers, both popular and scholarly, tourist operators, advertisers and other stakeholders who exploit the connection that the site enjoys

891 Appendix A, Interview 4.
892 The replacement of clergy is an ongoing problem for the Catholic Church and in particular in Italy where the clergy now often comprises priests from other countries who have little understanding of the cultural heritage of the religious institutions in which they serve.
893 The Basilica of San Lorenzo is the only other religious institution in Florence apart from the Cathedral that has a Chapter and Canons.
894 In addition, the Sacristan has served this church for twenty-eight years and will retire this year. Again it will be difficult to find a replacement.
896 Appendix A, Interviews 5 and 11.
897 Appendix A, Interview 4.
898 Appendix A, Interview 5.
899 See Chapter Five, p. 135.
with the Medici family and, by extension, to all that is considered the Renaissance. It is a *unique* site due to the architecture, the artefacts and the distinctive patronage of this powerful family. The relationship between the various sites comprising the Complex is also *unique*. Finally, it plays a role in one of the popular tourist *narratives* of Florence as the definitive Renaissance city, the ‘cradle of the Renaissance’. As Staiff suggests, strong attractions are often called ‘tourist icons’ and it appears that the Basilica of San Lorenzo and the entire Laurentian Complex enjoys this status.

It is clear that specific strategies have been implemented to address the increase in visitors to the site and the imbalance between these and the parishioners. In 2001 Archbishop Ennio Antonelli approved the introduction of an entrance ticket to the Basilica in response to the pressure of the numbers of tourists visiting the site. Mons. Livi reports that the management of tourists to the site was untenable and that therefore the Archbishop decided after consultation that this had to be managed by the OML and qualified personnel rather than Mons Livi and the elderly sacristan. Arduini also mentions that Antonio Paolucci, the then Superintendent of the Polo Museale Fiorentino strongly supported this decision. The initiative was also a response to pressure to raise funds for the urgent maintenance of the monument. The introduction of the entrance ticket brought with it fundamental changes to the management and appearance of the Basilica and specifically the beginning of elements such as a ticket office, turnstiles, security personnel, and so on. Press articles such as the following pointed out the beginnings of this transformation.

This summer, officials from both the Cathedral and San Lorenzo made statements to the Italian press expressing extreme displeasure at the use and misuse of these holy sites, specifically concerning tourist refuse and the urine of vagrants. Florence Cathedral’s Monsignor Timothy Verdon commented that the churches were ‘humiliated by chaos, criminality and filth.’ … once churches make the decision to charge admission, the space inevitably becomes commercialized. In effect, as these churches are being turned into museums, the

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900 This was implemented in 2002.
901 He comments that it was difficult to control the numbers of visitors and their behaviour such as eating and drinking in the Basilica, the dress code and the misuse of the furniture.
902 Appendix A, Interview 4.
903 Appendix A, Interview 5.
entire experience has deteriorated. Tour guides take more liberty, speaking louder and longer, after all, the group must get its money’s worth.  

The introduction of the entrance ticket also paved the way for the OML to plan for the better coordination and control of access to and usage of the monument as well as to facilitate changes needed to address tourism flow to the whole site. Lombardi commented that the huge numbers of tourists to the site is problematic and that today in Florence the tourist is ubiquitous. He says, *lo chiamo i millepiedi, camminano e consumano, e vengono.*  

His remarks are echoed by Mons. Livi who states in relation to the Basilica,

*... qui è sempre stata frequentata da dei turisti, ma da un turismo di elite siamo passati a un turismo mordi e fuggi, capito? Mentre qui uno veniva, uno studioso, e stava anche una settimana a Firenze per capire insomma qualcosa, oggi ci stanno un giorno e mezzo, mettiamo, capito, tanto per dire l’ho visto eccetera.*

Lombardi would like to see tourist flow restricted and the quality of the cultural experience and facilities improved in order to balance stakeholders’ needs and expectations. 

Evidence seems to suggest that the Basilica can no longer stand apart from the rest of the Complex as solely an independent ‘sacred space for the local Parish’ since, as a whole, it is an important part of Florentine Renaissance history due its relationship with the Medici family and their patronage of premier artists. It seems that there is a need for an integrated approach. The whole monument, as a reflection of Medici contributions over several centuries, is of great interest to tourists and that, therefore, the three sites (divided following the Unification of Italy) are inseparable historically. He remarks that even older priests have come to recognise that churches (especially the larger churches holding substantial collections of premier artworks), have become museums. This comment was also reinforced in interviews with Mons.

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904 D. Budd and L. Catterson, "Church or Museum?,” *Artwatch International Inc.*, 12 April 2003.  
905 ‘they are like millipedes, they walk around, they consume, they keep coming’. Ibid.  
906 ‘This place has always been visited by tourists, but it has passed from elite tourism to an ‘eat and run’ type of tourism, do you understand? People used to come who were scholars who stayed for a week in Florence to understand something. Today people stay a day and a half let’s say just enough to say ‘I’ve been there etcetera’ My translation. Appendix A, Interview 2.  
907 Appendix A, Interview 9.
Livi, and Arduini, former Director of the Laurentian Library.\footnote{Appendix A, Interviews 2, 5 and 9.} Bietti, Director of the Museum of the Medici Chapels, also refers to this in her paper on the Complex.\footnote{Bietti, (2009), op.cit. No pagination.} However, as Lombardi states, the Church \textit{si sente un po’ violata adesso}.\footnote{The Church ‘feels rather violated now’. My translation. Appendix A, Interview 9.}

Today the Basilica, although demonstrating some museum-like attributes, differs from the other two monuments within the Complex because access to the works of art is limited by the religious functions serving the local parish. Lombardi says it has a double function therefore; that of a holy site with religious functions and that of a museum of art similar to the other two museums in the Complex. One of the principle missions of the OML as the coordinating body is to create a harmonious balance between these two functions.

A variety of management strategies have, therefore, been introduced to the Basilica to address visitor flow and these appear to mirror those present in a typical museum. A ticket booth was first installed in one of the main doors for entrance to the Basilica.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{cc}
\includegraphics[width=0.45\textwidth]{ticket_booth} & \includegraphics[width=0.45\textwidth]{exit_turnstile}
\end{tabular}
\caption{Ticket booth. (Source: © J. Ryde) Exit turnstile. (Source: © J. Ryde)}
\end{figure}
When the entrance ticket was first introduced to the site, tickets were purchased at this point. As Lombardi has remarked\textsuperscript{911} this has been unsatisfactory both in terms of the numbers of visitors as well as the aesthetics of the monument. Management of the numbers of visitors with long queues on the steps up to the site and in the adjacent piazza, has been problematic in such a small area. Therefore, tickets are now purchased from a temporary booth set up at the entrance to the adjoining cloisters. The booth in the entrance door to the Basilica is used to validate the entry tickets. An exit turnstile was set up inside the Basilica beside the entrance door on the opposite side to the ticket collection point.

![Figure 37. Current position of the ticket booth. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

Lombardi has commented that plans are being developed to build a permanent ticket office within the Complex that will most likely be in part of the vast area beneath the Cloisters.\textsuperscript{912} At present the ticketing system is inefficient and expensive for tourists so that the OML is planning to introduce a single ticket that will be valid for the whole Complex.\textsuperscript{913} Currently the visitor pays €3.50 for entrance to the Basilica and €6 for the ticket to the Museum of the Medici Chapels. This makes the visit to the Laurentian Complex the most expensive museum entry in Florence. In addition, if special exhibitions are held in the Laurentian Library a cumulative ticket is generated for the Basilica and the Library with usually an additional cost of three euros. A number of access strategies have been discussed. It is planned to open the door from the Basilica through to the New Sacristy to grant tourists access although Lombardi recognises that the religious functions of the Basilica still need to be respected.

\textsuperscript{911} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{912} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{913} Ibid.
Once the entrance ticket and booths had been organised, modifications were made to the organisation of the internal space of the Basilica and appear to have been introduced to address the numbers of tourists visiting the site. Whilst tourists access the Basilica through the front entrance, parishioners or other visitors wishing to pray are required to enter through a side entrance.

![Figure 38. Entrance reserved for parishioners with text panel. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

In addition, a large text panel is visible at the entrance to the site giving information about visiting hours, the entrance fee and conditions of entry. Currently, the access area to the New Sacristy is roped off as a dedicated space for religious functions. Since plans are underway, as discussed above, to open the New Sacristy door, an alternative space for these functions will need to be identified. Furthermore, tourists are not permitted to visit the Old Sacristy during services as this Sacristy still functions as a liturgical space. Other areas have been roped off to protect particular works of art such as the flooring or to prevent close access to tombs, sculptures and paintings as well as to prevent visitors from sitting on valuable furniture.

![Figure 39. Dedicated space for religious functions. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)
Lighting has been installed both in the Basilica itself as well as in the side chapels to illuminate specific works of art. Small text panels have been introduced to identify the most important works of art. The introduction of artificial lighting is important evidence of the change in the function of these religious spaces. In the past churches and especially side chapels would have only been lit by candles or natural light. As noted in Chapter Five, these spaces were originally intended as private spaces and closed off to public viewing.\textsuperscript{914} Therefore, these spaces have been adapted to make them legible for the modern visitor.

The interpretative material (oral, aural and written), available on the site is similar to the variety of information accessible to visitors to a museum. Large text panels are located close to the entrance inside the Basilica with a plan of the church and text outlining the history of the Complex. See Figure 40 below. A visitor desk has also been set up just inside the entrance. See Figure 41 below. Small text panels are located next to the artworks. Pamphlets are published in five languages giving historical information about the church and its artworks. Arduini has commented on the poor quality of these and the substantial number of historiographical errors.\textsuperscript{915} Lombardi also recognises the inadequacy of the material and has stated that the OML plans to revise the current publication and publish one pamphlet in several languages that will give information about the whole Complex.\textsuperscript{916} In addition, qualified translators will be used to ensure professionally translated texts.

Slot machines are placed at various points that give recorded information about specific artworks. Another initiative of the OML is to rework all the signage in the Complex so as to bring conformity in terms of style, graphics, layout and so on. The small text panels giving information about the artworks will also be revised so that they are readable and relevant.\textsuperscript{917}

\textsuperscript{914} Nelson, (2006), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{915} Appendix A, Interview 5.
\textsuperscript{916} Appendix A, Interview 9.
\textsuperscript{917} Appendix A, Interview 9.
Currently a shop in the crypt of the Medici Chapels sells postcards, souvenirs often unrelated to the site itself, and books on a variety of topics. Several guidebooks are available that are related to the Complex itself. Some are the official guidebooks produced by the OML and others are from independent publishing companies. The OML has plans to open a shop in the areas beneath the cloisters where the new ticket office will be constructed. This area will also have a coffee shop, a multi media room and an exhibition area.
Short guided tours are offered by voluntary guides affiliated to the *Associazione Ars et Fides*.\(^{918}\) In addition, the on site custodians/attendants, employed to ensure the building and its contents are secure from theft and vandalism\(^{919}\) are often university students enrolled in art history degrees who act as *ad hoc* interpreters if visitors have any questions related to the history of the Complex.

Finally, facilities management strategies such as security personnel assigned to various sections of the Basilica and alarm systems with individual alarms for each artwork have been introduced. There are also plans to employ a permanent custodian to patrol the exterior of the Complex at night to prevent further damage to the exterior. Mons. Livi has lobbied for a railing to be placed around the Basilica as has been created for the Cathedral due to the deterioration of the stonework. He

\(^{918}\) See footnote 746, p. 153.
\(^{919}\) Monsignor Livi, the Parish Priest of San Lorenzo, when interviewed in 2009 (Appendix A, Interview 9), mentions that prior to the employment of custodians in the Church students on school excursions removed pieces of the wooden benches in the Old Sacristy with pencil sharpeners to take home as souvenirs. When challenged the response was ‘well since they have already lasted five hundred years old they can still be repaired.’
comments also that the area in front of the Basilica and the steps leading up to it are used by tourists as a picnic spot and then littered with rubbish.

![Figure 44. Exterior: crowds and rubbish. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

The porous stone is consequently being severely damaged. Both Livi and Arduini remark on the exterior being used as an ad hoc urinal at night and this seeps into the crypt below through side grills.
In addition to the elements that have already been introduced to the Basilica that resemble museum-like attributes, Lombardi has stated that the OML is committed to the improvement of services for visitors to the monument. He comments that in Italy services to the public are inferior to those in other popular tourist destinations and his view is that, in a renowned tourist city like Florence, services should be equal to the expectations of its many international visitors. The OML publishes a long list of forthcoming projects on its website. Some changes include better access, better toilet facilities, and services for the disabled such as a stair lift to the subterranean areas of the Basilica, platforms for access to the Basilica itself and lifts to the Library and Medici Chapels. Also high on the agenda are improvements to the general appearance of the Complex such as the exterior and the gardens.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the third case study of the thesis, the Laurentian Complex and in particular the Basilica of San Lorenzo. It has identified the reasons for the popularity of this monument as a high profile heritage tourist site. It has demonstrated that several factors ‘mark’ the Complex as a tourist icon: its historical and heritage value due to its genesis as the first cathedral of Florence; its aesthetic value due to the financial investment in the site of the Medici family which resulted in the production of premier works of art; the familiarity of the site due to the popularisation of Florence as the iconic Renaissance city.

The chapter has also examined the development of the multifaceted management structure of the Laurentian Complex from an historical perspective and interviewed key stakeholders to determine the effect of this management structure on the monument. It has found that the first division of the monument just after the Unification of Italy into three discrete sites under the administration of three separate State bodies was detrimental to the protection and conservation of the monument as a whole. It has discussed how the decision in the early twentieth century to reunite the three sites under a new coordinating committee, the Opera Medicea Laurenziana, has resulted in the introduction of changes to the management of the monument that reflect museum practices. Both the Medici Chapels and the Laurentian Library are museums and now that the entrance ticket has been introduced to the Basilica this part of the monument is also acknowledged as a museum.

The chapter has also demonstrated that a combination of factors such as the decline in the number of parishioners, the aging of the clergy and the increase in the number of tourists has led to the introduction of an entrance ticket to the Basilica itself. The pressure on the site from tourist traffic has, therefore, resulted in a range of modifications to this site to accommodate visitor flow. All this points to a rationalisation of services required and appear to mirror facilities that the visitor would expect to find in a museum environment. Furthermore, a conscious link has been made between facilities maintenance and visitor needs such that maintenance caused by higher visitation is paid for out of visitation revenue generated. Since one of the principle aims of the OML is to accommodate the tourist and his/her
expectations, this is clear evidence of moves towards bringing demand and supply into alignment.

The chapter has also determined that the implementation of this infrastructure in the Basilica is just the beginning of far-reaching plans by the OML to introduce a much more sophisticated management system. This will focus on the conservation and restoration of the monument and on the provision of improved services to the tourist. This thesis proposes that the implications of these initiatives are indicative of the gradual transformation of the Basilica of San Lorenzo into a more museum-oriented space although still preserving its religious functions.

This chapter has focussed on a large Church complex with an intricate management system that is addressing increases in heritage tourism with sophisticated administrative tools. The following chapter examines the final site for the study that both attracts the most tourists and has the most complex management system of the four case studies presented.
Chapter 7: Case Study Four - The Santa Croce Complex

Wait then for an entirely bright morning; rise with the sun, and go to Santa Croce, with a good opera glass in your pocket, with which you shall for once, at any rate, see an opus.922

This chapter builds on the material developed in the previous two chapters and presents the final case study of the thesis, an investigation of the Santa Croce Complex in Florence. This Complex is the largest in the hierarchy of the heritage tourist sites on the Site Selection Matrix presented in Chapter Five.923 The structure of this case study is consistent with the framework used in Chapter Five and applied to all the case studies. Again the investigation of this site includes the application of the concept of ‘key markers’ derived from the Staiff Model of Tourist Attractions. It also evaluates the characteristics of the management structures at each site in relation to seven specific criteria and uses the set of museum attributes derived from ICOM, Lazzeretti, Dicks and Hooper-Greenhill to ascertain the museum-like nature of the site. Again interviews with key stakeholders in the management of the site are presented to illustrate the findings.

Site Profile

Figure 46. Exterior S. Croce. (Source: © J. Ryde)  Figure 47. Early façade (Source: © OSC)

922 Ruskin, (1876), op.cit.
923 See Figure 7, p. 134.
The first mention of a church in the area of Santa Croce dates to the 1228 Papal Bull of Gregory IX that refers to a small Franciscan oratory called the Chiesa di Santa Croce dei Minori.\textsuperscript{924} The Santa Croce Complex was subsequently constructed on the site of this small oratory. It was built over a period of two hundred years between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries to a design attributed to Arnolfo di Cambio, who was also the chief architect of Florence’s cathedral.\textsuperscript{925} The church was commissioned by the Frati Minori Conventuali\textsuperscript{926} whose presence was documented in Florence around 1212 at the same time as St. Francis.\textsuperscript{927} See Figure 48 below for an eighteenth century drawing of the Complex.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure_48.png}
\caption{Anonymous drawing of Santa Croce and the Monastery. (Source: © OSC)}
\end{figure}

This Complex is the largest Franciscan church in the world and occupies an area of more than fifteen thousand square metres. Its real estate comprises the Basilica with thirty chapels, three cloisters, and a museum (originally the refectory) that was first opened to the public in December 1900. (See Figure 49 below for a plan of the Complex). The entire Complex contains two hundred and fifty visitable artworks including sculptures, bronzes, paintings and fresco cycles. It is also the custodian of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{924} A. Busignano and R. Bencini, \textit{Le Chiese di Firenze. Quartiere di Santa Croce.} (Firenze: Sansoni, 1993). P. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{925} Ibid. P. 38.
\item \textsuperscript{926} The Friars Minor Conventuals, the mendicant religious order tracing their origin to Francis of Assisi and who accompanied him to Florence.
\item \textsuperscript{927} Richa, (1754-62), op.cit. P. 35.
\end{itemize}
Figure 49: Plan of the Santa Croce Complex. (Source: ©A.Ryde)
numerous other artefacts currently not on display. In addition the Complex has an extensive archive containing important historical documents dating to the twelfth century. The Basilica was consecrated in 1443 and is recognised as one of the most beautiful examples of Gothic architecture in Italy although the current marble façade dates to the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{928}

Site Selection Criteria

This site has been chosen for the study for two main reasons. Firstly, it is a high profile heritage monument located in the centre of the historic centre of Florence and its popularity attracts significant numbers of tourists. Secondly, its management structure reflects many of the administrative and organisational features found in mainstream museums.

Site Popularity

The Santa Croce Complex is one of the most visited religious sites in Italy as well as one of the most visited in Europe. It is a landmark tourist site in the city of Florence attracting over a million visitors annually, most in peak season. It is listed in fifth place on the top ten tourist sites in Italy\textsuperscript{929} surveyed by the TCI. It is also the third most visited site in Florence after the Uffizi and the Accademia.\textsuperscript{930} The Complex is attractive to the heritage tourist market for five reasons: its historical and architectural significance, its fame as the repository of key Renaissance artworks amongst other notable masterpieces, its place as the Pantheon of Florence, its accessibility within the city’s compact historic centre and its integrity as a site.

Firstly, the Santa Croce Complex is the largest Franciscan Church in the world and second only in age to the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi. Therefore, it is a significant heritage monument and in particular is a fine example of Gothic architecture introduced to the city in the thirteenth century. It was built and

\textsuperscript{928} A detailed historiography of the Complex can be found in M.G. Rosito, ed. \textit{Santa Croce nel Solco della Storia}. (Florence: Citta di Vita, 1996).
\textsuperscript{929} Four of the top ten historical and art history sites are located in Florence. Touring Club Italiano, \textit{Dossier Musei 2009} (Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 2009). P. 15.
\textsuperscript{930} Ibid. P. 10.
embellished by some of the great architects of the so-called early Renaissance.\footnote{The debate around this taxonomy has been discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.} The Pazzi Chapel alongside the Basilica, and its adjoining cloisters were designed by Brunelleschi and his pupil Michelozzo. These structures are regarded as the pinnacle of the new architectural style introduced by Brunelleschi, illustrating the Renaissance commitment to Classicism’s principles of harmonious proportions.\footnote{Saalman, (1993), op.cit.} The interior of the Basilica is notable as an example of a restructure in the Mannerist style by Vasari, principle architect of the Florentine republic in the sixteenth century who was commissioned by the Medici prince, Cosimo I, to update the church.\footnote{Busignano and Bencini, (1993), op.cit. P. 29.}

In the eighteenth century the Complex became an important site to visit by foreign tourists, especially the educated British aristocrats embarking on the Grand Tour seeking intellectual enlightenment. This phenomenon has been discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. The site subsequently became a mandatory attraction in the mid to late nineteenth century for middle class travellers due to the fame it acquired in the early travel writings of the period that connected the Complex with the Franciscan order as well as great figures from politics, literature and the arts. British travel writers often likened Santa Croce with Westminster Abbey. For example, as Henry Matthews opined,

\begin{quote}
The most interesting church here is the S. Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Florence, for here are the bones and the tombs of Galileo, Machiavelli, Michel Angelo and Alfieri.\footnote{H. Matthews, The Diary of an Invalid (Being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal, Italy, Switzerland and France in the Years 1817,1818 and 1819). (London: John Murray, 1820). P. 57.}
\end{quote}

The late nineteenth century was also the period of Gothic revivalism and the popularity of the Pre-Raphaelites in England so the Italian Gothic church of Santa Croce resonated with the new breed of travellers.\footnote{A. O’Brien, "S. Croce nell'Occhio di Viaggiatori Britannici Ottocenteschi," Città di Vita, no. 3-4 (2007). P. 335.} The writings of the period are, in the main, summaries of the authors’ experiences in Italy and became amongst the most popular and widely read publications in Britain as travel was becoming more
accessible.\textsuperscript{936} Santa Croce features in seminal works by literary figures such as Byron, E.M. Forster, Foscolo, Madame de Staël and Stendhal\textsuperscript{937} all of whom were thus particularly influential in perpetuating the image of the Complex and often quoted by visitors to the church.\textsuperscript{938} Therefore, by the arrival of modern heritage tourism in the twentieth century it had been ‘marked out’ through centuries of popular travel writing and literature as part of the canon of accredited tourist sites to be visited in Florence.

The second reason for the popularity and status of the Santa Croce Complex as a high profile tourist site is its fame and importance as a repository of key Renaissance artefacts by premier Renaissance artists such as Donatello, Bernardo Rossellini, Giorgio Vasari, Desiderio da Settignano, Domenico Veneziano and Luca Della Robbia. It also holds works by important innovators in early realism such as Cimabue, Giotto and Agnolo and Taddeo Gaddi who were influential, according to Vasari, in the development of Renaissance stylistic techniques.\textsuperscript{939} The site, therefore, is considered by many early art historians as important for the history of Western Art as one of the documents in stylistic changes that were taking place across Europe from the thirteenth century onwards.\textsuperscript{940} Pertinent for this study is that this argument has taken on grand dimensions feeding into tourism discourses on Florence as the archetypal Renaissance city.\textsuperscript{941}

The third reason for the popularity of the site as a tourist attraction is its renown as the Pantheon of Florence,\textsuperscript{942} a title bestowed on the Complex in the nineteenth century since it is the burial place of many illustrious Italians.\textsuperscript{943} Nearly three hundred eminent Florentine citizens have tombs or high profile memorials here including Dante, Vittorio Alfieri, Leonardo Bruno, Michelangelo, Galileo,

\textsuperscript{936} Some of the popular travel texts of the period were P. Beckford, \textit{Letters from Italy}. (Salisbury: Easton, 1805); Eustace, (1813), op.cit; J. Forsyth, \textit{Remarks on Antiquities, Art and Letters During an Excursion in Italy in 1802 and 1803}, 2 ed. (London: Murray, 1816); Hoare, (1819), op.cit; Starke, (1815), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{937} G. Byron, \textit{Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Canto the Fourth}. (London: John Murray, 1816); Forster, (1908), op.cit; Madame De Staël, \textit{Corinne ou L'Italie}. (Paris: Ledentu, 1819); Stendhal, (1826), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{938} O'Brien, (2007), op.cit. P. 333.
\textsuperscript{939} Vasari, (1996), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{940} Berenson, (1930), op.cit; Clark, (1969), op.cit; Symonds, (1935), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{941} Staiff, (2010), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{942} Bert, (1993), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{943} O'Connor, (2008), op.cit. P.32.
Machiavelli, Marconi and Leon Battista Alberti. Therefore, Santa Croce is a drawcard for international tourists wishing to visit the tombs of famous statesmen, politicians, writers, artists and heroes.

The Complex also attracts Italian tourists since it was imprinted on both the national and Florentine consciousness as a shrine to public memory during Italy’s transition to nationhood in the nineteenth century.\footnote{Ibid. P. 24.} Giuseppe De Micheli, Secretary-General of the Board of the Opera di Santa Croce, the administrative body of the Complex (henceforth OSC), commented that groups often come from various parts of Italy to lay wreaths at particular tombs.\footnote{Appendix A, Interview 8.} The Complex became a metaphor for Italy’s political situation during Unification and significant for the public memory of the Italian nation when Italian society was in the grip of nationalistic fervour. This phenomenon was so strong that, as the French writer M. Valéry opined, the spirituality of the site was obscured by the focus on the national and the cult of genius.\footnote{M. Valéry, 	extit{Voyages Historiques et Littéraires en Italie}. (Bruxelles: Louis Hauman et Compagnie, Libraires, 1835). P. 276.} Tuscany was the centre of great change in the nineteenth century with the Napoleonic invasions, the reinstatement of the Austrian nobility, the growth of nationalistic sentiment and finally unification of the region with other states within a
territory that subsequently became the nation of Italy.947 As O’Connor has pointed out, the awakenings of nationalism called for the creation of a collective sense of identity and solidarity: a national memory and sense of continuity found in the rediscovery of the past.948 Santa Croce with its monuments and tombs was a repository of past Italian glories and heroes and thus seen as an inspiration for the future nation.949 Therefore, Santa Croce grew from a local church serving parishioners in the neighbourhood, to one of national interest and, as a result, increasingly the focus of international visitors.

Fourthly, the Santa Croce Complex is popular as a tourist attraction due its accessibility as a site. The monument is situated in the compact historic centre of Florence on one of the so-called turisdotto or main tourist thoroughfares within the so-called ‘golden triangle’.950 Since speed, accessibility and efficiency, as noted previously, are principal requirements of tourism in the twenty-first century that is mainly structured around the movement of large groups, the location of this monument is ideal. Tour operators and guidebooks ‘mark’ the Basilica on itineraries of key sites to visit in Florence for this reason. Furthermore, De Micheli commented that the OSC is developing special itineraries focussing on specific aspects of the Complex so as to satisfy the needs of tour groups with little time at their disposal.951 As Kaelber has also remarked,

Efficiency relates to tourists expectations to have little or no unnecessary slack and to avoid inefficiencies. To get tourists to as many tour sites as possible was, after all, one of the rationales for Thomas Cook’s package tour.952

Finally, the Santa Croce Complex is a high profile tourist attraction because the architectural and artistic integrity of the monument has been preserved. There have been few changes to the fundamental structure of the building and its works of art are

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948 Ibid. P. 24.
949 In Ugo Foscolo’s poem Dei Sepolcri, Florence and Santa Croce in particular are singled out for special mention. The poem reflects the cult of remembrance when tombs were a source of inspiration and interest in the cult of the dead that was popular in the nineteenth century in Italy. Many poems, eulogies and funeral orations were written at this time giving rise to a new literary form that reflected the new patriotic fervour. U. Foscolo, "Dei Sepolcri,” in Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Ugo Foscolo (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1985).
951 Appendix A, Interview 8.
still in context in the architectural space for which they were originally intended. The Franciscan monastery is still intact and the visitor has access to some of its cloisters. Furthermore, there has even been a return of artefacts to their original context from other museums despite, as De Micheli comments, the reservations of the Florentine Superintendency.\textsuperscript{953} This integrity of site space and contents is unusual in Italy in religious institutions as many artefacts were removed by the State from these bodies in the mid nineteenth century during Unification under the Laws of Suppression of religious orders or were later sold off in the reforms following the Second Vatican Council. This has been discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis.\textsuperscript{954}

In summary, the Santa Croce Complex is a key tourist venue as the largest Franciscan Church in the world, as the repository of premier artworks, as a pantheon of illustrious Italians and particularly Florentines and finally as a site that is both accessible to the tourism market and also one that has retained the architectural and artistic integrity of its space.

\textit{Management Structure}

The second reason for the choice of this site as a focus for this thesis is the nature of the management structure, characteristics of which appear to align with museum management models. The administrative framework is atypical as the site is not a unified structure and is governed by complex legislation. It is characterised by two particular features. The principle managing body is a lay organisation called the \textit{Opera di Santa Croce} (OSC). This exists alongside other organisations: the Leather School, the publishing company \textit{Città di Vita} and more particularly the Franciscan Order itself, all of which have their own management structures. Therefore, a diverse group of stakeholders is involved in the management of the site.

The principle managing body, the OSC, is a lay organization founded in 1371 for the construction of the Santa Croce Complex through the initiatives of the Florentine government of the period. It is a vestige of a \textit{fabbriceria}, or type of factory or

\textsuperscript{953} Appendix A, Interview 8.
\textsuperscript{954} See Chapters Four and Five.
workshop, that had its origins in the fifth century. These fabbricerie (called opera in Tuscany) were, and still are, lay administrative institutions or ‘vestry boards’. Their main function was and is to manage the funds of large religious institutions for construction, maintenance and conservation purposes. Currently the OSC belongs to the Associazione Fabbricerie Italiane whose membership includes the thirteen most important of these bodies in Italy.

Beyond the functions of the OSC, management of the site is complicated because ownership of the monument itself is complex. As a Franciscan Order occupying the space, the monks do not own the Santa Croce site, a common characteristic of all Franciscan churches. This convention dates to the time of St Francis, who renounced ownership of material wealth when taking the vows of poverty; owning church property was incompatible with this vow. Consequently, Franciscan churches were owned and managed by the Papal States, the predecessor of the Vatican State, an unusual situation since typically religious institutions (that is property) were either owned by ecclesiastical bodies or by the respective religious Order. Currently ownership of the Santa Croce Complex lies with the State and its overall management sits under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As mentioned above, after the suppression of the contemplative religious orders in the aftermath of Unification discussed in Chapter Four, Santa Croce as an active religious institution was allocated with about seven hundred other sites to the Fondo per il Culto (Foundation for Religious Affairs) for administrative purposes. The new government realised the overwhelming difficulties and financial burden of funding and maintaining the enormous church complexes and cathedrals it had appropriated. Therefore, it astutely

955 Ciralli, (1964), op.cit.
958 The word fabbriceria derives from the French word fabrique (fabbrica in Italian) meaning factory. These ‘factories’ are particular in that they are a survival of the Middle Ages when they developed as workshops for the construction of a variety of buildings. After completion of the building the workshop was usually dissolved but those linked to the construction of the cathedrals existed for much longer as the construction work spanned several centuries. A permanent organization was required to guarantee continuity in both construction and maintenance. However, not all large churches in Italy fall under this type of structure: nine such fabbricerie linked to large church complexes and cathedrals currently exist in Tuscany and thirty in total in Italy. Each site has a different historical genesis and therefore different fabbricerie with differing structures and ranges of responsibilities.
decided to retain some of the *fabbricerie* and whilst placing them under the *Fondo*, it cleverly gave these organisations financial autonomy. It was also in the government’s interests to support organisations that were for the most part secular in membership and whose mission was traditionally the maintenance and conservation of such large monuments.

In previous centuries the sources of funding for these *fabbricerie* were bequests, donations, the sale of chapels, the patronage of elite local families and the sale of moveable artefacts. Today, revenue needs to be generated by other means than those used in past centuries. Thus, in 2002, a visitor entry fee to the whole Complex and not just the museum was introduced. The ramifications of this for the present study are examined in more detail below. Sporadic funding is provided by the State, private individuals make generous donations and other bodies such as banks and private companies, both national and international, sponsor specific projects. One example of this type of sponsorship is Japanese businessman Tesuya Kuroda’s funding of the restoration works of Agnolo Gaddi’s fresco cycle, ‘The Legend of the True Cross’ located in the Chancel.

![Figure 52. Restoration works in the Chancel. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

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964 Kuroda donated US $1.6 million to the project and this was matched by the OSC.
These restoration works have themselves become a lucrative source of funding for the enterprising OSC who realize revenue through offering special guided visits up the scaffolding to view the frescoes and restoration work. A decision was also made to retain the scaffolding for a year after the work was completed in 2011 to further increase revenue, something unprecedented in restoration history in Italy.

Currently the OSC is subject to the Concordate of the 1929 Lateran Pacts, subsequently modified in 1984. The Concordate sets out guidelines for the administration of the OSC under the new Fondo Edifici di Culto (Foundation for Religious Buildings, henceforth FEC) set up in 1984 and located within the portfolio of the Ministry for Internal Affairs rather than MiBAC, that adds a further level of complexity to the scenario. The OSC is structured as a private non-profit making body (ONLUS) ratified by law in 1987, subject to its own charter and set up to benefit the Italian nation due to its cultural heritage value.965 Amongst its institutional competencies are the tutela, valorizzazione e gestione or ‘guardianship, valorization and management’ of the cultural heritage of the Complex. This aligns with the policies laid out in the Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio (Codex of Cultural Assets and the Landscape) ratified in 2004 that was discussed in Chapter Three. The legal status of the OSC under Italian Law is that of a persona giuridica (juridical person).966 This status in relation to the State is not particularly clear and in fact, according to De Micheli, Secretary-General of the Board of the OSC, several conferences have been held in an attempt to clarify the legislative position of the fabbriceria/opera.967 This adds to the complexity and multi-layered nature of the administration of the Santa Croce Complex.

The OSC is managed by a Board of Directors, comprising seven members appointed every three years by decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Although there are no restrictions placed on the composition of the Board, it is in the best interests of the management of the Complex, as a religious site, that the clergy be represented, although it appears that this is albeit a token appointment.968 The members of the Board elect their own president who is usually a layperson. These elements, as well

965 Appendix A, Interview 8.
966 An entity that has the same legal rights as if a ‘natural person’. De Micheli, (2007), op.cit. P. 235.
967 Appendix A, Interview 8.
968 Ibid.
as the particular legislation that governs the entire Complex have made the management of the monument as a whole very complicated.

In 2002 the OSC identified a series of management issues that needed to be addressed due to the rise in the numbers of tourists visiting the Complex and fears of increasing damage to the site. Pressing concerns were risks to the security of the site and its prestigious collections of artefacts, conservation of the monument and its collections, restoration processes and funding, visitor management and services to the public, and the training of specialised personnel.\textsuperscript{969} Thus the OSC initiated a lengthy process of reorganisation in 2002 with the realisation that the site needed a more business-oriented approach to operate more efficiently and effectively. This reorganization is still on-going and can be likened to a business process re-engineering with the intention of gaining ISO9001 certification.\textsuperscript{970}

Management criteria include generation of funding for restoration and conservation with the introduction of an entrance ticket, the development of risk management strategies with the introduction of video surveillance systems and trained security personnel as well as the reorganisation of spaces to conserve artefacts, the development of conservation areas visitable by the public, the creation of sophisticated communication and information services and a change in approach to the visitor client.\textsuperscript{971} The development and articulation of these management criteria are examined in detail in the Findings for this site.

The OSC approach to reorganisation is innovative and its principle objective is to realise visitor standards expected by an international public without compromising the distinctive nature of the site as a religious space. This requires skilful management of the competing and conflicting demands of site preservation and maintenance, religious functioning and presentation as a major tourist destination. In


\textsuperscript{970} A standard set by the International Standards Organization to ensure quality standards are met. M. Consonni, “Progettare l’Azienda per Processi: Il Caso dell’Opera di Santa Croce” (Università degli Studi di Firenze, 2004). The \textit{Opera della Primaziale Pisana}, the administrative body that manages the religious Complex of Pisa and the Leaning Tower, holds this accreditation and, as a similar \textit{opera}, the OSC also aims to match this status.

\textsuperscript{971} Opera di Santa Croce, (2007), op.cit. P.2
implementing this avant-garde approach the OSC appears to have introduced some elements of the museum attribute set presented in Chapter Five.

As a final comment, the Santa Croce Complex belongs to the Coordinamento Chiese di Firenze (Consortium of Florentine Churches)\(^{972}\) previously discussed in relation to the Laurentian Complex examined in Chapter Six. As mentioned above, this Consortium was formed in 2004 to provide a united management strategy in the face of increases in tourist numbers in Florence and is similar to an initiative launched in Venice. However, given an apparent lack of consensus on how to administer the four sites seemingly due to differences in management style, this Consortium is currently dormant.\(^{973}\) Despite this situation, there are expectations that the Consortium could be revived in the near future.\(^{974}\)

**Findings**

The Complex has been ‘marked’ out as one of a canon of sites to be visited in Florence and as tourism to this city has increased so have visits to the site.\(^{975}\) An application of the Model of Tourist Attractions presented in Chapter Five (Staiff after MacCannell and Urry) demonstrates that many aspects of the Complex can be aligned with the ‘Markers’ proposed by the Model that identify a site as an attractive tourist destination. It enjoys strong *aesthetic, historical and heritage* value as outlined above. The *familiarity* of the site has been strongly developed through the publicity given to it by both popular and scholarly writers, tourist operators, advertisers and other stakeholders who exploit the connection that the site enjoys with all that is considered the Renaissance. It is a *unique* site due to its architecture and artefacts. The relationship between the various sites comprising the Complex is also *unique*. Finally, it plays a principle role in one of the popular tourist *narratives* of Florence as the definitive Renaissance city, the ‘cradle of the Renaissance’. As Staiff suggests, strong attractions are often called ‘tourist icons’ and it appears that

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973 Appendix A, Interviews 5, 8, and 9.
974 Appendix A, Interview 8.
975 All the early travel guides noted previously in this study, have extensive references to this Complex. Modern guidebooks have continued this tradition.
the Basilica of Santa Croce and the entire Santa Croce Complex fulfils this status on many levels.

An investigation of visitor and congregation demographics reveals a significant imbalance between the number of visitors to the site and the number of faithful attending religious functions. It appears that the site has now become primarily a tourist venue. It is estimated that over a million tourists visit the site each year comprising individual tourists, Italian school groups on their annual gite scolastiche and large groups of visitors organised by tour operators.

In contrast, sources reveal a decline in attendance at religious functions at the site. Religious functions are limited with mass attended by only about four people during the week and about two hundred at the mid-morning mass on Sundays. The congregation, as Padre Rosito remarks in the interview, is not a consistent community as many who attend on the Sunday are visitors to the city. Both Padre Rosito and De Micheli remark that most of the local faithful prefer to visit less prominent churches that are also more easily accessible for parking. The regular congregation is also elderly, a situation that reflects the comments made in Chapter One referring to the exodus of younger residents especially with families from the

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976 Touring Club Italiano, (2007), op.cit.
977 ———, (2009), op.cit.
978 Appendix A, Interviews 6 and 8 with Padre Rosito and Giuseppe De Micheli as well as the author’s own on-site observations over a period of four months spanning low and high tourist seasons.
979 Appendix A, Interview 6.
980 Appendix A, Interview 8
historic centre due to lack of services including parking difficulties amongst other reasons. The religious order is also depleted in number with only seven monks at the site in comparison to thirty five monks on site at its height. The most senior is the only Italian monk and he is eighty-four years old. Replacing religious personnel is problematic and the new monks are often non Italians with little understanding of the historical and artistic significance of the monument.

In 2002, the OSC initiated a range of management strategies to address the increase in the number of visitors to the site and in particular to reorganise services to the public.981 These management initiatives were expanded throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century culminating in the implementation of a sophisticated management model with elements that mirror organisational characteristics found in museums. The overall aim of these interventions is to allow the site to achieve its full potential in addressing the tension between the contemplative, meditative aspect of the Church and the tourist flow.982 Indeed, one of the fundamental premises of the OSC is *una riconsacrazione del luogo, dopo lunghi anni di pesante consumo turistico*.983 Specifically, the principle objective of the OSC is to improve the visitor experience to allow a fuller understanding of the richness and significance of the heritage site as a whole yet maintaining the spiritual function of the Complex at the same time. It also aims to differentiate the Complex from other religious sites and museums by highlighting its special features as a heritage monument.

The first intervention was the introduction in 2002 of a comprehensive entrance ticket for the whole Complex to address visitor flow both in terms of numbers of tourists and the progression within the space.984 The new ticket was also designed to address other problems intrinsic to the Complex such as conservation, restoration, maintenance, sustainability and security all of which require substantial funding.985 At over fifteen thousand square metres the maintenance of the building and its contents presents significant challenges. By the mid twentieth century the Basilica was in such a state of decay that in the 1950s the Italian government passed a law

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982 Appendix A, Interview 8.
984 Ibid. P. 5.
985 Appendix A, Interview 8.
provide funding exclusively for works required in Santa Croce. Two hundred and fifty million lire were specifically allocated for restoration works. Unfortunately the 1966 flood resulted in major damage to the building and its artworks destroying the restorations completed using this funding. In fact, because the Santa Croce Complex was built on marshland at the lowest point of the city, it became a potent symbol of this flood because of the extensive damage it suffered. In the decades following the flood, global events such as the oil crisis in the 1970s and the consequent downturn in international trade in the 1980s meant that no further funding for restoration was forthcoming from the economically challenged Italian State.

Without changes to the management practices of the Santa Croce Complex that would enable the generation of revenue for restoration works, the Basilica would most likely have fallen into further disrepair and only been accessible for religious functions. This finding is supported by De Micheli who noted,

_Santa Croce doveva essere chiusa e basta, aprire alle sei della sera per la messa e aprire la domenica per la messa e poi chiusa come tante chiese stanno chiuse. Cioè, non è possibile un luogo di quindici mila metri quadrati com’è Santa Croce, tenerlo aperto senza presidio, senza piani di intervento, con i tetti che avevano problem di manutenzione da trenta, quaranta, anni._

The introduction of the entrance ticket has enabled more restoration works to be completed in a period of ten years than in the previous two hundred because the OSC now has a constant, more secure source of funding. It is longer dependent on the vagaries of State or other funding sources as well as fluctuations in global financial markets that might limit sponsorship.

In addition, concerns had been raised regarding the maximum number of visitors that can be sustained daily without damage to the site. The entrance ticket is integral to

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986 Ibid.  
987 Ibid.  
988 ‘Santa Croce would have had to remain closed, full stop, to only open at six pm and on Sundays for mass and then closed as are so many other churches. In other words, it’s impossible to keep a space of fifteen thousand square meters such as Santa Croce open without protection and without a program of intervention [especially] with a roof that has had maintenance problems for thirty or forty years.’ My translation from Appendix A, Interview 8.  
989 Ibid.
demand management and the setting of visitor threshold levels is crucial to the ethics of conservation of the site for future generations.\textsuperscript{990} The OSC is concerned about possible damage to floors and pavement tombs resulting from increased tourist traffic. In fact, according to documents from the Santa Croce archives, concern about damage to pavement tombs due to visitor traffic dates back two hundred years.\textsuperscript{991} These concerns are shared by other heavily \textit{touristed} sites such as the Cathedral in Siena and the Basilica di San Marco in Venice both of which have covered or roped off their floors.\textsuperscript{992}

Prior to the introduction of the comprehensive ticket in 2002 the entrance fee was specific to the cloister comprising the Pazzi Chapel and the Museum located in the refectory while entrance to the Basilica was free. The decision to include the Basilica enabled the tariff to be increased\textsuperscript{993} but also changed the site dynamics such that it now demonstrates many characteristics of a museum structure. The introduction of a comprehensive ticket meant opening the eastern side door of the Basilica to allow access to the cloister spaces changing the tourists’ relationship between the Basilica and the rest of the Complex. This single initiative has delivered a number of other important outcomes.

Firstly, the Complex is now united as an ‘ensemble’. Secondly, visitor flow is controlled by itineraries established around mandatory entry and exit points. These itineraries reflect the way museums are organised and exhibitions are constructed. This is particularly visible in high profile Italian museums such as the Uffizi, and the Accademia in Florence as well as the Vatican in Rome. According to the OSC, this change also allows the visitor to reimagine the space and gain a deeper an understanding of the multidimensional nature of the Santa Croce Complex. Finally, the increased tariff has generated the much-needed funds for restoration works enabling the Complex to remain open to the public. The reverse side of the ticket informs visitors how funds are being utilised for restoration works.\textsuperscript{994}

\textsuperscript{990} Opera di Santa Croce, (2007), op.cit. P. 3.
\textsuperscript{991} See historical documents in Appendix E.
\textsuperscript{992} Appendix A, Interview 8.
states that all major restoration works are paid for almost solely by the entrance ticket since little funding is now provided by the State especially in current economic climates. Other funding sources are activities organised by the OSC such as concerts and conferences, private donations and funding from organisations such as banks and credit unions.

A second intervention that occurred at the same time as the introduction of the comprehensive ticket was the organisation of the internal spaces, aspects of which appear to reflect those found in museum spaces. Specific areas have been roped off to define spaces for religious functions and contemplation, at other times in conflict with the needs of some visitors who come to see seminal works of art. See Figures 54 and 55 below.

Figure 54. Area reserved for religious functions. (Source: © J. Ryde)

The Donatello crucifix is located in one of these spaces and is a specific case in point.995 As occurs in many museum environments, other areas have been roped off to protect particular works of art such as the pavement tombs, or to prevent close access to altars, sculptures and paintings. See Figure 55 below.

995 Remarks made in an unrecorded conversation with the custodians at the site in April 2012.
A private company has been employed to oversee the security of the Complex and to manage visitor flow.996 Alarm systems have been installed and uniformed security staff patrol the spaces to oversee visitor behaviour, manage noise levels and direct visitors. These management features are also found in museum environments.

Further changes to the overall management model of the Complex commenced in 2007 and are still ongoing, building on the initiatives that led to the introduction of the comprehensive entrance ticket in 2002. The OSC Board report997 recognises that the traditional management models of large monuments such as the Santa Croce Complex holding prestigious collections of artefacts are no longer adequate. It puts forward a more sophisticated management model designed to achieve the principle objective of,

... implementare modalità nuove per presentare Santa Croce come incrocio di percorsi storici, spirituali, politici, artistici che la fanno essere un qualcosa di assolutamente particolare rispetto ad altre chiese, altri musei, altri edifici storici.998

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996 Interestingly the security of the Complex and concern for damage are not necessarily new factors. Documents dating to the eighteenth century from the Santa Croce Archive note the employment of guards to patrol the building for vandalism and inappropriate behaviour! See Appendix E.


998 “implementing new ways of showcasing Santa Croce as a crossroad of historic, spiritual, political and artistic itineraries, that make it something absolutely particular in comparison to other churches, museums, and historic buildings.” My translation from ibid. P. 2.
Notable in the Board Report is a change in discourse from concerns about managing the increase in the numbers of tourists to the Basilica itself, funding the conservation of the Complex, and a focus on ‘passive’ elements of _presidio_, _sorveglianza_, _vigilanza_ (protection, surveillance, vigilance), to privileging the theme of _ospitalità_ or ‘hospitality’. The buzzword becomes _gestire_ (management), reflecting a consistency with changes in State legislation towards a more economic model for cultural heritage management as outlined in Chapter Three. Confirming this change in emphasis, the OSC adopted recommendations for the reorganisation of Santa Croce and the Model proposed by Consonni in his 2004 economics thesis on the Complex. An important feature of the new discourse is recognition of the importance of the tourist as a client/customer and the need to provide particular services. The tourist is to be nurtured as the new ‘patron’. Ironically the ‘tourist as patron’ may be seen as a twenty-first century version of the Renaissance Prince or wealthy banking family such as the Medici whose collections now attract the flocks of tourists to Florence and this site. As Christian Caliandro and Pierluigi Sacco comment, the visitor/client/customer discourse is now widespread in Italian heritage and tourism partnerships. The management of the site has been skilfully transformed into a modern heritage tourism environment by the OSC. It no longer refers to the visitor as simply a tourist but as an _ospite_ or ‘guest’. This semantic shift carries with it all the religious/Christian connotations of embracing the ‘flock’ and welcoming the newcomer into the fold. Many other heritage sites, not wanting to create a divide between international tourists and the local community are adopting this philosophical perspective. This is especially true at Santa Croce that also wishes to also highlight the spiritual nature of the space and embrace what is left of its congregation.

One of the defining features of this new perspective on the tourist/guest is the introduction of the principle of ‘welcome’ articulated in the following statement from the Report.

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999 Ibid. P. 1.
1000 Consonni, (2004), op.cit.
Porre al centro dell’attenzione il principio di accoglienza significa, conseguentemente, cominciare a pensare al pubblico (e non solo ai singoli) come ad un potenziale ospite: persone aspettate, accolte, accompagnate.1002

A number of other mechanisms, structures and programs have been implemented to reflect these new attitudes and prepare the tourist as ‘guest’ for what has been identified as the ‘Santa Croce Experience’.1003 Tailor-made itineraries have been designed to present different aspects of the spiritual, political, historic and artistic life of the site. Some of these have been incorporated into guided tours that can be booked online.1004 The aim is to give the visitor an experience of the monument as an ensemble so as to understand the relationship of the building to its contents and to sensitize the visitor to an ‘experience’ in a sacred site. These initiatives reflect current research into ‘affect’ in tourism and museology that have been mentioned elsewhere in this study.1005 As De Micheli succinctly comments for Santa Croce,

Quindi se uno entra in Santa Croce, dovrebbe, vedere un’altra cosa, il rapporto tra contenitore e contenuto. Quindi in che maniera comprenderle due cose, ma non comprenderle razionalmente, cioè, come viverle in una certa maniera.1006

Other museum-like strategies that have been implemented include educational activities for student groups to prepare them for visits to the Complex, the introduction of state of the art audio-visual materials and the refurbishment of various spaces in the southern cloister immediately adjacent to the Complex for dedicated activities. Examples are the creation of a multi media room in the crypt, previously located incongruously in the Pazzi Chapel, the development of the refectory into a conference space and the creation of the Pietro Parigi exhibition space, adjacent to the Pazzi chapel. See Figures 56 and 57 below.

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1002 ‘Giving the main focus to the principle of welcome therefore means beginning to regard the public (not just the individual visitor) as potential guests to be expected, welcomed, and then accompanied’. My translation from Opera di Santa Croce, (2007), op.cit. P. 1.
1003 Appendix A, Interview 8.
1004 Opera di Santa Croce, (2012), op.cit.
1006 ‘Therefore if someone enters Santa Croce they should see something else, the relationship between the container and the contents. Therefore, in some sense it is to understand two aspects but not rationally, that is, to live them in some way.’ My translation from Appendix A, Interview 8.
The Pietro Parigi exhibition space located between the Pazzi Chapel and the Basilica not only houses temporary exhibitions, particularly materials from the in-house publishing company *Città di Vita*, but also functions as an interim link between the internal and external cloister spaces.

Figure 56. Multimedia room in Pazzi Chapel; Multimedia room in Crypt.

Here, visitors can gain a sense of the relationship between the two spaces as well as the role of the Franciscan monastery. An information desk here also provides visitors with promotional and other materials about the Complex and its ancillary services.

Figure 57. Pietro Parigi Exhibition space; conference space in refectory. (Source: © J. Ryde)

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Another area being developed at the time of writing is the Loggia in the first cloister that holds funerary monuments considered another aspect of Santa Croce’s role as a pantheon.\textsuperscript{1009} So that these monuments will be more accessible to visitors and so that the link with the tombs inside the Basilica can be appreciated, a gallery is to be constructed here to provide information materials.

![Existing funerary loggia. (Source: © J. Ryde)](image)

In order to provide the visitor with a sense of understanding of the whole Complex and to capitalise on the best itinerary to achieve this aim, the entry and exit points to the Complex have also been carefully planned and developed according to the 2007 proposal.\textsuperscript{1010} This approach is consistent with the way museums organise their display rooms thematically or chronologically. The entry point is located in the north portico that faces Largo Bardellini rather than through the main door of the Basilica and, although this would have been the preferable entrance, the alternative has been chosen for several reasons.\textsuperscript{1011}

Firstly, this choice is a reinterpretation of the traditional role of the portico that was to provide both shelter to the congregation from inclement weather before entering the Basilica and also to function as a narthex-like space similar to a threshold. Here believers could gather their thoughts before passing into the liminal space of the church. In the same way, in this contemporary ‘threshold’, the managers of the Complex can prepare the tourist/guest for the visit in terms of information about the

\textsuperscript{1010} Ibid. P. 10.
\textsuperscript{1011} Ibid. P. 7.
site and various regulations such as appropriate behaviour, dress codes and so on. This rationale is not unlike that used by museums to prepare visitors to enter their liminal spaces.\textsuperscript{1012}

A second reason for choosing this entry point is to offer equality of entrance to all: the faithful who come for prayer or for confession, the tourist/guest, the disabled. Another reason is to offer protection from the weather to the long queues of visitors that form in the peak tourist season. In addition, this is the most appropriate space for the construction of the state of the art ticket office with the hardware and cabling required for modern ticketing systems and electronic turnstiles to control and measure tourist flow. This is also the most effective space to locate the audio-guide booths and the radio systems, known as ‘whispers’, that are now obligatory for large tourist groups visiting the site. Furthermore, placing all these services here has freed the interior of the Basilica from any extraneous elements that in the past detracted from the overall ‘Santa Croce Experience’.\textsuperscript{1013}

Finally, the refurbishment of this area also allows for the planned revitalisation of the neglected Largo Bardellini, the narrow street adjacent to the north portico. The ramp for the disabled has been reconstructed, the steps leading up to the Basilica will be refurbished and an illuminated footpath constructed to replace the existing chain fence. These changes are now all permanent structures, more discreet and more aesthetically in keeping with the Complex. The exit point has been planned so that the visitor leaves the Complex through the quiet, meditative green space of the first cloister so as to reflect on the visit and to then step into the ‘other threshold’, the Piazza Santa Croce that is the focus of Florentine city life outside the reflective space.\textsuperscript{1014} All these initiatives have been carefully planned with the visitor/guest in mind and the related themes of hospitality and welcome. Many of these initiatives, point to the development of this religious site as an increasingly commercial enterprise comparable to the management practices in a museum. See Figure 59 below.

\textsuperscript{1012} Duncan, (1995), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{1013} Appendix A, Interview 8.
\textsuperscript{1014} Opera di Santa Croce, (2007), op.cit. P.8.
Figure 59. Santa Croce Image Set 1. (Source: © J. Ryde)
Top, left to right: Ticket booths; Touch screen information board
Middle, left to right: Audio-guide desk
Bottom: Largo Bardellini; Disabled Ramp
The current major restoration works at the Complex are expected to reach completion by early 2013 and, as Padre Rosito comments, the full beauty and significance of the site is expected to be restored. After the completion of these works, it is likely that visitation numbers will be more regulated and further visitor services will be introduced to suit a wider range of ‘customers’. Rather than allow the continued increase in the number of visitors the current strategy is to reduce the number by half within five years. As noted above, present entrance figures reach over a million annually and most of these are peak season arrivals. Plans are also being developed to control visitor flow using only on line bookings and limiting daily on site entries without bookings so that threshold levels can be better monitored and maintained. On line bookings are now mandatory for all large groups and school excursion groups.

Further improvements are planned for the organisation of the internal and external spaces, particularly the entrance and exit points, ticket booths, information desks and the audio-visual support. A major technical change will be an overhaul of the lighting system. Currently, spot lighting is used to illuminate chapels and specific artworks but more subtle lighting will be installed. This will approximate natural lighting and create a more contemplative environment, one in keeping with the original function of the religious spaces that would have only been lit by candles or natural light. Lighting effects will be also be used to separate spaces and various themes within the Complex that could be interpreted as a step towards the OSC’s aim of the riconsacrazione del luogo (reconsecration of the space).

The organisation and quality of the communication services and information resources at the Complex also resemble many of the features found in museum environments. A principle objective of the OSC is to produce a range of high quality

1015 Appendix A, Interview 6.
1017 Appendix A, Interview 8.
1019 Appendix A, Interview 8.
materials and ensure uniformity of design in all its signage and publications. See Figure 60 below.

Figure 60. Examples of signage. (Source: © J. Ryde)

A wide range of signage has been placed both in the internal and external areas of the site that gives both practical information as well as detailed information about the artworks. Large text panels are located at strategic points giving general information about the history of the site and locating the artworks on maps. Small text panels are situated near the artworks themselves. All the signage is easy to read and some is interactive such as the touch screen computer hubs that have been installed at strategic points in the Complex.

The well-designed shop located in the sacristy sells souvenirs, postcards, and texts on different topics. A wide range of site-specific interpretative material, both aural and written, is available in several languages. Texts are produced both by the Complex itself through its publishing company Città di Vita run by Padre Rosito, as well as independent publishing companies. Currently texts are available in five languages but plans are to extend this to nine languages as well as to ensure the quality of the translations by using accredited translators. Another small shop is also located at

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1021 Ibid. P. 5.
1022 Current languages are Italian, English, French, German and Spanish. Japanese, Chinese, Russian and Portuguese will be added. Appendix A, Interview 8.
the entrance to the museum stocking maps, pocket guidebooks and museum specific souvenirs. The merchandising has been updated to meet the expectations of visitors who wish to take away some tangible memory of the site. It should also be noted that a tourist infrastructure has also grown up around the site itself and especially in the Piazza that is the hub of Florentine life in this quarter of the city. Well-established retail outlets such as shops, bars and restaurants are located both in the streets used by tourists accessing the site as well as in the Piazza itself.

Figure 61. Piazza Santa Croce. (Source: © J. Ryde) Figure 62. Shops. (Source: © J. Ryde)

Another major initiative is the creation of a site specific website that shows a level of sophistication unusual for websites of religious institutions. Many of its features are consistent with those available on the websites of major museums. The site is well designed, visually attractive and user friendly with clear navigation buttons leading from the home page to subpages. It highlights events, exhibition, and news about the Complex and is updated regularly. It includes clear information about tickets, opening hours, access to the site (including information for the disabled), worship and an on line booking facility. A downloadable map is available as well as a set of frequently asked questions. It provides clear historical information about the architecture, artworks and the Franciscan community as well as providing examples of theme-based itineraries. It updates information about current restoration works and has a link to the shop and to archives that will shortly provide digital versions of many of its texts. Virtual tours are available through the multimedia buttons.

1023 Opera di Santa Croce, (2012), op.cit.
Further initiatives include an overhaul of visitor services accompanied by an improvement in human resources management, training and employment of personnel in hospitality management, an upgrade of the audio-guides and better bathroom facilities. The Complex also now hosts educational events, conferences and seminar series, and has developed research links with universities based on the artistic and spiritual history of the Complex and its relationship with Florence. It also hosts cultural events such as concerts and exhibitions for the planning of conservation and restoration works and to promote the extensive archive that is now open to the public.

**Conclusions**

In conclusion, evidence suggests that pressures on the Santa Croce Complex in the last decade due to the increase of visitor numbers to the site have raised concerns about the administration of the Complex particularly in relation to its sustainability, its conservation for future generations, maintenance and security issues as well as attitudes to the visitors themselves. This has resulted in management interventions by the OSC, both current and projected that indicate an alignment with mainstream museum practices. The new model takes into account the particular characteristics of the site, its rich and diverse history, its legal obligations and restrictions as an ONLUS, its religious functions and the new focus on its public rather than past concerns with conservation and maintenance.

The management model is innovative in relation to those of other religious institutions and De Micheli comments that many of these institutions are keen to adopt a similar model.\textsuperscript{1024} Santa Croce is particular, however, in its fundamental structure as a non-profit making fabbriceria under the FEC that, unlike other religious institutions is both autonomous in its decision-making processes and also replete with prestigious artworks enabling it to attract large numbers of visitors and generate funds through its entrance fees.

\textsuperscript{1024} Ibid.
The evidence presented above also suggests that the OSC has adopted a more museum like model but within the constraints of its religious functions. This finding is confirmed by De Micheli, Secretary-General of the OSC, who has commented that the Complex is a religious site in the process of becoming a museum. Indeed, he specifically refers to the Complex as a museum. The OSC view is that visitors to Santa Croce are seeking a different kind of experience and therefore, the managers have been implementing plans to set the Complex apart from other types of museums in Florence due to its unique characteristics. The new management model has focussed on the concept of welcoming the visitor/guest and thus providing modern services and business practices in response to visitor needs and expectations yet preserving the spiritual. As Shackley has commented in relation to sacred spaces, 'the quality of experience is directly related to the maintenance of the spirit of place'.

As a final comment De Micheli interestingly observes that Santa Croce has three ‘soul’ elements and that the ‘secularisation’ of this site had occurred long before the assault of heritage tourism. He states,

... Santa Croce ha tre anime, una è quella spirituale, una è quella storico-artistica, e la gente viene anche soltanto come enciclopedia di storia dell’arte ... l’altra è quella storico-civile, del panteon, no? Vasari ha fatto gli altari, e poi tra un altare e l’altro sono stati messi i santi laici, l’Alfieri, Macchiavelli, Foscolo, Rossini e così via. Quindi c’è stata questa laicizzazione di Santa Croce, ... Ciòè Santa Croce ha perso una sua anima spirituale un po’ anche per questa funzione pubblica che ha avuto.

1025 Ibid.
1028 ‘Santa Croce has three ‘souls’ or psyches, the spiritual, the art historical so that people only visit as art history specialists … and the third is its purely historical ‘soul’ from the perspective of its role as a pantheon. Vasari created various altars and many of these are dedicated to secular ‘saints’ such as Alfieri, Macchiavelli, Foscolo, Rossini and so on. Therefore, Santa Croce became secularised … that is Santa Croce lost some of its spiritual soul due to this public function’. My translation of De Micheli, Appendix A, Interview 8.
Summary of Findings and Conclusions

This thesis has examined whether the impact of international heritage tourism on Catholic Church sites in Italy has led to the emergence of museum management practices. As a cross disciplinary study the investigation has incorporated Tourism Studies and Renaissance Historiography with a particular focus on the field of Museum Studies especially in the Italian context. The findings indicate a progressive shift towards the introduction of contemporary museum management practices. The findings and conclusions are drawn from case studies of four relevant Catholic churches in Tuscany holding significant collections of Renaissance artefacts. These case studies have examined whether the apparent tension between the Church and heritage tourism has led to transformations that, reluctantly or otherwise, blend traditional spiritual functions and museum-like practices within these religious spaces.

This research has established a clear linkage between cultural heritage policies, the growth of tourism and economics in Italy. There is evidence to indicate that historically the Church can be credited with the development of the rich and wide-ranging program of initiatives aimed at preserving cultural heritage in Italy and that it has provided the major impetus for the development of contemporary cultural heritage policies in the nation. Through a chronological examination of the development of both State and Church legislation, it has been demonstrated in this study that cultural heritage has increasingly become a ‘resource’ to be exploited and, as a consequence, a key contributor to the economies of both States. It can be argued that the increased cost of maintaining religious sites and conserving the artworks within them is a particular driver of revenue raising strategies targeted at the increasing number of site visitors. These revenue-raising initiatives can be seen in the light of efforts to minimise site wear and tear by controlling site visitation using pricing and a range of other management techniques.

The research has uncovered a trend towards the increased use of managerial language, marketing principles, references to cost-benefit and economic profitability in the cultural heritage discourse. Furthermore, the evolution of the legislation is
punctuated by progressive shifts in emphasis from ‘protection’ and ‘conservation’ to ‘management’ and ‘valorisation’. The research has also pointed to a closer alignment of the development of a more buoyant heritage tourism sector and the increasingly collaborative relationship established between the Italian State and the Vatican in the 1980s and 1990s regarding the management of both States’ cultural heritage. As revealed in this study, these collaborative relationships have been mediated by amendments to the Lateran Pacts and the Church has developed a management framework for its cultural heritage that replicates the administrative structure of the State.

The first major conclusion that can be drawn is that heritage tourism and economics, and the development of the legislative frameworks for the management of cultural heritage by both the Catholic Church and the State, are strongly interlinked.

It has also been found that the city of Florence has become a global tourism magnet and is now one of the most ‘touristed’ cities in Italy. This is due to a unique combination of factors, namely its place in the Unification of Italy, its links to Fascism propaganda and especially its credentials as the archetypal Renaissance city. The underlying theme in this scenario is the privileging of the Renaissance as an iconic historical era making it a key driver of transformations in Florence both in terms of its broader urban landscape and specific monuments that have now become significant tourist attractions within this city’s historic centre.

This research has found that by the time modern heritage tourism had arrived in the twentieth century, the position of Florence as the ‘birthplace of modern society’ had been firmly established and its image clearly linked to the glorification of the particular past of the Renaissance symbolised especially by the contribution of the Medici dynasty. The research has also confirmed that, through over five hundred years of popular travel writing, literature and socio-political agendas, Florence has been ‘marked out’ as the iconic Renaissance city and has become a venue for heritage tourism with a canon of accredited tourist sites to be visited. This investigation has also argued that the Renaissance has become a thoroughly marketable historical period internationally and is now the dominant narrative in Italian tourist discourses.
The second major conclusion that can be drawn is that the Renaissance, conceived as a powerful global brand, has probably generated more equity for the Italian economy than any other historical era. The extent of this brand equity is evident in the continued growth of TEuro, a composite indicator expressing the nexus between total tourist numbers and the Euro revenue generated in Italy by their visitations.

This study has focussed on an investigation of four religious sites selected on the basis of location, size diversity, heritage value, depth of collections of artefacts, prominence as tourist attractions, level of site visitation, management structure and presence of museum-like attributes. Findings from the individual case studies have highlighted some similarities and but also some significant differences with respect to the major site investigation criteria used. These are the markers for tourist attractions, characteristics of management structures and presence of museum-like attributes.

In relation to the findings for markers for tourist attractions, the case studies have revealed that the Santa Croce Complex and the Laurentian Complex, can be rated highly for all markers whereas the two smaller sites have a more diverse spread of marker ratings. Both the smaller sites are poorly marked with respect to the narrative marker while Santa Trinita only averages for uniqueness and familiarity. See Figure 63 below for the Site Marker Matrix.

The markers for familiarity and popularity in tourism narratives about the Renaissance set the Santa Croce Complex and the Basilica of San Lorenzo within the Laurentian Complex apart. In Florence, a city that has achieved mythical status as the ‘cradle of the Renaissance’, both sites have been accorded high profiles in both scholarly and popular texts due to their Renaissance credentials and are thus privileged in tourism narratives about the city. As a consequence of this and other factors, Florence now generates millions of TEuros annually. According to the Staiff Model of Tourist Attractions, the Santa Croce Complex and the Basilica of San Lorenzo can be identified as ‘tourist icons’ given the strong ‘Marker’ presence at these sites that distinguish these monuments from the other sites examined. The
### Site Marker Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Pieve di San Pietro</th>
<th>Santa Trinita</th>
<th>Laurentian Complex</th>
<th>Santa Croce Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic Value</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Value</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>Heritage Value</td>
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<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniqueness</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narratives</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**

*Marker Strength*

H = High
M = Medium
L = Low

Figure 63. Site Marker Matrix
Pieve di San Pietro, whilst holding a seminal artwork, is less familiar due to its smaller overall collection of Renaissance artworks and its more remote location. The Church of Santa Trinita, although the custodian of significant Renaissance artefacts, receives less publicity due to its slightly ‘off the beaten track’ location. Thus, this site, in a city replete with higher profile monuments, is not the primary target of tourists. The ‘uniqueness’ of this church is also somewhat compromised since many of its ‘must see’ Renaissance artworks have been removed to more high profile contexts.

In relation to the management structures implemented at each of the four sites, the key finding is that the nature of the structure varies for each of the seven characteristics considered. These are complexity, sophistication, innovation, integration, collaboration, effectiveness and elegance. The overall findings for each site are summarised in Figure 64 below (Matrix of Characteristics of Site Management Structures), that rates the apparent strength of each structural characteristic on the scale of Low (L), Medium (M) and High (H).

It has been demonstrated that the management structure of Santa Croce Complex is clearly very well developed and it is rated highly for all characteristics. The management model implemented is complex, sophisticated and innovative, based on business principles and incorporates a range of collaborative relationships and funding arrangements. It is a highly effective management structure. At the other end of the scale the Church of Santa Trinita exhibits a simpler, more traditional and conservative management model where the religious functions of the site take some precedence over its ‘marking’ as a tourist attraction. The relationship between the stakeholders seems to be less collaborative and perhaps occasionally more conflicted. The Pieve di San Pietro, although the smallest of the sites has nonetheless put in place a more elegant and innovative management structure, one that is underpinned by stronger collaborative relationships between the Church and the State. This structure is also very effective, owing some of its success primarily to the dedication of key stakeholders at the site. One significant difference identified at this site is that, at the Pieve, religious functions are separated from many of the artworks, a management decision that was heavily influenced by the increase in tourist numbers and concerns regarding curation of the artworks.
### Matrix of Characteristics of Site Management Structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Pieve di San Pietro</th>
<th>Santa Trinita</th>
<th>Laurentian Complex</th>
<th>Santa Croce Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophistication</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M&gt;H</td>
<td>M&gt;H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elegance</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M&gt;H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**

*Rating*

H = High  
M = Medium  
L = Low

Figure 64. Matrix of Characteristics of Site Management Structures
The overall findings have confirmed that the four sites could be placed in a revised Site Selection Matrix, as shown in Figure 65 below, representing a progression in the relative strength of the management model with the Santa Croce Complex displaying the most well developed structure of all the sites.

The site diversity is also graphically displayed in Figure 66 below as an enhancement of the revised Site Selection Matrix to include complexity of the management structure and overall extent to which the site is considered to be marked. Column height indicates estimated overall ‘marker’ strength.
In relation to the presence of museum-like attributes, the research has revealed that all four sites have adopted management structures and made site adjustments that mirror those found in mainstream museums. Some specific attributes for each site are summarised in Figure 67 below. An expanded list of these attributes can be found in Appendix C.

Firstly, within the management structure for each site outlined above, the site management stakeholders involved at each site range from high level Boards, the Opera, the State and the Diocese at the Santa Croce Complex and the Laurentian Complex to the Diocese, the parish priest and other religious personnel at Santa Trìnita and the Pieve di San Pietro.

Secondly, whilst all sites have introduced some similar aspects in their facilities management function such as security systems and building maintenance, the study has also revealed some significant differences. For example, with respect to the management of lighting, an important ingredient for visitor legibility, three of the sites control artificial lighting centrally whilst making some use of available natural light. However, at Santa Trìnita, there is minimal use of artificial lighting and where provided it is subdued. Much of the lighting is specific to individual artworks and is user-controlled because the Religious Order has made a conscious decision to preserve the quality of a more meditative space. Thus, either consciously or unconsciously the monks have facilitated the visitor engagement with the space in a more museum-like way, albeit subtle and user-activated.

Thirdly, all four sites receive substantial numbers of visitors annually ranging from about six thousand at the Pieve di San Pietro to over a million at the largest site, the Santa Croce Complex.\textsuperscript{1029} This has necessitated the introduction of an entrance ticket at three of the sites. The exception is the Church of Santa Trinita that, despite also witnessing a substantial increase in its visitation has decided to privilege its religious functions over tourism. The ticketing systems introduced, range from a ticket booth and turnstiles at the Basilica of San Lorenzo and a simple, manual ticketing system at

\textsuperscript{1029} Annual visitor numbers for each site are: the Santa Croce Complex – ca.1 million, the Laurentian Complex- ca.400,000, Santa Trinita- ca. 85,000, the Pieve di San Pietro – ca.6000.
## Composite Set of Museum-like Attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Pieve di San Pietro</th>
<th>Santa Trinita</th>
<th>Laurentian Complex</th>
<th>Santa Croce Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site Management</td>
<td>State, Diocese, Priest</td>
<td>State, Religious Order</td>
<td>State, Opera, Diocese, Management Plan</td>
<td>State, Opera, Management Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities Management</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Security</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor Control</td>
<td>Front desk, Manual ticketing</td>
<td>Religious Order</td>
<td>Manual tickets, Turnstiles, Custodians</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitability</td>
<td>Dedicated museum to improve access</td>
<td>Access limited by religious functions</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor Services</td>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legibility</td>
<td>Signage Labelling, Zoning</td>
<td>Rudimentary signage/labelling</td>
<td>Rudimentary signage/labelling</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid Spaces</td>
<td>Separate museum space</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Shop in Medici Chapels</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Services</td>
<td>Website</td>
<td>Some pamphlets</td>
<td>Website. Pamphlets</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Website, computer hub</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Website</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Ars et Fides</td>
<td>Exhibitions, Events. Ars et Fides</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Practices</td>
<td>Conservation, Curation, Restoration</td>
<td>Standard State legislation</td>
<td>Curation, Research</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>State, Banks, Entrance tickets</td>
<td>State, Donations, Coin operated light and audio guide machines</td>
<td>State, Banks, Sponsorship, Entrance tickets</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Detailed Table in Appendix C

Figure 67. Composite Set of Museum-like Attributes
a reception desk at the Pieve di San Pietro to highly sophisticated electronic systems supported by on-line bookings at the Santa Croce Complex. Visitor control beyond the use of ticketing systems also varies across all four sites with areas roped off in the two larger sites to delineate spaces for religious functions or as more contemplative spaces used by parishioners at other times.

Fourthly, visitability is determined by site location and accessibility along with the depth and breadth of the collections of artefacts. The two largest sites are centrally located, have significant collections of artefacts and, therefore, attract the most visitors. Accessibility to three of the sites has been organised to accommodate visitor needs in terms of opening hours. The Pieve di San Pietro has specifically created a dedicated museum in order to accommodate the large numbers of visitors whilst meeting their needs in terms of opening times and comfort in the spaces provided. In contrast, Santa Trinita has retained its limited timetable that reflects the religious functions.

At the largest site, the Santa Croce Complex, visitor services are very highly developed with a focus on the concept of ‘welcome’ such that the visitor is now regarded as the new patron. Visitor services at this site extend to include guided tours and themed itineraries. In contrast, few such services are available at the other sites although improved visitor services are at the planning stage for the Laurentian Complex. It is expected that refreshment facilities will be introduced at both the larger sites in the near future.

Beyond the management of overall interior lighting conditions, legibility varies substantially between the sites. The Santa Croce Complex has introduced the most sophisticated signage and labelling of its artefacts with the provision of touch screens and computer-based information hubs. The Pieve di San Pietro has created a specific museum space, with information panels and labelling of artefacts. Signage and labelling in the Basilica of San Lorenzo and Santa Trinita is rudimentary.

Information services and technology are most developed at the Santa Croce site that has front desk areas, a visitor service team, a sophisticated but very user friendly website and publishing facilities. It also has an on-line ticketing system, touch
terminals and multi-media facilities. The Laurentian Complex and the Pieve di San Pietro also have websites and the Pieve publishes a small range of texts. At the other end of the spectrum, Santa Trinita has no website, no organised visitor services and no evidence that technological aids have been introduced.

Education is a strong feature of the Santa Croce Complex that mounts exhibitions, hosts seminars and conferences, and plans educational activities specifically for visiting school groups. The Pieve is also pro-active in hosting exhibitions, seminars and conferences. Hybrid spaces are also a feature of the Santa Croce Complex that has created dedicated seminar and conference rooms as well as a shop in the sacristy. The Laurentian Complex and the Pieve di San Pietro also have shops.

Finally, a range of professional practices can be found at all sites ranging from limited to quite sophisticated. All sites are governed by State legislation for the conservation, restoration and preservation of their buildings and artefacts. The Santa Croce Complex and the Laurentian Complex also have well-developed research links and partnerships with universities. Funding varies at all sites in terms of quantity and derivation. The two largest sites have the greatest number of visitors and are, therefore, able to generate the most \( T\text{Euros} \). There is also a clear link between revenue generated through the introduction of an entrance ticket at the two largest sites and the breadth and depth of restoration works.

In conclusion, the four case study sites vary considerably in monumental size, building orientation, external and internal architectural features and diversity of internal spaces. All sites have significant heritage value with complex historical backgrounds spanning several centuries and each site holds an important collection of Renaissance artifacts amongst other notable works of art. All are repositories of some of the major works of painting, sculpture and architecture of the Renaissance, and are important sites for tourists seeking the Renaissance experience in Tuscany, especially in Florence. They all feature prominently in popular guidebooks and are well established on the canon of key accredited sites to visit on tourist itineraries due to their artistic, cultural and political significance. All are being impacted in different ways by significant numbers of visitors. The management structures at each site are diverse in terms of legislation and the relationships between key stakeholders. All
sites have introduced to a greater or lesser extent, a range of management practices and museum-like attributes that reflect those found in modern mainstream museums. The sites examined in this thesis can be differentiated from other tourist spaces and possibly many other Catholic Church spaces because they hold a large number of Renaissance artefacts. They are, therefore, ‘particular’ spaces and it is this ‘specificity’ that makes them key tourist attractions in Florence. It is precisely the particular values attributed to these places as a result of their relationship to or manifestation of the Renaissance myth that attracts tourists. The changes in the life cycle of these sites are reflected in the changing transactions between the visitors and the spaces. The meanings of these spaces, together with the meaning of the artefacts themselves as distinctive markers of these spaces, have changed over time for the people who visit. Spaces that were once fully integrated in a holistic way have been fractured over time and are now being reassembled in different configurations that are viable for the value sets, economic, artistic and religious, that are being presented by different stakeholders. It is precisely this shift or re-conceptualisation that has opened up a window for a different museum type.

The Pieve di San Pietro is the smallest site chosen for the case studies and receives the smallest number of visitors yet it has developed an elegant, effective and forward thinking management structure to address the increase in visitor numbers. This structure has facilitated the adoption of museum practices and resulted in a harmonious outcome for the majority of stakeholders.

The Church of Santa Trinita is the third largest site and receives substantial numbers of visitors; however, its management structure is traditional and conservative. Santa Trinita shows some rudimentary introduction of museum-like facilities and features. Some simple facilities have been put in place for tourists and reflect simple services provided to visitors in museums. This structure reflects the conscious decision by the religious order to conserve the religious nature of the site in the face of increasing tourist numbers.

The Laurentian Complex is the second largest site of the case studies and also receives the second largest number of visitors. Its management structure is more complex largely due to historical reasons and many practices have been introduced
that can be aligned with those in museums. However, whilst many innovations have been introduced, its management plan is still in the developmental stages especially for the Basilica.

The Santa Croce Complex is the largest site and has a very sophisticated management structure, one that is innovative, proactive and multifaceted. Of all the sites examined this Complex receives the most visitors and has introduced the most attributes that mirror those of mainstream museums. The management body has cleverly brought the management of the site into the modern heritage tourism environment yet within the constraints of its functions as a religious space. The introduction of a more museum like model points to the development of the site as an increasingly commercial enterprise.

This study has also concluded that what is taking place is a gradual ongoing transformation of these Church sites ranging from the adoption of some museum-like features to the implementation of a fully-fledged economic model exhibiting many features of management structures found in the contemporary museum environment. Evidence has indicated some resistance from traditionalists within the Church but a reluctant agreement that a different type of museum may be emerging due to the need to address increasing tourism at the sites.

The conclusions drawn from the case study findings are based on an analysis of the management structure characteristics rated on a broad scale from Low to High. Further research could fine-tune these rating scales and, based on stakeholder assessments and more objective criteria, a Likert Scale could be used to rate each characteristic on a seven point scale. Combined with an evaluation of the relative weights that might be attributed to each characteristic an overall numerical rating of the strength of the management structure, (minimum = 1, maximum = 7), could be developed for each site and thus a more refined comparative analysis made.

A similar approach could be adopted for the Site Markers and Museum-like Attributes enabling each site to be scored according to primary indicators: Management Structure, Marker Intensity, Museum Likeness, Tourists, and Euros
generated (revenue). These numerical ratings could nominally be expressed as a composite element represented diagrammatically in the pie chart in Figure 68 below.

![Pie Chart Diagram](source:image)

**Figure 68. Composite representation of primary indicators. (Source: © J. Ryde)**

This research has focussed on one region and in particular the city of Florence that is associated with the development of the Renaissance in Italy. It has also focussed on just four sites and limited to key stakeholders. Further research could widen the scope to include interviews with a range of visitors to the sites as well as a broader range of stakeholders. It is also recommended that further research be carried out to establish the primary indicators for other religious sites potentially enabling the creation of a hypothetical landscape to graphically portray the relationship between heritage tourism, religious sites and their management structures throughout Italy. An indicative portrayal of a landscape limited to the four sites in this study is shown in Figure 69 below. This landscape could be populated for all high profile religious sites on a regional or nationwide scale to include all of the markers and all of the museum-like attributes. Figure 70 shows a hypothetical expansion of the landscape for Tuscany. The columns represent the relative strength of the sets of site markers and/or museumattributes. and the colours represent a random selection of markers or attributes from the sets.
The final major conclusion of the study is that the Catholic Church appears to conform to the multiple forces linking consumer culture, tourism and economics rather than resist the invasion of its spaces by large numbers of visitors. Therefore,
whilst its traditional congregations may be diminishing, the Church appears to welcome a new type of pilgrim. This is in keeping with its centuries long role of the place of art and architecture in rituals and practice. Thus, it appears to be taking a more proactive role in accommodating and promoting tourism since it brings people from whatever background back into its fold as they connect with spiritual spaces. The Church has long been aware of the economic potential of sites holding important artefacts. This is reflected in both the adoption of new business practices and the modernisation of administration procedures as well as in policy changes made by cultural bodies within Catholic Church to align with State legislation. This alignment specifically addresses difficulties in managing the enormous cultural wealth of the Church. In addition, Church bodies have also focussed on ensuring that the fundamental religious purpose of the works of art that is to evangelise/proselytise, remains transparent. Lay experts now have important positions within the Church regarding the administration of cultural heritage and programs have been initiated to train clergy in art history. This research suggests that the Church is actively capitalising on heritage tourism, consciously allowing it to flourish as it recognises opportunities to fulfil its evangelist mission.
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Appendices
Appendix A: CD Rom

Interviews 1-9

Interview 1: Don Failli  
Interview 2: Dott.essa Anna Maria Mancini  
Interview 3: Luciano Beccattini  
Interview 4: Monsignor Livi  
Interview 5: Dott.essa Franca Arduini  
Interview 6: Padre Rosito  
Interview 7: Padre Gabriele  
Interview 8: Dott. Giuseppe de Micheli  
Interview 9: Dott. Fernando Lombardi

Interview Documentation

Consent Form English  
Consent Form Italian

Information Sheet English  
Information Sheet Italian

Interview Questions English

Interview Questions: Don Failli  
Interview Questions: Fernando Lombardi  
Interview Questions: Franca Arduini  
Interview Questions: Giuseppe De Micheli  
Interview Questions: Ilaria Ciseri (not recorded)  
Interview Questions: Luciano Beccatini  
Interview Questions: Mons. Livi  
Interview Questions: Padre Rosito
That which allows for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of tourist attraction is the notion of "tourist attraction" and the interaction of various factors that contribute to its formation. These factors can be divided into static and dynamic elements, which may change over time. Models of tourist attraction are characterized by their dynamic nature, allowing for adaptations and modifications in response to changes in the environment.

Model of Tourist Attractions

A model of tourist attractions describes the interaction between tourist and attraction, highlighting the significance of various factors such as cultural, historical, aesthetic, and symbolic values. The model illustrates how these factors contribute to the formation and perception of tourist attractions.
### Appendix C

#### Detailed Set of Museum-Like Attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Management</th>
<th>Information Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Board</td>
<td>Reception/Front Desk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Visitor Service team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statute</td>
<td>Website</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Plan</td>
<td>On-line bookings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Publishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specialised Journals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guidebooks/Maps</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities Management</th>
<th>Technology</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Website</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and site maintenance</td>
<td>Interactive hubs /Touch terminals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lighting – natural/artificial</td>
<td>On line ticketing systems</td>
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<td>Climate control</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visitor Control</th>
<th>Education Mission</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tickets/Ticket Booths</td>
<td>Exhibitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnstiles</td>
<td>Seminars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front desk</td>
<td>Conferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custodians</td>
<td>School activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division of space</td>
<td>Volunteers</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visitability</th>
<th>Hybrid Spaces</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>Shops – other retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restaurants/bars/cafes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seminar rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conference rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability- opening hours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special needs visitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of artefacts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organised Display</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visitor Services</th>
<th>Professional Practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>Conservation, restoration,</td>
</tr>
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<td>Café</td>
<td>preservation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merchandising/Consumerism</td>
<td>Scholarship</td>
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<td>Guided Tours</td>
<td>Research partnerships</td>
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<td>Audioguides</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
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<td>Themed itineraries</td>
<td>Archives</td>
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<td>Washrooms</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legibility</th>
<th>Funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signage - labelling</td>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation – Maps</td>
<td>Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoning</td>
<td>Foundations</td>
</tr>
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<td>Lighting – user controlled</td>
<td>Donations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Events</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Visitor revenue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D - List of Museums and Monuments in Florence

State Museums

- Uffizi Gallery
- Accademia Gallery
- Bargello National Gallery
- Museum of San Marco
- Palazzo Pitti
- Palatine Gallery and Royal Apartments
- Gallery of Modern Art
- Costume Gallery
- Silver Museum
- Porcelain Museum
- Boboli Gardens
- The Bardini Museum
- Museum of the Medici Chapels
- Museum of Casa Martelli
- Church and Museum of Orsanmichele
- Palazzo Davanzati
- The Ognissanti ‘Last Supper’
- The Andrea del Sarto ‘Last Supper’ and Museum
- The Fuligno ‘Last Supper’
- The Sant’Apollonia ‘Last Supper’
- The Gemstones Museum
- The National Archaeological Museum and the Egyptian Museum
- The Dello Scalzo Cloister
- The Perugino Crucifix

Municipal Museums

- Palazzo Vecchio
- Museum and Cloisters of Santa Maria Novella
- The Romano Foundation and the Santo Spirito ‘Last Supper’
- The Florentine History Museum: Firenze Com’Era
- The Alberto della Ragione Museum
- The Brancacci Chapel
- The Bardini Museum
- The Rinaldo Carnielo Museum

Other Museums

- The Cathedral Museum
- Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
- Casa Buonarroti
- Villa Bardini
- Casa Rodolfo Siviero
- Casa di Dante
- Casa Guidi
- The Horne Museum
The Bigallo Museum
Marino Marini Museum
Palazzo Medici Riccardi
Museum of the Ospedale degli Innocenti
The Museum of the Misericordia
The Synagogue and Museum
The Alinari National Museum of Photography
The Stibbert Museum
The Santa Maria Novella Pharmacy
The Ferragamo Museum
The Gucci Museum

**Churches**
The Church and Museum of Santa Croce
The Church and Museum of Santa Maria Novella
The Church of Santo Spirito
The Church of San Miniato al Monte
The Duomo
  * Baptistery
  * Belltower
  * Crypt
  * Brunelleschi’s Dome
The Basilica of San Lorenzo
The Church of San Felicita
The Church of Santa Maria del Carmine
The Badia Fiorentina
The Church of Santa Trinita
The Church of SS Annunziata
The Certosa di Galluzzo
The Church of Ognissanti

**Science Museums**
The Galileo Museum
The Florentine Museum of Prehistory
The Specola Museum
The Natural History Museum
The Anthropology Museum
The Geology Museum
The Minerals Museum
The Science and Technology Foundation

**Squares and Monuments**
Piazza della Signoria
Piazza della Repubblica
Piazza del Duomo
Piazza Santissima Annunziata
Piazza San Firenze
Piazza Santa Trinita
Piazza Santa Maria Novella
Piazza San Lorenzo
Piazza D’Azeglio
Piazza Demidoff
Ponte Vecchio
Loggia del Porcellino
Loggia dei Lanzi
The Equestrian Monument to Cosimo I
Palagio di Parte Guelfa
Palazzo Strozzi
Palazzo Pandolfini
Fortezza di Basso
Palazzo Rucellai
Fort Belvedere

**Historic Gardens**
Cascine Park
The Avenue of the Hills
The English Cemetery
The Garden of the ‘Semplici’
The Torrigiani Gardens
The Oricellari Gardens
The Bardini Gardens
The Rose Gardens
The Boboli Gardens
The Botanic Gardens
Appendix E – Historic Documents
L. 92. Settembre 1823
SOGG. I #8 39
Per le caserme
Parte dei cari, dei popoli delle coperte, eAppendiici da me.
Consegna la magazzinerie importante deserto integro e unitamente spettanti
Taglio della tenda della porta monte per utenze, ma per lenti
Requisizioni d'uso in pro dei particolari delle parti di Spugna.
Si congedò con necrologio genierino,
Se non propone un rimpiego
Si stabilì di istituto una più
Hueca, con placca al basi e tutti
al polo, uno dei marcatore, le particolari
dimensioni, prima montato arrestata e
quadato.
Si promette si alcune
Convento per la utilizzazione per
già, ma si rifiutò non confessato il
bene l'Opera, appaiato autorità a
dominio per questi sopra detta
della tenda e
Tagliato in interprova a ciò
conseguenze al governo
Si promette di fare è consegnare
Necrologio, il governo promette
perché non si trovò tra anticipo,
di parti, e si era della grande
che dette pensionamento all'Ora

Historic Document 1 – Santa Croce Complex
d'una difesa, con cui il governo può provare la necessità di farlo avvenire [Michelli Marchi e suoi abiti].

Per determinare le misure che si
costituente a meno che non si veggano
nei studi, ma tutto il divieto su
testa.

Accurato egli, con quegli eccessi
può soffrire, fatto, che la legge
la legge, ma l'effetto, questa notizia, che
alcuno riesce chieda per caso sopra
malizia.

L'ogni giura contro i suoi argomenti
per la legge, e pressa con la legge
dell'incendio per la legge
di legge.

L'avesse e contempia distintamente
secondo le circostanze, non legge,
Corti custodia dell'organismo, ad
altrui, ad un altro, che il tento
nuove e alte, e la legge
posso poter tollerare, e in caso di
non si può, come, che si raggiunge
fino alla persona neppure accerte
alle aiutare, e nonanche accompagnate
a persona accolta alla Chiesa, o
all'Unione e assunzione.

Conclusione riprodotto nelle
conseguenze del Chiesa con i loro
e adottati insieme al seguente.
La formularia dei raccoglitori di estratto, nei confinamenti, nel dominio del Regno, non è più soggetta al fabbro dei cancelleria e si archiva...
Archivio 024
S. Croce

Filza II
Fasc. 30

Vestuariello dello Scaccino
di (cifre illeggibili) spesso
Conte della Opera S. Croce

Fattura di un vestito di giarrettiere

18. Bottone filato 2. 10. 6
Vero e fatto 1. 6. 8
Armatura 4. 6. 8
Fattura di Lucchese di lavorio 1.
Fattura d'un pezzo pantaloni 3.
Spuntato da mezz'ora 5. 13. 6
Somma 27. 21.

Per effetto pagato con due corti

M. [Signature]

11 giugno 1884.

Eduardo Giuri ha ricevuto dal sig. Dompello Gentile
Camerlingo dell'Opera di Santa Croce di Firenze 100
venti per dati del suddettoconto, e perche è detto
Eduardo Giuri Vipko non sapere chi essesse, ha fatto in ingiunzione
ta la presente ricevuta di più conmissioni, e presenti in
Dis...

[Signature]
## Rote del Opera di S. Croce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livro</th>
<th>Soldi</th>
<th>Denari</th>
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31

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**18.5%**

<table>
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<th>Denari</th>
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**31.12.15**

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**14. Novembre 1810**

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**303**
Conto delOpera di S. Croce

Fattura d'un Suprabito l'Ornati Turchino

Tipo e Data

L. 10.

Penso Canzoni 9+10+12 spese

L. 6.8

Fattura d'Uscita

L. 13.6

Fattura d'uscite

L. 13.6

Penso arance e frutta d'oro

L. 1

Fattura di utile

L. 3

Fattura d'un paio pantaloni

L. 13.6

Fattura d'una meditazione

L. 13.6

Somma L. 21.13.4

No riferi pagato con l'xe di stampo di 100

Martini Buonanno

P. 9 Dicembre 1849

Ettore Gore in ricordo del Signor Competito Giudice


riemoto per tutto del giudice G. i prodi, e poiché in

on deposito presso me, ma in questo che faccia la

spese ricostitute, la quale ho fatto ai suoi pezzi, e

invento in fede costante. Dice...

D'Anna Miniatel
A seguito del sopralluogo effettuato dal sottoscritto in data 31 maggio U.S. alla chiesa di San Pietro a Cascia, alla presenza dell’Assessore del Comune di Reggello Marsili, dei funzionari della Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali ed Architettonici di Firenze Pacciani e Passalacqua e del funzionario di questa Soprintendenza Caterina Caneva, responsabile per il territorio di Reggello, si conferma quanto precedentemente stabilito in relazione al trasferimento nella chiesa di Cascia del trittico di Masaccio proveniente da San Giovenale e attualmente conservato nei depositi degli Uffizi.

Oltre a confermare per la migliore collocazione dell’opera, la scelta della parete a sinistra dell’abside, sopra il fonte battesimale, si ricorda che il Comune di Reggello si è assunto l’onere di far eseguire a proprie spese tutte le operazioni necessarie a garantire la sicurezza del trittico, secondo le indicazioni fornite da questa Soprintendenza: nella fattispecie, la messa in opera di due porte laterali blindate, di staffe di sostegno appositamente studiate, (di un cristallo di protezione antiproiettili), di una trasmessa che garantisca una distanza di rispetto dal dipinto, di un apparecchio di controllo dell’umidità e della temperatura, e infine di un sistema di allarme che copra la zona suddetta nella navata a sinistra dell’abside. Tale allarme dovrebbe essere collegato alla stazione più vicina dei Carabinieri, e dovrebbe emettere in azione un segnale acustico all’esterno della chiesa.

Questa Soprintendenza, a sua volta, si impegna a seguire e controllare tutte le operazioni suddette e quante altre potranno essere ritenute necessarie al trasferimento e al collocaimento dell’opera, suggerendo i mezzi più idonei a portare a buon fine l’impegno con massimo della sicurezza, attraverso i propri tecnici e in particolare la Dr. Caterina Caneva.


IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dr. Antonio Paolucci)