STUDIES IN A SMALL TOWN:
SOCIAL INTERACTION IN AN ITALIAN
MEDIEVAL ENVIRONMENT

by

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ABSTRACT
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Designers are frequently predisposed to study environments with the tools of visual analysis that are their professional stock-in-trade. This paper summarizes an attempt to see a fragment of the world in another way, through the eyes of a user rather than those of a viewer. It borrows techniques from the social sciences, particularly anthropology, to arrive at some understanding of the environmental forces which in part shape social interactions.

It is a description of life in a medieval setting. Specific patterns of environmental use are shown to be associated with stages in the life cycle. With each of the patterns and stages, different social outcomes may be anticipated. They are, however, the product of cultural factors as well as environmental ones. Even though physical changes at the urban and architectural scales may have been minimal in medieval towns, recent cultural shifts forbode significant transformations in environmental use and behavior. There seems little hope that architectural manipulations can succeed in ameliorating the change and preserving the social status quo.

This paper is conceived to be, or at least is executed as, a problematical exploration, not an exhaustively researched response to a tightly circumscribed technical question. It aims not so much to give answers as to raise doubts.

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Any written artifact reflects some underlying assumptions about the motivations of the eventual reader. It seems self-evident that this axiom applies not just to the individual or collected works of individual authors, but also to the customary components of generic forms of literary expression. Thus, prefaces, introductions, annotated bibliographies, and even acknowledgments are composed with an image of the reader in mind.

For almost two decades I have read acknowledgments assiduously both academically and voluntarily. Across a variety of disciplines, acknowledgments consistently are addressed to certain types of individuals, who, it may readily be deduced, crave one or more of the following gratifications from their reading:

(1) Seeing reknowned personages in moments of self-effacement.
(2) Laughing at the camp and the corny.
(3) Stereotyping otherwise unknown authors by their immediate intellectual lineage.
(4) Finding names of friends, associates and competitors in print.

All of these have their virtues. Though the first option does not apply, hopefully, partisans of the other three can find appropriate stimulation here. Grateful appreciation and effusive thanks are due to each of the following for their generous assistance and
efforts in my behalf:

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INTRODUCTION
The products of architects, planners, and other environmental designers may support or inhibit particular patterns of living to which eventual residents may have earlier become accustomed. A story is often told in architectural circles to illustrate the point. It seems that a new housing project was devoid of particular forms of social interaction. In their previous quarters, the residents used to gather on stoops to chat and pass the time of day. But the new project had no stoops; the designers either failed to realize the functional purpose of the stoops or found them contrary to some design ideology. The implied moral of the story is that designers must clearly establish "user needs"—a rather bombastic label—to avoid making design decisions which prove to be inadvertently counter-productive.

This tale and probably others of the genre are having some effect: environmental designers display increasing concern with an issue labelled "How People Live." However, it is manifest in social discourse and calls-to-action rather than in action itself. For the most part, the conduct of professional practice has not appreciably suffered.

If the litany of concerned professionals bears some resemblance to a chant for warding off evil spirits, the similarity is not just coincidental. As anxious as we may be about the problem of "user
needs," we have made scant headway in operationally defining what the term means except as a new cover for traditional issues. Trying to understand the relationship between physical environments and behaviors within them is a task fraught with difficulty, frustration, and uncertainty. In the face of it, even the more committed among us retreat to mere ritual recitals of the problems, in hope that, when voiced fervently in proper sequence enough times, the troublesome thing will go away.

Against this background, it is harder to fault the overwhelming majority of environmental professionals who share some of these concerns, but not at the expense of business-as-usual. They have pragmatic reasons for indifference: mouths to be fed, employees paid, clients satisfied, and reputations maintained. Those who choose to build whatever they can whenever they can also have a rationalization for their activity. No matter how expedient, short-sighted, misdirected or inadequate the product, we are told it would have fared far worse at the hands of some less talented competitor. Perhaps it is fortunate that the proposition cannot be adequately tested. Nonetheless it is a sign of how far we have come: solutions are celebrated, not for being superior to the competition, but for being inferior to it. Maybe we have all begun to sense that our professional fate is being weighed and the balance is not tipping in our favor.
A remark is attributed to Winston Churchill that will probably endear him to architects yet unborn: "We make our buildings and then our buildings make us." It is curious that pithy and highly quotable architects--men like Sullivan, Wright, and Mies--did not think of it first. On the other hand, they may have been constrained by a different mental set to focus on the shape of content--aesthetic, symbolic, or morphological--rather than the mechanisms by which the content affects the user.

Churchill's dictum is paradoxical. If our buildings "make us" in the manner of early childhood experiences, then the future is imprisoned by the past and architects are the wardens. If, instead, "we make our buildings" into places which support needs each of us individually perceives, then architects have no cause to worry about the implications of their work. Except as art, the practice of architecture loses much of its meaning.

We are left with two mutually exclusive propositions and little hard evidence by which to logically select one of them. I venture the opinion that the professional consensus favors the former; to some extent, this research buttresses the latter, when transformational forces are allowed to operate freely within the environment. Whichever the choice, it should be based on a detailed understanding of the relationship between people, places, and behavior and not on the passion with which particular believers adhere to their faith. Promoting that understanding is the central task here.
Nearly five years ago, I spent a year and a half as a Fulbright grantee living in two Italian towns. I was drawn to Italy by publishing events in the mid-sixties: a number of books had suddenly appeared, all filled with glossy photographs of vernacular buildings and medieval environments. Their atrophied texts always extolled the quality of life in the places pictured, but only in the most general terms. I proposed to find out whether these architectonically attractive places were good places to live, in very specific terms, by living in them myself.

No elaborate formal procedures were used to select the subject towns. Instead, my wife and I travelled around from place to place, sometimes following up leads, until we found towns that satisfied the following informal criteria:

(1) Small - Physically and demographically the town had to be suitable for study as a whole in the available time. An upper limit of 5000 was therefore placed on the population. A lower limit of 1000 insured a minimal level of urbanity. It also eliminated very small villages which, we felt at the time, might have resembled idiosyncratic extended families.

(2) Medieval - My interest in medieval environments clearly ruled out those towns of more recent vintage. Moreover, only towns which were predominantly medieval were considered
suitable; any new growth had to be subordinate in size and function to the medieval core.

(3) Viable – Some towns are being abandoned for economic reasons. These are appropriate for studies dealing with that particular phenomenon, but not for a general inquiry into the nature of medieval environments.

(4) Diversified – Towns in which most everyone farmed seemed uninhabited during the day. While they are perhaps more medieval, to what degree is purely conjectural. Such "medievalism" is the consequences of poverty and economic dictates, not the environment. Again, it is representative of a subset of the problem. Inevitably, any viable town was diversified, though frequently at the price of growth which overwhelmed the medieval core.

(5) Highly independent – Some towns are very close to major cities and are socially and economically inseparable from them. The ideal town would satisfy all the preceding attributes and be isolated.

(6) Limited tourism – Towns like San Gimignano, Assisi, Perugia, Spoleto, and Tivoli are similar to towns dependent on tourism anywhere else in the world. What was once a place to live yields to pressures for hotels, gift shops, and restaurants where waiters can list the entrees in foreign
language. The less tourism the better, but in Italy, a tourist-free town does not exist.

(7) Near Rome - Grant programs necessitated frequent trips to Rome. For reasonable commuting, fifty miles was an approximate outer bound. Even so, trip-time might still be two hours or more where road linkages were poor.

(8) Architecturally appropriate - Any otherwise acceptable town could be eliminated here if, for example, the streets were wide enough to accommodate cars, the town was two miles long and one street wide, the main piazza was outside the confines of the medieval core, and so on. A town had to have—I hate to confess it—some architectural unity and some features that were quaint, surprising, delightful, or bizarre.

(9) Housing availability - Having found a satisfactory town, try to find a place to live in it. We expected housing located in the medieval zone with a moderate level of amenities: running water, a stove, at least two rooms, and a window overlooking a street with some activity. In any town meeting the other criteria, there are very few such houses. It is a blessing in disguise; it helps narrow the search considerably but at the price of having to investigate every town on the map.
In retrospect, it is surprising that we found two suitable towns. Luckily, most were eliminated well before the last criterion. The two towns were studied sequentially. Nearly a year was spent in the first and the remaining half-year in the second. Studies in the second town were carried only to the point of confirming, in outline, the results of the initial research. The material reported here is drawn exclusively from the first phase of the study.

What one learns about towns depends in great measure upon the investigational means employed. We would not expect an aerial reconnaissance to provide the same information as a door-to-door survey. To structure an inquiry, one needs to know what one wants to know. Since nothing in the real world can be totally isolated, it is futile to imagine that any issue can be treated exhaustively. Either by intention or default, we are condemned to focus on only part of a larger problem.

The results of this study cannot be reported as a few unequivocal "findings." The research exists within a larger framework and the framework is modified to some extent by the emergent conclusions. Chapter I briefly introduces Anguillara and describes some approaches, including the one at hand, for understanding environments. A summary of how Anguillara appears to be used by its residents follows in Chapter II. Some seeming inconsistencies are discussed in Chapter III and incorporated into a composite analysis. Chapter IV presents a revised scheme for thinking about social relations. Finally,
broader implications are drawn from the study as a whole in Chapter V.
CHAPTER I

ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN
"Anguilla" means "eel" in Italian. The town of Anguillara occupies a small promontory jutting into a lake of volcanic origin not far from Rome. The townsfolk pride themselves as much on the quality of the eels netted from the lake in abundance as on the comeliness of their town in its setting. The weekend commerce in Anguillara's fish markets and restaurants indicates that a substantial number of Roman gastronomes openly share the piscean sentiments. Curiously, it appears that the town does not derive its name from the eels, but from a family named Anguillara. In the twelfth century, they were elevated to the nobility and granted title to the lands in the vicinity.¹ As if in anticipation of competing claims on the ancestry of the town's name, or perhaps to confound them, the civic seal is a perfect compromise: a shield with two crossed--interlocking, if you will--eels.

The lake, bearing the name of the now larger town Bracciano, on its western shore, is nonetheless a reminder of past glory.² The children among Anguillara's 2500 souls are thoroughly steeped in communal history. They know that Anguillara was long ago a powerful fief whose dominion once extended north and eastward nearly to Viterbo.³ The crossed-eel insignia can be found in some rather unexpected places, for example, carved in stone on the church in Calcata, an eerie town more than fifteen miles away.
Anguillara's lakeside edge was protected by fortifications. Some of the remains are still visible near the town dock, where they frame a privy conceived to discharge wastes directly into the lake without human intervention. The walls rendered the town impregnable, at least from the water. It remained a force to be reckoned with for a few centuries until, in 1497, the forces of the Orsini family from Bracciano outflanked the aquarian defenses in a land attack. The ignominy of defeat is tempered somewhat for the Anguillarini by their knowledge of battlefield details. The Orsini did not win by virtue of superior strength, strategy, or valor; they were allowed through the defenses by a few Anguillarini who hoped to better their lot under a new regime. Instead, everyone was exiled to the countryside.

If the sense of history among the Anguillarini seems exaggerated or selective, it must be seen in its broader cultural context. One source for that perspective is Luigi Barzini, a perceptive and entertaining critic of Italian character. His best-seller, The Italians, struggles with a strange paradox: why is a nation noted for individual genius inevitably defeated, humiliated, and prone to catastrophe when acting collectively? I would do an injustice to the answer by attempting to reduce Barzini's elaborate tapestry to a few threads. The relevant point here is that contemporary defeats, blunders, and debacles do not seem to trouble Italians. They "have invented ancient ruses . . . to forget disgrace and misfortune," in part by cherishing "the memory of their past greatness."
It is a rare Italian who seems to doubt his direct descent from the Caesars. To suggest that bloodlines are impure, as a consequence of centuries of invasion, counter-invasion and migration in the Mediterranean basin, is to risk ridicule or willful disregard.

The reverence for the past is not transposed literally to buildings. An Italian driver piloting his miniature car around the traffic circle tourists call the Colosseum is totally involved in jockeying for position. Probably, like the proverbial New Yorkers who have never visited the Empire State Building or the Statue of Liberty, he has never been inside the monument. Whether he senses having participated in its construction vicariously through his imagined Roman ancestors is another issue. I have been involved in discussions of the Italian architectural heritage with people who seemed to have perceptions of that sort, but would not hesitate to tear down a major historical building or two to improve the flow of vehicular traffic.

On the other hand, when historical issues are very immediate, people seem highly sensitized to them. Signora Q was the first person we got to know in a more than perfunctory way in Anguillara. Her house is sited near the tip of the peninsula and has, except for the obstruction of her own wash hanging on the balcony, an unhindered and commanding view of the lake. On our first visit, she pointed out the panorama and animatedly described some other less obvious house-
hold features. Her house, she insisted proudly, was the oldest in town. Judging by the unparalleled siting, it was a plausible assertion, until she reported its age to be 500 years.

Anyone who can subtract 500 from 1966 would establish the year of construction roughly as 1466. Now, if the same mathematical mind knew anything about the Middle Ages, he would certainly know that they were nearly over by then in Italy. In makeshift Italian, I suggested to Signora Q that her house must be at least a few hundred years older. Neither she nor any of her three children who had joined us were dissuaded by my powerful inductive argument. She repeated "500 years old" and I dismissed the entire claim as unbridled puffery.

No less an authority than the British Academy in Rome has since substantiated the broad outlines of Signora Q's theory. In starting several new Etruscan excavations, archaeologists from the Academy uncovered information about the medieval period. They concluded, on the basis of these inadvertent findings, that the so-called medieval towns in Latium are only about 500 years old and date instead from the Renaissance. Though the towns were inhabited prior to that time, they were very different from their present architectural configuration. Only fortifications and churches had been built of masonry. The residents supposedly lived in caves carved into the hills and cliffs of tufo—a soft sedimentary material of volcanic ash and dush—upon which the towns are usually sited.
Caves of this sort can be found everywhere. Many are used for storage or stables. A few have been appropriated as garbage dumps. Some, possibly of more recent vintage, are even inhabited now. At Calcata, near Viterbo, which is perched on a steep tufo cliff, caves serving all these purposes exist almost side-by-side. Our own house in Anguillara had a long, narrow cave leading from it and others reportedly were tunneled under the town to the church and fortifications. Frequently, new caves are unearthed in the course of construction work. They are a subject of curiosity, but not excitement, and are routinely attributed by townsfolk to the Etruscans.

With all due respect to the British Academy, I will continue to refer to these towns as "medieval" in this paper. I do so not to deny the Academy's proposition, but only out of habit, convenience, and the belief that names do not matter.

There is a considerable body of work, both generically and specifically, on the origins of urban settlement. But the historical forces which gave rise to towns are not the forces which animate them today. No one chooses to live in walled towns for defensive reasons, for example. Whether the town is a medieval or Renaissance artifact is an issue which has little bearing on how one operates within it now. Historical research cannot reconstruct what it was like to live in a medieval town five centuries ago and cannot determine from its data what it is like to live in one now.
If historical issues are important to present inhabitants, their significance is more a question of belief than fact. The belief that one is descended from Caesar is more critical in determining one's behavior than the objective reality of the relationship. The belief that one's house is the oldest in town may affect one's attitudes, even if in fact it is not. Unless we contemplate modifying the behaviors of inhabitants by correcting their beliefs, historical issues seem rather irrelevant. They are a legitimate area of inquiry for historians, but they are largely external to the perceptions, needs, and behaviors of inhabitants.

Externality is not unique to the pursuit of historical interests. Other perspectives on the subject of towns may be just as remote from the daily concerns of townsfolk. They may still be legitimate, but inapplicable to an inquiry which intends to explain how lifestyle patterns are related to a particular environmental setting.

Consider the peculiar fondness some environmental designers have for assessing the suitability of places in visual terms. Notions about wars, space, scale, proportion, texture, and light take on almost mystical meanings for them. A useful book written by Gordon Cullen a decade ago illustrates ways urban environments have been dramatized or clarified by manipulation of these factors.\textsuperscript{11} Many of Cullen's examples were drawn from vernacular cultures and he suggests that contemporary designers can profit by careful study of the design devices they used.\textsuperscript{12}
Cullen's advocacy may have been too well received. While his pre-
scriptions might be vital or useful to designers, these same aes-
thetic sensitivities and interests seemed to be projected by others
onto vernacular builders, inhabitants of vernacular environments,
and the public at large. While vernacular builders may have dealt
with issues of this sort, it is something of a distortion to imag-
ine that they were primary concerns. The trulli of Apulia may be
visually delightful, but they are also rational responses to a
stringent set of environmental demands. Is the quality of an
environment to be measured in visual or functional terms?

There are several books that seem to argue for the former. One by
Edmund Bacon, The Design of Cities, is a case in point. I chose to
use it as an example, not because it was a superlative of its genre--
it was neither first, nor worst, nor best--but rather because of the
popularity it enjoyed in both architectural and lay circles. It
also has the unusual virtue of making its premises explicit.

One of Bacon's central themes is the "awareness of space as an ex-
perience." In the abstract, this sounds plausible enough:

Awareness of space goes far beyond cerebral activity. It
engages the full range of senses and feelings, requiring
involvement of the whole self to make a full response to
it possible.

The human organism progresses in its capacity to perceive
space from the spaceless embryonic state, through the
limited space exploration of the infant, to the primarily
two-dimensional exploration of the crawling child, and
finally to the bodily leap into space essential to the
athlete's skill and the dancer's art. There is an intellectual parallel of deepening perception which is based on becoming connected with larger and larger systems. In architectural terms it means progressing from the earth and earth materials into the less tangible elements of the universe. Through this sense of connection with a system greater than himself man achieves aesthetic satisfaction, and the more nearly universal the system, the deeper the satisfaction. This is why a conscious expression of space is essential to the highest expression of architecture.\textsuperscript{15}

It seems to venture onto far less solid ground when Bacon proposes that architecture "draws us into its depths and involves us in an experience shared by all the people who are moving about in it."	extsuperscript{16} "Collective," "communal," and "all-encompassing" are descriptions he uses to characterize the experience. In short, Bacon is suggesting that environments can and should have universal meanings for the people within them.

The notion of universality is apparent in analysis of an urban sequence solely in terms of color. Bacon describes the images perceived by the subject, a straw carrier as she approaches the town of Panza. The text follows verbatim, except for references to the color photographs, unfortunately not reproducible here:

As our participator approaches her objective, the town of Panza, the heat and glare and the predominance of green in the orchards, vineyards, and olive groves begin to be modified by gray adobe walls and fresh white paint—pointers to the urban experience that is to come.

Before her she sees the beginnings of the actual form of the town as it emerges from among the trees, but the path is still tortuous, and the form is merely suggested, except for the bell tower of the church, which will shortly emerge as a powerful architectural statement, suggesting the character of the experience which lies ahead.
The straw carrier has turned the bend, which was perfectly placed for the first viewpoint of the architecture of the square. The first flash of impression she receives includes a strong architectural impact through the rhythmic punctuation of the shadowy arches. An entirely new dimension of experience is added by the startling pink walls seen through the gray framework.

As she continues to move along the path, she becomes more and more aware of the predominance of pink until she has reached the town center, the lower portion of the central hourglass-shaped piazza. Here she is encompassed by the sensation of pinkness. In the sense of Léger, she has entered a "colored space."

Turning to her right and looking southward, she is now subjected to an even more intense sensation. Her eye takes in the orange-colored chapel with its circular window, which terminates the square and sparkles in the sunlight against the deep blue of the distant olive-clad hills.

She is passing through the central construction of the hourglass. The colors here are gray and white, counteracting the impression of bright pink and orange, and once more she is prepared for the new color impact ahead.

The view which bursts upon her is that of the little church crowning the square; a gleaming form of yellow and white with a green door, resplendent against the intensity of the blue sky. Turning to her right, she arrives at the bell tower with its clock that was her first sign of the town, and her anticipation is fulfilled.

There are two assumptions in Bacon's approach that should be examined very carefully. One is that people's everyday perceptions are accessible to us for scrutiny. That they are shared communally is the second. Bacon does not pretend that the designer's image is always coincident with the communal one; the goal of design and the measure of its success is the degree to which the designer's vision is implanted and nurtured in the "collective minds of the community."
Undoubtedly, not all environmental designers accept this proposition. Notions that design works wonders on people through the magic of aesthetics would seem to be in decline among professionals. The evidence around us suggests that people respond to physical relationships in varied ways and degrees, all of them legitimate, though not infrequently lamented by onlooking environmental designers. While visual factors may have some effects in shaping patterns of environmental use or response, the magnitude of these effects would appear to be small. The same aesthetic features which the visitor finds attractive, and hence significant, wear rather thin over years of day-to-day use.

Professionally, we seem to be increasingly attuned to behavioral questions in design, but often without much sophistication. Consider, for example, the following discussion of the function of negative (open) spaces from a book on vernacular architecture in the Mediterranean basin by Myron Goldfinger:

In addition, neighborhood squares appear along the street, sometimes taking the shape of a small courtyard defined solely by the habitations and serving the perimeter family groups. The larger plazas become the gathering place of a neighborhood grouping, and in these areas, cafés develop where people can meet, rest, view, and become part of the activity of the street. The combination of court-yards and plazas relieves the rhythm of the unit form and creates diversion alcoves along the passages, giving order and direction, and an important sense of place.

Each order of open space serves a different need; the narrow-est paths offer protection from strong winds and harsh sun, and provide a psychologically soothing intimacy. Neighbors are close to one another and may sit on porches or balconies
and work or watch the passing activity. The local plaza or courtyard serves as the playground for the young and the gossip center for the elderly within a protected, shaded environment. The major square is where the action is—it serves as a combination business center, festive hall, promenade, visual focus, and link with the outside world. Here is where the pageant is held and the business deal concluded. The interaction of the human spirit and the spatial variety within the village brings about a dynamic vitality that further supports the social benefits of communal development.  

Goldfinger's interest in the relationships between environment and behavior is laudable. But that set of interdependencies is quite intricate. That causal connections can be established, particularly on the sole basis of projections from architectural configurations, is a questionable premise. Our own experiences do not lead us to regard a city block as a bound for social interaction. Nor do we expect our neighbors to be our friends or even friendly. Why, then, should interpretations of other environments be satisfactory in these terms? Reduced to its simplest terms, Goldfinger's analysis, summed up in the last sentence quoted, becomes an ephemeral environmental determinism.

It may be useful to summarize a few of the social themes projected from architectural features of vernacular environments. The purpose is twofold: they serve as a referent by which to measure one's own predispositions and by which to compare later interpretations. They represent a fair indication of my own mental set prior to undertaking the study.
If there is a single, overriding verbal image, it is "street life." Its warmth, noise, color, activity and delight are not just perceived by environmental designers; *The Italians* contains a multi-page description expansively evoking these qualities. Architects are a bit terser, but just as positive in their assessments. Street life, "the flow of familiar people everywhere," seems to be regarded as the mechanism for and embodiment of all that is good in towns. The people are undifferentiated, but uniformly happy, outgoing, and "familiar" to the point where the Piazza del Campo in Siena, population 75,000, can be likened to "a large outdoor living room for the whole town."

The designers are unique however in crediting the "humanism" and "livability" they see to environmental manipulations. (One wonders if they would be prepared to project those qualities back to the squalor and misery of the Middle Ages.) Humanism and livability are never operationally defined so that we would know them if we saw them. They tend to vanish under a veil of illusory descriptors:

> What is achieved is a place for human experience; a rich variety of forms and spaces in which to live; a structural framework that permits the expression of the individual and the participation of all the community.

Nonetheless, the architectural lessons are readily drawn in characterizations of order and hierarchy that could just as well apply to an art form:
Outside the home, the popular builders work in harmony to pave streets and create public courtyards and small squares, always built in size relative to their function. Communal effort has provided the spaces where neighbors meet and the community gather, and has given the residents respect for themselves and their neighbors and pride of significant accomplishment. They continue to work at their independent tasks and work together to keep order and cleanliness in their community.24

These vacuous effusions serve a vital function. In a token gesture, author and reader can acknowledge their social responsibilities and concerns. Free of guilt, they can then turn to the gratifications they are both most interested in—the pictures. While it may be argued that no analytic scheme is intended by such authors, their musings acquire precisely such dimensions in the absence of competition.

Goldfinger's attempt to explain the functioning of environments in terms of organizational features and external architecture is not entirely convincing. The towns we lived in would be very different places if the dwelling units were twice the size, thereby halving the density and providing more extensive internal space for each family, even though the diagrammatic organization remained unchanged. On the other hand, converting all the units to identical row houses, holding all other attributes constant, might induce far less disruption in life style. Towns comprised of identical vernacular units in fact exist. Pisticci is one of them, but life there does not seem to differ radically from that in its more customary Apulian neighbors. Diversity is one of the most fascinating characteristics
of vernacular building in Italy. Caves, trulli, dispersed buildings, whitewashed towns, brick towns, limestone towns, hill towns, plains towns, mountain towns, irregular plans, grid plans, radial plans all seem to be of a piece. From this perspective, purely morphological explanations pose more questions than they answer. The presence of similar behaviors in different environmental settings implies that the role of cultural forces in shaping common outcomes be evaluated.

Mayer Spivak has theorized a general relationship between environment and behavior across all cultures. Each fundamental human activity—feeding, sleeping, nesting, interacting, and so on—requires specific environmental provisions, without which, Spivak maintains, deviant behaviors ensue.25

There is a danger of glossing significant distinctions between cultures. While it is true that members of all societies perform the same biological and physiological activities, the specific environmental supports for them may be quite varied. To sleep in some tropical societies, a man needs a hammock and two suitably spaced trees. To sleep in much of American society a man needs several hundred square feet of electrified house, built to withstand natural disasters, an air-conditioner, an elevated rectangle of foam rubber, $3000 worth of expensive sheetmetal in the driveway, and a sleeping pill. Both are commonplace and reasonable within their respective contexts and therefore "deviant" only in the eyes of a morally
indignant cross-cultural observer. But the supports from either context would be inappropriate if transposed to the other.

Spivak certainly is not ignorant of such cultural distinctions; the weakness of his theory is that it is so general that it fails to distinguish different environmental manifestations of the same fundamental phenomenon in different cultures. As such, although it provides information already available to all of us at the level of commonsense—namely that we engage in the activities listed—it does not illuminate the specific nature of the environmental supports we need, or define the relationships between them.

Notes on the Synthesis of Form, by Christopher Alexander, is one noteworthy attempt to conceptually sort out these issues. Alexander distinguishes "closed" societies from "open" ones. The former are slowly evolving traditional cultures essentially isolated from outside influences. Their built environments, produced wholly without benefit of professional skills, are very good. Because the culture is unchanging, vernacular building, through the aggregation of small improvements on existing prototypes, is able to come into equilibrium with the prevailing culture. In "open" societies, on the other hand, despite the introduction of environmental design specialists, rapid culture change precludes the attainment of equilibrium conditions.

In either case, culture and environment are considered as a whole; in the latter instance, they simply cannot be made to "fit."
Alexander's terms, since Anguillara is a vernacular environment in the midst of and filled with contemporary culture, we should expect to find that things there are a bit out of kilter. That expectation should be weighed by the reader from time to time as we go along.

The assertion or argument that both behaviors and environments are predicated on cultural imperatives is almost self-evident. Yet, many designers continue to put their environmental cart before the behavioral horse. We have been so busy trying to decide whether "environment" or "behavior" is the horse, that we may have failed to understand the nature of the system as a whole. At the risk of ruining the metaphor, perhaps we would do better to regard the system as a synergystic one in which each component is both "horse" and "cart." What they do as a system depends upon the cultural framework within which they operate. This view does not simplify the reckoning of accounts; if anything, it is more complex and difficult. Faced with a choice, who would favor methods which are simple but inadequate?

My intention here is to describe behaviors that occur and the physical conditions that accompany them to arrive at an operational understanding of the phenomenon as a whole. Historical and aesthetic issues, by and large, are tangential. We can regard the medieval environment as an objet trove which should be examined in the cultural context in which it occurs. To do so, we need to set aside external attitudes and values and attempt to understand the object on its own terms, from within, not from without.
Getting inside is a strategy more easily advocated and attempted than accomplished. In some ways, it may be more difficult to arrive at an understanding of a sub-culture or a society closely related to one's own than a culture which is almost totally alien. For the potential ethnographer, there are no options to immersion in a tribal or primitive society from the moment of arrival. The investigator's milieu changes abruptly and immediately. In a similar culture, one is often uncertain of the degree to which he is faithfully participating in and observing the society. There are inherently more cultural options available and the investigator can easily find himself floating between his native culture and the subject one, instead of being firmly planted in the latter.

The situation is very subtle. There is a continual danger of misreading cultural cues or hastily interpreting them in light of one's own previous experience. Take, for example, a simple straightforward activity: washing clothes. Is hand-washing to be regarded as an unpleasant chore because we Americans have replaced it with washing machines? Or is it a potentially pleasant activity when, as in Italy, it is accompanied by conversation and gossip with other women? If so, or if the exchange of gossip makes the chore tolerable, then why do many women opt for washing machines when they can afford them? Does acquisition lead to the creation of substitute mechanisms for information transfer or does the level of interaction subside? There are no easy answers to such questions. Apparent parallels are symptomatic of the dilemma: are they substantive or will they
disappear upon further probing?

Given enough time, some of the answers may come into focus almost by themselves. I recall a study of the Piazza del Campo in Siena. The investigator spent an entire day sitting in the middle of the space writing down events and activities as they occurred. A clear image of the mutability of the piazza emerged. The several groups of people that frequented it—school boys, shoppers, pedestrian commuters, and café patrons—used different areas at different hours of the day for different purposes.

Unfortunately, no observer, no matter how capable and conscientious, can hope to see and record everything, especially in so large and busy a space. Some potentially meaningful events are bound to have been inadvertently overlooked, while other unusual or coincidental events may have been ascribed disproportionate significance. A longer study which might have similarly observed the piazza would have avoided these difficulties and produced a study of more than anecdotal value. It might have revealed that the piazza also changes in accordance with the day, season, weather and so forth in predictable ways.

But time does not cure all ills. It may not substantially resolve the problem of scale in the observations of the Piazza del Campo. The technique that reveals the existence of different groups of users may not be appropriate for investigating what those users are doing and to what influences and motivations they are responding.
Sitting in the center of the Piazza and noting the influx of men at a cafe in itself says very little about the world of the cafe; it may warrant a detailed investigation parallel to the one performed in the larger space.

I am arguing for two related considerations: that environmental phenomena be investigated at the different relevant scales of their existence and that they be investigated by different techniques. It is one thing to understand rush-hour traffic in terms of traffic counts and vehicle flows, quite another to confront it from the driver's seat. Perhaps enough has already been suggested about the first issue. That different levels of inquiry may demand different means is readily apparent. But why use two methods to investigate the same phenomenon when one will do?

All methods have characteristic strengths and weaknesses. Although this is not the place for an elaborate methodological discussion, some of these issues were raised earlier: observers cannot observe everything; their perspectives are different from those of the participants; subjects' actions and intentions do not necessarily coincide. Less observational techniques have other difficulties: reports of behavior differ from observed behaviors; motivations are sometimes unconscious, difficult to verbalize; subjects may lie or be self-deceived.

There is probably no sure-fire, guaranteed remedy for these problems. Multiple methods, however, allow one to muddle through with a little
more confidence, since their strengths and weaknesses may be complementary. The data or conclusions supported by two or more sources, are less likely to be spurious than those provided by one, especially when the sources are rather different. Even law-enforcement and intelligence agencies check the internal consistency of their information this way. They do not rely on observation (wired-tapping) or participation (infiltrators) alone; they use both, while trying to insure the completeness and validity of each within itself.

This study draws on five mutually reinforcing means of inquiry. They all can be subsumed under the heading of participant-observation, but they range considerably in their degrees of participation. Surprisingly, at least in this case, the more highly observational techniques could not have been executed in the absence of a previously established participatory base. In order of decreasing participation, the methods were:

(1) Residency - Living in the subject environment was the part of the overall inquiry least directed to specific goals, but ultimately the most informative.

(2) Confidants - Some of the personal contacts established through residency became more intimate friends. They were able to supply information or confirm suspicions on matters not amenable to direct investigation.

(3) Survey - Our confidants aided in the preparation and execution of a study on household attributes and environmental
use patterns. They put us in touch with some respondents and cajoled a few reluctant ones to cooperate.

(4) Personal observation - Our acceptance as inhabitants by townsfolk legitimized this passive, but sometimes disruptive activity of merely watching what goes on.

(5) Film - Securing access to suitable locations for time-lapse film was facilitated by efforts of confidants in our behalf. Though the least participatory technique, some aspects of the film would have been unintelligible without the general background obtained by other means. (Appendix I provides details on filming.)

In theory, I suppose, each tidbit of data and each conclusion has a specific source from which it is drawn. When several overlapping methods are employed, making definite source attributions can be very difficult. Reading them could also become rather tedious. Consequently, except where the sources are unique or otherwise of particular interest, I have avoided making these distinctions. What is presented are two seemingly non-congruent images of Anguillara--as it appears to be used and as it is known to its inhabitants--followed by an explanation that hopefully makes the two coherent.

Having placed all these issues in context and exposed, possibly for the first time, the foundations of this study, there is no cause for further delay in finally turning to it.
CHAPTER II

THE ENVIRONMENT AS USED
Italy is a land of tourists. The presence of tourists, in itself, says nothing about an Italian town, since even dead, uninhabited towns have their share of activity. All that any of them require for resurrection is a visionary entrepreneur with plans for a hotel, restaurant, and gas station.

Compared to tourist havens like Assisi, Amalfi or San Gimignano, Anguillara is not even on the map. It has no famous churches, nor palazzi, nor castles, nor historical sites of more than passing importance. Picture postcards, both black and white and color, are on display at the single sale e tabacchi, where sundry notions and government monopolies--salt, tobacco, and matches--can be purchased. The selection, limited to some dozen views and the antiquated post-war scenes depicted reflect the small turnover in such goods. Anguillara's tourists are a special breed: Romans in once-weekly search for food, parking, and fresh air. In Anguillara, they find all three.

Only some half-dozen miles beyond one of the first rural-looking intersections on the Via Cassia north of Rome, Anguillara is very convenient. The Anguillarini have, at great expense, filled in a portion of lakefront the size of a few soccer fields. Suitability for soccer is fortuitous; it was motivated by considerations of parking. Largely desolate during the week, it springs to life each
Sunday, as Romans, who ordinarily find parking a challenge, come to revel in its magnificence. The availability of parking encourages patronage at the fifteen local restaurants, thereby providing direct benefits for many families and indirect ones for the rest.

If fifteen restaurants does not seem overabundant, one need only visit Bracciano, scarcely six miles away. Its population of 10,000 is three times that of Anguillara and despite its recognition by the Guide Michelin, a man could starve. There are only six restaurants. Unlike Anguillara with its long tree-lined road at lakeside standing ready to accommodate even more tourist uses, Bracciano is built high on a hill. Its lakefront is still years away from commercial exploitation.

Without developed lake frontage, one cannot get fresh air, Anguillara's other commodity. Its significance can be understood only by following a family of Romans satiated by good home cooking waddling from the scene of their repast to the small dock in Anguillara. Valiantly, they struggle to the end, breathe deeply once or twice, and thus infused with new vigor, are prepared to endure the rigors of another work week. The rigors begin rather abruptly, as the ritual deep breaths are drawn in rapid succession each Sunday afternoon. Identical hopes of beating the rush home conspire to create the week's worst traffic jam.

These are not tourists in the pejorative sense. Anguillara has those too, but not in any number. A small coterie of northern
Europeans—primarily German, Belgian, and Dutch—discovered Anguillara during the war. In the years since, they have built villini, small summer houses, and come for extended stays with their families. Without exception, they live outside the medieval core. Seeking sun and water, they, like the Romans, show little interest in the vernacular environment. For the most part, both groups avoid the Anguillarini and their medieval turf.

The medieval zone, some 600-800 feet square, houses more than a third of the population, and occupies most of the stubby peninsula that once was the extent of the town. In appropriate fashion, the church, perched at the distant tip, hovers over everything else. (See Figure 1.) At the lower end of the main street leading to it, just inside the town gate is an equally significant institutional setting: the Piazza del Commune, or town square. With its view of the lake, its shops and bars, it is the hub of municipal activity.

Between these two landmarks live more than 1200 people at an average gross density of 125 people per acre.

Immediately adjacent to the old quarter, occupying the remainder of the peninsula and then some, is an unsightly collection of post-World War II housing. Looking rather institutional by any standard, these two- and three-story buildings are interspersed with larger commercial uses: furniture stores, fish markets, a bank, and a small supermarket. The inhabitants of this area are indistinguishable from those of the medieval zone. The men are farmers, fishermen, shopkeepers, construction workers, and truck drivers. Their
wives may work part-time in family shops and restaurants or at
dress-making and machine-knitting, today's cottage crafts. Most
are just housewives and mothers. When the children, widows, and
nuns are accounted for, one has a broad and diverse segment of the
population, but not entirely representative.

White-collar workers and low level governmental bureaucrats also
live in Anguillara, but predominantly in a more recent suburb called
San Francesco. Here an increasing number of single- and two-family
detached dwellings attesting to the relative prosperity, provide
more modernity for those who can afford it. Unlike much of the
medieval zone, they are equipped with hot and cold running water,
up-to-date bathrooms, American-style kitchens, patios and other
amenities. The rents are not expensive, roughly thirty to forty
dollars per month for a two-bedroom apartment. Still, they are
costly compared to housing that may be free. Faced with the option,
most working class families decline to move from the medieval sec-
tion, thus creating the mild economic and social disparities between
these two parts of town.

There are three other zones, peripheral to this study, which are
included in Figure 1 and should at least be noted. Bankers, doctors,
successful merchants, the idle rich and the relatively well-to-do
dlive in single-family houses along the lakeside, with the sprinkling
of European tourists, though without stringent exclusivity. The
lack of stores and the relative distance from the center of town--
perhaps a kilometer or so at the far reaches--make it an undesirable
area for those who do not have automobiles at their disposal.

Though lacking heavy industry, Anguillara, not atypically, has a few more specialized enterprises. Spread out along the road to Rome are a couple of auto repair shops (a major Italian industry), a metal shop, a building supply store, and an agricultural cooperative. What is left over, but still within the jurisdictional authority of the town is rural, sparsely populated and comprised of small family-run farms; this area is functionally isolated from the rest of the town and will be of no further concern here.

Socio-economic divisions are not the only ones in Anguillara. Several soccer teams representing different sections of town, and even of the medieval zone, focus the self-esteem and enthusiasm of the several residential constituencies. Competitive fortunes may weigh upon the inhabitants of each section for a year. After a poor season, anyone living in that quarter may find his efforts in other domains met with sarcastic expectations of incompetence and weakness. But, the signs of neighborhood pride are not confined to the playing field and the outcomes of encounters staged there. The several quarters are referred to by name in common parlance. Three of them even have their own major churches, although only two are in use. Each section has its own shops, patronized largely by local clientele. Anguillara should not, therefore, be construed as a single, unified whole. It is a collection of highly discrete operational subdivisions, in many cases, as we shall see, even smaller than the ones introduced
here. The extent of those subdivisions, as domains of individual environmental use, depends upon more than a specific residential location. It is also a function of age, sex, and social role. Describing environmental use in terms of "stages in the life-cycle"—the rather mechanistic rubric under which these parameters sometimes travel—is our first task. I have restricted myself to four primary age groups and considerations of sex and role where appropriate: children, teenagers, adults, and the elderly. These divisions are, of course, arbitrary, but they seem to mark significant differences in spatial behavior. They can also be cut much finer. Some day, hopefully someone will identify patterns common to young ladies of means who are unattractive. For the moment, such problems may be set aside; it is not likely that the fate of these young women is a consequence of environmental manipulations, nor subject to amelioration by those means.

CHILDREN

During childhood, age alone is the primary correlate of environmental use and behavior. Some children, those below the age of two years or so, lack independent patterns of use at the urban scale altogether. Elder members of town society regard these individuals, by virtue of their inherently limited peripatetic skills, as infants. While infants may have relative freedom to navigate indoors, they are almost entirely at the mercy of and dependent upon more mature persons outdoors. Their mothers may carry them along when visiting or shopping.
When these trips are expected to be brief, the care of infants may pass to elder siblings, grandmothers, aunts, or neighboring women, depending upon their proximity and availability at the moment. It is rare for adult males to assume these responsibilities even temporarily. For our purposes, infants are mere extensions of their mothers or caretakers, whom we shall consider in the following pages.

When infants have progressed to the point where they can toddle about with confidence and relative stability, they are more reasonably thought of as preschoolers. The change, of course, is evolutionary, not sudden. As the child grows more competent and mobile, the amount of intensive maternal care decreases, while that of more casual surrogates increases.

A lot of surrogate care of young preschoolers occurs outdoors. While the care of one child may be entrusted to another indoors, neighbors who are the most proximate, non-familial surrogates, would not be asked to assume these tasks in their homes or in one's own. To do so is to hire a babysitter or needlessly impose upon a friend. Neighbors are not necessarily recruited for the job and never given specific associated duties as in the case of babysitters. If they are outside, they may be requested to keep an eye on things, or may take it upon themselves to do so on a standing basis and without specific invitation. In this sense, the preschool phase is a transitional period, marking the shift from home to school, from informal to formal education, from maternal to surrogate care, and implicitly
from domestic to public space use.

Mothers are anxious to get their children out of the house for a variety of reasons; the ready availability of caretakers is merely an enabling mechanism. There is a genuine belief in the healthful benefits of fresh air. Kids are sent out to play even in inclement weather, whereas our own mothers attempted to confine us. Windows are flung wide open for at least a short period each day even in winter. At these times there is hardly a difference between the micro-climate indoors and out. The fresh air which may help relieve the dampness in uninsulated masonry dwellings perhaps is presumed to do the same for the body. Also, like mothers elsewhere, Italian ones believe in the salutary effects of sunlight. With only meager sunlight making its way through the small windows, and no provision for enclosed porches, sending children outside is the only alternative.

Even without these attitudes, other pressures exist to encourage outdoor activity. There may be very little for children to entertain themselves with at home. There are no closets full of toys, not just because there are no closets, but because family finances do not allow much indulgence in playthings. At least outdoors there may be other kids in the same predicament. More significant, and somewhat of a corollary to the issue of finances, is the small size of most dwelling units in the medieval sector. Units larger than four rooms are unusual. The mean would seem to be between two and
three rooms per family: one bedroom, a kitchen-dining area converting to a bedroom, and sometimes a livingroom or livingroom-dining room which converts to a bedroom. It is not uncommon to find a family of four living in two rooms, one of which is not a playroom. Under these circumstances, the more children are indoors with nothing to do, the more they get under foot and make a mess of things they should not be playing with. Disarray cannot be confined to a room out of sight; when every corner is in use, it is even more imperative that the cultural demands for domestic order be maintained.

Similar conditions beset many American families, but children are not sent outdoors in urban settings without ambivalence and fear. No American mother would entrust a six-year-old neighbor to care for her preschooler outdoors; she perceives the street to be a hostile and dangerous place for adults as well as for children. There are apparent differences in the nature of the street between the two societies.

Medieval streets are the antithesis of our own. They are almost childlike in scale, small and narrow, texturally rich and varied. The visual qualities are important if they are indeed perceived by both mother and child. More important perhaps is the functional characteristic implied: the streets are safe. Though there are mixed uses, all are residentially compatible: there are no factories or freightyards. Most of the streets do not accommodate cars. Those that do are still small enough to impose restrictions on
vehicular speeds. Other potential physical hazards are not construed as risks to children's well-being. Hundreds of feet of lakefront and the municipal dock are readily accessible, but do not attract preschoolers, who by nature are not inclined to venture far from home. Even abrupt unprotected level changes in the immediate vicinity do not seem to be implicated in accidents. Preschoolers did not appear to exceed their competence in using the proximate environment. In short, there are no sinister strangers and no imponderables. Everything about the street is known, particularly the other inhabitants, who are the checks in the system. As long as people are around to intervene in face of danger or provide aid in case of trouble, the streets can be regarded as safe places.

We never witnessed a serious accident in Anguillara, though there were many in which neighboring adults provided comfort to a child who might have fallen. To my knowledge, only one serious accident occurred during our residency: a broken arm or leg, the result of a long fall in an uninhabited part of town being cleared for a new park. Adults are expected to discipline children who endanger themselves or commit social improprieties. They do not shrink from these duties, but seem to encounter more success with the former:

(1) A few small boys were throwing rocks at one another in the small piazza below our house. A man living in one of the nearby houses chanced upon the action on his way home. He firmly put a stop to the fighting and scolded the participants, none of whom were his own children.
(2) An American woman, long a resident of Anguillara, and fluent in Italian came across a small boy urinating in a corner. Railings have been erected by the town at corners of opportunity to discourage such activity. They have been more successful in constraining the tendencies of adults, however, than small boys who treat climbing over them as a challenge. When admonished for this practice, the five-year-old countered with his own admonition: "Go shove it up your ass."

(3) Two little girls were running up and down the street dragging a small sparrow on a string behind them. It flapped helplessly as it was banged into each step on the route. Feeling very sorry for the bird, I approached the girls and tried to explain the reasons to refrain from such behavior and to save little birds. Reluctantly, they gave the bird up. I had scarcely arrived home, when their mother appeared below the window to demand return of the "toy." Complaining that their daughters were now in tears, she posed the rhetorical question: "What is more important, the life of a meaningless bird or a child's happiness?" I suggested the former and offered to buy a toy in its place. After several minutes of haranguing, she finally left empty-handed. Only then was support voiced for my actions by the neighbors who had quickly come to their windows for the spectacle, but hitherto remained silent.
In this instance, my humanitarian actions were only marginally acceptable to some of the community and unsatisfactory to the remainder. I saved the bird and alienated the woman. Intervention and discipline are naturally most effective when they come from the community and therefore reflect values the community shares. That no one else acted to save the bird is evidence of the personal rather than communal values attached to a sparrow's life. Even culturally sanctioned disciplinary efforts do not always succeed. One neighbor whose doorbell was several feet from her door was subjected to continual pranks that no amount of later scolding seemed to stop. To succeed, disciplinary efforts must be culturally sanctioned, directed at misbehaviors which are apparent, and face-to-face.

Preschoolers play takes place in proximity to their own homes. Whether as a result of parental restrictions or, more likely, their own self-perceived limitations, they do not venture far. Those observed roamed perhaps 100 feet or so from home when alone. They go further when accompanying parents, older playmates, or siblings on visits and errands such as shopping. The extent and nature of such adventures is limited; preschoolers are not taken to the lake or to ballfields or just wandering by playmates. (A summary of residents' activities observed in the piazza is included in Appendix II.)

The criteria for playmate selection seem to contrast sharply with those casually observed in the U.S. In many cases older American children find younger ones a burden. In Anguillara, play groups were comprised of children of both sexes often ranging in age from three
Figure 2 - Piazza Residents and Playmates
to ten or eleven, with the older ones assuming caretaking responsibilities. (See Figure 2.) Mere proximity seems to be the principal factor in formation of these groups. They were not compromised by antagonisms among the children's parents. Systematic exclusions and "best friends" among children were not apparent. In that sense, unlike the neighboring of adults, children's play groups are non-selective and entail no obligations.

Aside from providing birds, the environment helps support play in many ways. Outdoor play for both preschoolers and school children of both sexes can be structured into three sometimes overlapping categories which depend upon: (1) the spatial configuration, (2) furniture and facilities within the space, and (3) external props. Active games like hide-and-seek, follow-the-leader, and tag have major components of running, climbing, searching, and chasing. They all require at least two participants, preferably more, and utilize the variable enclosures, widths, levels, and in visibilities of exterior spaces in the immediate vicinity of the participants' houses. The play area shifts continually to take advantage of particular features, sometimes expanding and contracting about some focus. These games can pose minor dangers—collisions and falls—to both participants and passersby, and perhaps for that reason are frowned upon by some adults, particularly the elderly. Even they may be tolerant as long as moderation endures in the level of activity. Restraints are provided by older children, transient adult onlookers and the nature of the games themselves. Since they require vast expenditures of
children's energies, they can be sustained only briefly, as intermittent outbursts followed by longer interludes of less noisy and active play.

Vernacular streets contain a great variety of small idiosyncratic places that serve as play models of the larger world. A single suggestive space can be transformed by imagination or improvisation toward many ends. A house opposite ours had a tiny porch on one side perhaps six feet square, elevated above the street and surrounded by a low stone wall. (See Figure 3.) At different times and for different children it would represent a house, a school, a store, a fort, and a place to hide. Suitable spaces are usually not public, so it is fortunate that most households contain children. Members of those that do not may find it hard to suppress the use of desirable play areas that are semi-private or semi-public. If they cannot accept even limited amounts of this sort of activity, their only recourse may be to find housing more isolated or lacking such features.

A final subset of the games dependent upon spatial configuration is comprised of ball games, almost exclusively soccer. Small soccer games are played in the streets at locales where the width is commensurate with the number of players. Children do not go far from home to find such places. In fact, they do not have to, since most every street has segments of varying width. In the absence of sufficient players for two teams, boys may instead practice soccer plays against any nearby wall for hours.
The second type of games depends on specific features and details of the proximate environment. (See Figure 3.) In contrast to the first, these activities may be individual as well as group. The group activities which occur in this context are generally more fragmented and passive than the preceding. Within our piazza were the following furnishings and amenities:

(1) Waterpoint - The fascination this single fixture held for children, especially the younger ones, was nearly endless. Kids enjoyed watching the activities of adults at the fountain: washing things, cleaning fish, attaching hoses and even just filling buckets. They were very mild-mannered about it; splashing and water-spitting episodes were relatively infrequent. Drinking, in itself, was an engaging activity that sometimes seemed to be a follow-the-leader stunt, as one child after another suddenly found himself thirsty. The fountain was also an element in long-running small drama. The faucet required more strength than preschoolers could muster. The struggle of a preschooler for a drink generally elicits helping behavior from older playmates and stimulates other children's thirsts as well.

(2) Drainage - Water appeared in the piazza in another way. A gutter from an upper-level discharged water when activated into the main part of the piazza. These events were infrequent, which may have made them all the more mysterious and delightful to preschoolers playing by themselves.
Figure 3 - Physical Features of a Residential Piazza
(3) Paving stones - Set in sand, small children still found removal of these baseball-sized blocks a challenge. They are also regarded as surfaces worthy of decoration when one is endowed with a box of multi-colored chalk. Preschoolers did not show the patience this work demands; it was the school age girls who found it most rewarding. The boys might color briefly, but preferred the task of removal.

(4) Gates - They have obvious uses in swinging and games of war.

(5) Miscellaneous features - Any curious feature may become a focus for play. One preschooler could spend hours playing on a large stone square, while his friends were in school, picking at its edges, spinning around, and just sitting on it. He may have been exceptional, but some adults also treated it with special regard when walking through the piazza, taking care not to step on it.

Finally, there are activities, both individual and group, requiring external props rather than or in addition to architectural ones. Most of these are rather transitory, and except for the last one, wholly non-destructive. The following enumeration is merely an indication of activities too numerous to list:

(1) Sliding down ramped steps on cardboard.
(2) Spinning umbrellas.
(3) Playing with sticks and brooms.
(4) Playing with Christmas toys.
Chasing, kicking, and throwing things at dogs and cats.

The preschooler's world expands gradually. With increasing age, he may range further, play more actively, and perform more competently in the man-made environment. Through mechanisms as simple as shopping trips and visits to relatives, he comes to see more of the world beyond the proximate habitat. Much of that world also passes through the streets: postman, trash collector, delivery men, workmen, priests, and other more distant neighbors. Their role in increasing the preschooler's degree of connectedness cannot be ignored. It is probably also significant that he first encounters them on his own territory.

Going to school is a major change. Since the child goes to the school and not vice-versa, this activity entails a substantial reversal of environmental use patterns. He is suddenly exposed to a new set of experiences and people. For the first time, he is brought into long-term contact with a group of non-proximate peers. The child's relationship to his proximate friends and peer-group is a curious one, resolved only by the demise of the former with the passage of time.

A duality in social relations is apparent in the school child's daily routine. At first he may be taken to school by his mother, even though the school is nearby. This attempt to make the school an extension of the home may be considered successful if the child does not cry. His contacts with his peers in school and his neighbors at
home are, however, very different. Most mothers soon delegate the responsibility for taking a first-grader to school to an older child: a brother, sister, or neighbor. Each morning, brothers and sisters muster up outside in their clean school uniforms and go off to school, sometimes in the company of similarly attired individuals or contingents from neighboring houses. Classmates and their charges may join the group en route: a perfectly logical sequence of events for going to school.

What is surprising is that the same series of events transpires in reverse when school is over. Classmates with younger siblings in tow leave school together. Each of the contingents returns to its own house and proximate friends; classmates, in other words, do not become after-school playmates. Even though the groups, comprised of residentially proximate children, are small, they remain essentially independent of and isolated from adjacent groups, perhaps 100 to 200 feet away, despite the fact that some members of the groups may be classmates. Eventually, friendship comes to be equated with peers, but not fully until adolescence.

Children have more to do besides go to school and play, but not much more. Tending younger siblings may be one of their tasks, but given the patterns of play near home, poses no problem. Girls may begin to assume simple chores: emergency shopping, taking out the garbage, errands, and so on. Many tasks are apparently too difficult: washing, fetching water, shopping. Children are not entrusted with these activities until adolescence, and even then only in supplementary
roles, not as substitutes for their mothers. That children manage
to keep themselves occupied for so long with so little immaterial
diversions is something of a tribute both to them and to the environ-
mental supports they have available.

TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS

The social behaviors of children, relatively isolated spatially,
seem very different from the illusory extensiveness and all-inclusive-
ness attributed to street life interactions by foreign visitors.
During the teenage years, some of the variances in these two images
are resolved: environmental use does broaden. Many other discrep-
ancies persist. Sex-dependent patterns of environmental use emerge
for the first time. Girls and boys belong to separate groups which
engage in activities largely apart from those of the opposite sex.
Most important, however, is the resolution of the duality between
proximate friends and peer-group ones noted in the preceding section.
Though positive relations survive between the teenager and his neigh-
bors, peer-group relations become the dominant mode of friendship
during adolescence.

Though teenagers still attend school, in accordance with the law, at
least until age fourteen, there are enormous qualitative differences
distinguishing their after-school activities from those of younger
children. Uniforms are no longer required for school and home is no
longer an immediate after-school destination in order to change out
of them. Teenagers do not remain close to home, playing with and
taking care of younger siblings and neighboring children. Instead, they spend much of their time with classmates their own age and sex, whose homes are generally diffusely located throughout town. (See Figure 4.) No single house is the locus of teenage activity; nor do they divide their time among a few of them. Preferring not to be near anyone's house, and often operating far afield, "hanging out" becomes the dominant feature of teenage life.

In many ways, the teenager may be a person with some of the same needs and preferences as adults, but in the body of a child. Cultural and legal sanctions conspire against him. Even those who drop out of school after the equivalent of junior high, perhaps to farm, fish, or help repair cars, face the same barriers: legal minority, financial dependence, residency with parents, social segregation from older persons of both sexes. While adults are masters within their own homes, however small, teenagers are subjects within theirs. Ordered about like children, they are told what to do, when to come and go, often in a way that implies their inferior and subservient status. I do not mean to suggest that the atmosphere is one of bitter alienation; it is not. Most teenagers are respectful of and affectionate toward their parents. It is simply that, as in American teenage experience, the less one is home, the less one is subject to parental pressures and controls.

Some of the intimidation perceived by teenagers is very subtle and not all of it comes from parents. Neighbors and other townsfolk were also implicated by a friend's teenage son. He jokingly found great
Figure 4 - Teenage Social Interaction
merit in one of the unfortunate municipal "improvements" initiated during our stay: a road at the water's edge around the peninsula. While a few residents questioned the reasons for building a road and one or two believed that the mayor's family must have owned the barrow pit supplying the necessary fill, most others welcomed the construction. Their diverse reasons—diminished dampness, vehicular access, bright lights, more tourists—were very different from the single benefit it promised our teenage friend. For him, it would be means of getting to the public garden behind the church without being observed by curious townsfolk. What goes on in the garden could be no more than hand-holding, nonetheless, there is the possibility that those whose houses are deployed en route will turn their observations into gossip that may eventually reach one's own family. Without even monitoring the garden directly, the individuals living on the access paths to it tacitly exercise a degree of control over the use of the area. How much is beyond specification at this juncture, except to emphasize that it is perceived by the teenage habitués. They may still go to the garden, but not without guilt or fear which perhaps acts more to define the nature of activities that go on there than to suppress them.

Not all teenage energy is spent finding devious ways to get to the public garden. Many males are active in sports. Some play on the various municipal soccer teams and devote many hours per week to practice. Others participate in more individualized diversions like sailing. Marginal "sports" requiring the use of an automobile endemic
to our own society—joyriding, "chicken," street racing—are undoubtedly restricted only by the relative lack of automobiles. Vehicular transportation, when available from parents or older friends, is intensively utilized to get away from town. Teenagers are the most rabid partisans of festivals and events in neighboring towns. They are escapes from home as well as things to do. 9

More than anything else, however, the dominant teenage activity is in many ways the only alternative: "hanging out." Its manifestations depend upon the sex of the participant. Males have the institutionalized support of the bar. The Italian bar is structurally equivalent to an American tavern, luncheonette, and pizza parlor rolled into one. It serves coffee, liquor, and a few light foods, but in some ways, these functions are quite secondary to its role as quasi-private turf in the public domain. The bar provides tables and chairs both indoors and out for its clientele. Anyone wishing to utilize these facilities is a client; use is not predicated on the continuous consumption of food and beverage, or even, for the regulars, on consumption at all. 10

One senses that eating and drinking is a token of goodwill, on the part of clients, to compensate the proprietors for the service they provide, as much as a response to wants of hunger and thirst.

The bar, then, is a place to enjoy good fellowship, exchange information, and watch the world go by. Diverse notions about the shape, content, and hierarchy of these components is partially reflected in the existence of several bars, each with their own clientele. Most of the teenagers and some young adults can be found at one of the
bars in the Piazza del Commune. While some subsets of the older male population also frequent the same establishment, the groups keep largely to themselves and rarely intermingle.

For girls, there are no parallel institutionalized opportunities. Some of their time may be devoted to additional domestic tasks, caring for an infirm relative, or particular "feminine" interests: knitting, sewing, embroidery and so forth. They also can be found just walking around town in groups of two, three, and four, in search of something to do, following routes that opportunely pass in front of the bars where the boys are passing time.

The lack of private space for teenagers, or the dominance of the limited private space which exists by adults, helps make this stage of life a particularly public one. Their activities are not all necessarily public. Instead, public spaces, especially the ones which confer anonymity by the absence of known adult townsfolk--ballfields, public gardens, and other towns--are privatized for their use. The streets and the movies which are certainly public can be similarly transformed by the cover of darkness and the legitimizing effects of mass rather than individual use.

Work rather than school is the life cycle pursuit that separates young adults from teenagers. Though physically and psychologically more mature than teenagers, the routines of environmental use are qualitatively identical in substance. Peer-group contacts are merely carried to their ultimate conclusion. (See Figure 5.) The income
Figure 5 - Young Adult Social Interaction
from employment may be very small. In Anguillara an apprentice electrician, for example, earned about $2.50 per day in 1966, less than half the wages paid his mentor. However small, the availability of private income provides some measure of independence. A young man is at least able to treat his friends occasionally at the bar and perhaps look forward to the ownership of a motorcycle or small car in a few years if he is frugal enough.

Young adults live at home until they are married, or as long as they can tolerate it. Obviously, parents cannot expect to apply the same pressures to a son of twenty that they might have used when he was fourteen. Even so, young adults still lack private residential space, which severely curtails the range of possible activities. Some, of course, cannot tolerate it very long and leave to seek their fortunes in the larger Italian cities or abroad in Western Europe. In most cases, these decisions, despite promises to return, are irrevocable; the financial rewards and perhaps the relative personal freedom of the cities are too good to sacrifice.

Girls have much less latitude. Leaving home for reasons other than marriage is uncommon. Their employment as clerks, salesgirls, hairdressers, and seamstresses bring them in contact with the women in town who are older and have families. Potentially, these contacts are subtle preparations for their eventual roles as wives and mothers from a broader vantage point than their own domestic experience. Unlike their male counterparts, whose social relations in town, drawn from school and work, are all broadly dispersed, those of the females
exhibit a component of proximate residential contacts as well. The performance of domestic chores may lead to interactions with other neighboring women involved in the same sorts of activities. In a sense, they are workers on the same job. In this light, one should not be surprised by the sight of a cluster of women whose ages span half a century talking or working together on the street. Conditioned by common experience, they share a common social role.

ADULTS

One can perhaps be a young adult indefinitely, though no such individuals were known to us. The older spinsters of our acquaintance did not, however, remain single for selfish reasons; all of them missed the opportunity for marriage by their devotion to an ailing parent. It is marriage that separates the men from the boys and also, to a surprising extent, the men from the women. Conjugal roles are highly differentiated, implying that the sexes receive separate, if not equal treatment here.

Once the novelty of courting and marriage have waned, male environmental use patterns continue much as those described for teenagers and young adults. Twelve hours each day, five and one-half, six, and for some, seven days per week are spent away from home in working, commuting, and relaxing over the long afternoon break. (The activity in Appendix II shows the minimal adult male presence in the residential area.) The benefits of the break are unclear and non-uniform. Local tradesmen can nap or read the paper. Some of those working in neigh-
boring towns may return to Anguillara, but their number is not proportional to the migrations which add two more rush-hour peaks to Roman commuting each day. For whatever unspecifiable reasons, the siesta must have something to recommend it; other than not being home and in the company of one's friends instead, I do not know what those reasons are.

It is apparent that the little time men spend at home is not just a consequence of the conditions of employment. Even in the evening, when work is over, they choose not to be there, but in the male hangouts. Supper at home every day of the week is immediately followed by the passeggiata, a stroll around town, which ends inevitably at the bar or cinema. There are many variations on the procedure, without which the undertaking might tend to get a little dull. The number and richness of the improvisations depends on the taste and skill of the participant. With two diversions alone, passeggiata and bar visit, several scenarios can be developed:

(1) Take a circuitous route to the bar and spend the rest of the evening there.

(2) Go directly to the bar to find a friend to stroll with.

(3) Go to the bar, have an espresso, talk for a while and stroll around before returning home.

(4) Chance upon a friend and walk around together, maybe meet a few acquaintances, and then go to the bar.
The consistency with which the general behavioral tendency to be away from home is maintained exceeded my expectations. Bar attendance is no more influenced by weather, natural disasters, and catastrophies, than the completion of hypothetical postal rounds. Signora U's elderly father became very ill one day when his leg swelled up and he was unable to walk. He was taken to the hospital at Bracciano where the doctors diagnosed the leg to be gangrenous and after some deliberation decided to amputate it the next day. Signora U was able to rationalize the operation: her father was old, illness is to be expected, and it is better to have an amputated father than a dead one. As always, Signor U's supper was ready for him upon his return home at six o'clock, though less elaborate than usual. Over dinner, they discussed the fate of the old man to whom everyone, family and friends, was quite attached. Signora U's rationalizations were reinforced by her husband, who immediately thereafter, set off for the bar, leaving his distraught wife to console herself in a time of considerable emotional strain.

When other possibilities are included, the number of permutations of after-dinner diversions becomes very large. Local soccer games provide occasional variety. The young and adventuresome may drive to other towns for less inhibited action, even though the residents of neighboring towns are held in disdain. Surprisingly, sensuous delights may be obtained in Italian towns, but in a devious way. Even when prostitution was legal in Italy—until 1952—the onus that presumably would attach to both user and supplier, especially in a small
town had to be minimized. The mechanism is simple: one procures services, not in one's own town, but in a neighboring one.

Probably, such pleasures are more likely to be obtained vicariously at the movies than on the hoof in the nearby towns. Anguillara's theater is an inconspicuous building devoid of the usual cinemistic paraphernalia: flashing neon lights, marquee, billboards, and lobbies of genteel luxury. A few months went by before we discovered it, just off the major intersection at the edge of the San Francesco section. Everyone else seemed to have known about it for some time.

For the equivalent of twenty five cents, films are entertainment anyone can afford. Why one would want to afford either of the two nightly showings of B-grade cowboy, horror, science-fiction, and mystery movies is another question. We became regular patrons for two reasons: they helped improve our comprehension of poorly spoken Italian and there was little else to do. The other viewers were nearly all male, except on the weekends when couples come to see the better attractions. While there is nothing wrong with taking one's spouse to the movies once in a while, as a routine, it gave our mailman pause. He had seen us there one night as on many other occasions. But the previous evening's film featured bare-breasted natives, inflating somewhat the usual weekday attendance. Over an aperitivo, he asked why I always took my wife to the movies. Other than the fact that she liked them and could afford the price of admission herself, I had no other substantive reasons. I asked why he never took his. The reply concerned the place of the woman in the home, not philosoph-
ically, but in terms of chores and the care of small children. It left no doubt that movies are a diversion for men and their friends who leave all domestic responsibilities to their wives who welcome the tasks as their lot.

Male usage of bars, theaters, ballfields and parking lots confers dominance over those places and the spaces leading to them. Though the bar activity in the Piazza del Commune is not as intensive during weekdays as it is on weekends and evenings, there is no mistaking the male control of the piazza itself. Women may pass through the piazza or patronize shops there, but they do not often linger to talk. Women in the piazza are on display. Italian women may be inured to socially sanctioned staring, or enjoy it; our American female friends were uniformly disturbed by it.\textsuperscript{12} Foreigners are likely to be troubled by staring on a one-to-one basis, especially since staring back has no effect. They are totally defenseless in a populated arena like the Piazza del Commune on any evening.

The same mechanism which accounts for male dominance of some places, by default concedes dominion over the rest to women. These can be categorized under the rubric of residential settings: houses, stores, common domestic facilities and the streets they are located upon. Empirically, the mailman's thesis is justified; the woman's place is in the home, or in and around it.

Houses consist of a few small rooms, generally the rudiments of a bathroom, kitchen appliances, and furnishings, including a television.\textsuperscript{13}
Perhaps to avoid distracting housewives, the single national broadcast network does not begin transmissions until five o'clock in the afternoon when, coincidently, the men begin to arrive at home. In a way, there is little else one can do besides tend house and mind children. Women do not consider themselves to be enslaved by their domestic duties. They do them with enthusiasm and pride, not resignation.

Their day begins very early, between six and seven o'clock. Husbands and children must be fed and dispatched and the garbage set out for the trash collector who begins his rounds at seven. Younger children must be dressed, fed and sent off to school by eight-thirty. By that time, most of the stores are open and activity that will go on unabated until evening, except for the afternoon interregnum, is underway everywhere.

There are four necessary homemaking enterprises that Italian women perform on a daily basis: food preparation, housecleaning, washing, and shopping. They last through most of the day, the result of thoroughness rather than inefficiency, conditioned in part by the lack of other obligatory tasks. Usually there are other secondary things to do as well: ironing, mending, sewing, picking fresh vegetables, feeding chickens, gathering eggs, paying bills, visiting, going to church, and so forth. (Appendix II lists chronologically the tasks performed outdoors by one woman on one day.) Though there are variable orders for these chores, most women have completed them by late afternoon when their husbands come home. Except for the
Figure 6 - Plan of Two-Room Dwelling
dinner dishes and a final sweeping, they can then relax in the evening and watch television, thumb through women's magazines, or gossip with friends.

Food Preparation - If Italian women do not enjoy cooking, their displeasure is not often apparent in the eating. Cooking goes on all day. Part of it is attributable to the nature of Italian cuisine, its emphasis on slow-cooked sauces and stewed meats. The other part is contingent on the staggered mealtimes most women put up with. Regardless of the hour they return home from work or school, everyone wants food upon their arrival and they get it, often cooked to order. Cooking and nearly all of food preparation are very private activities in that they are performed entirely in the dwelling unit. Despite a lack of work space, appliances, and sophisticated ingredients, cooking can be carried to elaborate and bizarre multi-course extremes, especially on weekends. Cleaning up on such occasions can be a formidable task, aggravated again by the lack of utilities and amenities. Possibly, those inadequacies combined with the multiple uses of the kitchen-dining area work to keep the clean-up tasks manageable. The inability to conceal the consequences of food preparation, from one's self and from others, mitigates against deferral of these responsibilities which might make them even harder to accomplish.

Housecleaning - Though probably no one finds housecleaning challenging or esoteric, it is usually done with considerable care in most households. Ramshackle-looking buildings sometimes belie immaculate interiors. In all fairness, tiling roofs, repointing masonry, replacing
windows and other exterior work may not be fairly categorized as feminine duties in Italy. Subdivision of some houses has produced windowless rooms on occasion, making daily domestic airing a necessity. Restricted ventilation and moisture make it just as desirable in the remainder. Houses are swept and mopped at least once daily, while high-traffic and multiple use areas may be similarly treated several times. With space at a premium, domestic order is overriding. Still, families find places for treasured gifts and show pieces of minimal functional value: sets of crystal, plastic flowers, miniature statues, tourist trinkets from distant lands. Cleaning also extends outdoors to porches, stoops, stairs, and to thereby privatized parts of the public way. Municipal street sweeping is also provided daily. Tacit agreement seems to exist on those areas which are public and those private, on the basis of configuration, domestic uses occurring, and cleaning responsibilities assumed by the resident. Housecleaning, and the other tasks listed here, may be performed for a widowed father or an invalid parent as well.

Washing - Because an individual's clothing stock is relatively small, clothing is washed daily. The number of domestic washing machines is rising, but many women still wash clothes by hand in cold water at home, in a private outdoor washstand, at the public laundry, or in the lake. The persistance of the last alternative is difficult to explain, especially when complicated by filling operations, and despite common knowledge of local pollution in the lake from human waste. Except for a single commercial laundry facility which primarily
serves the hotels and restaurants, no mechanical drying equipment is available. Wash is hung out to dry, in some cases on simple metal clothes lines secured to the dwelling, but, usually on bamboo poles spanning the street or cantilevered from a window or other recess. The consequent display of sheets and undergarments in the public domain somehow avoids being a sources of amusement, curiosity, and civic concern.

Shopping - Aside from a few items produced from raw materials or grown by families for their own consumption, all the goods and services required must be purchased. Since telephone service in Anguillara is limited to a few bars, offices, and large stores, shopping is done on foot and culminates in face-to-face contact. Other family members, a mother, sister, or child, may accompany the shopper on part of her rounds. A considerable amount of time each day is devoted to it. Except for a few staples—wine, onions, pasta, garlic, cured meats, dried foods, and so on—housewives tend to buy no more food than can be consumed in twenty-four hours, often having to make multiple daily shopping trips to restock goods as shortages develop. This behavior is not irrational. First, budgets are limited. Second, prices are stable; there are no "weekly specials" to stock up on. Third, quality and freshness of foodstuffs are considered too important to be sacrificed for convenience. Meat, for example, is purchased daily even by those families with refrigerator-freezers. Because shops are close-at-hand, shopping trips are not inconvenient and may be dispersed throughout the days. (See Figure 7.) Produce might be
Figure 7 - Commercial Uses
bought in the morning when selection is best, while the purchase of fish is deferred until just before dinner to insure freshness. Only the lack of particular kinds of goods when desired poses a problem. The variety of goods available in all the shops in Anguillara is a mere fraction of those sold in a single Roman supermarket. Some products—mushrooms, for example—are sold intermittently. One either does without, takes spontaneous advantage of their periodic arrival, employs methods of preservation or learns recurrent patterns of appearance. A trivial example of the last option arose in the second town we lived in. It had no fish store and we thought of fish for several weeks before discovering that fish could be purchased only on Friday mornings in the main piazza from a mobile vendor.

* * *

Except for food preparation, which occurs totally within the dwelling unit, social interactions may be associated with all of the women's daily activities. The nature and meaning of these encounters are more complex than allusions to the presence of known townsfolk in the public way would indicate. Let us take shopping as a case in point. There are at least two transactional levels inherent in it: the exchange of money for goods and the possibility of social contact en route. The proximity of several shops of the same type offered an opportunity to assess the extent and importance of the social components of shopping relative to the more tangible factors of price, quality, and convenience. The shopping patterns and preferences of ten families were surveyed to establish criteria residents
used--quality, variety, price, proximity, merchant friendship, merchant kinship, friendships en route--to select purveyors of meat, produce, and groceries. (See Figures 8, 9 and 10 for typical shopping patterns.) No single consistent overall set of criteria emerged; different selection factors applied to the three types of marketing, but in a rather "soft" way:

**Meat** - Six of the ten women utilized the butcher that was nearest their home or the other stores where they shopped and gave proximity as their motivation. Two claimed to be "well-served," a term that suggests quality and variety at the right price. One found her butcher *simpatico,* and another likened hers to a "member of the family," but hastened to add that they all had the same prices. (Local butchers were not held in the greatest esteem; a few of our friends shopped in Bracciano whenever they could, because they felt that meat there was cheaper and better.) The emphasis on proximity as the key factor in the patronage of a butcher is a consequence of the lack of meaningful differences in other factors. One woman's reasoning summarized the whole issue: "All the prices are the same. M is adequate and on the way."

**Produce** - In contrast seven of the respondents cited price as the primary factor in the purchase of produce or bought it from the less expensive, mobile vendors who set up their shops each morning in the Piazza del Lavatoio near the lake. A few women also noted that the quality, variety, and service of the mobile
Figure 8 - Shopping Patterns: Typical
Note - All proprietors of shops used except bar listed as kin.

Figure 9 - Shopping Patterns: Kin-Dependent
Note - Dispersion partly a result of distance from shopping.

Figure 10 - Shopping Patterns: Dispersed
vendors were superior. The more popular of the two, known as the "Braccianese,"--the "man from "Bracciano"--so opposed to his competitor, generally referred to as l'altro--"the other," in fact from Anguillara--specialized in an engaging pitch, and a little body contact. According to one housewife, he allowed her to sample the produce, thereby also garnering her eternal goodwill. The mobile vendors redeployed each afternoon to another piazza on the opposite side of the medieval zone. Failing this, their store-bound competition would not seem to have secured any business save that from the couple of women who patronized them through kinship or close friendship.

**Groceries** - While the same processed goods are sold in each store, no one suggested that these prices were the same. With some redundancy, respondents credited their selection to factors of price, proximity, and kinship. These last patrons are relatively secure from the competition; they may in fact obtain favorable prices because of their kinship. For the rest, proximity and price received about equal credit as criteria. Those who were most concerned with price shopped in the supermarket outside the medieval section. Of those who frequented the proximate stores, a few reported going out of their way to patronize the supermarket for larger purchases. One woman was faithful to one of the smaller shops for everything; they had extended credit to her for more than a year at one time.

Two reasonably firm conclusions can be drawn from this material. The
first is that friendship between storekeeper and shopper is not a significant influence on shopping behavior. The reason is simple: friendship does not develop in this context. Continued patronage may establish bonds of acquaintance between the transacting parties, but not a relationship of mutual obligations with the dimensions of friendship. The proprietor is necessarily leery of entangling relationships with his customers which could compromise his prices and thereby his livelihood. Moreover, the customer does not seek or expect to find friendship in stores. It can be an obligation which limits her freedom of action. She expects quality products, prompt and courteous service at no more, and preferably less, than the prevailing market prices. The buying-selling relationship is not an equal one. The participants, their opposite sexes aside, each have private interests to protect.

The second conclusion concerns the patterns of shopping. We cannot predict which stores a given woman will patronize, but we can roughly circumscribe the area of choice on the basis of residential location. No intangibles lead her to walk across town or climb amazing heights to trade in shops otherwise perceived to be equivalent in measurable terms--price, for example--to those closer by. We see that price, location and kinship are the important variables in the context, but we cannot, from the information available, even begin to establish indifference curves for the shopper in these terms.

The observed tendency to shop near home has other demonstrable ramifications. It partially delimits a fragment of the town within which
a given individual routinely operates. An ordered composite of all the individual shopping patterns would produce a collection of nodal areas—small physical domains of common use where the probability of frequent casual contact among pairs of women is relatively high.\textsuperscript{14} (See Figure 11.) These areas, it should be emphasized, are smaller than the major neighborhoods outlined in the description of Anguillara in Chapter II. Within them are still smaller component "nodes" defined by the environmental use associated with daily activities. (The extent of some of these is summarized in Appendix II.)

Washing, cleaning, and some of the free-time activities like sewing often take place in the public domain, though not always by choice. Except for laundering at the public wash, all of these activities occur in close proximity to the individual dwelling unit. When, for example, a few women informally gather to knit outside, they do so right in front of their houses, not in some externally defined "place of knitting." Best spaces for particular uses are not sought; the spaces used are always those immediately at hand. Why they confine themselves to this area can only be suggested: private connotations attach to the public spaces in front of individual units; the use of another's space is almost a territorial invasion; facilities and equipment are available only at home; other tasks may have to be done at home from time to time.

The functional imperatives of these activities in space give overall shape to social relations in Anguillara. They determine which women will come together in the course of daily tasks at several levels:
Figure 11 - Diagrammatic Subsets of Environmental Use
in immediate proximity to the home, around public utilities and services, in the course of shopping. The impact, however, diminishes as the scale of common use increases. Though more potential contacts exist at the larger scales, the probability of chance meetings between any two given individuals is decreased. Within the most immediate domains—the residential nodes—use, and therefore contact, is dependent upon the location of doors, not windows. Several families overlooked our piazza, but used it only as pedestrians; their doors and, consequently, their neighbors were on another street. Issues of pedestrian traffic and common space uses "determine" the parameters of social contact, but not friendship. The manifestations of common use cannot be predicted from residential geometrics alone. One woman who lived near our own piazza with its water point never drew water there, though her daughter did. She always went to another fountain further away, where presumably the social scene was more agreeable. In common uses lie the seeds of hostility as well as interaction. Two factions existed within the piazza whose conflicts often came into focus over appropriation of the water supply for laundering. In other areas, social cleavages formed around divided kin who happened to live side-by-side.

The image of social contacts as "nodes" in space is viable but incomplete. It will be further developed in Chapter IV.
ELDERLY

The elderly, as a subgroup of the adult population, do not differ in substance from their younger relatives. Their patterns of environmental use essentially correspond by sex to those described previously for adults, with a few qualifications. For men, retirement affords even more time to spend in bars with friends, but not in geriatric isolation. Just as some adult cliques share bar territory with teenagers, other ones share it with older folks. Age, of course, is not the only dimension of peer-group compatibility and the dividing line between the elderly and adult populations is also very hazy. Consequently, older townsfolk can participate in other peer-groups on bases other than age. There is no reason that a retired merchant or construction worker would be excluded from a younger group of his former associates.

For women, household tasks may diminish with the marriage of children or the retirement of a spouse, but they do not cease. A slower work routine may neutralize the reduced household burden, but casual observations suggest that, like their husbands, the women simply spend more time with their friends and families. For both sexes, some environmental features--steep stairs, long distances--can be physical barriers. In some cases, undoubtedly, the difficulty of negotiating obstacles could curtail or restrict elderly activity. Conceivably, a man with a heart condition would not be wise or permitted to climb a few hundred steps from his house near the lake to his favorite bar in the piazza. But there are alternatives: other bars and other, less
demanding routes. Except for the infirm, the elderly do not appear limited by environmental features; they simply devote more time to overcoming them. The time that a younger man might spend strolling around town en route to the bar, an older one will spend going directly, but he goes just the same.

Inevitably, for some there comes a time when daily needs cannot be satisfied without assistance. While widows can often manage after the death of a spouse, widowers, even when physically competent, are totally unprepared culturally for running their own households. They do not suddenly discover how. Instead, a daughter or daughter-in-law usually looks after their domestic needs in one of two ways. The old man may have his own small house or room maintained for him while he perhaps shares meals with his children. Alternatively, where space is available, he may take up residence in a child's household. For widowers, it is the married daughter that assumes the burden; living alone with an unmarried daughter would be improper. Widows, when bed-ridden or physically dependent, present a different problem. The burden falls instead on an unmarried daughter, who not infrequently devotes herself entirely to her ailing mother until she passes the point of marriageability herself. The price of caring for the elderly is often high for the women who pay it, but the rewards for the elderly are immeasurably greater than the anonymity and isolation of institutionalization.

* * *
Little has been said thus far about the counterpart to public interaction: privacy. Houses are perhaps necessarily as guardedly private as the streets are openly public. The Italian medieval house is no more used to entertain the public-at-large than the American bedroom. Its privacy is near absolute. Casual encounters with most friends and acquaintances are confined to the bar, the street, and the interfaces between the house and the street—the doors and windows. An invitation into one's house is no superficial gesture. Still, it is only the first barrier. We visited the Q's house as friends for more than three or four months before we were shown all of it and there were only three rooms. The process was a little faster with the U's, but only because the second of their two rooms was visible from the first.

*Amico della casa* is the Italian term for "intimate friend." Literally translated, it means "friend of the house." It connotes more than close friendship, something almost akin to immediate family membership. One can come and go almost at will, share meals, ask favors, all without incurring direct obligations. Nothing is hidden between the participants. This level of intimate friendship obtains between the designee and all the family members of the household, and automatically, friendship of a lesser degree is extended to the designee by the household's kin and other close friends. One would not want and could not tolerate very many relationships of this sort. Intimate friendships are, therefore, few and far between. Most of the friendly contacts one witnesses on the street do not imply more intimate com-
tacts at home with the same people. Street contact is a substitute for casual contacts at home. It is a mechanism which secures, not compromises domestic privacy. (Appendix II tabulates visits received by piazza residents.)

The great features of medieval towns is not the uniformity of interpersonal relations; contrary to expectations, everyone is not a friend. Rather, it is the diversity, breadth, and depth of relationships that are remarkable. One has many residential acquaintances, some neighbors, a few close friends and an intimate or two. The street is more intimate, and perhaps as a consequence, the house is more private. When so much of life is necessarily public, the need for privacy becomes more critical.

Privacy may, however, be more illusion than substance. One may think he has concealed that which in fact everyone else knows. As long as the concerned individual is protected by his friends from finding out that others know, he may derive psychological comfort from the belief. Next door to us lived an elderly couple, not natives of Anguillara, whose married son was reported drowned in the lake several years earlier. He went for a swim one morning and never came back, leaving a wife and young child, now a teenager. The family has never recovered from the tragedy and the lake is a continual reminder of their son's untimely death. But most townsfolk, while sympathetic toward the old couple, feel that their beloved son duped them. Because his body was never recovered, they doubt that a drowning occurred. They speculate that the man found his wife or parents
oppressive and simply started life under a new guise somewhere else. Fortunately, no one tells the old couple what they think, if in fact they do not think it themselves. The charade of commiseration is never let down by townsfolk when the couple is around.

Some survey respondents also engaged in this sort of duplicity. They sought to conceal aspects of their personal relationships that were common knowledge, especially to those, like ourselves, who lived near them. The questions I asked about their friends, directed toward establishing friendship networks, they tactfully tried to evade. "No friends, no enemies," one replied. The reality was quite different we knew when we started. The same woman who insisted she was "friends with everybody" had not spoken a word to the woman next door for decades. Even some of the people we knew fairly well were a bit evasive at times until their bluffs were called regarding particular individuals.

Individual privacy and public interaction are not separable phenomena. They cannot be, at least here, simultaneously maximized. Perhaps mutually exclusive, an increase in one appears to jeopardize the other. This characteristic, the sacrifice of privacy on the altar of interaction, goes deeper than mere public knowledge of those private affairs executed in the public domain. It also works to constrain private behavior. Whether that is good or bad depends on how one looks at it.

Take the question of street control. Where the behaviors to be constrained involve rapes, thefts, muggings, and murders, any diminution
effected, as in Jane Jacobs' *Greenwich Village*, by people being on
and watching the street is desirable. There is no crime in Anguil-
lara's medieval streets for essentially the same reasons: houses
are arranged densely enough to continuously occupy or monitor the
small streets; strangers are recognized as not being townsfolk and
closely observed; and everybody knows, or can easily find out what
everyone else is doing or has done.

Unfortunately, the same mechanisms can work to constrain behaviors
that are not criminal. Street control implicitly results in the
promotion of a public morality. While abstractly, this may be a
virtue, some difficulties lie in the operational meanings and char-
acteristics which that morality acquires. Earlier, in Chapter II,
I described a teenager's inhibitions about being seen on his trips
to the public garden. He went there nonetheless, but surreptitiously
and with some fear of the consequences. The constraint, in such
cases, fails in its primary, although illegitimate, objective--pre-
venting socially unwanted behaviors--and succeeds only in diminishing
the scope of individual freedom and generating feelings of guilt in
the non-conforming.

As the supposed violations grow more trivial, the dimensions of pub-
lic alarm become almost comical, but at the same time, a little fright-
ening. Great distress was apparent in the public responses elicited
by attire my wife wore down to the lakeside one day for boating. Her
shorts and tee-shirt were abbreviated, far less than the bathingsuits
on view at the nearby beaches, but none of which are to be worn in
town. The glaring and utter silence that greeted her affront were hostile, not stares of curiosity or pleasure. While some individual behaviors may yield to expressions of public morality, others do not, or re-emerge transfigured or relocated. Where the enforcement of implied public morality is effective, it risks being inordinately repressive toward objectively harmless behaviors. Where it fails, latent conflicts may be exposed: between individual and public values, between cultural change and tradition.

The notion that disadvantages as well as advantages are inherent in medieval environments is a plausible and expected conclusion, but one that has been observed by our architectonic sentiments. More about environmental rewards, punishments, and their respective recipients will follow in succeeding chapters. For now, it is sufficient to recognize that the town is different things to different people as individuals, and to a significant degree, as participants in the various life cycle stages. Men operate largely outside the residential environment in both work and leisure. The spatial limitations of the dwelling unit may influence their environmental use patterns in a general way, separable from the issues of urban organization and social structure upon which their behavior is predicated in detail. As the principal users of the residential environment, the next chapter is devoted to women. Thus far, the data suggest that for them the town consists of operational fragments, to some extent reflected by topography, defined by repetitive patterns of environmental use. Shopping is the broadest level of fragmentation
within which more localized "areas" and "nodes" occur. The areas are non-discrete, overlapping zones of common use associated with various services and facilities: a public laundry, a waterpoint, a specialty shop. The nodes are more intensive regions of neighboring and domains of outdoor activity. What is missing is an explanation of how the residents of these apparently internalized fragments and introverted nodes come to share a body of common knowledge about the rest of the town. That issue will be pursued in Chapter III.
CHAPTER III

THE SETTING AS KNOWN
It is not difficult to get some sense of the mechanisms by which
townsmen come to know the private affairs of neighbors and kin.
How they manage to acquire equivalent data on non-proximate residents
is not so simple to explain. The breadth and depth of interpersonal
knowledge is surprising, though at times, it is wrong. For the dura-
tion of our stay, I was thought by some Anguillarini to be an artist,
perhaps because I was never seen engaged in gainful employment, but
despite the personal background material that our friends possessed.
If gossip were the only means of conveying information in this system,
it would appear to be an unreliable source. Most of the information,
however, is reliable, and gossip should not be regarded as the sole
means of transmission. Before turning to the other mechanisms, some
account of the nature and extent of interpersonal knowledge is war-
ranted.

No rumors were planted, nor were any confidences violated to assess
this issue. I gathered all my evidence indirectly. We could obtain
relevant information on any individual's income, friends, politics,
intelligence, family background, weaknesses, personal tragedies just
by asking any one of our friends. There is no way of substantiating
this assertion or the accuracy of the reports we received. But there
is a sort of corollary to the interpersonal knowledge of non-prox-
imate persons that can be scrutinized. That is the knowledge of envir-
onmental features in detail, public and private, throughout the town.
I began to appreciate its extent fortuitously when searching for locations from which to film our piazza. Only a few windows looking out on the piazza offered suitable views. One of them was in an apartment adjacent to ours, and though we knew the family, no arrangements could be worked out. The remaining windows belonged to units one or two floors above our own. Since they were entered from another street, we had only a foggy image of the several occupants and no idea of which apartment had the windows in question. To avoid wandering around stupidly asking who had a good view of the piazza, I decided to ask our friend, Signora U, who the occupants might be. Together we went to the town dock where we could see half of the medieval zone. Though our house had a few unique exterior features, Signora U needed a little help in finding it. Once she did, to my surprise, she then proceeded to identify in turn the families associated with each of the surrounding windows as easily as if they had been her own neighbors. That they were not was cause for wonder at her ability. I had had no expectations of obtaining specific occupant designations from Signora U, who after all lived in another part of the medieval zone; I was just hoping that she would narrow the search.

How this amazing feat was managed was something of a puzzle. Though one of the windows in question belonged to Signora U's cousin, whose aid in the filming endeavor she offered to help obtain, the two women, as far as we could tell, were not in regular contact. We were by then very friendly with the U's and spent a lot of time with them. The cousin had not called on the U's, nor had they spoken of her
previously to us during the time of our acquaintance. Furthermore, none of the U's, to our knowledge, had close friends in the vicinity of our house.

Other evidence underscores the lack of contact between Signora U and this other locale and its residents. A few months before, we had taken a passeggiata with Signora U and her two teenage sons. We were walking along the street above ours where the entries of a few of the units later to be in question were located. Through an open door, we all noticed a little shaft of light. In Italianate fashion, we took the liberty of more penetrating investigation and went inside to discover a semi-private courtyard. One of the residents, hearing the expressions of our collective delight, came out. To Signora U's surprise, it was her cousin, the one whose window later turned out to be in demand. An invitation to come inside was accepted. The subsequent events and discussion, which included a brief tour of the kitchen and livingroom, confirmed the conclusions that the U's had not been inside this particular unit before nor spoken recently with their relatives.

We left after a short while and were returning to the U's house by way of the small piazza I wanted to film, when a more startling event occurred. Someone called out Signora U's name, as if to inquire whether it were really she. The voice belonged to an old woman, a neighbor of ours from a few houses away, who was sitting on her stoop. Signora U and the woman embraced as though they were old friends. In a way, they were. Signora U later explained that the woman had been
her mother's best friend and often cared for her as a child follow-
ing her mother's early death. Despite the few hundred feet between
their respective houses, they had not seen each other in almost a
decade, as their conversation about Signora U's two sons revealed.

These two anecdotes corroborate the existence of residential nodes
and their relative isolation as proposed in Chapter II. We were to
find further confirmation of this schema and indications that despite
it, Signora U's level of social and environmental knowledge was not
at all unique. The survey questionnaire solicited respondents' atti-
tudes on the environmental qualities of various parts of town. Two
subjects living near the lake, voluntarily reported not having been
to the entire opposite side of the medieval zone for two or three
years. Still, they were able to describe precisely, sometimes with
reference to a large town map, where certain friends and relatives
lived. Usually a brief dialogue with my young assistant vaguely re-
sembling the following, was necessary to pin-point locations:

  Interviewer: Do you have any relatives in town?
  Subject: Yes, my uncle lives near the fort, by Z's grocery.
  Assistant: You mean Y, who lives over here? (Points to map.)
  Subject: No, no, on the other side, on the second floor, over X.
  Assistant: Oh, yes, next to W.

Sometimes respondents elaborated on the survey questions by volunteer-
ing information about internal configurations of the units of friends
and relatives elsewhere in town. However vast their store of environ-
mental material, it could only be elicited verbally. Casual experiments with photographs were singularly disappointing. Slides of famous Italian landmarks were often mis-identified by viewers and attributed to some nearby place within their range of direct experience. Pictures of Anguillara were generally identified, but quiz-zically and without self-assurance. Despite the level of knowledge, the environment is so rich and complex that new discoveries and details always remain to be filled in. The town is never completely revealed to anyone, though the scale of discovery diminishes over time. We were residents for weeks before we chanced upon the huge country market that came to town each Monday morning. We just never happened to be in the right place at the right time before that. Sometime later we "discovered" the movie theater. After nearly a year, we came across the small woodworking shop on the far side of the medieval zone that we had known for months one of our neighbors operated. Each revelation is exciting and renews one's interest in an environment previously regarded as fully comprehended. That, I suspect, was the sort of feeling induced in the U's when we found the hidden courtyard and when we showed them the cave beneath our house.  

If we can accept the claim that residents have highly articulated knowledge of the physical and social characteristics of locales beyond their own, then the next task is to establish how they acquired it. There are a number of complementary mechanisms. I have tried to show, however, that regular visiting between non-proximate zones
is not the principal one. Gossip, too, plays a part, but one that I believe is secondary. People's images are too complete and vivid to be informed only by hearsay. In this respect, their knowledge of the town stands in sharp contrast to that of the surrounding countryside; they have scant knowledge of the latter because their contact with it is minimal. Whatever mechanisms serve to inform them about the town must, therefore, rely primarily on more immediate and direct experiences.

The first of these is a consequence of the life-cycle stages discussed earlier. All adults were once teenagers and teenagers exhibit the most extensive patterns of environmental use. Whether the same patterns predominated at the turn of the century in Anguillara can only be speculated upon. If families were as cramped for household space then as they are now, then the same tendencies for teenagers to find places to use outside the home might have existed. The sizes of dwelling units at points in the evolution of medieval towns may eventually be addressed by a historical study. In its absence, it can logically be argued that dwelling unit sizes in Anguillara have not substantially changed.

It is sometimes suggested that dwelling units have reached their current small size by a process of subdivision parallel to that affecting cultivated land: inheritance entails the subdivision of the property into a number of sections equal to the number of eligible survivors. Even in the case of land, this process does not naturally go on without limit to the point where the new parcels, however
equally divided, have no economic utility. The inapplicability of this proposition to medieval housing can be demonstrated in two ways. First, the houses would have had to have been gargantuan at the outset to have endured many such subdivisions. In some towns, buildings are much larger, as in San Gimignano, a town of nobles. In Anguillara, most houses are defined by solid masonry walls and unitary roofs, suggesting that despite some apparent subdividing, units were not significantly larger in the past. In fact, a detailed examination of the town shows that alternate means of absorbing growth were available and continue to be employed: remodelling of abandoned buildings; conversion of outmoded uses (stables); utilization of previously undeveloped sites; land fill, both on individual and municipal scales. Only recently have the dwelling units produced by these practices begun to acquire more ample dimensions. 3

The second argument deals with the cultural dynamics of environmental needs and uses. It is almost inconceivable for the members of a coherent society to awaken one morning and decide to partition their domestic quarters. If anything, the space needs of families in Anguillara have increased over time as the economy shifted from agriculture to commerce and industry, with an accompanying increase in leisure and time spent at home. While houses may appear to be too small to satisfy family requirements now, presumably at the time of construction their size was adequate. To imagine that they were intentionally built too small, or became too small through subdivision, for their intended purposes is an absurdity. We are left with the
proposition that small houses were appropriate for the society that developed them; any society which required larger ones would have built them, even if technological barriers—land costs, material scarcities, structural considerations, etcetera—had to be overcome. Small houses are eminently reasonable for agrarian societies. They are easy to build, maintain, and heat. A larger than minimum dwelling is a liability in these terms and no advantage to a family that might have spent the entire working day in the fields. In conclusion, the contemporary "medieval" environment, while more extensive, does not appear to have been subjected to radical architectural change over the 500 years of its existence. To the extent that a particular behavior is a consequence of specific, unchanged environmental conditions, it also may then be assumed substantially unchanged.

This has been a relatively long speculative diversion about a minor point, built on weak inference. But, it raises other issues about the internal consistency between environment and generating culture which surface again in the concluding chapter. Even if the present environmental use patterns of teenagers cannot be substantiated as part of a long tradition, we must remember that the society is, or was, a relatively closed one. Except for births, deaths and some migration, the population was constant. It is conceivable that over a portion of a lifetime in such a setting, individuals, by infrequent use of other locales, could have acquired the same comprehensive knowledge of the whole we now associate more specifically with the teenage years. The remaining mechanisms demonstrate that such
infrequent links to other locales exist and are also significant enough to account for much of the phenomenon of environmental knowledge in themselves.

Earlier in Chapter II, I characterized the residential clusters of neighboring women as highly introverted and independent functionally and socially. They are not, of course, completely isolated from the rest of the town. The smallest residential nodes are subsets of larger domains of use shared in common with other similar groups of women, often with substantial overlap. Members of a few distinct social groups of women may draw water at the same fountain, rub elbows with others at the laundry or market, and meet almost anyone in church or the town hall. These violations of the isolation of nodal residential groups are their critical links to the larger world.

We must again beware of the other pitfall: concluding that by such means women come in contact with everyone. Chapter II explained that no one could be intimately involved with the entire community, or even a large fraction of it. Residents' contacts are highly selective, thereby producing different degrees of personal involvement with other townsfolk. At least two levels of interaction can be distinguished in the time-lapse films, and probably more, depending upon the sophistication and stamina of the viewer. Neither level implies intimate contact.

Let us define "social setting" as a discrete event in which two or more people occupy the same space within the limits of mutual visual
recognition. In the residential piazza our house overlooked, one
time-lapse film which included the ten daylight hours contained 101
social settings in the morning, 102 settings in the afternoon, in-
volving 301 and 461 people respectively. Those events in which one
resident followed behind another, some seventy in number, are not
included, since no mutual eye contact occurred. Though non-inter-
actional, they may provide the follower with significant data on the
destination, friends, health, and so forth of the person followed.
Also excluded from the social setting total are incidents, numbering
about fifty, in which individuals and groups proceeded through the
piazza without encountering anyone.

For a space of some 2000 square feet created by a handful of houses,
this pedestrian traffic represents a vast amount of activity. (See
Figure 3.) The participants in each social setting are, of course,
not unique individuals. A resident may have been a party to many
setting with different passersby and similarly, on several trips
through the piazza, a passerby might have seen several piazza resi-
dents. Approximately 200 of the people involved in the social settings
were passersby; the remaining 550 participant-roles were filled by
the various residents, almost two dozen men, women, and children.
A random pedestrian could therefore expect to meet two or three towns-
men within the confines of the piazza on most of his trips through
the space. The overall level of activity therefore translates into
a seemingly fertile field for social interaction. Personal exchanges,
however, occurred in only a tiny fraction of the settings. (See Ap-
pendix II for summaries of this data.)
Greetings are ordinarily extended to every person encountered in public whose eyes one meets, including strangers. Therefore, greetings rendered in passing should be regarded as no more than a common courtesy and a sign that the parties are not openly antagonistic. More intimate exchanges, and those that convey information verbally, require more time to execute so that the participants must stop walking, however briefly. On this basis of body positioning, twenty-nine conversations were detected during the entire day within the piazza, distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>P.M.</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Adult/preschooler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Adult/school child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Female resident/female adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Female resident/male adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male and female adults passing by</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, of the 203 settings with interactional potential, conversations developed in less than fifteen per cent, roughly half of which were caretaking exchanges between adults and children. The large number of fleeting contacts indicates the extent and superficial nature of the great majority of relations that obtain between given pairs of female adults who happen to use territory in common.

The characteristics of the conversations that occurred among adults are instructive and suggest restrictions on the meaning of "common use." Two of the conversations involved non-resident pedestrians...
passing by. The members of four other conversational pairs were of opposite sex. The remaining eight cases represent conversations between social equals. In every case both participants were engaged in the performance of time-consuming household tasks outdoors. No conversations among women were associated with mere walking about in the same space. These activities enumerated in the preceding chapter were related in one of two ways:

By scheduling - Because some services are available only once or twice per day, all residents wishing to obtain them find themselves in the same place at the same time. The garbage collector's single daily visit to the piazza becomes an opportunity to meet over trash.

By coincidence - Women pursuing independent tasks, say, sweeping a stoop and fetching water, may meet entirely by chance. Sometimes the performance of one activity impedes a second, as when two women have come to the piazza at the same time for water. While the possibility of contact increases with activity time in both cases, clearly frictions can result in the second. Serious controversies erupted in our piazza on occasions when two women wished to run the single hose to their laundry tubs simultaneously.

Thus, clearly, when women are not outdoors, no public conversations can occur. Moreover, just being outdoors is not enough. Conversational situations are most likely to develop in conjunction with the
performance of domestic duties.

The conversations which arise in the above circumstances are not necessarily indicative of friendships. The townsfolk who find themselves in public spaces occupied by others are not unlike acquaintances meeting in elevators: they may chat more to avoid awkwardness than to establish closer contact with the other individual. If one can accept the legitimacy and the need for several levels of interaction, this behavior is no cause for alarm or distress. Every acquaintance is not just an undeveloped friend; friendship requires more than a common meeting ground. Nevertheless, situational contacts on common ground are one preliminary means to more substantive relations where other conditions are appropriate. Closer ties, however, are more likely to be consummated at home than in the street.

These public services and the activities performed outdoors are not causal factors in friendships. They simply provide a focus, a raison d'être, for being outdoors and talking while working. The same day's film includes a sequence which expresses the relationship very succinctly. An old woman is tottering toward the fountain with her water bucket. A few paces from her apparent goal, she suddenly veers left and goes up the stairs to one of the nearby houses. Perhaps a half-hour later, she re-emerges and returns home directly, empty bucket in hand. Getting water may be construed as an excuse for going to the piazza in hope of finding social contact there.

The ordering of social relations within the town is best substantiated by part of the survey work. A representation of personal interaction
networks was obtained by asking respondents to designate the dwelling locations of their kind and a few levels of friends in Anguillara. Three fundamentally different types resulted: isolated, kin-centered/diffuse, and clustered. (See Figures 12, 13, and 14.) Each corresponds to a particular sort of personality and social attitude:

**Isolated** - The respondent was the only non-native interviewed, our elderly neighbor who brooded over her son's drowning. She dislikes Anguillara because the inhabitants always speak ill of one another. But for age, she and her husband would have returned to their native northern Italian city, where it may be surmised, anonymity reduces interpersonal feuding and gossip. Very few contacts were designated aside from a few immediate neighbors and shopkeepers, none of whom should be considered intimate. Objectively, she has withdrawn from the community. Though this pattern is not widespread, parallel isolation was attributed by confidants to some native families. At the microscale, the attributes of the dwelling unit support the resident's outlook: it is large, has all domestic services, is well-elevated from a quiet residential street, and is accessible only from a semi-private courtyard.

**Kin-centered/Diffuse** - The respondent was a woman of about sixty living in a rather large, recently remodelled house which she and her husband share with their daughter's family. Her neighbors call her "Giudice," or "Judge," because of her frequent meddling in the affairs of others. While she remains on speaking
Figure 12 - Female Adult Social Interaction: Isolated
Figure 13 - Female Adult Social Interaction: Kin-Centered
Figure 14 - Female Adult Social Interaction: Clustered
terms with most, a few personal dislikes are known to others. Some of the neighbors she designated as friends did not reciprocally name her, or placed her friendship in a less intimate category in independent interviews. Many friends and most shopkeepers in the stores frequented were also identified as "kin" by the respondent. Very few kinship relations without the qualification of friendship were mentioned. Though a cluster of friends is present, "kin" relations are far more numerous than those of other respondents and scattered through much of the town. The term "kin" is no more precise in Italian than English. Most respondents interpreted it to mean near-relations for which exact labels exist: siblings, parents, cousins, aunts and uncles. If traced back far enough, most Anguillarini are probably kinsmen, albeit distant. But doing so is a difficult task with only informal lineage resources. The loosest meaningful definition of kin probably connects one with the cognatic pyramids stemming from one's great-grandparents instead of one's grandparents. It may be that the unspecified kin named here belong to this class. I would guess that for this somewhat abrasive woman, kinship relations are a refuge. As long as they will more than merely tolerate her—and she is not abusive enough to make that unlikely—there is comfort in regarding these "kin" as "friends" even if the nature and frequency of their contact would not otherwise warrant the presumption. That these "kin-friends" are scattered rather than proximate reflects, to some extent, the emphasis on the ties of kinship which do
not depend upon day-to-day interaction between the parties for their maintenance.

**Clustered** - By far, this is the most prevalent pattern of social relationships. The individual has very friendly relations with most proximate neighbors. Hostilities within the same range, are nearly universal, however, revolving about issues as diverse as loud televisions, water-use practices, social and moral gulfs, and long-term kinship feuds. Friendly relations become less intense as distance from the dwelling unit increases, with one exception. Most respondents designated a non-proximate close or best friend, an issue to which we shall return shortly. Storekeepers are not regarded as friends, and the fact that the shops frequented are proximate shows that friendship is not a principal goal in the selection. Nonetheless, the contacts observed there are amiable, not unlike those associated with water fountains, laundries and the like. The cohesion of most relations around the dwelling unit is the distinguishing feature and one which supports the description of the residential nodes in Chapter II.

The linking effect provided by non-proximate contacts can be seen by overlaying the individual sets of friends and relations of several women living in residential proximity. (See Figure 15.) Suddenly, their once-isolated node now exhibits connections to several other presumably similar clusters of households and becomes part of an integrated network spanning the entire town. The small circle of proximate friends operates within a larger field of differentially frequent,
Note: Contacts included from seven proximate households only. Internal cross-linkages omitted.

Figure 15 - Social interlinkages: Respondents' Friends and Kin
non-intimate contacts. Individuals operate in the remainder of the town only infrequently. Their ties to it are indirect: their own non-proximate friends and the non-proximate friends of their own intimates. In a traditional society, if this can legitimately be called one, the friends of an individual’s friends do not describe an isolated group; rather, after a small number of links they encompass the whole community.

The question remaining is how non-proximate friendship links form in this context of relative isolation. There are perhaps two answers: the situational nature of friendship and intra-town moving. The former is self-evident, but discussed briefly in Chapter IV. The latter is unexpected and discussed here. Perhaps by coincidence, the single respondent who has lived her entire life in the same house had the most beautifully clustered set of friends. (See Figure 16.) Everyone else interviewed has lived in three to seven different houses, with roughly four the average. The residential locations in each case have been widely scattered, much like the intimate friendships. (See Figure 17.) Typically, the scenario for intra-town moving develops around several life-cycle stage junctures when space needs and often family incomes change:

1. Birth of siblings
2. Death of parent of minor children
3. Marriage
4. Birth of children
5. Marriage of children
Figure 16 - Social Interaction in the Absence of Intra-Town Moving
Figure 17 - Social Interlinkages: Respondents' Former Residences

Note: Residences outside medieval zone not included.
(6) Death of spouse

Each relocation has two principal effects on the phenomena we have been considering. First, one learns directly about another residential node and second, as a direct consequence, forms friendly relations with proximate individuals in that context. Curiously, very few of these friendships survive another relocation. Those that do must be more than proximate friends; those that do not indicate the importance of the element of convenience in proximate friendships. Like butchers, proximate friends are "adequate and on the way."

This is a critical distinction between amici della casa and proximate friends, regardless of how intimate the latter may seem when living nearby. Best friendships can form and mature over long distances that may span much of the town. Proximate friendships wither beyond a few dozen paces. Why travel for a sort of friendship that can be had in equivalent amounts and intensities at one's own doorstep?

Relocation implies dormancy more than destruction of proximate relationships. The parties may be effusive when they meet by chance, but neither considers the rewards of maintaining regular contact equal to the price of inconvenience. Given the overall size of the medieval zone, or even the town, one might think that the relatively short distances involved make virtually all friendship choices equally likely. The evidence suggests otherwise, except for the most intimate friendships. In a sense, shrinking the scale and extent of the environment shrinks all other indifference equations which are functions of distance accordingly.
There are hints that the phenomenon of intra-town moving is undergoing change. Ninety per cent of the survey respondents now live in housing they own. Two-thirds of these were inherited or purchased from a parent within recent years. Together with the obvious discrepancies mentioned earlier between the sizes of families and the housing they own and occupy, this suggests that moving may be on the decline. Part of the problem is the small number of vacant units brought about by a growing population. But it is also possible that homeownership has increased with prosperity in the last twenty years. In any case, those that now own them are so busy improving them with running water, bathrooms, and American-style kitchens that they may be locking themselves in, at least over the short run, regardless of considerations of family size.

The moving process has one other important consequence that may pass with it. Unselfconsciously, it helps enlighten future housing choices. The medieval environment was not made equal at all points. It offers an incredible amount of variety and choice to those who are able to perceive the distinctions. Noise, dampness, privacy, friendships, convenience, and more are subject to manipulation by the choice of residence at the micro-scale. The environment does not shape the individual, but by judicious selection can support his needs and desires. Moving is an opportunity to try things out and to profit by the experience.

Some of our friends weighed the option of moving to the newer residential sections in San Francisco. They are rather ambivalent, torn
between the economy of their present quarters and the domestic ameni-
ties of San Francesco. Money seems to be the deciding factor for
many, although some claim to find the "suburb" dull and sterile.
For each family reluctant to part with their medieval unit, there
is probably another that has rationalized the two-family house, even
if only on the basis of convenient parking. The other implications,
particularly the social ones, are not fully perceived. Short of
moving to San Francesco, and trying it, it is arguable that such per-
ceptions could exist. Once they move, the question is then whether
they would come back. They will no longer be testing subtle varia-
tions on a medieval theme, but two very different modes of living,
a situation in which the two outcomes are mutually exclusive. In
the decision to move to the suburbs may lie a preference that is
self-fulfilling and self-sustaining.

To summarize, we now have a composite picture of the medieval environ-
ment as used by female residents. It is an array of small, intensive
nodes of residential activity linked to the rest of the town by in-
timate, but indirect personal sources. An individual's sources may
have origins in kinship, common zones of larger scale environmental
use, previous residential locations, and long-lived peer-group and
situational friendships. These origins also represent earlier first-
hand experiences for residents in other parts of the town, without
which, the sources, when taken alone, are links to irrelevancies
and unknowns. Low inter-urban mobility, varied life cycle behaviors,
and intra-town moving thus become central elements in residents' use
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and knowledge of the medieval environment.

In the course of this discussion, some categorical distinctions have been employed to reduce complex phenomena to manageable proportions. The phenomena are not distinct entities, but a continuum with soft, transitional edges. While Chapter IV attempts to slice this object another way, that fact should be taken as a perpetual qualification throughout. To whatever extent the whole can be synthesized, that stance is helpful in reading the pages that follow.
CHAPTER IV

SOME THOUGHTS ON SOCIAL RELATIONS
Perhaps it is not legitimate to label Anguillara a traditional society; I will yield to any counterclaim. Whatever it is, the preceding chapter suggests that its social order cannot be adequately described by the categories of kinship and friendship that anthropologists and architects respectively are wont to highlight. Suzanne Keller's thoughtful book on neighboring has added one dimension to the discussion.¹ There is no excuse now not to know professionally what we know personally, namely, that neighboring is not just an immature state of friendship.

After living in Anguillara for several months and finding my expectations about some early relationships unfulfilled, I began to think about the different sorts of interpersonal contacts that I was participating in or could observe. The outcomes of the various relationships were disparate. Some, like our contacts with the U's, very quickly led to friendships. Others, like those with our shoemaker, never progressed beyond amiable banter, perhaps for some of the reasons of self-interest mentioned earlier. One of the parameters upon which the outcomes of interpersonal contacts between individuals seemed to depend was the nature of the social relationships between them. The categories of kinship, friendship, and neighboring were, in themselves, inadequate to account for the phenomenon. To compensate, I added the categories of "associateship" and "acquaintanceship." Together with the preceding, five categories of social relationships
result. Each is discussed individually in the context of the medieval environment. Finally, some interrelationships among them are drawn with respect to the life cycle stages described in Chapter II.

KINSHIP

Kinship, for our purposes, refers to those affinal ties between individuals perceived to exist by other members of the society on the basis of ancestry or marriage. In many ways, the observed role of kinship in Anguillara was very different from expectations. Conditioned perhaps by studies of Italian-American communities, I was prepared to find cohesive and overweening clannishness. Very little was apparent. Kinship relations were much more diverse. They ranged from intimate, inseparable attachments to indifference and open hostility. Some of the upper reaches of the scale were discussed in the section on patterns of contact among women; the lower end is far more fascinating.

An occasional skirmish or division between kin is to be expected. Time and again, however, we came across breaches between close kin, principally siblings, that had endured the ravages of time. Two of the ten survey respondents were embroiled in such long-standing hostilities. Reportedly, an unequal inheritance lay at the heart of one of these, and an inequitable assumption of the burdens of responsibility for an elderly parent at the other. Such differences between individuals do not, of course, destroy the kinship ties between them. Both parties may even maintain outwardly agreeable relations with
some of their other kinsmen, though major divisions may propagate among those who are also implicated in the rift and those who take sides. When hostile kin lived in proximate dwellings, disruptions in the social fabric occur. Neighbors friendly to one party or the other create an atmosphere of warring camps in an uneasy truce. Surprisingly, the aggrieved families we knew of did not relocate in response to this unhappy state of affairs, perhaps because no point exists at which the breach may be termed final and irreconcilable. In time, as the central figures manage to disregard one another, a more general armistice may prevail in the area. Some neighborly relations may resume between opposing sympathizers, but not on intimate levels. Even after many years, this sort of situation still exists among some residents of the area depicted in Figure 13.

Strangely, proximate kin can be socially disruptive even when the relations between them are positive and intimate. In this case, however, the sides change: Minor difficulties, like the water point conflict in our piazza, can spark major schisms, with the kin and their partisans embattled against everyone else. The affronts always seem to be direct, not the result of gossip. Neighbors know principal kinship ties as well as friendship ones and avoid provoking conflict by tactfully mincing words at potentially critical moments.3

Most kinship relations appear to exist in a broad middleground between these two extremes. For most survey respondents, kin were rather dispersed not only throughout the town, but also the surrounding communities and the country. Among families we knew well, a
differential regard for siblings and their descendents was manifest in practice, if not words. Visits to one brother in a nearby town might occur regularly, while another one would be totally disregarded. The observed frequency of visits, in the cases where it occurred and relations were positive, was low: on the order of four or six times per year between siblings living less than ten miles apart.

Like churchgoing, the maintenance of kinship relations may be predominantly, but not exclusively, a woman's responsibility. Between married siblings of opposite sex, kinship relations were scheduled and sometimes executed by the wives alone. Brothers, however, needed or tolerated no intermediaries when their relations were positive. Visits to parents and grandparents revolve largely about the female participants; the men may not even be around for much of it.

FRIENDSHIP

Some of the attributes we failed to discern in kinship relations appeared instead in friendship. We still maintain contact with a few very intimate friends from Anguillara, at a time when many of our long-standing American friendships, even of more recent vintage, have deteriorated after we or the other participants relocated. Obviously, not all Italian friendships are so durable. Therefore it is important to recognize the qualitative differences among relations subsumed under the rubric of friendship.
The popular literature on vernacular environments often touches on the social factors operating within them, but generally fails to distinguish the variations in bonds of affection. Two contradictory lines of thought are often threaded through some of these works: that friendships, or at least friendly contacts, are maintained among all residents, and that friendships are hierarchically ordered about common public meeting places by design intent. Perhaps in response to notions of the former sort, the search for neighborhoods is resurrected periodically in urban planning. The concept upon which the search is predicated is the implicit belief that the size of an individual's social world can be isolated from its context. Thus if we have an environment of population \( P \), living at an average density, \( d \), we can empirically establish a radius, \( r \), which will include some specified percentage of every individual's friends. By a deterministic leap, one might then conclude that holding \( P \) constant, the number of an individual's friends or of his potential friendship choices will vary with the density \( d \), since \( r \) is fixed. Therefore when the same \( P \) can be arranged in a community physically smaller than \( r \), by extension, all friendship choices become equally likely.

The evidence in Chapter III clearly shows that even in a bound as small as Anguillara this hypothetical relationship does not hold. As we have seen, friendship choices, broadly defined, are not uniformly distributed in space. Most individual friendships are arrayed in close proximity to the dwelling unit for all segments of the population except teenagers, young adults and adult males. Conversely,
while intimate, non-proximate friends may be spatially diffuse, their number and selection may not be significantly subject to environmental manipulation. It should be clear that the existence of proximate friends does not imply that the second notion--friendship coincides with neighboring--therefore holds. Again Chapter III showed that conditions of common use were not, in themselves, sufficient to justify the presumption of friendship among individuals involved. Common interests, values, and outlooks are also necessary.

The spatial characteristics of friendship can be analyzed more coherently when the intimacy of the relationships is taken into account. The survey work revealed three levels of friendship for most respondents. The most intimate friends, amici della casa, the only ones for which a ready linguistic label exists, are a good starting point. The term "friend of the house" implies that a relationship exists beyond that involving the two principal parties of an ordinary bilateral friendship. Very close contacts also prevail between the designated individual and the other members of the designating household. Considering the nature of the relationship, the other family members need to be more than just tolerant.

The "friend of the house" almost becomes a member of the family. He may come and go essentially at will, although like family members, greetings, knockings, groanings, or characteristic footfalls announce his arrival. Ritualistically, he is invited in and expected to literally make himself at home. He may entertain himself with magazines, television, and the contents of the refrigerator, or sit sullenly in
a corner. He may bring other friends as guests. He is free to stay for hours, share mealtimes, and leave without embarrassment at any point. Like family members, he may announce his destination upon departing, or expect to be interrogated. The relationship is motherly, fatherly, brotherly, or sisterly, as the case may be and in a way, even more so than at home, since it is based entirely on mutual regard and affection rather than happenstance and familial obligation.

The relationship connects an individual and the members of a household, not the members of two households. No one from the designating family would be at liberty to behave in the fashion described above in the house of an *amico della casa* unless he held similar status there. This is a possibility when the principals are of the same age and sex. Except in these symmetrical cases, the relationship is played out largely on the turf of the designating family. Even in the symmetrical relationships, one family is likely to predominate as host.

It may be hard to see the reciprocity in the arrangement, but that may be no more an issue here than in motherhood. Aside from the intangibles of friendship the relationship provides company, information, and audience for both parties. These issues are inextricably intertwined. Intimate friends are the critical links in the information system. No one but a friend would have dared to have asked us how our car got so pitifully smashed, and then have the temerity to probe for details. The more intimate the friend, the more intimate the material discussed may be. With the closest of friends, personal and private concerns, particularly familial ones, may be aired in the
belief that knowledge of the transactions will go no further. But since one's intimates are not exclusive, this information, unless it has extremely damaging potential, will most likely find other ears. An intimate may use knowledge of one friend's affairs to persuade or comfort another. A quick application of balance theory discloses that the friends of intimates should be favorably disposed to Ego, so that access to private material may at least be restricted. The privy parties are clever and witting enough not to let the source know that they know.

With non-sensitive material, there are no such cautions. Third parties find sport in confronting a source with information the latter did not intend to have disseminated. The confrontation is a vehicle for checking message validity in a system with a fair share of noise. Intimates as second parties also take pleasure in transmitting their material directly to the third parties a particular message may concern. We would find third parties had often routinely relayed our unannounced plans to persons directly involved in them before we had and vice-versa.

Friendship has practical ramifications, too, though it may be unjust to characterize it in these terms. Friendship links may also be keys to employment, favors, social recognition. These can operate across several connections of appropriate intensity. An individual not only comes to operate in the social circles of his friends; he also acquires some leverage on their actions. It was this mechanism that enabled our confidants to persuade reluctant individuals to
cooperate in the research and proved very effective.

Relationships of this type are time-consuming. The demands of development and maintenance limit one's intimate friends to no more than a few. In one case our own involvement as amici della casa of the U's displaced, to some extent, the former principal occupant of the position. Clearly it is easier to juggle one's commitments to a few such friends when they participate in the same social circle and are themselves intimate. One's own set of social contacts thereby tends to become self-reinforcing. Though the qualifications for intimate friendship may be presumed independent of distance within Anguillara, the survey results suggest otherwise. All but one of the respondents' intimate friends lived within the medieval sector, perhaps to some extent a social factor. The walking distances between residences fell into two zones: eleven were less than 50 feet away, and eight were between 200 and 300 feet. None was further.

Many close friendships also exist between the women in proximate households. While sharing some of the attributes described above, they are generally less intimate. Some house-to-house visiting may take place in the closer relationships, but often briefly and in the role of guest, not family member. Unlike the amici della casa, these friendships are strictly bilateral, though amiable contacts with other members of the household are bound to exist, from the repetition of daily contact, if nothing else. Whereas amici della casa may involve opposite sexes, even as principal parties, the proximate friendships do not cross sexual lines. A young man paying a social
call on the housewife next door under this aegis is unthinkable.

Some data on the extent of house-to-house visiting were extracted from the time-lapse film. The six families whose doorways were visible received a total of thirty-three visitors, apart from brief incursions by children on domestic turf. Twenty-one of the visits occurred between two households related by kinship: a mother and daughter. The number of visits as a function of distance between households might be correlated with the intensity of the bond, but insufficient data and complicating factors were present. Only two of the remaining twelve visits were from piazza residents and near neighbors. The other ten visitors came from beyond this residential node and may be presumed to be evidence of more intimate friendships. (This information is also summarized in Appendix II.) Neighboring and most proximate friendships do not, for the most part, go on privately.

Much of the contact takes place in the street in animated conversations, sewing circles, and gossip sessions. Brief meetings are staged from windows and doorways. To a significant degree, these relationships turn on task-oriented activities: house-minding, shopping, hobbies, lending and borrowing. In the complete suburban environment as more domestic services and activities become internalized, the impetus for much of the contact may be destroyed. Still, more than neighboring is at stake, if only because of the genuine affection that pervades the relationships. One is prepared to do and ask more of proximate friends than plain neighbors. By the same token,
these are friendships, at least to some degree, of convenience, since they depend upon proximity and availability. They are, I would surmise, the sorts of friendships that do not survive relocation by one of the participants.

The third level of friendship, the least intimate, in many cases may be identified by its inactivity. Respondents listed some proximate women in this category almost to avoid seeming to slight them. There may be or might have been a strong bond of affection in these cases, but now longer commensurate with the costs of maintenance. Such friends, when they do not live close by, meet more by chance than design. In the most degenerate state, they are the sorts of people who turn up at funerals, or call when you wish you had decided to do something else. While respondents named as friends in the first two categories usually reciprocated the selection, those designated as friends at this level, as often as not, failed to recognize the relationship.

The participants may limit contact entirely to conversations in the street when their paths happen to cross. The interaction may be lengthy when renewing the ties of a once-thriving friendship, or a mere ritual of small talk in the moribund cases. The factors that lead to deterioration may be diverse: increased residential or social distance, personality growth and change, normal friendship attrition. It is doubtful that a friendship can survive in this limbo forever, as the parties are simultaneously engaged in deepening other contacts. Revival thus seems unlikely. Instead, the relation-
ship dies a quiet death until it is otherwise hardly distinguishable from acquaintanceship.

A factor that has been generally omitted from casual speculation on social relations in medieval environments is the dynamic of time. Relationships with individuals move from one type to another and vary in degree within each category. Even though one may be acquainted with everyone in town, not everyone is destined for friendship. Those that are must share more than the use of public space. The friendships that bud often fail to grow to fruition. Those that mature do not go on forever. Friends may die, move, tire of one another, or discover more promising opportunities. Though the society is relatively closed by measures of mobility, new members are continually joining adult ranks.

The death of friendship was discussed earlier as a consequence of intra-town moving. Having exposed the failure of friendship to bridge physical gaps, I suppose an equal obligation is due the process of its birth and development. What follows is a hurried recounting of our own entry into a circle of friends in Anguillara. I do not wish to over-value this material; I cherish no illusions about drawing generalities out of anecdotes. However, comparison with residents' accounts of the origins of their own friendships, reveals obvious parallels and striking similarities.

After a few weeks at Anguillara, spent, I admit, trying to bone up on Italian in the privacy of our own house, we received an electric
bill. Trying out my new-found language skill on our elderly neighbor, I learned that it was not to be paid at the post office as I had thought, but "down at the end of the street." Aided somewhat by pointing, we finally isolated which of the four streets in front of the house she meant. Confident that a sign would identify our goal, we traversed the 150 feet in the appointed direction, only to find a half-dozen otherwise undistinguished doorways. For the uninitiated in this environment, there are no orientational benchmarks. The next move was unclear, but with assistance from a few kids, we finally came face-to-face with a large, cheerful woman who hardly seemed suited to a career in bill-collecting.

Once having found what our neighbor was incapable of explaining (or I was incapable of understanding), what she meant became immediately obvious. In fractured Italian, I explained the rigors of our trip to the bill collector. As if to compensate us for the ordeal, she invited us in, pointed out the view en route to kitchen where a veritable domestic circus was in progress. The washing machine was running, clean clothes were on the kitchen table, along with the results of an afternoon's cooking. A few pots still simmered on the stove. Some other people were there, which was mildly confusing. They were younger than we were, but the woman appeared as old as my grandmother. I recall being asked our names, where we were from, what we were doing in Anguillara, all of which I answered as best I could. Their introductions were singularly uninformative; we referred to them collectively as the "electric people" for weeks to come, except for the old woman, whom everyone there was calling "Mamma". For
whatever it is worth, we did not learn their last name for months. There was no need to know it. Most everyone in Anguillara is designated by their first name. A proper title precedes the first name when one is being terribly respectful or acknowledging social distance, for example "Signora Maria," for a venerable, upper-class elderly woman. Condescension is similarly displayed.

Beginning to feel my head ache from linguistic struggle, I attempted to transact the business of our bill. But I had no appreciation of the magnitude of a 10,000-lire note, about fifteen dollars; six dollars worth of change was more than should have been expected in these circumstances. One daughter was dispatched for change while our chatting continued. We finally left, or got to leave, our hands filled with little samples of home-cooking, and our hopes of friendship in Anguillara on the verge, so it seemed, of fulfillment.

We reciprocated these gifts of food with out-of-season produce purchased on our trips to Rome and continued to visit informally in the course of these undertakings. Though our relationship with the family developed, we never became the most intimate of friends. But through them, we met other people with whom we continued to be friendly for the rest of our stay. One of these, Signora U, a stocky middle-aged woman was introduced to us on one visit as an amica della casa. It was with Signora U and her family that we eventually established our closest ties.

Needless to say, this scenario, perhaps unusual for Anguillara, is
not the sort of thing one would expect to be staged in Rome, New York, or Shaker Heights, except on television. That other friendships in Anguillara developed from similar situational encounters is evident in the origins of the close relationship between Signora U, and Signorina Q, the eldest daughter in the "electric people's" family. The two women had met only six years before, when Signorina Q was about twenty years old. Though Signora U had known the identity of Signorina Q before, it was not until the latter assumed the job of tutoring Signora U's son, that the two had any direct, extensive contact. Signorina Q was, in effect, a new member of adult society in a new social role. The difference in age was no barrier to the intimate friendship that grew. Each considers the other her best friend. Each is an amica della casa in the other's household. Each discusses matters, that they might be loath to talk about with their own families. Signorina Q usually comes by to see Signora U at least once daily. Reciprocal visits are infrequent. Relationships of similar intensity exist between Signora U's two sons and Signorina Q's brother, and to a lesser degree between Signora U and Signora Q, the bill collector. The two boys work each Sunday at the Q's restaurant, where, in an almost familial role, they earn some spending money. While contacts between the husbands exist, the involvement is only minimal.

This example shows the synergistic quality close relationships can acquire. The whole is far greater than the sum of the parts, and the relationship, over time, generates an increasingly powerful
"raison d'etre." The consequences of friendship are not just internalized emotional states. Our shopping patterns changed as our relationship with the U's developed. As both a consequence of and an excuse for visiting, we began to shop in stores located in the U's vicinity. We even shifted our parking space to the same area at some cost in convenience.

As I have suggested periodically, friendships do not always go on forever. We, of course, left Anguillara. Signorina Q is now Signora V and living in northern Italy. Signora Q's eldest son was in the army. A lot has changed in just a few years. Sometimes the demise is not so peaceful or natural as the following section on neighboring describes. Physical organization is bound up in the issue of friendship, but not in simplistic ways.

NEIGHBORING

Neighboring is one relationship with an inarguable physical dependency upon the physical environment. By definition, it is a state of proximate residency. We have already taken note of the fact that the relationship does not apply to proximate male adults. A few other qualifications on the meaning of the term should be recognized. Environmental designers sometimes ascribe a geometrical bound to neighboring. In these terms "neighbors" are those people living within some ill-defined area around one's residence. Functionally, this concept is not very useful. One may recognize some of these "neighbors"; others are no more, operationally, than strangers. It
is far more plausible to consider neighbors to be the persons one recognizes as inhabitants of one's immediate residential setting. They can perhaps be anticipated from considerations of distance and patterns of social traffic.\footnote{1}

The Italian word for neighbors as "vicini," literally "those who are near." It is used to refer to people whose doorways are associated in space, not those whose walls are in common or whose windows look out on the same street. The survey data lead to the same conclusion. When help is needed, it is reasonable to suppose that it will be sought at a nearby doorway, not at a less accessible entry to an adjacent dwelling. Learning whom one's neighbors are, and maintaining them in an active circle, depends upon the ability to readily connect people and houses, particularly in cases of residential mobility. The opportunity for making these connections is enhanced when individual doorways are visible from the street and from the windows and doorways of other units. The price, however, is exacted in privacy as described earlier.

One has no choice in neighbors; they come with the house, so to speak. They are the set of persons from which the less intimate, proximate friendships may develop. As a preliminary phase of closer contact, neighboring entails the same sorts of mutual services as proximate friendship: minding houses, monitoring children, borrowing things, assisting during illness. Where other essential commonalities exist, friendships are likely. Given a choice between asking favors of a friend or a neighbor, most of us would choose the former.
When proximate relations have matured, all interactions but the most casual contacts and greetings may be confined to the set of proximate friends. While no ill will exists between individuals and those who are no more than neighbors, there is a tacit understanding that they are unlikely to ever be more than neighbors.

Our own contacts with neighbors was very limited. The principal reason was the idiosyncratic relationship of our dwelling to others. Our entry was off a semi-private courtyard, and only one other doorway was near our own. Several families lived on the floor above us, but entered from another street. We never really knew who all of them were except for Signora U's cousin and the woman who periodically stared in our windows from her balcony. Below us, lived the families who shared the piazza. Though their doorways were nearer, they were a full story away, and not really immediate neighbors. Recognition was mutual and we regularly exchanged pleasantries with most as we would go through the piazza. But we sensed little in common with them: old ladies and a few middle-aged married couples with younger children were most of the population. The state of affairs after one year was signalled by one of the old women with whom we chatted once in a while. Upon seeing us one afternoon, she mentioned that she had heard we were leaving Anguillara. "That's too bad," she mused regretfully, "we were just getting to know you."

Relations among the piazza residents themselves were not always positive. As mentioned previously, antagonisms focused on the use of the hose from the water fountain in ways perceived inequitable by
some residents. Hostilities were not unique to this locale, however. Virtually every family surveyed was party to an unfriendly relationship. In every case but one, a proximate household was implicated. Sometimes the nature of the relationship was revealed by the respondent. In others, it was disclosed by near neighbors. In these latter instances, the households in question generally received no designation at all from the original respondent, other than kinship. Some proximate houses were rendered conspicuous by the absence of positive regard, though not all of them were the focus of dislike. Provocations that would be minor or irrelevant if the parties lived further apart--noise, personal demeanor, slanderous gossip--can become acute symptoms of conflict, aggravated by close physical contact.

Neighboring plays many different roles. It may lead to friendship, but of a sort not likely, in most cases, to endure over longer distances. It may lead to friction and hostility where personal values are contradictory. In most instances, however, it leads to little beyond casual contacts with people one already knows enough about. Environmental issues, in a general way, color the outcomes as Chapter V will show.

ASSOCIATESHIP

The previous two categories, and particularly the last, largely excluded males. Since we know they are not socially isolated, there must be a category which accounts for their relationships. Unlike women, many of whose contacts are structured in space around the
dwelling unit, men are home mostly to eat and sleep. Their contacts are grounded in other, non-residential spheres: those of employment and leisure. Often, they are mutually reinforcing, since men in similar social roles generally gather at the same bars.

Men who work together or work in the same trade I have labelled "associates". Alternatively, they could be called "peers," but I prefer the first as somewhat looser, less abstract and less suggestive of social status. Associates may share the same workspace; more importantly, their work conditions them to similar attitudes, values, and backgrounds, all critical factors in friendship. Age, however, poses no restrictions in itself, except where it signifies a life cycle stage discontinuity, as in the segregation of teenagers from adults. Associateship is physically dependent only in the grossest sense: the individuals must at least come into contact. Since the arenas of social interaction are on the job or in the bar, issues of residential proximity are immaterial. A man may have associates he sees only at work, or conversely, he may have others he meets only at the bar. The foundation for a relationship is bound to be stronger when the two facets coincide in the same individual.

From our observations, adult associates meet largely in public. House visits may occur, but they are rare and brief. The few we witnessed were ritualistic responses to special circumstances--promotions, festivals, weddings--consisting of a small glass or two of cognac or sweet vermouth accompanied by a cascade of toasts and jokes. The men usually then retired to their regular haunts.
Conceptually, associateship is implied in other social relations. The two spheres of school children's activity can be regarded as two sets of associates: one in residential space (neighbors), the other in status and role (classmates). Similarly, insofar as the sharing of residential space in the performance of parallel tasks is an aspect of women's relationships, they too are associates. This perspective does not eliminate the other categories previously identified with women's and children's social contacts. Rather, it highlights the different common characteristics—shared space, tasks, and values—that underlie aspects of friendship on these bases.

ACQUAINTANCESHIP

Except for tourists and other non-native outsiders, there are no strangers among the Anguillerini. But not everyone falls under the headings of kin, friends, neighbors, and associates. There are people about whom one has some knowledge, either direct or indirect, and with whom one may even interact periodically. The personal networks shown in Figures 14 through 16 suggest that these relations may comprise a majority of the town for each individual. They are more than strangers, but less than neighbors; in a way, "acquaintances" connotes these sorts of attributes.

The mechanism of acquaintanceship need not be bilateral or direct. People we scarcely knew, or hardly recognized, would often welcome us back upon our return from a short trip and ask about our travels. Our own friends constantly relayed information they thought might
interest us, even when we did not know the parties concerned. As a result, we began to "know" something about people we had never met. Conceivably, the "knowledge" might have abetted contact should it ever have proved necessary or desirable.

Over years of inhabitance, I would venture that virtually every adult resident has had some direct contact with at least one member of every other nuclear family. Given that framework, indirect sources alone may suffice for updating interpersonal information. Though Signora U had not seen her mother's friend for nine years, both women were aware of the general circumstances pertaining to the other and her immediate family: issues of life, death, health, and employment. The stream of data running between small, informal residential networks is unending.

Acquaintanceship should not be regarded as an undesirable state that both parties should prefer to turn into friendship. For several reasons, that is unrealistic. First, active friendships, by virtue of the amount of time they consume, are essentially self-limiting. Second, friendship can be inopportune and implausible under certain circumstances. They are unlikely to develop in the hostile aura surrounding some kinship and neighbor relations. They are unlikely to grow out of shopping transactions, where, as Chapter III explained, both merchant and customer could be co-opted by it.

We failed to appreciate these constraints at the outset. We were recognized, greeted, and engaged in conversation after scarcely a
week in town. Contacts of this sort never cease, nor, on the other hand, do they necessarily develop into anything more substantive. I had been ready to believe in those first few days, that this informal street contact presaged innumerable friends. After a year, we were still talking to the same people in the same way, but probably with none of us expecting the relationship to ever be anything else. We had to see what intimacy meant in order to understand and welcome the lack of it in other interactions.
SUMMARY

The five categories of social relations presented in this chapter are not independent of one another. Areas of overlap occur representing individuals who belong to more than one category. (See Figure 18a.) In the intersection of neighbors and associates, for example, are people who live close by and function in similar social roles. In the case of school children, these individuals are likely to be playmates. (See Figure 18b.) The intersections are significant as domains of probable friendships, with different emphases in each of the life cycle stages described in Chapter II. (See Figures 18b through 18f.) Considering Q, the set of acquaintances, to be the population of the town, we can identify the nature of social relations at each stage as follows:

Preschoolers (Figure 18b) - Between the ages of two and five, children operate largely within the confines of the proximate residential environment. All their friendships are dependent upon common space use (neighbors, N); playmates are other children of similar ages (associates, A), though older as well, who are immediate neighbors (intersection of the sets of neighbors and associates, N ∩ A). From this perspective, the child's world is composed mostly of neighbors, some of whom are playmates (proximate friends, PF = N ∩ A). An understanding of their social role as children and the knowledge of other townsfolk are both limited. By experiencing more of the town and seeing other members of the society pass through the residential environment,
Figure 18 - Social Relations' Interdependencies
both horizons expands and begins to resemble those of school children.

School children (Figure 18c) - Starting school marks a discontinuity. The area of environmental use shifts and the set of acquaintances ($Q$) increases as a direct result. Though they become more aware of their social role, peer-group relations ($A$) remain subordinate to the established play contacts with children living in proximate dwellings ($PF = N \cap A$). Though the awareness of kin may be more profound, kinship ($K$) is not a principal interactional determinant, except when the relations are also neighbors or associates.

Teenagers (Figure 18d) - By the teens, social contacts are confined essentially to the peer-group ($A$) for both sexes. Friendships based on proximity ($PF$) diminish. More intimate friendships ($IF$) develop among individuals who share more than space ($A$). Their friends are spatially diffuse and may have identical social roles and similar outlooks ($IF \supset A$). Physical and cultural limitations on the use of the proximate environment encourage extensive use of the more anonymous and easily privatized public domains. As a consequence, the teenager's knowledge of the whole urban environment and of other townsfolk increases dramatically. By the time adulthood is attained, prior to marriage, the entire system is known in its full dimensions, if not in detail.
Men (Figure 18c) - With marriage comes a major split. Men's social relations diagrammatically do not change from the former phase, though their associates are fellow workers rather than classmates. Involvement with neighbors and kin is minimal, except insofar as some of them might coincidently also be associates.

Women (Figure 18f) - Upon marriage women revert to a pattern of environmental use and behavior akin to that of childhood, but more elaborate. Once again, the proximate environment becomes the stage for most day-to-day social interaction (N). Though all other women are known socially (A), direct contacts with these associates is minimal beyond the residential node (PF = N\A). A few very intimate friendships of a situational nature arise outside these limits (IF). They are spatially diffuse, much like the friendships of teenagers, a reflection of the more meaningful basis for intimacy in factors other than residential convenience.

Elderly - While mobile, the elderly conform in principal to the appropriate behavior patterns for their sex as described in the above paragraphs. Events beyond that point are beyond our scope.

Any schema for social relations is bound to gloss some of the issues, and the more summary the schema, perhaps, the greater that danger. Mindful of this, I am compelled to add a caution. I have attempted
to capsulize much of Chapters II, III, and IV, describing life
cycle stages and social relations. The interdependencies between
these two issues have been implicit in much of the ongoing discussion,
but at the limit of our field of vision. In reducing them to diagrams
and a few words, simplicity and brevity exact a toll: the dynamics
of the system fade from view. The diagrams are only skeletal remains
of the phenomena and not intended to stand alone. Hopefully, enough
has been said about the mechanisms involved to allow the reader to
ascribe the necessary flesh to the figure.
CHAPTER V

INCIPIENT CHANGE AND EMERGING THREAT
The foregoing material is diverse and leads to conclusions on more than one level. The first of these is obvious. Taking Anguillara as a case in point, what impacts, influences, and meanings can be associated with medieval environments on the basis of the literal evidence presented? Throughout, I have emphasized that no single interpretation adequately addresses the issue. Anguillara represents different things to its inhabitants with each hour, day, and season, with each social relationship, and each stage in the life cycle. Most of the things are good. Consciously, the participants recognize and attest to the personal value of many of them. Some are unconscious, manifest only through the behavior of the citizenry. A few are marginal or unsatisfactory from our standpoint and perhaps theirs as well. The medieval environment, broadly conceived, can be seen to have the following major dimensions of meaning to subsets of the populace:

Source of Life Support - The medieval environment suggests a world in microcosm. Together with the agricultural lands around it, the town was once a highly self-sufficient system for maintaining an adequate level of human survival. Even now, all the elements for life support—food, housing, jobs, commerce, government, social contact, and leisure—are still available, though no longer in a framework of self-containment. The town is dependent upon external sources for much of its life support. That condition defines what constitutes an "adequate level" of life
support. There is something of a disparity between the "adequate level" promised and promoted outside and that obtained inside. The inhabitants' desire to make the latter correspond to the former is a critical issue to which we shall subsequently return.

Setting for Social Contact - The nature, extent, and variety of social relations within the medieval environment have been the central theme of this study. Different patterns of contact are associated with both sexes at each of the life cycle stages. In complementary ways, individual preferences in all of them can be substantially satisfied. Within a town the size of Anguil-lara, an inhabitant can know everyone at the level of acquaintance. A full array of neighbors, associates, friends, and kin exist within this set of persons. There is little need for social contact outside the confines of town, except as a consequence of male patterns of employment and the mobility of kin. We have seen that for women and children, the domain of social interaction is even smaller, a mere fraction of the medieval sector. As a direct consequence of residential density and organization, situations of hostility may also be likely to arise. But the proximity of onlookers who know the parties and the situation, may inherently provide restraint, both direct and indirect. Altercations are to be expected; bloodshed is not. Not even the most bitter enmities result in ostracism. There are inevitably partisans on both sides who provide social support and compensation.
Setting for Help and Mutual Dependency - People who live in close proximity are often subject to the same forces and recognize that as a bond. Where everyone is known, anyone is approachable, if not directly, through more powerful intermediaries. The closer social contacts living in residential proximity, by virtue of immediacy and intimacy, are readily sought, likely to understand, and usually willing to provide assistance in matters ranging from trivial to personal. By the very act of assistance, closer ties are established. As important as the aid one may request is that offered spontaneously, without request, and often without specific recognition or thanks. Playmates rely on one another for coping with the environment, whether drinking water or climbing walls. Parents informally depend upon neighboring children to tend their own. Adults, by being in or near the street, play an important supervisory role. They keep an eye on one another's houses and children and are expected and willing to intervene whenever they feel it necessary. Everyone realizes the tables may someday be turned, though it is not necessarily with this thought in mind that they assume these duties.

Setting for Social Control - No inhabited locale in Anguillara is anonymous. Because each resident knows every other one and where he lives, every pedestrian and every place has an identity. That mutual knowledge contributes to the feeling that one will be held accountable for what one does by the people who are bound
to be watching, either as residents or other pedestrians. The informal control that is exercised over streets is thus largely a psychological phenomenon, reinforced by periodic real manifestations. Its effectiveness is a function of the magnitude and residential density of the space to be controlled. Most public places in Anguillara are small enough to become quasi-private through this means. In and around them, individuals enforce what they perceive to be group norms, or what may become group norms through their enforcement. Depending upon the individual and his intent, such enforcement may be interpreted as the extension of informal caretaking to everyone or unnecessary and capricious meddling. It is environmental scale and organization that allow these social messages to be sent and received. Significantly, the content does not concern social status; rich and poor can live side-by-side in housing conditions that appear similar. Rather, it concerns social behavior. Unfamiliar figures may read only their invasion in the cues they receive, while subtle nuances may be conveyed to fellow townsman. The possibility of understanding more than the most elemental message in its gradations of meaning perhaps contributes to the fascination townsfolk find in their respective towns.

Source of Entertainment and Delight - There are many ways that people enjoy their towns. Aside from the commercial and packaged ones--movies, television, local festivals and extravaganzas--which many Anguillarini find lacking, there are innumerable sources
of informal and spontaneous delight. Because they are personal, no enumeration can be complete. Some of them are tactile and sensory that at small scales capture the interest of children and adults alike: special smells, familiar sounds, particular views. They can include the bubbling of fountains, the flapping of wash on a windy day, the fog rising from the lake, a military helicopter buzzing the town. These sources of enjoyment are not intellectualized; their meanings lie in personal associations. Many of those related to the physical environment revolve about the social implications of particular places rather than their architectural ingredients. Survey respondents who expressed positive or negative feelings about their house or street based them on what they thought of their neighbors. Those who liked the road to Rome inevitably liked Rome. The pleasure they found in the road was a reflection of the goal implied as its destination. A few women found the Piazza del Lavatoio attractive. By anyone's architectural standard, it is horrible, but it is alive with stores, fruit vendors, cars, trucks, and the public laundry. Similarly, dislikes focused on places each individual did not use, or that led to, or implied a thing they disliked: the other side of town, the road to Bracciano, the public garden behind the church. The sum of personal meanings attached to people, places, and things, transforms the town into an unending spectacle that each inhabitant sees in his or her own way. As they sit on the street or by a window and watch it unfold, everything is latent with meaning. To visitors, the
same scene is uninteresting because the content is hidden from their perception. In a place other than one's own, everything is alien and obscure. The set of associations the natives of each town find in it are perhaps what make it more interesting and better than its neighbors. The unappreciative behavior of outsiders is consequently puzzling when townsfolk universalize their associations and project them into the heads of others.

Source of Pride - The meanings that Anguillarini discern in their own town may underlie the pride they have in it. For most, it is unique and the best place in the world. Many have little desire to ever be anywhere else, except possibly on the briefest of vacations. That some have had little experience anywhere else other than Rome and the immediate environs is an inadequate explanation. Those who have are no less vociferous in their partisanship, though they recognized different qualities in other places they had seen. The only people who disliked Anguillara and were still there to tell about it were not natives. Not surprisingly, they were similarly partial to their own towns. Other than the personal meanings each individual finds in his own town, it is difficult to identify the specific ingredients of local pride. For the most part, the feeling of pride seems to rest upon the sum of positive associations about the town as a whole. The residents may also insist in direct comparisons that their town has the best breezes, the
smartest inhabitants, the nicest site. The best town naturally is considered to have the best residents: themselves. Superiority rests in large measure upon the denigration of other towns and their inhabitants. The Anguillarini recognize inhabitants of neighboring towns by dialectical distinctions and, they insist, by appearance. Depending on the town, they may be stereotyped as stupid, underhanded, or ugly. Still, a few Anguillarini end up married to them, perhaps more now than before, as the young make contact through school. Spouses of Anguillarini who come to live there may find themselves referred to, not by name, but as "the woman from Bracciano," or whatever the town may be. Even children of Anguillarini born in hospitals outside the town are often teased, told that they are not Anguillarini, and are said to suffer from the foibles afflicting inhabitants in the place of their birth. Within the town itself, local varieties of pride focus on features that in comparable ways distinguish one part of town, or one street, from another. Their fortunes rise and fall with the success of their soccer team, the amount of glass thrown from the window at midnight on New Year's Eve, the participation in religious festivals, and the social cohesion of the residents. Even within each residential node, sarcasm persists. On one proud street, in addition to "the Judge," lived "Little Pea" and "Big Ass." These finer grain distinctions are administered and received in good spirit. They are obviously for internal consumption only.
Source of Comfort and Security - Though there is little comfort and security from material wealth in Anguillara, these qualities are present in other ways. Both have physical and psychological aspects that should be recognized. One kind of psychological comfort comes from knowing one's neighbors and townsmen, accompanied by the feeling of security that by their informal efforts streets, houses, and children are physically safe. There is psychological comfort in the knowledge that one lives in a place with the characteristics described in preceding sections. The Anguillarini, like the residents of other towns, are so secure in that knowledge and in their town, that they are reluctant to leave. Some do leave for economic reasons, but in the belief that their departure is temporary. They may even own a house and a bit of land as evidence of their good faith and out of a desire for security while they are away. Young people are not immune from sharing these sentiments. Sometimes the desire for security is so tied up with the town that it is bizarre and verges on the pathological. One survey respondent told of becoming sick whenever she had to go to Rome. Another became so ill on her honeymoon to a nearby city that the trip had to be terminated. Apart from the probable sexual neurosis that may be implicated, expressions of not wanting to leave are common, among men and women, though to a greater degree in the latter. The world beyond the town is so threatening, so unknown, that people are sometimes immobilized and incapable of leaving even when leaving is the only rational course. One glimpse of the
elderly clinging to towns their children have abandoned is a powerful demonstration of the tenacity of their attachment.

We began to share many of these sentiments after several months in Anguillara. Our feelings were especially poignant when we were away. It was in Anguillara that we knew most everybody, had our friends, and felt that there were people we could count on. It was there that the daily routine of life had coherence and meaning. We loved it for what it was and tried to protect it from those, who in their ignorance, wanted to despoil it. More than anything, it felt like home, and we were never able to transfer those feelings to the second town we lived in; it was always alien. We would get tired of Anguillara but we were always anxious to return to it and felt that we, too, belonged there.

As much as we liked Anguillara, there were some things we found irritating and unsatisfactory about it. These sorts of issues have remained obscure, beyond the perception of environmental observers and out of reach of their methods. Predisposed favorably toward medieval environments, they have only seen the positive reflections of their own emotions; I cannot recall ever reading about a single negative feature of medieval towns. The process of living in a place inexorably brings these things to the surface. The unpleasant side of life in Anguillara is not, therefore, beyond the perception of the inhabitants, their satisfactions with their town notwithstanding. Their lack of a forum and their tendency to universalize indigenous conditions
are the cause of their silence.

A town of only a few thousand people, wherever it is, can get very dull. Anguillara has more than its share of diversions, but still they are only a handful: housework, shopping, visiting, strolling, swimming, sailing, sunning, reading (from your own library), watching television, going to the movies, eating in, eating out, and sleeping. The less sedentary can do them all in one day. Having done so, there is little left to do, but start the cycle over again and maybe change the sequence. Many Anguillarini accept this expedient solution. The young, and even some of their elders, bemoan the deficiencies. Still, they need not go far to overcome them. Were it not for the proximity of Rome, Anguillara would be as dull and provincial as the second town we lived in. That is the general case.

Anguillara's size limits social choices as well as activities. A few thousand acquaintances may provide a reasonable degree of social options in and for the Italian mainstream. Representation at the fringes, however, is minimal or non-existent. If one pines for friends in the arts, but cannot tolerate Anguillara's lone part-time artist, one had best develop other interests. Needless to say, there are too few socially diverse individuals to form characteristic enclaves that, apart from slums and ghettos, add to the vibrancy of urban life. Anguillara is not without color, but it is that of the indigenous life style, not of diversity.
Potentially more serious, are the limitations size places on the extent of life support services. Anguillara is too small to have a high school, a hospital, most professional services, much variety or depth in commerce, and of course has no local employment in these fields. One can choose between two physicians, one of them reputedly a quack. (Even the latter would have been welcome in our second town, as we learned for ourselves when there was no doctor to turn to when we both became ill.) When Anguillara's small slaughter house does not butcher a pig for a few days, no one eats pork. When the local wine is bad, that is what one drinks, unless one has the means to afford bottled wines. In response to vagaries of this sort, we ended up often bootlegging food from Rome, where the choices afford by a single supermarket seemed infinite by comparison.

These, admittedly to some extent, are problems of scale that judicious planning may overcome. Proximity to larger urban centers, as in the case of Anguillara, is one solution. At the price of inconvenience one can thereby gain access to a fuller range of urban services. Many women in Anguillara did go to Rome several times a year, and to Bracciano more frequently, for shopping. We found the fifteen kilometer trip to Rome often took nearly an hour, by the time we got to our destination in the city. It was tedious, hazardous, and agonizing to go there and to be there, an excursion we never undertook lightly and without advance planning. Given this limitation, the towns that are within commuting distance of the larger cities are a reasonable compromise, at least until they are engulfed by urban
growth. Their number, however, is relatively small. For the vast majority of towns, less fortunate in location, the shortcut to urban services is foreclosed.

The apparent solution for these towns is to make them larger, or encourage the use of those that are the proper size. But how large must a town be to provide an "adequate level" of life support? Bracciano, population 10,000, has a hospital and a high school, but the extent and quality of their services are inferior to those in Rome. They are a compromise between absence and sufficiency. Clearly, then, the proper size must be still larger. Yet, how large can a town get and still have the characteristics we find in Anguillara? The answer, unfortunately, cannot be established from my data. I sense a qualitative change between Anguillara and Bracciano. While I may be acquainted with a few thousand people, mere recognition of 10,000 as fellow townsmen would be far more difficult. The differences between Anguillara and a town ten times its size should be extensive, in terms of the functioning of the whole.

Theoretically, all the preceding problems, dependent upon urban scale, would vanish with increased size. Problems of a second type are very different. They are undesirable side effects inherent in the conditions of organization and density upon which the successful operation of the medieval environment rests. Mutual knowledge diminishes personal privacy. Social control inhibits innocuous individual behaviors. Social interaction dictates involvement for everyone. There are no obvious means of eliminating these unpleasant,
interdependent consequences without also destroying the mechanisms that give life in Anguillara its quality.

Personal privacy is severely restricted in Anguillara, in the sense that anonymity is impossible to obtain. One may be introverted, seal off one's dwelling, but all else remains accessible to the public and therefore subject to scrutiny: one's visitors, politics, diet. Even private behavior may be inferred from the hours at which one comes and goes. It may be schizoid to contend that anyone would care about such things, but in this context, there is not much else with which people may concern themselves other than the behavior of their neighbors. Any departure from group norms or expectations almost seems designed, in the eyes of viewers, to attract their attention. The pressures to conform to common standards of behavior are powerful.

Social interaction has no counterpart. No one can be a hermit in Anguillara, no matter how much he may keep to himself. On the street everyone is expected to be civil toward their fellows, introverts and extroverts alike, and to maintain a consistent public visage. It is a routine from which there is no escape. Greetings rendered once a day are fine, even when one is in the worst of moods. But when circumstances compel multiple daily encounters with the same people, the small task of acquaintance grows very tedious. I often took circuitous routes to frequent destinations to avoid having to confront them repeatedly.
In the course of human affairs carried on at this intensity, some discord must be anticipated. It is very hard to be neutral, to never offend anyone. I could not help wondering what people would say after I refused to return the injured sparrow to the little girls' mother. The knowledge I assumed people had about the incident was more troubling than the incident itself. No one terminated an existing relationship, though I sensed some casual acquaintances were a bit more distant and regarded me peculiarly. It did not take long to learn that a few people were indignant. In time, I suppose, everyone comes to have established feelings, positive or negative, about everyone else. If the support of friends is assured, perhaps it is unnecessary to worry about enemies. Whether extensive social contact tempered by occasional hostility is preferable to less intimate contact without hostility is a choice one can make only for one's self.

Apart from social issues, street life is also noisy. It is difficult to sleep late in a town that awakens each morning at seven to the clanging of the trash collector's steel-wheeled cart on cobbled steps. Nor is the quaint practice of sounding the quarter-hour very charming during a fitful night. The motorcyclist's fondness for the throaty roar of his machine is far more agonizing when it's your hand-surfaced little street that he chooses as a testing ground. It may, however, temporarily drown out the raucous screaming of some mother for her child, so loud as to seem audible on the other side of town. These shrill cries, each with their special characteristics do not instill
a high regard for anyone else's parenthood in this environment.

It would be presumptuous to conclude that the Anguillarini are troubled by most of these things; for them, they are not problems, but normal expectations conditioned by life in such a place. The shortcomings in commerce and entertainment that many sense can be overcome in Rome. The Anguillarini are happy to live where they do and would not trade it for any other place. If their devotion and commitment are typical of medieval towns, the moribund towns of a few old women and the rubble carcasses of the deceased demand explanation. Were their inhabitants less devoted? I would think not.

The life and death of towns are not determined by internal forces alone. Many Etruscan towns died as a result of Roman technology, not Roman violence. The straight new roads built by the conquering Romans sometimes bypassed established communities. Deprived of commerce, they withered. The entire population of a town near Anguillara abandoned their homes in the mid-nineteenth century in similar circumstance, when a new road alignment skirted their town. Some of the inhabitants built a new Santa Maria in Galleria alongside the road, a mile away, at a location where the town was more likely to thrive.

Death is not always so cataclysmic. Medieval towns are now no less dependent on external conditions. For isolated towns, death seems imminent. Their inhabitants can eke out a subsistence living from crude agriculture. Surrounded by the material evidence of an indus-
trialized society, they crave its benefits, but are unable to share in them. Self-sufficiency is no substitute for televisions, washing machines, chic shops, and fast cars. A fundamental dislocation exists between the world around the towns and the life support available within them. Constrained by location, the towns cannot adapt to the prevailing economic and social conditions generated in urban areas. The choices are mutually exclusive: either contemporary culture or the medieval town.

The young people choose the former. They may love their town in the abstract, but not the economic conditions associated with it. Not so tied by habit to the town and the soil as their parents, the choice between rural primitivism and the promise of relative urban affluence is easy. Their parents may be able to rationalize the new amenities as things they got along without before and can do without now. For their children, who have grown up seeing them everywhere but in their own possession, these things are expectations. Determined to have them, they are abandoning the isolated towns to those now too old or still too young to relocate.

Some may promise to return when they have made their fortunes, but there is little solace in it. Most of their countrymen who probably made the same promise when they left for America have failed to keep it. In a way, it is just as well. Were today's emigrés to fulfill their pledges on a grand scale, their once economically and socially viable towns would someday become pathetic geriatric villages barely surviving on the nostalgia of a doomed and dwindling population. At
best, it forestalls the death of towns perhaps already on the threshold. The children of the emigrés will not be similarly motivated. They will be city children. They may hear stories of their parents' towns and even visit them to satisfy their curiosity. But the bond between them and the towns cannot be artificially created; they will never know them as their parents and grandparents once did. By the time Consciousness III comes to Italy, it will all be legend and the more isolated towns, abandoned shells. Even a brief visit to the remoter regions of the Italian boot will allay doubt of the diagnosis.

The fate of Anguillara and the towns like it may be different. Out-migration is moderate and the towns appear to be thriving. New buildings are being erected, the number of automobiles continues to rise, everyone dresses, eats, and lives better than ever before. Can these towns, large enough or close enough to cities to be viable, survive? Their current state of health suggests that the chances for survival, in some form, are good. The emerging nature of that form, however, forebodes significant changes in the social fabric we have thus far associated with the medieval environment.

We sometimes seem to forget that the residents of medieval towns are not conditioned to the mentality of medieval serfs by physical determinants in the environments they have inherited. Even if the towns are substantially unchanged in their major architectural attributes, the behaviors within them are also predicated on cultural conditions. These have changed radically since the towns were built.
Few people now farm, women have retired to the home, the workday has been shortened, and affluence has increased, to name some of the more obvious and immediate cultural shifts. Small scale environmental changes have accompanied them and often been readily absorbed by the existing physical framework: domestic electricity, radios and television, household appliances, indoor plumbing, and automobiles. Only financial limitations have kept families from acquiring some of them, but they expect to have these amenities just as their urban and American cousins have them. They intend to have them within the medieval environment or will move to newer residential quarters or the cities to do so, as their rural compatriots have been doing.

Sometimes the amenities the Anguillarini desire have clear impacts that, from external vantage points, appear undesirable. The new road around the peninsula is an obvious example. What motivated the municipality to start dumping truckloads of fill in the lake is uncertain. The town awakened one morning to the rumble of earthmoving equipment, and the project, without further fanfare, was underway. It was not and would not have been approved by the Commissione delle Belle Arte, a national agency charged with maintaining Italy's artistic and architectural heritage. With opinions to the contrary from provincial officials, newspapers, and the national preservation and conservation society, Italia Nostra, the Anguillarini nonetheless welcomed the road. No harm was seen in the paving that would soon replace the water lapping at the sides of their houses. The road was another amenity which promised the Anguillarini more convenient
parking, more places for Sunday tourist strolls, more activity, more commerce, more money, and hence even more amenity.

Other amenities pose more subtle threats to the way of life. Those of us who have glimpsed the other side of the mountain might presume that the inhabitants' desires are ill-conceived. Running water, after all, is the thin end of the wedge that ultimately leads to garbage disposals and automatic icemakers. That observed correlation does not imply that the desire for domestic running water is a false need created by insidious advertising. Some amenities, legitimate enough to be necessities for us, may also become necessities to others. Only the rankest elitist would advise others to enjoy their material inadequacies while he suffers with his indoor plumbing, washing machines, and refrigerators.

Consider the consequences of some of the more pedestrian amenities. Domestic refrigeration reduces the number of daily shopping trips. Hot and cold running water make curiosities of public fountains. Washing machines render the outdoor wash stands obsolete, except as planters. These simple amenities significantly alter social relations. As equipment fills the house, each housewife performs fewer activities and spends less time outside. Eventually, women in Anguillara will have no more reason than any American housewife to be outdoors.

This projection may seem far-fetched. But significant changes in environmental use and social relations have occurred within recent memory. Even after World War II, friends and neighbors would often gather in the evening to sing and dance. No one does anymore. Instant
passive entertainment is available in every livingroom through the miracle of television. We noticed that the only women who still lacked domestic water were those living close enough to fountains to tolerate the inconvenience. They are the only ones who meet in the course of performing water-dependent tasks. No one else had to use our piazza. Therefore no informal task-associated contact occurred between those women living in the piazza and those living beyond it, all of whom have running water at home. Major environmental conditions that have encouraged social interaction have been neutralized by cultural change and small scale environmental innovations. While residents still have friends and neighbors, a common aspect of and focus for their relationship has disappeared. In the long run, domestic amenity threatens to shift the whole foundation of social interaction among women away from task-related activities. What will take its place is conjectural.

The number of alternative scenarios is limited. Freezing the development of medieval towns at an arbitrarily chosen point in time would be infeasible administratively and self-defeating. No one can be condemned to live in an environment that shared culture has outgrown. Short of imprisoning the inhabitants in their museum-piece environment, it is doubtful that the towns would long remain populated. All the good intentions and fine arts commissions are unlikely to succeed in persuading townsfolk to respect their medieval heritage and abandon contemporary culture.

No professional advice is necessary to illuminate the choices for the
residents: the tradeoff between amenity and street life. To be sure, there are undesirable and unintended consequences implicit in the decision to acquire the trappings of twentieth century technology that the inhabitants have not foreseen. To them, the benefits only seem to pile up, without destroying benefits that already exist. But the tradeoff is not between two equivalent options. The amenities in question are so fundamental in Western society that no one would deny themselves access to them voluntarily.

Nor will the change be deterred by cosmetic environmentalism: making certain that fountains and laundries continue to exist and be maintained as social foci for the women who once used them for functional reasons. Public facilities, deprived of the activities that formerly engendered their use, are socially meaningless. Women supplied with running water do not go to fountains, with or without buckets. They find other social outlets.

The last choice, the choice that all the others reduce to, is to allow the physical environment to evolve spontaneously, as it always has in medieval towns, though it may lag behind prevailing culture. Amenity, not aesthetics or historicism, is the central issue to the town's residents. They are the ones that choose to live in the environment. It hardly matters to them that the new washing machine sits in the dining room, or that the bathroom has to be cantilevered over the street. What matters is the simple, unadorned fact of finally having them.
It is ironic that the very people committed to the survival of towns and the life they associate with them ultimately bear the responsibility for changing them. They are caught in an existential dilemma: to accept or reject culturally defined and conditioned necessities. Without them they are likely to abandon the town; with them, they transfigure it. It is tragic that environments and behaviors that no longer fit their cultures self-destruct, in a sense. At least the choice and the process are spontaneous and internal, not the whim of an external decision-maker. Whatever the physical result, whatever the social consequences, they are responsible to needs inhabitants themselves perceive.

One qualification tempers the prognosis. The analysis I have drawn from a year in Anguillara is based on no more than a snapshot. No matter how fine the resolution, it is an image of an environment at only a single point in time. To predict the shape of the curve of the town's development from that one point is impossible. I see it as a point of inflection, a place where the shape and direction of the curve change. I am prepared and would be happy to be proved wrong by time.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I: NOTES ON TIME-LAPSE FILMING

The design professions have avidly seized upon time-lapse film as a tool for the study of environmental phenomena. It offers several obvious advantages: No other observational method is as expedient and comprehensive. The entire record of visually-discernable events in a given place can be subjected to repeated and varied analysis, unspecified or impossible to administer on the events themselves. There are also disadvantages to which we shall return. Three problems confront the potential film maker: technique, equipment, and analysis. My own, sometimes frustrating, experiences with them may help others avoid the same pitfalls.

Technique is the first consideration. The choice of equipment depends upon what one intends, and can reasonably expect, to do. The size of the environment in question is a critical determinant: a film of a park bench may require different techniques and supply different information than a film of the entire park. At small scales, the details of interaction are available for analysis; larger ones, may provide only the grossest evidence of environmental use. All of my work was done from a single fixed observation point in order to obtain a record of all the events in a particular space. I experimented in a few different places and did more extensive filming on the basis of the results. Film of the Piazza del Campo in Siena was useless for my purposes, since it showed only tiny dots moving across a marginally differentiated field. From it, I could establish traffic counts and destinations, but these mundane tasks are just as well done
with the naked eye. The films of small piazzas were more useful. Individuals could be identified and their actions discerned. Therefore, all filming was restricted to spaces no larger than a hundred feet square.

A rate between one and two frames per second was satisfactory for the spaces I worked with. Since the normal 8 mm filming rate is 16 frames per second, this rate compresses real time by a factor of about ten: ten hours of daylight then yield one hour of film. More important than the precise real time-to-film time ratio are questions of image continuity and activity duration. Anything less than a frame per second in the spaces I filmed produced severe eye strain in viewing because the figures moved too quickly and abruptly across the scene. That rate also insured that all persons moving across the space would appear in the film and all activities performed would be recognizable. For larger spaces, of course, the interval can be longer, assuming individual activities are not of interest or not discernible anyway. Because rates should vary with the size of figures relative to the image, shifting lenses to focus on different environmental scales is ill-advised. Inevitably, as one focuses on a small environmental feature, something important begins to happen outside the field of view. Shifting the camera position or zooming back are always disconcerting since so few frames are available to effect the transition. Fixed focal length and fixed camera position are thus necessary and sufficient conditions for time-lapse filming.
I had a Bolex H-8 with a three-lens turret, though the wide angle alone was adequate for most work. The Bolex had many drawbacks. One of them was the fact that it did not film at low rates automatically. Faced with the prospect of having to buy a $500 electro-mechanical timing mechanism to trip the shutter, I searched desperately for a more expedient solution. I finally found someone who would build a timer that required less than thirty dollars worth of common electrical components. It employed a motor with a geared-down output shaft, such as used in clocks. A cam with a series of detents was mounted on the shaft. They engaged a microswitch as the cam rotated which activated a solenoid to mechanically trip the shutter. From the standpoint of shutter longevity, the resulting impulses may be punishing, since 50,000 cycles or more are necessary for a single day's filming. This alone is a good reason to use other cinematographic equipment.

The whole problem of timing mechanisms can be avoided by choosing a camera with inherent slow-filming capabilities. A number are available in the 8 mm, super-8, and 16 mm categories. Image quality is understandably superior in the 16 mm format. So is cost. An hour's worth of black-and-white film (approximately a day's activity) costs about twenty to thirty dollars. The same film in 16 mm will cost four times as much. Double the price in either case for color. Super-8 is a happy compromise. Only slightly more expensive than regular 8, it affords a fifty per cent larger image. A number of super-8 cameras will film automatically at one or two frames per second. Among them
are Beaulieu, Bolex, and Nizo. They are motor-driven, thus avoiding the unpleasant interruptions for rewinding demanded by the 8 mm Bolex. (Incidently, the optional motor-drive for the spring-driven Bolex cannot be used below 8 frames per second.) Though super-8 film cartridges contain only fifty feet of film, they are quickly and easily replaced. Moreover, they have reflex viewing and automatic exposure control. Manual exposure is totally unsatisfactory. Small changes in light levels are imperceptible to the eye, but obvious on film. Initially black-and-white super-8 film was hard to obtain; presumably that limitation no longer exists.

Given the right equipment, making time-lapse films is easy. Making sense out of them, except in the most superficial ways, is much harder. There are no ready-made analytic techniques for interpreting the data. One must improvise on one's own. I found that viewing the film dozens of times was necessary. On each repetition, a different phenomenon was examined and the data related to it recorded. I did this for circulation, conversations, visits, encounters and so on. At times the sexes and identities of individuals, particularly children, were in doubt. Sometimes, the activities they performed were unclear out of their original context. The whole process of analysis is tedious and fraught with difficulty. Film is more likely to be useful as a supplement to other techniques rather than a method in itself. In application and analysis, the whole field awaits a clever innovator.
Some of the data of only passing interest in the text have been tabulated here for readers who wish to examine it more closely. A few prefatory words in most cases identify the source for the material and provide other explanatory details.

One indication of the relative representations of men and women in the residential areas was obtained by analysis of a time-lapse film of our own piazza. Specific activities of the members of each resident family were isolated and are tabulated on the following page. The location of each family's house is shown on Figure 2, page 55. Not included are roughly a dozen play episodes which involved most of the children living in the piazza. The lone toddler participated in these, but also played by himself while older children were in school.

"UR," "LR," "UL," and "LL" refer to the streets leading from the piazza, as shown on Figure 2. "Lower left" and "Upper left" may frequently be associated with shopping. "Upper left" and to a lesser extent "Upper right" are the paths leading to school. In the table, the first number in each column represents the morning tally; the second number, the one after the dash is the afternoon tally.
Summary: Piazza Residents' Activities

<table>
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<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>&quot;UP&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;LE&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;UL&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;LL&quot;</th>
<th>DRAW WATER</th>
<th>DUMP TRASH</th>
<th>HANG WASH</th>
<th>TERRACE</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>1-0</td>
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<td>1-2&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3-6</td>
<td>2-0</td>
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</table>

a Fisherman broke up a rock-throwing incident as he passed through the piazza.
b Wash hung at piazza terrace.
c Fisherman's wife's conversations occur with women at fountain on these two occasions, when she goes to terrace to check wash.
d Widow is mute.
e Trash collector's wife goes shopping with sister, widow's daughter above.
f Wash hung at own terrace.
g Six trips by grandmother between house and courtyard entry to see what was going on not included here.
h Wife goes shopping with a visitor.
Summary: Piazza Residents' Visits and Conversations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>Visits Paid</th>
<th>Visitors Received</th>
<th>Conversations</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>0-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>In stopping children's rock throwing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two with women at fountain, one with collector's wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elder Daughter</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>9-2</td>
<td>4-2</td>
<td></td>
<td>All visits to and visitors from trash collector's</td>
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<td>All visits to and visitors from trash collector's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trash Collector</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conversations with fisherman's wife while sweeping stoop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
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<td>15-5</td>
<td>1-0</td>
<td>All visits paid to widow (mother) and daughter</td>
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<td>2-3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Afternoon visits to courtyard families; all other visits to and from toddler</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
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<td>2-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Both visits to toddler's house</td>
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<td>3-9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Most visits to and visitors from toddler and trash collector's kids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
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<td>Conversation with wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2-0</td>
<td>One conversation with women at fountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>3-3</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>Two morning visits from plasterer's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conversation while washing steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toddler</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>4-4</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>All visits to and from trash collector's and plasterer's kids</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Listed chronologically below are the activities performed by the members of a single family living in our piazza from daybreak until dark. The family consists of five persons: a fisherman, his wife, their two teenage daughters and the fisherman's widowed mother. They live in three rooms, only one of which has daylight. Their activities were numerically the least extensive of the families in the piazza, but they are representative. The terms "lower right," "lower left," "upper right," and "upper left" refer to the streets leading from the piazza as shown on Figure 2, page 55. The use associated with each street has been inserted parenthetically where possible.

1. Mother dumps garbage in collector's cart, located a few steps from her door.
2. Father returns from lower right (may have already set nets and accompanied an associate home en route, since path to lower right curves back to the left as it descends to the lake).
3. Mother hangs out wash at upper portion (terrace) of piazza (may have drawn water before daylight) and returns home.
4. Mother hangs out wash at terrace and returns home.
5. Mother draws water at fountain and returns home.
6. Mother hangs out wash at terrace and returns home.
7. Younger daughter returns from lower right. Older daughter follows thereafter.
8. Younger daughter goes to upper right (school, church).
9. Mother goes out to check wash.
10. Mother goes to upper right (visiting).
11. Mother returns from upper right (visiting).
12. Younger daughter returns from upper left (school).
13. Father leaves to lower left (dock), pats toddler in piazza on the head.
14. Mother hangs out wash at terrace and returns home.
15. Mother arranges wash on bamboo pole, suspends it near terrace area and returns home.
16. Mother draws water and returns home.
17. Younger daughter goes to terrace, then leaves toward upper left (school).
18. Mother goes to check wash, stands talking to young woman drawing water, who hands up item of wash that had fallen. She then returns home.
19. Mother hangs out wash and returns.
20. Same as above.
21. Same as above.
22. Younger daughter returns from upper left (school).
23. Mother goes to terrace to check wash, talks with woman at fountain. She goes to main section of the piazza to continue the conversation and then returns home.
24. Father returns from lower left (work), stops children in piazza from throwing stones at one another.

Note that some events may have occurred before daybreak. A few others may also be "missing," because they occurred during reel changes, or were outside the camera's field of view.
Most of the specific activities associated with the piazza were performed by piazza residents. In addition other townsfolk traversed the piazza as passersby. Their paths are tabulated here. Note that the first figure represents persons going in one direction, the second, those proceeding in the opposite sense. Note that the abbreviations "UR," "LR," and so forth refer, as in the preceding cases, to the paths from the piazza shown in Figure 2.

**Summary: Paths of Passersby**

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UR-LR</th>
<th>UL-LR</th>
<th>UR-LL</th>
<th>UL-LL</th>
<th>UR-UL</th>
<th>LR-LL</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<td>14-16</td>
<td>20-18</td>
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The miscellaneous category consisted chronologically of the following events:

1. A woman comes from UR to the fountain and returns.
2. The same sequence is performed by the same woman.
3. A boy comes from UR to the terrace and returns.
4. A man goes to a nearby house from UR.
5. The same man leaves the house and goes to UL.
6. The same man returns from UL.
7. A preschooler comes to the piazza from LL and returns.
8. A girl comes from UL, gets water, and returns.
9. A girl comes from UR to the terrace and returns.
10. A woman comes from UR, stops at the terrace, goes for water, visits in the courtyard, and returns.
11. A woman comes from UR, gets water, talks with the fisherman's wife at the terrace, and returns.
12. A woman comes from LR, gets water, talks with the grandmother, standing at entryway, and returns.
13. Two girls coming from UR visit the trash collector's and leave to LL.
Summary: Survey Respondents' Household Characteristics

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<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<th>E</th>
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* Installed within two years prior to study
+ Without running water
CHAPTER I

1. Many historical items of interest are cited in a brief, undated brochure entitled "Anguillara Sabazia" distributed by the provincial tourist agency, Ente Provinciale per il Turismo di Roma. While the case against the eels seems rather definitive, the case for the Anguillara family is still subject to doubt. Some sources, undesignated in the pamphlet, trace the name to the angle, angolo, formed in the perimeter of the lake by the peninsula upon which the town is sited. A Roman villa built in the vicinity—the Villa Angularia di Rutilia Polla—may have been named for the same feature.

2. Some maps painted on the walls of the Vatican Museum's second floor gallery show the lake as "Lago di Anguillara."

3. I am indebted to Dr. J. B. Ward-Perkins, director of the British School at Rome for this information, contained in a lecture to the Fulbright grantees in architecture in 1967.

4. Residents are fond of reciting this tale. It is also summarized in the pamphlet by the Ente Provinciale per il Turismo di Roma.

5. Ibid.


7. Signora Q's house has since succumbed to progress. Large cracks appeared in the structure, the result of repeated shocks from fill operations, part of the initial construction of a road around Anguillara's lakefront. The house was declared unfit and the Q's received some compensation from the municipality. They moved to a large building outside town which they had previously used only as a restaurant in the summer.


9. Ibid.


12. Ibid., pp. 11-12.


15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 23


18. Ibid., p. 23.


22. Ibid.


27. Ibid., p. 56.


CHAPTER II

1. Full-time employment among married women is not common. While I have no broad statistical evidence, in my own survey of ten women, only three were regularly employed, two of them on a part-time basis. Of these three, two were unmarried: a sixty-year-old spinster and a female head-of-household supporting an elderly mother.

2. The medianisms that account for this phenomenon will be explained later in the chapter.

3. Precisely how these arrangements come into being warrants more detailed sociological study.

4. The lack of specific indoor play space seems to be a constant, even among families with more extensive living quarters.

5. Several factors may restrict vehicular access: narrow street width, inadequate turning radii, ramped steps, blockage of access by other cars.

6. Both preschoolers and school children are subject to discipline by adults, though the younger ones are more likely to commit social improprieties by violating private space and failing to show deference to adults.

7. Again, I lack statistical evidence on household distribution, but the number of unmarried heads-of-household and childless couples seems low. At the same time, the number of three-generation houses is rather high, due to the practice of supporting a widowed parent at home when space permits. See Appendix II.

8. There are, of course, cases of alienation. We knew of a few situations which had deteriorated as a result of excessive parental interference and stringency.

9. Some of our younger friends began promoting these events weeks in advance, knowing that we would offer to provide them with transportation. Even when their parents take them, they quickly manage to go off on their own for most of the visit.

10. On the weekends, when there are large crowds and in the summer, when chairs are deployed in the piazza, obligations of consumption are irrelevant. There is no way to know or remember whether each client has paid his way.

12. This behavior is a response to strangers in general, not just foreigners or women. We noticed on visits to other towns with local friends that they were objects of curiosity as much as we were.

13. The extent of domestic space and amenity vary widely. See Appendix II for a complete summary.

14. Note that this differs substantially from the deterministic hierarchy of space use suggested by Goldfinger in Chapter I. Functional needs rather than architectural ordering influence who meets whom.

15. Possibly, having to contend with environmental features helps keep the elderly fit.


CHAPTER III

1. I would be hard pressed to draw an accurate map of the town, even after having worked with some. It is very difficult for me to conceptualize all but the most simple relationship between proximate and intersecting streets.

2. Some caves were unearthed in a relatively remote section of the peninsula. Townsfolk, many of whom probably had not been in that area in years, made a special point of going to see them.

3. A section of the medieval zone near the lake is less than a hundred years old, yet the units there are not substantially larger than the others in that part of town.

4. The old woman who lived next door to us was poorly informed with regard to the specific residential locations of other townsfolk, though she had lived in Anguillara for more than ten years. The reasons may be twofold: she was socially withdrawn and because of age, she never had a period of wide-ranging environmental use in the town.

5. Time-lapse analyses are time-consuming. The material must be viewed several times to obtain the desired data. Watching the films for extended periods can produce severe eyestrain, an inherent limitation on analytical intentions.

6. Play activities among neighboring children are not included in the count of settings. They were too numerous to count and are not discrete events.
CHAPTER IV


2. See, for example, Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 244-245 particularly. The same sorts of images are found in other standard sources: William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society; Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot; Gerald D. Suttles, Social Order of the Slum. The family-centered characteristics of Italian-Americans may be, to a large extent, a function of class rather than ethnicity.

3. Survey respondents perceived themselves to be in such situations, not knowing what I might foolishly say to the next person I would speak to. They were understandably reticent, at times, about friendships and conflicts among their neighbors.


5. Stanley Milgram, in a lecture at Harvard University in December 1970, described a similar phenomenon in a very different context. Milgram studied commuters in New York who encountered one another repeatedly in station while awaiting a train. Their regular and frequent contact did not result in friendship or even conversation in most cases; they merely recognized each other by sight. In Milgram's apt phrase, they were "familiar strangers." Only irregularities in routine, such as a late train, sparked contact among the commuters.

6. In this particular instance, the mother was mute and unable to communicate with anyone except her daughter.

CHAPTER V

1. Anguillara, according to one local source, has the highest rate of civil suit in Latium, an interesting commentary if in fact true.

2. Adults would frequently pick up one preschooler who enjoyed sprawling on the pavement in our piazza. Hardly breaking stride, they would stand him on his feet, see that he was not hurt, and be gone.
3. Some friends reported that neighbors would get out of bed at night and go to a house from which coughing or other unusual noises might have emanated to offer assistance.

4. Dr. Perkins' lecture (see note 3).

5. Ibid.
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Whyte, William F. *Street Corner Society.*
