

CHAPTER 10

Mountain Pasture in Friuli (Italy)

Past and Present

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Introduction

In mountainous regions, where agricultural activities are constrained by the climatic effects of altitude, edaphic factors, a scarcity of soil, and steep slopes, pastoralism was the most effective and dominant agricultural activity. Large expanses of grassland, which ring the valleys above the tree line, could be made accessible for productive farming activities using the ability of domestic livestock to convert the natural plant cover into nutritious produce. In the Alps—as described also in th Chapter 6 of this volume—a combination of cultivation and herding emerged, which has become known as alpine animal husbandry or the alpine agropastoral system (Italian, *alpicoltura*; German, *Alpwirtschaft*, *Almwirtschaft*). It is the movement of humans and their livestock between permanent winter settlements in the valley and temporary summer settlements in the alpine and subalpine belt. Two or more spatially segregated spheres of agroproduction are evident—fields and meadows near the village, and (low- or high-altitude) mountain pastures, i.e., alps, with shelters for animals, people, and associated milk processing, where desirable. The summer grazing of animals has many advantages, the most evident is a supplement of (up to one third or more) animal fodder, thus the scarce land in the lower narrow valleys are made available for crop cultivation and hay-making (Kirchengast 2008). Alpine farming is sometimes called “vertical transhumance,” and is actually a condensed mountain-adapted variation of short-distance transhumance. In long-distance transhumance, livestock move from the summer pastures in the mountains to their winter pastures in the lowlands, where they stay until summer (Gilck and Poschlod 2019).¹

Despite the fact that differences between alpine farming, transhumance, and other forms of nomadism and seasonal use of the alpine and pre-alpine belts are difficult to critically assess, archeological discoveries from alpine dairy huts prove the existence of alpine farming in different parts of the Alps during the Bronze age (2200–800 BC); palynological studies have found even earlier (from the early 4500 BC) indicators for high-altitude pasture, but they indicate only pasture, hence it is not possible to distinguish between nomadism, transhumance, and alpine farming (see also Chapter 3). Nevertheless, clear proof in the form of written sources exists from the Middle Ages only, linguistic findings of place names and terms associated with alpine farming indicate beginnings prior to the Middle Ages and even before the time of the Roman Empire (Gilck and Poschlod 2019).

Therefore, it is not surprising that alpine pasture has been dealt with by several disciplines, from agronomy to archeology, history, geography, as well as the more ethnographic approaches of anthropology, ethnology, and folklore studies (German, Austrian, and Swiss, *Volkskunde* and Slovenian, *narodopisje*). Among the anthropological approaches, Robert Burns (1963) identified mixed farming on communally owned alps as a basis for upland subsistence. A chapter was (also) dedicated to mountain husbandry in *The Hidden Frontier*; a classic of alpine anthropology by Cole and Wolf (1999, the first edition was published in 1974). A focal point for such livelihood strategies was given to the relatively closed corporate community as described by Netting in *Balancing on an Alp* (1981). The assumptions discussed in these works were relativized by Viazzo in *Upland Communities* (1989), who was able to demonstrate small scale variations and the importance of other economic activities. These anthropological “views from afar,” or, in Viazzo’s case, “close up views,” are complemented by several collections of “native” ethnological and folklore studies, that have, since the second part of the twentieth century, overcome their patriotic and nationalist past, and given more attention to historical and critical approaches (Baskar 2014, Krauß 2018).

The first specialized studies of the Friuli alps date from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, and were written by the geographers Giovanni Marinelli (1880, 1894) and his son Olinto Marinelli (1902), Musoni (1910a, 1910b, 1914), De Gasperi (1914), Dvorsky (1915), and later also by the agronomist, Marchettano (1908–11). Even in the second half of the twentieth century, geographical and agronomical research of alpine farming took place, with several studies partially dedicated to the local mountain agriculture (Bevilacqua 1960; Bonetti 1960; Valussi 1954), which were even further underpinned by the founding of the University of Udine in 1978.

Pascolini and Tessarin (1985) dedicated a monograph to the peasant alpine herders (*malghese*) and forest workers, which was followed by several works on the alps and alpine farming (Mauro Pascolini 1992, 1997, 2001). That research was more recently complemented by folkloristic interests (Marta Pascolini 2010), by the interests of historians and agronomists about commons (Bassi and Carestiato 2016; Bianchetti 2014; Tagliaferri et al. 1981), by linguistic research (Dapit 1995–2008; Desinan 1982–83), by regional development studies (Bovolenta et al. 2003; Chiopris et al. 2014; Pasut et al. 2006; Pasut, Romanzin, and Bovolenta 2016; Vendrami and Viel 2010), by several local studies (Burelli 1999; Ceconi 2011; Cozzi, Isabella, and Navarra 1998; Danelutto 2003; Depollo 1980; De Zorzi and Mariutto 2015; Furlan 1995; Ledinek Lozej 2016; Madotto 1987; Mauro Pascolini 1994; Pascolini and Tondo 1996; Pasut et al. 2016; Vidrigh 2003), as well as “views from afar,” taking several works by Minnich (1989, 1990, 1998) and Heady (1999) into consideration, where alpine pasture is discussed as an important part of the anthropological setting.

The terms *mont*, *berghe*, *olbe*, *Alm*, *Alp*, *malga*, *planina* are used in the southeastern Alps of Friuli Venezia Giulia (FVG) to describe seasonal alps, that is mountain pastures with accompanying agricultural and residential infrastructure—shelters for livestock, people and the accompanying dairying area. The autonomous FVG region actually lies at the crossroads of the Romance, Germanic, and Slavic worlds and borders Veneto Region to the west, Austrian Carinthia to the north and Slovenia to the east. Until recently, it included four provinces—Gorizia, Trieste, Pordenone, and Udine.² The chapter focuses on the latter two, i.e., on the hilly and mountainous areas of the Pordenone and Udine provinces, where we find the orographically, morphologically, and geologically diverse Julian and Carnic Prealps, Friuli Dolomites, Julian and Carnic Alps, with Sauris (1400 m) as its highest settlement, and the highest peak at Coglians/Hohe Warte (2780 m). As mentioned, FVG is a meeting point for various language groups: Romance (namely Italian and Friuli), Germanic (either in the form of a compact settlement in the Canale Valley or as language islands in the settlements of Sauris and Timau), and Slovene on the eastern outskirts (in the Canale Valley, Resia, the Torre, Cornappo and Natisone valleys).

Historically, the area has been subjected to constant change and shifting borders between governments, which, together with the natural geographical characteristics of these mountain areas, has affected the demographics, i.e., growth, decline, and (permanent or temporary) migration of the population, property relations, livelihood strategies, and everyday practices (Maniaco 2014). In the Middle Ages, the mountain areas of today’s FVG were a border area between the Aquileian Patriarchate and the Austrian provinces, in the Early Modern Period between the Venetian

Republic and the Austrian provinces, in the nineteenth century between the Kingdom of Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy, and in the second half of the twentieth century between Italy, Austria, and Yugoslavia and later Slovenia (Coradazzi and Spinatto 1994). These borders could have either been separated or united, could have been fortified and unpassable dividing lines of areas, or more permeable, enabling cross-border grazing on the basis of pre-established rights. At the end of this abridged sociogeographical outline, it is worth mentioning two disasters that accelerated a number of social processes in the region and, at the same time, brought about a pause to reflect on the future of the area. First, the tragedy at the Vajont dam on 9 October 1963, caused by a landslide in the reservoir lake triggered a tsunami-like wave, which washed away the Longarone settlement lying below the dam. Second, the disastrous earthquakes of 6 May and aftershock on 15 September 1976, with their epicenters in Gemona del Friuli, were the final blows to the remnants of past (alpine) farming livelihoods and practices.

This chapter is based on an overview of the aforementioned expert literature and on fieldwork that took place between April 2016 and September 2017, which included visits to several alps, semistructured interviews with farmers, herders, cheesemakers, and experts, joining several cattle drives, attending different workshops on local development, and several festive events (e.g., the Feast of Transhumance, cheese exhibitions, and fairs).

Historical Overview of Mountain Pastures in Friuli

The past existence of transhumance livestock raising in the Friuli region has been proven by toponyms and archival sources (Desinan 1982–83). Mountain pastures are first mentioned in the eighth century, namely in the donation of the Langobard brothers, Erfo, Ante, and Marco to the monasteries of Salto and Sesto al Reghena from 762, which, among the donated items, also mention a *monte* (meaning “mountain pasture” or “alp” in Friuli language), that could be used for grazing of livestock herds (Faleschini 1970; Mauro Pascolini 2001; Dreossi and Pascolini 2010).

During the Middle Ages, the majority of mountain pastures were in the property of the Patriarchs of Aquileia, and were leased out to vassals and *gastalds*, or even given for use by local inhabitants. For example, in 1275, the patriarch Raimond della Torre made the use of mountain meadows and pastures available to the Carnians in exchange for a tithe on their produce. Some mountain pastures were also the allodial property of nobility, or even the common property of local communities (*usi civici*). The

increase of arable land at the expense of pastures in the valley, and as the result of population growth, led to the increase of mountain pastures at the expense of forests (Faleschini 1970; Pascolini and Tessarin 1985; Pascolini 2001).

Only the Venetian Republic (1420–1797) administratively regulated the use of mountain pastures, predominately in order to protect forests (e.g., prohibiting the grazing of sheep and goats in the forests). In some cases during this period, measures were put in place to divide pasture lands that were previously common into shares held by extant households. The owners of the shares formed consortia, composed of members of the “original” families, even though well-off newcomers were permitted to buy shares (Noacco 1959; Faleschini 1970; Mauro Pascolini 2001: 74).

After Napoleon’s occupation (1797), French Civil Code was applied under the influence of the new French doctrine. In 1806 the territory was divided into municipalities and commons (*beni comunali*), including mountain pastures, which were given, first only under administrative management, and later as property, to the newly established municipalities. Common property (*beni comuni*) became communal assets (*beni comunali*); commons were transformed into the public property of municipalities (Faleschini 1970; Mauro Pascolini 2001; Carestiatto 2014).

The land register of all mountain pastures was elaborated during time of the Austrian Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia (1814–66). The tax imposed on alpine pastures was higher than that of the valley pastures, thus recognizing the significant economic potential of the alps. Pasture outside the boundaries of the alps (i.e., forest pasture) was abolished. The municipalities were ordered to sell all—once common, and since 1806, municipal—less fertile and uncultivated lands. During this period some lower and/or less fertile alpine pastures were privatized; the higher alps were, for the most part, exempt from being sold off (Faleschini 1970; Mauro Pascolini 2001; Bianchetti 2014).

After the annex of Friuli to the Kingdom of Italy in 1866, the new government showed huge interest in accelerating agriculture, evident from the establishment of itinerant chairs of agriculture for small farmers (*Cattedre Ambulanti di Agricoltura*) in 1869, the Agricultural Chemistry Station of Udine (*Stazione chimico Agraria di Udine*) in 1870, and cooperative dairies (*latteria turnaria*). The first cooperative dairy, in which members assisted the cheesemaker and then took a share of cheese, was founded in 1881 in the extreme northwestern Carnian village of Collina. The government also launched several competitions to reward the best managers of the alps (*malgaro, malghese*) and published expert articles on good practice in alp management in specialist agricultural journals (Tagliaferri et al. 1981; Ceconi 2011; Pasut 2016). And, as mentioned above, the first expert studies

by geographers and agronomists (G. Marinelli 1880, 1894; O. Marinelli 1902; Marchettano 1908–11; Musoni 1910a, 1910b, 1914; De Gasperi 1914; Dvorsky 1915) also took place at the end of the nineteenth century.

After World War I, the Canale Valley and Fusine al Lago (until then part of the Habsburg Monarchy's Duchy of Carinthia) were annexed by Italy. In the 1920s, the state of Friuli animal husbandry was in poor condition, due to it being in the vicinity of the Isonzo Front, and the effects of German and Austrian military occupation after the breakthrough of their forces in Kobarid. In the period of postwar renewal, special attention was given to the alps, especially to those on the Montasio plateau in the Western Julian Alps, which were bought from the impoverished municipality of Chiusaforte by the Keepers of the Service Bull Stations of Udine consortium (*Tenutari stazioni taurine di Udine*) (Pasut, Romanzin, and Bovolenta 2016).

In the 1950s and 1960s post-World War II period, alpine animal husbandry was still a viable sector, especially in Carnia. It only started to decline from the 1970s, and in the 1980s in particular, following the earthquake of 1976. If, at the beginning of the twentieth century there were 258 alps in Friuli (De Gasperi 1914) and 132 still active alps in Carnia in 1967 (Faleschini 1970), in 1995 there were only 98 alps across the whole of Friuli (Mauro Pascolini 2001). Among the agricultural reasons that led to such a decline are the intensification of lowland agriculture and, to a lesser extent, the introduction of new animal breeds less adapted to mountain pastures (Bovolenta et al. 2005); among social reasons are the demographic trend of a decline in population and the general processes of urbanization, industrialization, and deagrarianization which caused alpine pasturing and dairying to lose its economic and even social *raison d'être* (Pascolini and Tessarin 1985).

In the framework of the "new rural paradigm" and EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which promoted rural development as a multilevel, multiactor, and multifaceted process (Van der Ploeg et al. 2000, Van der Ploeg and Roep 2003), the decline and unsustainability of alpine farming in the mid-1990s, triggered interest in the activity from (regional) government and experts from the field of agronomy and rural development, above all from the Regional Agency for Rural Development (*Agenzia regionale per lo sviluppo rurale*, ERSA). In the last two decades, the ERSA has implemented several European projects,³ collating information on the state of mountain pastures by using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), organizing them into databases that can be continually updated, and it has also identified concrete and viable development strategies (Pasut 2012, 2013, 2015; Sanna 2013). In addition to collating data and strategic development, the ERSA has also promoted alpine cheeses and other products with a variety of quality labels (certificates, trademarks, and

geographical indications). The measures had little substantial impact on alpine dairying and farming production.⁴ The one exception however was Montasio cheese that had already been awarded a national Denomination of Typicity in 1955; since 1984 it was under the auspices of the Consortium for the Protection of Montasio Cheese (*Consorzio per la Tutela del formaggio Montasio*) and was finally awarded Protected Designation of Origin at EU level in 1996 (Ledinek Lozej 2016, 2021). A step forward towards resolving the common challenges of alpine husbandry across the wider Alps was made with the establishment of the Society for the Study and Valorization of Alpine Animal Husbandry Systems (*Società per lo Studio e Valorizzazione dei Sistemi Zootecnici Alpini*, SoZooAlp) in 2000.

Several other media have contributed to promoting the alps and alpine pasture to the general public in recent years. Numerous guide books on regional alps have been published (Dreossi and Pascolini 1995, 2010; Chiopris and Pittino 2013; Guida 2016, 2017) and several public and private websites promote visits to the alps.⁵ During the 2017 pasture season, the *Messaggero Veneto* regional daily newspaper published a twice weekly supplement called *Journey through the Alps of Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Viaggio nelle Malghe del FVG)* written by Nicola Giraldi. This well-known author of travelogues visited the majority of still active dairy alps and shared his impressions with the newspaper's readership. Furthermore, alpine cheese and alpine pasture are (re)presented at many events organized at local and regional level, such as the *Friuli Doc* event, which represents Friuli produce and cuisine, supplemented with enogastronomic and cultural events; Enemonzo's annual Alpine Cheese and Ricotta Market-Fair (*Mostra-Mercato del Formaggio e della ricotta di Malga*); the alpine cheese auction in Sutrio; organized guided tours to the alpine pastures; cattle drive festival; photographic exhibitions and photographic publications on the alps and alpine pastures (Da Pozzo 2004); and television broadcasts on national (*Linea verde*, RAI) and regional television. All the above strengthened the visibility of alpine animal husbandry and the alps to the general public, as well as among breeders, herders, and cheesemakers.

Past and Present Models of Management

Sociohistorical and environmental conditions (location, altitude, morphology, edaphic, and climatic factors) have led to the establishment of differentiated models of use and management in the alps of the FVG region (for the other Italian regions see also Chapters 2, 6, 7, and 12). Seven different models—related to property relations and usage rights—were identified at the beginning of the twentieth century, the time of the greatest expansion

of alpine husbandry: the Carnian model, the model of the Claut area, of the Cansiglio area, of the Cavallo area, of the Raccolana Valley, of the Canale Valley, and of Venetian Slovenia (De Gasperi 1914; Mauro Pascolini 2001). The main differences in management regimes were between alps owned by individual private owners, alps in common property, and alps in public ownership, i.e., in the property of local (or other public) authority.

The main feature of the Carnian (as well as the Claut, Cansiglio, and Cavallo models) management regime is that the alps were mostly owned by municipalities. Municipalities leased an alp to the most favorable bidder for three, five, seven, or even ten years at public auction. The tenant herder (*malgaro* or *malghese*) was responsible for the overall management of the alp and, as defined by contract, had obligations for maintaining facilities, fertilizing, and clearing pastures. The contract also defined the date of the cattle drive to and from the alp, the maximum number of livestock, and other eventual duties. The tenant was individually responsible for organizing the work on the alp, such as, hiring a cheesemaker and shepherds, and drawing up individual contracts with livestock owners for the care and grazing of livestock during the alpine pasture season. In the case of dairy cattle, compensation was usually a proportion of milk or cheese. The methods of calculating the share were different, often very complex, based on the calculation of the average on different measuring days (Marchettano 1908–11).

The Raccolana Valley differentiated from the Carnian model, because the alps were divided into plots. Each plot comprised an abode, possibly two units under the same roof, and a cattle shed. A *malgaro* was given a plot of land with an abode; while livestock care, milking, and milk processing were individual, all tenants grazed together (Pasut 2016).

In the valleys of Torre and Natisone in Venetian Slovenia, where less fertile common, and later, municipal land was divided into plots and sold even in the nineteenth century, summer alpine settlements (Slovenian, *planine*) with privately owned huts (Slovenian, *kazon*) were established. Herders grazed and mowed individually, each within their own meadows and pastures; however—after the introduction of cooperative dairies—milk processing was done in common (Musoni 1913; Dvorsky 1915; De Gasperi 1915; O. Marinelli 1915; Mauro Pascolini 1992; Furlan 1995).

A transitional area between the Carnian and Natisone alpine pasture regimes existed in Resia, where the lower mountain pastures (Slovenian, *planine*) were privately owned and managed, whereas high-altitude alps (*malghe*) were the property of the municipality and leased to tenants (Maddotto 1987; Rupel 1990).

The management regime in the Canale Valley was more like the regimes in Carinthia (Austria) or in the Eastern Alps (Slovenia). High-alps



Figure 10.1. Herder and cheesemaker Angelo Tessin, Pian Mazzega alp (Malga Pian Mazzega), Piancavallo, 2016. © Špela Ledinek Lozej

were the property of closed local communities (German, *Nachbarschaft*; Slovenian, *srenje, soseke*; Italian *vicinia, consorzio vicinale*). They hired herders and, in the case of dairy cattle, also a cheese maker, who performed the work under the supervision of an elected representative of the community (Slovenian, *olmaister*; German, *Allmaister*; Italian *capomalga*). As elsewhere,

the lower mountain pastures and meadows were privately owned and managed (Rupel 1987; Dapit 1997; Ravnik 2015).⁶

In the case of the high-alps, the Carnian model has been preserved to the present day, so that the owner—either the municipality or local community—leases the alp to the most favorable bidder for a period of years. Whereas in the past tenants used to herd two or three cattle from many of the surrounding owners, today they mostly have their own cattle and to a lesser extent the livestock of other breeders. In comparison to the more than 250 dairy alps at the beginning of the twentieth century, in 2012 there were (only) 161 active alps (23 in the Venetian Prealps, 116 in the Carnic Alps, and 22 in the Julian Alps). However, most of these comprised only barren, dry, or nursing animals, and there were only sixty-four dairy alps, that is alpine pastures still accompanied with the milk processing in different dairy products—cheese, whey cheese (*ricotta*), and butter (Pasut 2016). In 2017 there were only forty-nine active dairy alps: eight in the Venetian Prealps, thirty-five in the Carnic Alps, and six in the Julian Alps (Guida 2017).⁷ Alongside the general crisis in alpine farming, there are some particular aspects linked to infrastructure (poor road infrastructure, lack of electricity and water supply, problems in telecommunications), human resources (aging work force), production (plenty of unused pastures due to low livestock performance, unused dairying facilities), and sectoral restructuring of the alps for tourism purposes. Based on previous development studies (Pascolini 1997) and strategies (Pasut 2012, 2013, 2015; Sanna 2013), as well as multicriteria analysis (Pasut 2016), the following objectives for the alpine pastures can be identified:

- (a) *pasture*: to improve use of available grazing surface; to increase surface of rich pastures; to manage pastures (e.g., rotational or sequential grazing)
- (b) *livestock*: to improve livestock suited to mountain pastures
- (c) *viability and infrastructure*: to improve external accessibility to the alps, and internal accessibility to pastures (however, the decision to improve viability shall be made by taking into account other territorial objectives, such as sustainability); to guarantee availability of energy and water resources (e.g., rainwater collection tanks in karst areas); to improve worker accommodation; to arrange premises for dairying
- (d) *dairying*: to improve milk processing quality; to market alpine dairy products; to facilitate distribution of alpine produce (e.g., in mountain huts or via other channels)
- (e) *tourism and other additional activities*: to introduce and balance catering, tourism, and educational activities in the alps

- (f) *education, training, and specialized support*: to train staff and to guarantee technical and expert support (on grazing rotation, dairy processing, marketing of dairy products, etc.)
- (g) *awareness raising, monitoring, and evaluation*: to disseminate results of expert studies; to raise awareness of the role of Alpine husbandry on the ecosystem and on the meaning of Alpine dairy farming

But all the abovementioned objectives are in the memorylands (Macdonald 2013) of structural nostalgia (Herzfeld 2005) evoking the past—its practices, life, habits, objects, etc.—for present and future purposes (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013); thus interlaced with heritage as a hegemonic idiom (see also Chapter 4). Hence, in the face of considerable heritage discourse (a) *pasture* is no longer just a resource of livestock fodder, but serves predominantly to maintain the cultural landscape and biodiversity; (b) *autochthonous breeds* and (c) restoring of *traditional architecture facets* are encouraged, (d) whereas milk should preferably be transformed into forms conforming to *PDO, Slow Food, the AQUA regional brand*, or other branded produce; and (e) the alps are mostly places for (heritage/cultural/slow etc.) *tourism*, where animals serve as a facet of catering activities. With this, (f) *ethnographers* are forced into the role of experts, that are, among others, also entrusted to (g) raise awareness and explain *past objects/artifacts and practices in completely new constellations* (e.g., exhibits in local museums or displayed on the walls of tourist facilities, cattle drive feasts, etc.). These heritage practices and discourse are supported by several different popular and expert media (from newspapers and events to expert qualification of heritage elements) and operate at various levels—from local (museum collections) to regional (inclusion of alpine cheese into regional territorial brands and local alps into regional tourism offers), and even national (inclusion of alpine dairy products on the quality schemes of the Italian Ministry of Agricultural, Food and Forestry Policies [*Ministero delle Politiche Agricole, Alimentari e Forestali, MiPAAF*]) and supranational level (evident from some echoes of regional media and herders on inclusion of transhumance on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity).

Conclusion

Despite the interest shown in enhancing alpine pasture and dairying by European, Italian, and regional policy through measures under the Rural Development and European Territorial Cooperation programs, endeavors by the ERSA, and considerable heritage discourse, it seems that signifi-



Figure 10.2. Fleons di sotto alp (Malga Fleons di sotto), 2017. © Špela Ledinek Lozej

cant impact on the preservation and enhancement of alpine pasture and dairying is absent. We notice that the number of dairy alps is in decline, that alpine dairy products have difficulties conforming with EU and regional quality schemes, and additionally, that some facilities, although beautifully restored in traditional style and perfectly equipped using EU and regional funds, are not operational. As the alps are part of a wider complex system of alpine agropastoral husbandry established to provide additional fodder and relief from some chores over the summer, to improve alpine pastures requires strategic consideration of the entire alpine husbandry system. The alps—albeit important—have a seasonal character. The sustainability of the system requires integration with broader economic and social frameworks.

In any event, the still operational alps can be divided into four types of subsistence:

- (1) enterprise intensification, either in forage or dairy production (e.g., Pian Mazzega alp);
- (2) enterprise extensification of agriculture in favor of tourism (catering, accommodation) and occasional educational programs (e.g., didactic farms, the Coot alp);
- (3) survival of the past (subsistence) practices (e.g., Fleons alp);

- (4) and new forms of cooperation and solidarity-based agriculture (e. g., endeavors of the Consortium of the Valleys and Friulian Dolomites [*Consorzio delle Valli e delle Dolomiti Friulane*] in the Fara and Rest Alps).

It seems that more than the European (for an overview of EU Common Agricultural Policy see also Chapter 1), national, and regional policy measures, the alpine pastures of Friuli are sustained by individuals and their livelihood strategies and passion. Passion for work and life in the alp, as articulated by Ilo Casaro, who has been taking care of Ielma di Sopra alp for years: “If you have a passion for animals, even if it’s difficult . . . I was born with cows, have grown up with cows, born and raised with livestock; if you have a passion, you cannot leave them, you have them to the end” (Da Pozzo 2004: 28).

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Notes

1. This was possible only in the marginal areas of the Alps, especially in the southern part where snow-free winter pastures in the lowlands are accessible (Frei-Stolba 1988).

2. For better readability all toponyms are kept in the official Italian form, although they also exist in Friuli, and in some areas also in German and Slovene.
3. For example: Development Patterns of Agrozootechnical Activities in a Mountain Environment for the Conservation of the Territory and the Enhancement of Local Products (*Modelli di sviluppo delle attività agro-zootecniche in ambiente montano per la conservazione del territorio e la valorizzazione dei prodotti locali*, Interreg IIIa Slovenia–Italy); The Way of the Alps and Lodges (*La via delle malghe e dei rifugi*, Interreg IIIa Italy–Austria); Management and Sustainable Development of Natural Habitats between Italy and Austria: The Way of the Alps (*Gestione e sviluppo sostenibile degli habitat naturali tra Italia e Austria: Via delle Malghe*, Interreg IIIa Italy–Austria); DIVERS—Biodiversity of the Mountain Taste (*Biodiversità dei sapori di montagna*, Interreg IVa Avstrija–Italija); Trans Rural Network (Interreg IVa Avstrija–Italija); MADE—Malga and Alm Desired Experience (Interreg Va Avstrija–Italija).
4. Alpine cheese is actually not included in the ERSA’s regional quality Agriculture, Quality, and Environment scheme (*Agricoltura, Qualità e Ambiente, AQUA*), established in 2017 and with seemingly short-lived outcomes. In addition to the European and regional quality scheme there is also a Slow Food presidia formed around Çuç di Mont (Friuli expression for alpine cheese), bringing together three alpine cheese producers (cf. Slow Food FVG 2019).
5. For example: Malghe FVG (2020), Associazione Allevatori Friuli Venezia Giulia (2010), PromoTurismo FVG (2020), and Comune di Sauris (2020).
6. There were also differences between individual villages, e.g., between Uggovizza and Campososso (Dapit 1997), which can be attributed to the morphological distinction between the Carnic and Julian Alps.
7. Recent research of alpine animal husbandry in Friuli distinguishes between the following mountain pasture sections: the Venetian Prealps (subdivided into the Cansiglio and Cavallo areas), the Carnic Alps (subdivided into the Degano Valley, the But Valley, the Chiarsò Valley, the Pontebba Valley, the Pramollo-Cocco, the Mimoias-Cimon, the Crostis-Valsecca, the Rioda-Losa, the Zoncolan-Arvenis, the Col Gentile, the Tinisa, the Varmost-Bivera, the Friuli Dolomites, and the Carnic Prealps zone), and the Julian Alps (subdivided into the Dogna-Miezegnot, the Tarvisio, the Montasio, the Resia, and the Gemonese area) (Pasut 2016). However, there are also other divisions in use, for example ERSA’s division on ten mountain pasture sectors: the Upper Degano Valley, the Upper But Valley, the Chiarsò Valley, the Pontebba Basin, the Julian Alps, the Sauris–Val Pesarina–Ovaro Dorsal, the Upper Tagliamento Valley, the Zoncolan-Arvenis-Dauda Dorsale, the Julian and Carnic Prealps, and the Province of Pordenone (Chiopris and Pittino 2013); and a more recent one in three larger areas: Cansiglio, Piancavallo and Friuli Dolomites; the Carnic and Precarnic Alps; and the Tarvisio and the Gemonese area (Chiopris et al. 2017).

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