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Brazil and the Agrarian Cultural Heritage.
A Preliminary Reading of the Charter of Baeza in the Tropics

“I will ask for rain and sunshine when water and light lessen over the crops; I will contemplate the bunches ripen, and fairly enough I will be there at the time of harvesting, to bring home the fruits and prove that I can be of use, too.”

(Raduan Nassar, *Lavoura Arcaica*, p. 96)


1. Introduction

A brief analysis of the history of Brazilian demographics or Brazilian literature is enough to learn that the occupation of the inner territory of the country, the so-called hinterland, was mostly a result of migration waves motivated by forestry, agriculture and livestock. As well noted by people such as Câmara Cascudo, Gilberto Freyre, José Lins do Rego, José Américo de Almeida, or Euclides da Cunha, such fact led us to acknowledge the many rural roots of Brazilian culture, many times shaped around sugar cane fields, plantations, coffee fields, engenhos (sugar cane mills), tropeiros (cowboys), slave houses, ranches, farms, backlands, small properties, masters’ houses, mining sites, rubber extraction, etc. Eventually, those economic-geographic-

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1 “Vou pedir a chuva e o sol quando escassear a água ou a luz sobre as plantações, contemplar os cachos que amadurecem, estando presente com justiça na hora da colheita, trazendo para casa os frutos, provando com tudo isso que eu também posso ser útil”.

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populational interactions generated material and immaterial cultural impressions that are essential for the very identity of our people.

This text commences with this rather obvious finding to investigate if the set of such impressions suffices to constitute a national “agrarian cultural heritage”, and attempts to specify its classification and forms of protection under the Brazilian legal system. This work is founded and based on the Charter of Baeza, an international soft-law document that uses a broad concept of agrarian heritage. Our conclusions indicate that the acknowledged agrarian cultural properties will be safeguarded in their specificities as agrarian cultural properties, which will be underscored by the respective functional dimension that enables enjoying the immaterial agrarian heritage and, consequently, the tutelage of such cultural heritage.

2. Brief concept of cultural heritage

The roots of the juridical concept of heritage (patrimônio, in Portuguese) can be traced back to ancient Rome. The institution of family and its properties were all subject to the orders of the pater, who established a relation of domination with utilitarian purposes founded on the transmission of property to his heirs. The term monium, in turn, indicates condition, state or function of that which could be transmitted. The concept of heritage starts to take shape based on such concept of transmission and transmissibility. On the other hand, when defining the term culture, José Eduardo Rodrigues and Marcos Paulo Miranda both underscore that the human species possesses the characteristic of producing knowledge and techniques from the interaction of men and women with the environment, which are passed down through symbols existing in an artificial setting that is in constant change.

By joining the two notions outlined above (heritage and culture), the notion of “cultural heritage” would, therefore, be the union of components which represent a past charged with cultural values and which express

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2 The document can be retrieved from https://www.unia.es/explorar-catalogo/item/carta-de-baeza.

3 Crippa, Souza, O Patrimônio como processo: uma ideia que supera a oposição material-imaterial, in Em Questão, Porto Alegre, 2, 2011, pp. 237-251, jul./dez.


5 A more complex debate about the concept of culture is found in Silva, Ordenação Constitucional da Cultura, São Paulo, 2001, pp. 19-38.
a legacy that represents the identity of a people. Such transmission (or legacy) is a link of feelings that gather esteem, pride and reminiscent value to a certain social group. The extent, reach and meaning of such feelings is connected to the diversity of cultural properties that are contained in the term cultural heritage, whether they are of global, regional, national, state or local interest. This is how, in the national dimension, article 216 of Brazil’s Federal Constitution includes examples of material and immaterial properties, taken individually or collectively, provided they have a connection with the national identity, which encompasses the different Brazilian cultural manifestations.

Cultural heritage, this way, may materialize through a large array of possibilities resulting from the elastic nature of such concept. In the words of Sandra Cureau, “the objects of the cultural heritage policy do no cease to diversify in response to the collective interest: we went from monuments to sites and landscapes, to machines and firms’ files, from architecture to ethnology, from museums to ecomuseums and photographic heritage”. Such an expansive scenario gives rise to the agrarian cultural heritage.

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6 Article 216. The Brazilian cultural heritage consists of the assets of a material and immaterial nature, taken individually or as a whole, which bear reference to the identity, action and memory of the various groups that form the Brazilian society, therein included: (CA No. 42, 2003)
I – forms of expression;
II – ways of creating, making and living;
III – scientific, artistic and technological creations;
IV – works, objects, documents, buildings and other spaces intended for artistic and cultural expressions;
V – urban complexes and sites of historical, natural, artistic, archaeological, paleontological, ecological and scientific value.
Paragraph 1. The Government shall, with the cooperation of the community, promote and protect the Brazilian cultural heritage, by means of inventories, registers, vigilance, monument protection decrees, expropriation and other forms of precaution and preservation. Paragraph 2. it is incumbent upon the Government, in accordance with the law, to manage the keeping of the governmental documents and to make them available for consultation to whomever may need to do so. Paragraph 3. The law shall establish incentives for the production and knowledge of cultural assets and values.

7 SILVA, Ordem Constitucional da Cultura, cit., pp. 100-126.

3. Agrarian cultural heritage: the formation of the concept and the Charter of Baeza

When a territory is occupied, the domination of the living environment strongly takes shape with the domestication of plants and animals. This objective requires destroying the natural vegetation, revolving the earth and substituting the set of micromedia provided by nature with a setting as homogeneous as possible. Then, the permanent organization of the agricultural setting implies constant indispensable changes to keep the earth fertile and productive. The techniques of relationship with the environment involve several settings, in a mix of tools and mechanization that contextualize this humanized space, with the preponderance of functional agricultural economic activities.

However, as Michel Foucault well observes, despite its economic importance, the humanized space cannot be interpreted only through functional criteria; it is heterotopic, because it is formed by elements of unequal weights that give conformity and meaning to the interpretation of the setting. Especially settings where farming activities developed and where the weight of economic logic motivated exploration, which came to be the principal factor of occupation of the Brazilian territory.

Cultural geography, a field that is dedicated to explaining the recreation and reorganization of the settings by men, indicates that people’s forms of daily life in such setting coat it and mark it with signs that lead to understanding the logics of the groups that integrate a people’s identity.

Geographer Paul Claval, for example, when discussing the North-American agrarian landscape, uses criteria of cultural dimensions in his analysis, which we can use to understand the formation of the identity of agrarian cultural heritage. Claval gives us the functional parameter, perceived through the type of architecture in the division of the land, split into farms that occupy a fourth of the land, with typical buildings at the center of the land in the US Midwest. Claval promotes a functional reading of the exploration of the lots of land and small cities that lived out of medium-sized producers. As he deals with the US midwestern landscapes, the author reports that they were conceived under the sign of utilitarianism represented by geometric shapes and standardized building techniques that

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give the same appearance to all communities whose cultures remained very alive, typical of that North-American region.

As we move on to discuss the relevance of agriculture, cattle farming and forestry as techniques of cultural appropriation created by men, we acknowledge the importance deriving from activities developed in contact with the agrarian setting. Such importance is understood as the primary activity, the keystone of a stable occupation of a territory by men, which enabled its expansion and resulting forms of social organization across the globe, which would not be different in the Brazilian scenario. In this field, unifying the concept of agrarian heritage is important because of the resulting protection that extends to encompass the material and immaterial cultural properties resulting from the relation between human appropriation of the land and the agrarian activity as a whole.

More than its mere location, the functional dimension is essential to classify an agrarian property as cultural, which enables enjoying such property as immaterial heritage as well. Primarily, such heritage is mostly found in rural areas but it does not mean that they cannot be found in urban settings. The exploration over time and the consequent cultural appropriation of the setting are also important criteria to be observed when acknowledging a cultural property deriving form agrarian activity. The permanent exploration throughout time, which we can exemplify with the building model inherited from the sugar cane exploration (sugar cane mills), an agricultural activity still carried out, mainly in the Northeast region of Brazil, which consequently contributed to the history of the formation of Brazil’s cultural identity.

However, how can we form the concept of agrarian heritage? How can we identify agrarian cultural property? This is the content of the Charter of Baeza, which lists the elements that constitute agrarian heritage, as seen below:

- Agrarian activity as the main founding principle: the cardinal element which justifies the recognition of Agrarian Heritage is farming, farm stock and forestry activity. Territorial scope. Agrarian activity cannot be recognized and maintained in a single property, not even in a group of properties, but is revealed from and developed in a territorial dimension.

- The interrelation between cultural and natural properties. Agrarian activity is a human practice made on the biophysical environment taking advantage of its natural and biological resources and producing specific effects on it. Therefore, it is essential to consider both natural resources generated or used by agriculture, livestock and forestry (seeds, plants, animals, soil) and their setting up within the environment from a holistic/
systemic perspective. This approach will allow the inclusion of both aspects when dealing with Agrarian Heritage characterization and actions concerning this heritage12.

Then, by acknowledging the unity of the agrarian heritage we see the presence of historic, architectural, economic, ecologic, scenic, and technological values, among other values, to be recognized in the cultural properties that integrate this category, to which converge the (im) materialities of the agrarian activity as a functional identifier. Interesting examples of such convergence of values may come from systems of irrigation, fishery, hunting, boat building and other handling forms, which are few when compared to their multiple expressions.

Given the importance of the agrarian activities and their several impressions on men and women and the environment where they are carried out, such as agriculture or cattle farming, we see a movement in the international sphere to acknowledge and support them. The Charter of Baeza, resulting from the Seminar “The agrarian heritage” [El Patrimonio Agrario, in Spanish], in October 2012, organized by the International University of Andalusia, in the Spanish municipality of Baeza, proposes a new concept to specify cultural properties deriving from activities of the primary sector such as agriculture, cattle farming and forestry.

As an international soft law document, the Charter of Baeza requires a form of action as a guideline in the internal dimension of each country, to balance, in the international level, the protection of agrarian cultural properties. The Charter’s aspiration for the term “agrarian heritage” to be used and promoted internationally is noticed in the fact that the document has been issued in both English and Spanish. In addition, an order was issued to international agencies specializing in cultural heritage such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites). The need to conceive an international order in which States are balanced culture-wise, given the specialty that makes agrarian heritage common worldwide, requires that it also be sustained by international and regional organizations13.

In spite of that, it is not easy to find studies in such area conducted by specialized international organizations. It is worth mentioning the shortage of scientific production about the singularity of the properties relative to

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12 Ruiz (dir.), Carta de Baeza sobre patrimonio agrario, Sevilla, 2013, p. 6.
agrarian activity. ICOMOS has already acknowledged the concept of “agricultural heritage”, but it is considered incomplete for not including all the cultural properties that derive from cattle farming. Agrarian and agricultural have different extents. In effect, the definition of the Charter of Baeza claims that the “Agrarian Heritage can be defined as the group of tangible and intangible, natural and cultural properties generated and used for farming activity throughout history”.

Although the concept of agrarian heritage is not yet specifically represented among the properties laid out in cultural heritage lists of international organizations as those mentioned above, including the agrarian cultural landscape in UNESCO’s World Heritage List is already a good sign that its singularity has achieved acknowledgement, even if it is a timid single case. Celia Martínez observes that the World Heritage List includes some cultural properties that are directly related to agrarian heritage, even though they are not named as such.

4. Classification and Principles of Agrarian Heritage

The classification on the Charter of Baeza acknowledges that the agrarian cultural heritage would be made up of a mix of cultural and natural properties, both material and immaterial generated and used by the primary activities throughout history. Therefore, by creating such classification between natural (environment-related) and cultural (deriving from human appropriation of the agrarian setting), the Charter of Baeza underscores once again the social, historical, economic and environmental extent and relevance that designates such heritage.

Following the usual classification of the norms about cultural heritage, the Charter of Baeza defines movable properties as utensils, equipment

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15 Ruiz (dir.), Carta de Baeza sobre patrimonio agrario, Sevilla, 2013, p. 4.
17 Ibidem.
used in agrarian activities, transportation, storage, and that related to the manufacturing of crops and farm stock, documents and objects. Immovable properties singularly considered or taken as a group are built structures, landscapes, rural habitats, irrigation systems, specific agrosystems, livestock trails, paths, as well as all the components of the material agrarian cultural heritage. Examples of intangible heritage would be languages and expressions typical of the agrarian sector, ritual and festive events, and harvest celebrations; the rural knowledge, the way of making and preparing food and culinary culture, craftwork and artisanship techniques in such a diversity that increases the holistic character due to the functional dimension that underscores the specificity of the agrarian cultural properties.

The lack of clear and objective guidelines in the international spectrum to deal specifically with agrarian cultural heritage justifies the adoption of principles such as instructions to preserve agrarian cultural properties listed in the Charter of Baeza. In the domestic extent, such attitude is even more pertinent given the absence of the concept of agrarian cultural heritage in Brazil; it is quite applicable to the issue of Brazilian cultural heritage in general.

The principle of protection and preservation from the Charter of Baeza is totally applicable to the context of protection of the agrarian cultural heritage given the suppression caused by the advance of the urbanization process, giving way to the urban infrastructure in spaces that are originally agrarian, and the renewal resulting from the implementation of advanced production and industrial techniques in the space itself, which suppresses primitive agrarian techniques, which cause – in the material agrarian cultural heritage – the suppression of the physical support necessary for the current and future generations to enjoy culture. In other words, enjoying culture through the perception of the physical support of the immaterial cultural property is also necessary to allow immaterial heritage to be enjoyed in the future. The immaterial heritage herein may be exemplified by the traditional management found in primitive technique tools as well as those of work connected to them, present in typical buildings.

The adoption of the principle of protection and preservation is very close to the characteristics observed in the in situ preservation principle applicable to the Brazilian cultural heritage, which is backed by articles 215, 216 and 225 of the Federal Constitution.

The Charter also introduces the principle of management, according to which the aim is to seek fostering the functional dimension of production results

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19 Ibidem.
20 Soares, Direito ao (do) patrimônio cultural brasileiro, cit., p. 140.
from the agrarian activities developed. This guideline seeks a management system of territorial and intermunicipal character gathering policies necessary to maintain and stimulate the development of agrarian activities within the protected space, which even generates the capacity to continued immaterial practices developed in such spaces. Besides, the management principle also indicates a moderately anti-museum character of the agrarian location by encouraging the continuity of commercial and non-commercial practices that foster the use of such spaces and valuing local varieties.

As we deal with safeguard, the Charter introduces the principle of transmission and training, totally applicable to the context of immaterial heritage. Such principle aims to ensure the continuity of the transmission of management and knowledge associated with agrarian activities to future generations. The execution of this issue could be verified, as specified in the Charter of Baeza, in the creation of a system of professional training at different levels of school education, to facilitate the continuity of transmission of such regional practices, especially transmitting local rural knowledge.

Another principle seen in the Charter of Baeza is that of heritage education. Founded on a structure of social awareness that seeks to lead civil society to acknowledge agrarian activities, such principle indicates the economic and cultural relevance that assures the need for preservation. This principle relies on the obvious assumption that training and knowledge are necessary to empower local protagonists.

In another perspective to maintain agrarian cultural properties, the principle of musealization underscores the role of preserving cultural properties that are no longer used and in the dissemination of their related knowledge, especially ecomuseums which turn the comprehension of the structure into elements that make up agrarian areas.
5. Cultural properties of agrarian activities in Brazil

It is no news that cultural properties that are part of the cultural heritage may be either tangible or intangible. Tangible cultural property may include monuments, objects, works, documents, urban areas and other items present in article 216 of the Constitution, that is, everything that is physical and we want to preserve. Such classification would include all the buildings that result from and enable agrarian activity, the preparation of food, cultivation, festivities, management typical of agrarian cultural properties, etc. Traditionally, that which is classified as material cultural heritage requires forms of protection that include conservation and restoration, when necessary, as a symbol of human cultural production, which can be easily understood by the senses because it is palpable and must be transmitted.

Intangible cultural properties comprise elements of immaterial nature such as forms of expression, legends, knowledge, myths that have formed Brazilian society. The subjectivity of the immaterial heritage would lend form and significance to the material heritage while it contributes to its creation, in such a way that they would be intimately connected.21

In the world, the protection and classification of such immaterial properties as cultural heritage occurred in 1992 by UNESCO through its Intangible Cultural Heritage program. In Brazil, the protection of immaterial property is relatively recent and is a result of the expansion of the term cultural heritage. In addition to the constitutional reference, it is part of Decree no. 3.551/2000 which established the National Immaterial Heritage Program and well provided for the institute of recording, in a specific book, as a tool for the preservation of immaterial property. As an example, let us consider, as a representative of the immaterial cultural property of the Brazilian agrarian heritage, the traditional agrarian system of Rio Negro, formed by interdependent elements such as the cultivated plants, the areas, the social networks, the material culture, the food systems, the knowledge, norms and rights. It was recorded in the Record Book of Knowledge in 2010.

Brazil is a country founded on economic development through the exploration of agriculture, cattle farming and natural resources. A brief historical analysis of the occupation of Brazil’s territory shows that the

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occupation movements were motivated by the exploration of the rural areas, which caused the migration into the country’s interior. In the first half of the 17th century, Brazilian Northeasterners migrated from the Zona da Mata (expansion of the sugar cane plantations on the coast) to the sertão, to dedicate to livestock. In the 18th century, the discovery of gold in the states of Minas Gerais, Goiás and Mato Grosso caused the migration of populations from the state of São Paulo and from the Northeast region. By the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, there was a significant flow of Northeasterners both to the Amazon, for latex extraction (raw material for rubber) and towards the south of the state of Bahia (the cities of Ilhéus and Itabuna), where the cocoa economy was expanding. As of 1930, the principal areas of attraction were the north of the state of Paraná (coffee), and the Rio Doce valley (livestock and coffee), the south of the state of Mato Gross (livestock), west of the state of Santa Catarina (agriculture) and São Paulo (industry).22

Such taking of the inner regions of the Brazilian territory resulted in remarkable impressions of the cultural production in that setting. We are talking about mansions, churches, corrals, warehouses, and slave houses that have the marks of time and are part of the Brazilian cultural references. The history of the state São Paulo reflects the national scenario because it was marked by the agricultural exploration: first sugar cane, then coffee. Many European immigrants have left their traces in the state’s interior, with their colonies around the coffee farms and a great connection with the railways. In the Vale do Paraíba23, whose occupation is even older, it is still possible to find traces of the slaves, such as slave houses and punishment tools on the farms.

The marks of the coffee culture – which, between the 18th century and the 1930s was the driving force of Brazil’s economy – on the farms that were part of the coffee cycle are explored today as a tourist attraction. In the interior of the state of São Paulo, the Fazenda Bela Aliança, located in the municipality of Descalvado, has a master’s house dating back to the 19th century, built on top of a hill with a beautiful architecture typical of its time. It is worth mentioning that, recently, the federal government has granted a rural property in São Pedro de Alcântara – state of Piauí – the protection status, due to its architectural value, because it is a remainder of the occupation of Brazil’s interior during the 18th and 19th centuries.

In turn, the state of Paraíba has acknowledged the value of the architectural ensemble of *Fazenda Acauã*\(^\text{24}\), built on the Rio Piranhas basin. Its preservation is based on historical aspects because it is a symbol of the 19\(^{th}\)-century cotton culture; in addition, the baroque façade of the chapel built in the 18\(^{th}\) century reassures the architectural interest in such buildings which are located far away from urban centers and, oftentimes, are hard to be sighted by the cultural heritage preservation officials. Another evidence of its importance is that it is one of the oldest properties to represent the historical convergence, resulting from the economic role of the agrarian activity as one of the major factors in the formation and occupation of the *sertão* region of the state of Paraíba.

Buildings constructed close to rivers and sources of water are not unusual due to the easy management of natural resources. The Chapel of *Engenho da Graça*\(^\text{25}\), urban area of the city of João Pessoa, still remains from a water mill, which used the labor of the indigenous population. The chapel is the sole standing structure of the old mill compound, formed by master’s house, slave house and plant. It was constructed around the 17\(^{th}\) century out of brick and mortar and limestone in baroque style. It has become a cultural property because it is an example of the traces of the appropriation of the location caused by agriculture that set in there, and also because of the importance agriculture had to the occupation of the current municipality of João Pessoa.

The traces of occupation of the countryside are many. Buildings that saw a past of sugar cane exploration are mills, comprising chapels, masters’ houses built in a privileged position on the grounds, slave houses that were the setting for exploiting slave labor, such as the *Engenho de Patrocínio*, located in the rural area of the municipality of Santa Rita, in the state of Paraíba, with buildings from the early 19\(^{th}\) century, and the Chapel of São Gonçalo, dating back to 1700, of rare architectural beauty and the most expressive representative of the triad master’s house, chapel and slave house. Many are the examples in the state of Paraíba, namely, the buildings in the *Engenho Santo* Antônio, rural area of the municipality of Serraria, with a master’s house displaying rich Portuguese ceramic tiles and a chapel dating back to the late 19\(^{th}\) century, located on top of a hill within the property’s

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limits, which also remain from a past of sugar cane exploration.

Such objects of cultural reference, mainly those resulting from the sugar cane economy, have in common the historical dimension of the anthropic elements which are models of such activity, among which, herein analyzed, the buildings – the complex master’s house, chapel and slave house – which resulted from the functional dimension brought about by the sugar cane activity.

It is worth stating that it is possible to conjugate this concept of agrarian heritage with its representatives in the Brazilian context. The hypothesis is possible when we see that UNESCO decided to include in the World Heritage List – Serial Properties category – and protect the Farmhouses of Hälsingland in Sweden, with their historical and cultural values deriving from cattle farming. Although they are spread all over the Swedish territory, they look similar and we may, by association, interpret that the same protection may be extended to the Brazilian sugar cane mills and their structures, which are the same all over the country: master’s house, chapel and slave house.

To restate how representative the cultural properties deriving from agrarian activities are we name the Engenho do Mate, located in Campo Largo, state of Paraná. The mill represents the mate plantation, important economic activity much appreciated in the South region of Brazil. Now under the protection status by federal government decision, the Engenho do Mate, the barbaquá [type of stove] and the barracão [wooden shed], make up the structure that is typical of the agricultural activity to manage the mate.

Finally, we must mention that, in 2014, IPHAN (National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage) has registered the artisanal way of making the Queijo de Minas [type of cheese typical of the state of Minas Gerais] in the list of Brazilian Immaterial Cultural Heritage. Still in 2014, IPHAN also registered the traditional production and sociocultural practices associated to the Cajuína [cashew wine] from the state of Piauí. In 2015, the ways of producing cuiás [gourd bowls] in the Lower Amazon region made the list, while in 2016, it was the time of the carro de boi [ox carts] of the Festa do Divino Pai Eterno [Festivities of the Eternal Divine Father] in Trindade, state of Goiás.
6. Conclusion

Proposing the individuality of the cultural properties according to their specificities regarding the meanings of the term cultural heritage means catering to what is provided for in article 216 of Brazil’s Federal Constitution. Such article expresses the elastic character of heritage and its capacity of representing all and every possible cultural manifestation. Acknowledging new, more precise concepts and their specialties regarding the cultural heritage is to meet the integrating factor sought for by the term that aggregates Brazilian culture heterogeneity, which does not refer to isolated cultural productions only. To the agrarian heritage, which integrates the term cultural heritage, it is important to shed light on the agrarian activities and their importance for shaping Brazil’s cultural identity as a whole, due to the importance of such activities in the process of occupation of Brazil’s territory, and also because of their important contribution to Brazilian economy.

Besides all the importance in the socio-economic context, the footprints left by the agrarian activities are signs that represent the organization of Brazilian society. The ways of appropriating the occupied area, of managing the natural resources relative to agrarian activities, represent the special characteristics that such activities require, and make up a complete mix in which the functional dimension is predominant and enables the immaterial enjoyment of such cultural properties. Not by chance, Gilberto Freyre talked about the existence of a sugar civilization.

The functional dimension required by activities is a fundamental factor for the classification of an agrarian cultural property, since, as we identify the functionality of a cultural property, which we have explained in the case of the sugar cane mills and its building structures, we realize the legacy of agriculture in the area it was developed. This is the principal perspective sought by the cultural heritage which consisted in the exercise of such functions developed by the activities of agriculture, cattle farming and forestry to understand how the production dynamics integrate throughout the historical experiences which originate the cultural properties typical of such activities.

As we integrate the material and immaterial cultural properties deriving from agrarian activity to the Brazilian cultural heritage as a specific item – agrarian heritage – we underscore the importance of the process of building identities by reinterpreting the setting based on the organization of the locations enshrined by the agrarian functional activity.
This way, the required denomination is the one that we consider adequate given the specificities of the agrarian cultural heritage, with the consequent identification, preservation and tutelage of such properties according to their characteristics.