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excerpt

CONSERVATION— CONSUMPTION

PRESERVING THE TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE VALUES

Donatella Fiorani
Giovanna Franco
Loughlin Kealy
Stefano Francesco Musso
Miguel Angel Calvo-Salve

Editors



European
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CESUGA University College – A Coruña

This book presents the papers written by 33 participants following the 6th Workshop on Conservation, organised by the Conservation Network of the European Association for Architectural Education in A Coruña, Galicia, Spain in 2017. All papers have been peer-reviewed. The Workshop was attended by 51 participants from the following countries: Czech Republic, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom

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WALKING THROUGH THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: FROM THE PILGRIMAGES TO THE CONQUEST OF THE 'CATHEDRALS OF THE EARTH'

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Between art and nature there is mountaineering, which is a creative spiritual activity like art, but it is also contemplation, dedication and communion with nature¹

Castiglioni 2017: 25

Introduction

Walking tourism includes a large number of cases ranging from the most famous pilgrimages to different ways to frequent the natural environment²; in particular, the mountains can be considered as 'natural monuments' that are also affected by consumption dynamics.

The relationship between the different experiences of walking are in the interweaving of immaterial values (spiritual/intellectual/emotional) and with material ones of the path (places traversed, with monuments and views) and, in particular, in the risk that the latter are altered or distorted by excessive tourism and poor awareness of these values.

Mountain landscape is the combination of natural heritage and anthropised territory; a particular reflection must be done where the latter presents such labile traces of anthropisation (trails, huts) which are, however, significant for historical and cultural reasons related to mountaineering history, to the evolution of geographic knowledge, but also to the events of World War I that occurred on the borders between the European nations.

In the last century the practice of mountain tourism grew at an increasing rate, bringing with it a landscape distortion due to the development of winter sports and the socio-economic change of many alpine areas, that have been subjected to a withdrawal from rural activities (with the consequent degradation of the territory and its characteristic buildings) and to an often uncontrolled construction development.

Even in different situations, the relationship between the problems of consumption and safeguarding of the territories crossed by the walking tourism (see the Camino and the other 'Ways') with those of the Alpine areas is evident.

Starting from highlighting the cultural and spiritual significance of the mountains³, this paper reflects on the consumption of this heritage and on the need to safeguard the existing material testimonies of historical value, preserving its authenticity.

Finally, the consideration of the different elements that give meaning to the 'route' itself (regardless of the finish line to be reached) provides a possible key to avoiding overcrowding, without limiting the tourist presence on the Camino de Santiago.

The mountains as cultural heritage

The history of mountaineering generally places the birth of this activity with the first explorations by the Englishmen William Windham and Richard Pocock in 1741 on the Mer

de Glace (the impressive glacier on the French side of Mont Blanc) and with the first climb of the same peak in 1786 by the French climbers Jacques Balmat and Gabriel Paccard (Motti 2016). However, in previous years, various intellectuals had expressed their interest in the mountains⁴.

In 1729 the Swiss scientist Albrecht von Haller had published a poem on the Alps⁵. This was followed by other publications, translated into various languages, which laid the foundation for the (not only scientific) attention that would soon be given to it⁶. Jean Jacques Rousseau⁷ and Horace Benedict de Saussure⁸ also made noteworthy contributions to stimulating attention for the mountains. So this interest stems from wide-ranging and diversified cultural bases, which go well beyond naturalistic study or sporting passion. From that moment the travellers of the *Grand Tour* began to direct their attention not only towards the monuments of antiquity, but also the alpine landscape, and in particular, the glaciers⁹ (Bourrit 1773).

Following this phenomenon there was construction in 1795 at Montanvers (near Chamonix) of the first mountain hut, called 'Temple de la Nature'¹⁰. The good fortune of the site grew considerably, to a point at which in 1840 a hotel was built (and another in 1880) and in 1909 the Chamonix-Montanvers railway line was inaugurated (Fig. 1).

At the same time, this interest in the mountains was also extended to the Apennines: in 1794 the scholar Orazio Delfico¹¹ climbed to the eastern summit of the Corno Grande



FIG. 1. Montanvers and the *Temple de la Nature* (France). Above, from the left: a view of *Mer de Glace* by M.T. Bourrit with the idealised image of the hut; a drawing by Charles Vallot illustrating the refuge before restoration. Below: a photo showing the place in the early Twentieth century (the refuge can be seen behind the two hotels); the current situation of the historic hut (by <www.unil.ch/viaticapes>; <blog.chamonix.com> accessed 27 April 2019).

together with the architect Eugenio Michitelli (Fig. 2). This feat (for a long time held to be the first ascent of the Gran Sasso) was achieved together with a series of studies and measurements (Delfico 1994 [1794]).

Beyond the scientific interest of the representatives of Enlightenment culture, the attraction to the mountains had been clear well before. This is already shown by the climbs of Francesco Petrarca in 1336 on Mount Ventoux¹² (in Provence), Leon Battista Alberti on Monte Velino¹³ (in Abruzzo), and Leonardo da Vinci on Monte Rosa¹⁴ (Monboso). Leonardo drew different mountain landscapes; recently it has been hypothesised that he was familiar with the region of Abruzzo, whose mountain territory of the Baronia di Carapelle belonged to the Signoria of the Medici (from 1579 to 1743)¹⁵.

The first documented ascent of the summit of the Gran Sasso (then known as 'Corno Monte' and described as "the highest that there is in Italy") was completed in 1573 by Francesco de Marchi¹⁶. A military engineer in the entourage of Margaret of Austria, as well as confirming the interest at the time in the mountain environment and geographical observation, de Marchi attested the regular use of mountain paths by the local populations¹⁷.

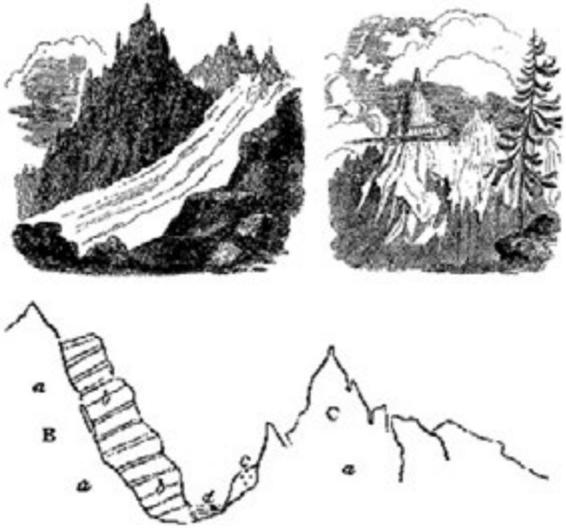
Beyond the scientific interest, since ancient times the mountains have been an object of spiritual attraction. The concept of 'sacred mountain' that cannot be climbed is found in various cultures, as the Mount Uluru (or Ayers Rock) in Australia, the Chomolungma¹⁸ or Sagarmāthā¹⁹ (known to the Western world as Mount Everest). In the Bible the mountain is identified as a place of meditation (see Moses on Mount Sinai, Jesus and his *Sermon on the Mount*), then becomes a symbol of an ascetic path. From Milarepa (Tibetan poet who lived between the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD) to the hermit Pietro da Morrone (Pope Celestino V in 1294), to San Giovanni della Croce with the *Ascent to Mount Carmel* (16th century), up to the 'mountaineer pope' Pius XI, walking on the mountains has always constituted an experience of great spiritual value (Bobba, De Mauro 1923; Langella 2002).

Leaving aside the issues of political propaganda (that is also present in the history of mountaineering)(Pastore 2000), it is worth emphasising the spiritual and cultural interest for the mountain landscape and its aesthetic and 'monumental' value, vouched for by well-known personalities in the field of restoration.

John Ruskin from 1833 to 1888 constantly spent time in the mountains, writing a great deal on the subject and contributing greatly to the interest that developed for knowledge of the mountain environment²⁰ (Fig. 3). He defined the Alps as "Cathedrals of the Earth" highlighting not only the sense of magnificence expressed by the mountains, but also the need for respect and protection that they inspire. Similar to his considerations on the restoration of monuments, he was among the first to express concern about the risks provoked by mountain tourism (Ferrazza 2016: 15-16, 187).



FIG. 2. A view of the Gran Sasso d'Italia (north-eastern side) drawn by Eugenio Michitelli, architect and climber together with Orazio Delfico in 1794 (by <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orazio_Delfico#/media/File:Veduta_gran_sasso.jpg> accessed 27 April 2019).



Viollet-le-Duc visited the mountains of Auvergne and the Pyrenees. In 1836 he climbed Mount Etna and made numerous studies and drawings regarding Mont Blanc, proving once again that scientific interest and aesthetic attraction can coexist²¹. He also transferred his vision of restoration to the mountains: by observing its erosion, he imagined Mont Blanc as a ‘monument in ruins’, prefiguring the need to safeguard the mountain landscape (Fig. 4).

At the same time, among the ascents documented by the Italian Alpine Club, the interest of several intellectuals and artists for the mountains of Abruzzo is very clear. In 1881 Edoardo Martinori²², with Enrico Coleman²³, reached the summit of Pizzo Cefalone (Coleman 1981 [1881]). Still today, at the foot of the Gran Sasso, near the Garibaldi mountain shelter, there is the stone pyramid of its sepulchral monument (Fig. 5). Ignazio Carlo Gavini²⁴ made important ascents on Gran Sasso: on the summit in 1892, he carried out the first winter ascent of the Corno Piccolo in 1893 with Enrico Abbate²⁵ and in 1894 the first ascent of the mountains Infrance, Prena and Camicia (Gavini 1892; Pietrostefani 1975: 74, 85).

The interest shown by these and many other personalities confirms the several values of the mountain heritage, which go beyond a purely environmental interest.

The ‘consumption’ of mountain heritage

Today, given the increasing number of visitors to mountain environments, the phenomenon of ‘consumption’ (understood not only as overcrowding, but also as inappropriate use) is illustrated by numerous cases. For brevity’s sake, we limit ourselves to some examples.

The Himalayan peaks and, in particular, the Mount Everest (the most accessible among the ‘Eight-thousanders’) are currently the subject of widespread commercial speculation and serious changes in the environment²⁶. The reports of the crowded paths, the base camps covered in rubbish, and the exploitation of local people used as carriers are well-

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FIG. 3. The first drawings by John Ruskin illustrating the mountains. Above, from the left: Aiguille du Servoz and glacier; Aiguille du Dru; geological stratifications of Mont Blanc (*Magazine of Natural History*, 1834, VII: 644-645).

FIG. 4. Two paintings by E. Viollet-le-Duc showing the Mont Blanc: above the situation observed in August 1874, below the reconstructive hypothesis of the glacier (De Rossi 2014: tav. 43; Schepis 2017: 134-135).

FIG. 5. The sepulchral monument of Edoardo Martinori (1935) in Campo Pericoli, under the Gran Sasso (Abruzzo).

FIG. 6. The crowded routes to climb the Mount Everest (photo by Simone Moro, 2012 in <<https://www.planetmountain.com/it/notizie/alpinismo/everest-come-gardaland-intervista-a-simone-moro-dopo-la-rinuncia-al-progetto-di-salire-everest-e-lhotse.html>> accessed 27 April 2019).



known²⁷ (Fig. 6). Beyond that, the very fact of having changed its name (because “the mountain has no name intelligible to civilised men”²⁸) reveals the indifference to the local cultures and history (given that the name of George Everest – a British colonel at the head of the expedition between 1830 and 1843 which attempted to measure the mountain²⁹ – was given to the mountain in 1856).

Currently in these locations, there are various initiatives of ‘sustainable tourism’³⁰ and attempts to regulate the flow of climbers³¹. The efficiency of these projects should perhaps be assessed, but they do however appear to be consistent with the objectives of the International Cultural Tourism Charter (ICOMOS 1999) which makes explicit reference to the natural and cultural heritage³². The same cannot be said for tourism in the Alps. Here commercial strategies seem bent on transforming the mountains into something that is very much ‘people-friendly’ in ways which are totally inappropriate for these places (consider the distortion of the landscape stemming from the building of ski lifts, the exploitation of water resources for artificial snow production, and the transformation of the huts into hotels and ultra-luxury restaurants)³³.

Similar (in some respects) to the symbolic value attributed to Everest, is the case of Mount Eiger in Switzerland. Considered to be a ‘monument’ of mountaineering (invulnerable until recent times, due to the extreme difficulty in climbing its north wall)³⁴, it was pierced by a tunnel, between 1896 and 1912, in order to build the highest railway station in Europe (3,454 m) and favour access by tourists. Today this area is a World Heritage site³⁵ and it is visited by many people, for the most part totally oblivious of the mountain environment they are visiting (Fig. 7).

Consumption and overcrowding concern the most well-known places in the Alps (Mont Blanc, Matterhorn, Dolomites) and even the Apennines. On the Gran Sasso, there



FIG. 7. The Mount Eiger (Switzerland): on the left, the Jungfrau railway at the Kleine Scheidegg station (in the background, the fearsome North Face). On the right, the arrival at 3,454 m: a tourist appears totally extraneous to mountain frequentation.

are massive visitor numbers especially in summer, when many people crowd the paths, increasing both erosion and the levels of danger of the area. Alternative enhancement strategies should be adopted, avoiding localised concentrations and distributing mountain users over a wider geographical area. In fact, many other equally evocative places are completely ignored.

In this regard, the Camino de Santiago is a positive example, given the multiplicity of possible routes. The problems of overcrowding seem to concern, however, the terminal sections (in particular the arrival at Finisterre, where the natural environment is distorted by numerous tourist facilities).

Preserving the heritage: historic paths, alpine huts, war sites

In the light of these considerations it is clear that the historical architectural artefacts existing in the territory crossed by the Way, or by the path in general – such as chapels and hospices on the main Alpine passes (dating back to very remote times and mostly transformed in the Napoleonic period)³⁶ – must be fully recognised as objects worth safeguarding. However, this awareness still seems somewhat remote with regard to alpine shelters (rather recent buildings and very often transformed by expansion and renovation) or other historical artefacts (e.g. stone huts built by shepherds, or rock engravings documenting the passage of the ‘brigands’ on the Maiella massif)³⁷ (Fig. 8).

In Italy the alpine huts were built mostly after 1863 (the year of foundation of the Italian Alpine Club) to allow the mountaineers to make a stop and take refuge. Sometimes they were enlarged and transformed into buildings of a military nature³⁸. An example is the Marinelli-Bombardieri hut in the mountain range of Bernina (Sondrio). Built in 1880 with the name of Capanna Scerscen, renovated in 1906 and renamed Rifugio Marinelli, it was again enlarged during the World War I to house troops³⁹ and then again in 1935 on the initiative of the mountaineer Luigi Bombardieri, after whom it was named on his death (Bombardieri 1961). In this case, the history of the hut can be recognised in the various volumes of the refuge (Fig. 9). However, the original structures of the hut are generally no longer recognisable because they have been replaced by later building works.

Today the needs for enlargement and adaptation to regulations (healthcare-sanitation and safety) are often addressed with little awareness of architectural values. Yet the shel-



FIG. 8. Above, the inscriptions of 'brigands' on the rock in Majella Mount. Below, the stone huts existing near Piani di Fugno was built by the ancient shepherds (Abruzzo).

FIG. 9. Transformations undergone by the Marinelli-Bombardieri refuge (by <http://www.cartolinedairifugi.it/regioni/lombardia/marinelli-e-bombardieri-al-bernina-rifugio/> accessed 19 June 2019): in the upper left, the Scersen hut (1880); the first extension (Marinelli hut) next to the original shelter (1906). Below, the refuge transformed by soldiers (1917); the current situation (2017).

ters, due to their historical significance and the very fact of being in natural contexts of great landscape interest, pose undoubted restoration issues (similar to what is observed for historical and vernacular architectures along the Way).

A survey conducted in the CAI database highlights the general lack of information regarding any 'listed' buildings as cultural heritage. Rarely is there any indication of the year of construction and the uneven information does not allow keyword searches⁴⁰. At the same time, the feedback in the MiBAC⁴¹ information system provides only rare cases (there are very few alpine huts registered) and confirms the general absence of protective decrees, with the exception of some in Veneto⁴². It is surprising to note, even among these, the lack in the CAI database of historical information and data related to 'listed' buildings⁴³. Thorough checks in the field are advisable to identify how many historical huts still exist (whether only the original name of the shelter is maintained, or the present physical conditions the building). Where there has been enlargement, it should be noted if the historical nucleus is still identifiable or not. In this regard, it is noteworthy that often on the websites of the individual huts there is a presence of 'immaterial' memories (photo of mountain-climbing), together with a general lack of awareness of the 'material' values of the building itself.

Among the oldest Italian mountain huts there is that named as Garibaldi (on the Gran Sasso), inaugurated in 1866. It is one of the few not to have been enlarged⁴⁴ and nevertheless it is not 'listed'⁴⁵ (Fig. 10). Here intangible values associated with the history of mountaineering combine with the material value of the building itself, never altered by refurbishment⁴⁶. There is a clear contrast with the series of building events of the nearby Duca degli Abruzzi hut, built in 1908 but raised and enlarged various times, and of other similar cases in the same area⁴⁷.

Observing some recent renovations of Alpine huts, attitudes are more or less attentive to historical-conservational issues⁴⁸. The new construction of the Gonella refuge on Mont Blanc⁴⁹ stands next to the old building (dating back to 1891, enlarged in 1925 and rebuilt in 1963), which is to be demolished⁵⁰ (Fig. 11).

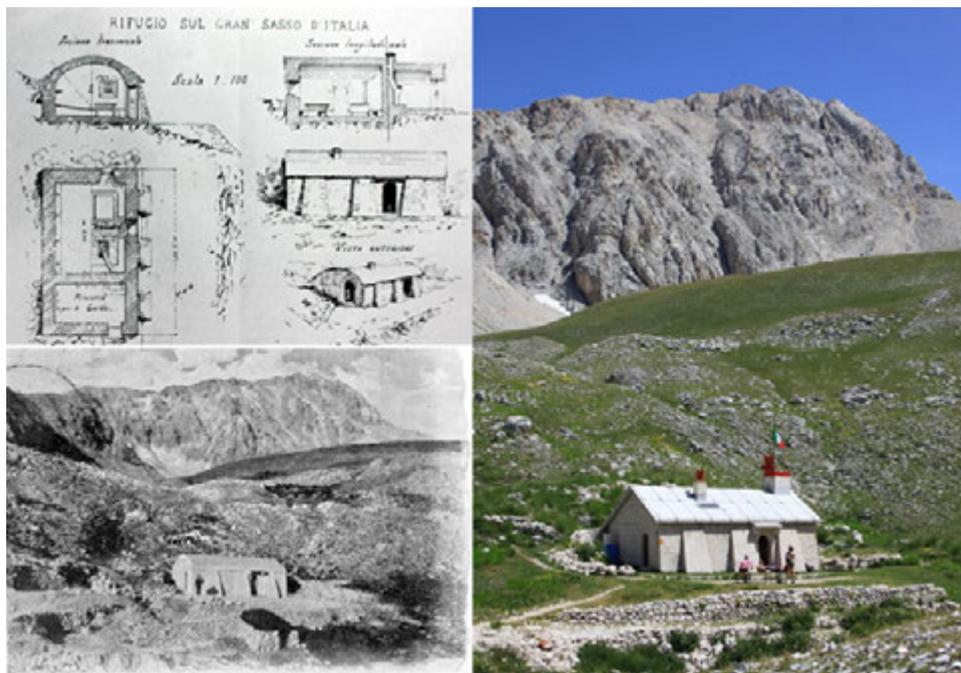
FIG. 10. The Garibaldi hut under the Gran Sasso: on the left, the building project (1884); a postcard (1900) showing the refuge, which was inaugurated in 1886 (CAI 1975: 27). The current situation (2017). The original volume is intact, but the vaulted roof has been transformed into a gable roof in 1977.

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FIG. 11. The new Gonella refuge on Mont Blanc: the previous small hut can be seen in the foreground (by <www.rifugiogonella.com> accessed 27 April 2019).

FIG. 12. The new Gervasutti bivouac at the Grandes Jorasses (by <www.caichieri.it> accessed 27 April 2019).

FIG. 13. The Vittorio Emanuele II refuge at Gran Paradiso: above you can see the old hut (built in 1884 and renovated in the 1930s) and the new building. Below, the ground floor late expansion (by <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rifugio_Vittorio_Emanuele_II#/media/File:Rifugio_Vittorio_Emanuele_II_01.jpg>; <https://www.cai-torino.it/rifugi/vittorio-emanuele-ii-vecchio-e-nuovo/> accessed 27 April 2019).



The new Gervasutti bivouac (at the Grandes Jorasses) replaced the 1848 hut, already rebuilt in 1961, with an unusual volume⁵¹. The building erected in 2011 is deliberately situated as a foreign body within the mountain context, foregoing any attempt at blending in with its surroundings (Fig. 12).

What is interesting, as regards the conservation approach to the existing building, is the expansion of the Vittorio Emanuele hut under the Gran Paradiso. Expansion is limited to the base section (hidden by the rocks but recognisable due to the different materials used) so as not to alter the historical and landscape context⁵². Here the first hut, built in 1884, was renovated in the thirties and flanked by the new building erected in the fifties, characterised by a large hull-shaped roof (Fig. 13).

Apart from the mountain huts, there is also a need to safeguard all those structures of historical/cultural value referred to as ‘war architecture’⁵³. These include fortifications, trenches, but also shelters dug into the glaciers. These structures have emerged recently due to progressive glacier melt, posing problems of conservation not dissimilar to those of archaeo-



logical findings. Furthermore, the structures with a historical-landscape value (ancient and recent pathways, mountain pass crossings in the Alps and Apennines, tunnels and routes excavated into rock) pose issues of protection on a wide scale.

Among the evidence of war existing in Italy, the ‘monumental sacred area’ of Punta Serauta (on the Marmolada) has a museum itinerary marked by a series of posts and fortifications. These have been restored in order to commemorate the war events, and are for teaching purposes rather than historical documentation (the material authenticity appears somewhat neglected)⁵⁴ (Fig. 14).

Another example of a ‘war monument’ is the Road of the 52 tunnels, a mule track built on Mount Pasubio in 1917, today a destination for evocative excursions (Fig. 15).

Recently, on occasion of the centenary of the Great War, various initiatives were carried out to study and promote these works⁵⁵. Nevertheless, the tourist promotion of the areas often seems to neglect these important historical testimonies in favour of sporting interest (the Alps have become “the playground of Europe” as the evocative definition appeared since 1871)⁵⁶.

One last issue, for the sake of brevity only hinted at here, is linked to the signposting of mountain paths. The adaptation to international signposting conventions has imposed new numbers and names, with the consequent systematic redrawing of the signs. However, the old indications deserve to be maintained next to the new ones, recognisable with different colour coding (this also applies to the ancient signs along the Camino). The same applies to the routes of some of the first ascents, about which recent controversies have





FIG. 14. On the left, a war trench on the Marmolada Mountain; on the right, the 'sacred monumental area' of Punta Serauta, with military installations along the war path.

FIG. 15. The '52 tunnels road' was built by Italian soldiers in 1917 on Pasubio Mount. Today it is a destination for suggestive excursions (by <<https://www.stradadelle52gallerie.it/la-strada/>> accessed 15 June 2019).



arisen. The two opposing views put those who would like to eliminate dangerous traces and restore the integrity of the mountain against those who, on the other hand, pose questions regarding the conservation of important historical evidence⁵⁷.

Conclusions

In general, authentic understanding and recognition of the values and significance of a route (be it the Camino de Santiago or any other itinerary in their specific different nature) must lie at the base of each decision regarding protection. Indeed, the phenomena of consumption and degradation come about due to a lack of awareness or distortion of meanings. The inclusion of places of cultural/natural interest in the World Heritage List tends to accentuate the phenomena of tourism consumption and consequent degradation; these problems evoke comparison of the Camino de Santiago with the frequentation of some mountain sites listed by UNESCO (Dolomites, Alps).

The birth of 'modern' mountaineering (understood as human endeavour or behaviour) has distorted the primitive admiration for the mountain environment, transforming what was initial reverence into challenge and conquest⁵⁸. The exception with those who admit that the route is more important than the destination to be reached (in mountaineering, there are those who say that "the top is an event, but the route it is everything"). Applying this reflection to the Camino it could be possible to avoid the intense crowding in its final sections, favouring a better distribution of pilgrims onto other tracks.

In general, together with recognition of the 'intangible' values (spiritual, traditional, emotional connected to effort and time spent walking) there must also necessarily be consideration of the 'material' values. Safeguarding a route of cultural interest (and its environment) cannot overlook protection of the already existing structures, which must be preserved in all their authenticity (avoiding camouflage and falsifications). Beyond careful evaluation regarding the conservation of historical constructions, it must be taken into account (especially in the case of alpine huts) that there are very few that have remained intact. In these rare cases conservation is absolutely essential, studying the possibility of carrying out potential expansion in the area external to the original structure. In any case, the new buildings should be located appropriately so as not to overwhelm the environment in which they are situated, following an approach appropriate with integration into a monumental context. The same applies to the Camino of Santiago: the environment and the landscape along the way must be protected as a monument in itself⁵⁹.

Furthermore, in the mountain environment, the building works should be reversible (besides being eco-compatible), since the natural landscape imposes future restitution of the original situation. Therefore, the technological aspects must be faced together with architectural issues with an approach open to safeguarding the monuments. Very rarely do we see projects that are coherent with these criteria⁶⁰.

Notes

¹ Translation by the autor.

² See, for examples, the *Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe* (<<http://dbunico20.beniculturali.it/DBUnicoMedia/repository/documents/26-09-2017/77a1842587a53e4aaed84ace5e729c71dfda0ad.pdf>> accessed 9 October 2018) and the *Cammini d'Italia* (<<http://www.turismo.beniculturali.it/home-cammini-ditalia/>> accessed 10 October 2018).

³ See the mystical experience of Ettore Castiglioni on March 1936 told in *The day of Mesules* (Castiglioni 2017: 84-87). About his, see the documen-

tary film *Oltre il confine* by A. Azzetti and F. Massa (2017).

⁴ The forerunners of scientific interest, in particular the contribution of the *Illuministi italiani alla scoperta delle Alpi* (Italian Enlightenments in search of the Alps), are described in Ferrazza 2003.

⁵ Doctor, naturalist and poet, wrote various essays on the mountains (von Haller 1729).

⁶ These writings are collected in Rizzi 2009. What is particularly interesting with regard to the possible development of a 'cultural route', is the description of the transport in 1778, through the Gotthard Pass, of

more than 20,000 books from von Haller's library. This was the most important scientific collection of the time, acquired by Giuseppe II after the scholar's death (now in the National Braidense Library of Milan).

⁷ The philosopher sought refuge in Môtiers from 1762 to 1765, due to the persecution he was subject to because of his political writings (Rousseau 1764).

⁸ Scholar of geology, botany and physics, he is considered to be the promotor of the discovery of the mountains; he carried out various ascents and measurements, and reached the summit of Mont Blanc in 1787. See De Saussure 1780.

⁹ See the travel reports to the glaciers (1741-1742) in Pesci 2001: 153-179.

¹⁰ The hut hosted famous guests (among whom Victor Hugo in 1825, Alexandre Dumas in 1832, John Ruskin in 1835) but, following construction of the nearby hotel, it remained almost abandoned until the mid-20th century. Charles Vallot (author of the first guide to Mont Blanc) turned to the Comité des Sites et Monuments for the hut to be safeguarded; it became a national monument and was restored in 1973.

¹¹ Naturalist, botanist and chemist.

¹² F. Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, Book IV.

¹³ See Alberti 1784, book. II: 84, in which he describes the rocks "full of images similar to seashells".

¹⁴ Ricci 1977.

¹⁵ See the 'mountain studies' in the *Windsor papers* (1478-1518, Royal Library). G. Ferrini's hypothesis on the representation of the Abruzzo landscape is in <<https://www.montagna.tv/cms/109095/quando-leonardo-da-vinci-visito-le-montagne-abruzzesi/>> [Accessed 19 September 2017].

¹⁶ The account of the ascent is published in De Marchi 1973 [1573] (see also Marinelli 2005 and Ardito 2014).

¹⁷ The author describes the commercial trade that occurred between L'Aquila and Teramo carrying the goods (wool) on foot from Assergi through Portella Pass (2,260 m asl). The traverse of the Gran Sasso is an example of a 'cultural route' to be safeguarded, together with the remains of stone huts that are testimony to attendance in ancient times.

¹⁸ The Tibetan term means 'mother of the universe'.

¹⁹ The Nepalese word indicates the 'sky god'.

²⁰ His mountain writings are collected in *Works* (Ruskin 1904). See also Ferrazza 2016.

²¹ Frey 1989; Schepis 2017: 131-136. See also his *Carte du Mont Blanc* of 1876 (scale 1:40.000).

²² On the figure of Martinori (engineer, intellectual, traveler and mountaineer) see Ciranna 1999.

²³ He was an Italian painter of British nationality (1846-1911), leader of the 'naturalism' of roman painting in the second half of nineteenth century.

²⁴ Member of the Associazione Artistica dei Cultori dell'Architettura (since 1895) and architect of the Superintendency for the Monuments of Lazio and Abruzzi, he is author of *Storia dell'architettura in Abruzzo* (1927-28).

²⁵ History and art scholar, he was author of the first *Guida al Gran Sasso d'Italia* (1888) and of the *Guida dell'Abruzzo* (1903).

²⁶ From 1953 up until today, the number of climbers reaching the summit of Everest is 8,306. On the first attempt, in 1924, see <<https://www.caitorino.it/montievalli/2017/08/28/perche-sei-li-i-misteri-di-george-mallory-e-andrew-irvine/>> [Accessed 2 January 2018]. See also <<http://www.montagna.tv/cms/116863/requiem-per-leverest/>> [Accessed 21 December 2017].

²⁷ See <<https://www.planetmountain.com/it/notizie/alpinismo/everest-come-gardaland-intervista-a-simone-moro-dopo-la-rinuncia-al-progetto-di-salire-everest-e-lhotse.html>> [Accessed 21 December 2017].

²⁸ The "Highest Mountain in the World", in *The Times* 1856. See <<https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/jul/21/mount-everest-name-1856>> [Accessed 19 September 2017].

²⁹ In reality the complex measurement was completed by the Indian mathematician Radhanath Sikhdar in 1852.

³⁰ In addition to solidarity projects following the 2015 Nepal earthquake.

³¹ <<http://www.montagna.tv/cms/116454/nepal-cambiano-le-regole-per-sherpa-e-alpinisti/>> [Accessed 2 January 2018].

³² It seems appropriate to identify and 'recognise' the cultural itineraries first of all before delimiting them physically (cfr. "buffer zone" in ICOMOS 2008: 5); in the mountain environment this last aspect may interfere with the integrity of natural places and may be resolved with the principles of protection established in landscape plans.

³³ See <<http://www.lastampa.it/2017/12/03/societa/montagna/turismo/il-rifugio-cambia-pelle-spa-menu-stellati-e-architetture-di-design-KGg1pU8uXX0dCKvI84P90K/pagina.html>> [Accessed 18 December 2017].

³⁴ On the dramatic events associated with attempts to conquer the Eiger, there exists a rich bibliography and a recent film (*North Face*, directed by P. Stölzl, 2008).

³⁵ Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch (<<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1037>> accessed 30 September 2018).

³⁶ See those at the Simplon Pass, the Great St Bernard Pass and the St Gotthard Pass (built by monks in the Middle Ages to offer shelter to wayfarers).

³⁷ One of this inscriptions reveal the political view contrary to the Unification of Italy: “Read my memory for dear readers: in 1820 Vittorio Emanuele King of Italy was born. Before 1960 he was the kingdom of flowers, now he is the realm of misery”.

³⁸ See, in France, the huts built by Napoleon III (Col du Noyer, Col de la Manse, Col d’Izoard and Col de Vars).

³⁹ In 1917 forty-two Italian alpine troopers setting off from Rifugio Marinelli were killed in an avalanche in the Scerscen Valley, where there is a commemorative monument.

⁴⁰ The database is subdivided by region and distinguishes mountain huts from bivouacs, with a total of 774 buildings. See <<http://www.cai.it/index.php?id=6&L=0>> [Accessed 29 December 2017].

⁴¹ The Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage.

⁴² In <<http://vincoliinrete.beniculturali.it/VincoliInRete/vir/utente/login>> [Accessed 29 December 2017]. There is listing regarding war buildings, but these are generally air-raid shelters.

⁴³ The *Guida ai rifugi* (CAI 2013) lists year of construction, but not the presence or otherwise of environmental or cultural restrictions.

⁴⁴ This circumstance is due to the fact that the hut fell into disuse after construction of the Duca degli Abruzzi shelter, then of the hotel and Campo Imperatore cableway in 1933.

⁴⁵ Actually “the cultural interest is not verified” (<<http://vincoliinrete.beniculturali.it/VincoliInRete/vir/bene/dettagliobene396793>> accessed 23 January 2018).

⁴⁶ Despite modest building works (roof renovation), the building has maintained its original size. For the story, see Clementi, Pietrostefani, Tobia 1980.

⁴⁷ The Sebastiani hut was inaugurated in 1922 (but the project dates back to the previous decade), and the Franchetti hut in 1960. They have been enlarged in comparison with the original structure, with methods indifferent to the architectural and historical values.

⁴⁸ See the *Brief history of shelter constructions on the Alps* (Gibello 2017).

⁴⁹ The new building (designed by A. Ingegneri and E. Ribetti) has a structure in glued laminated timber and walls in laminate aluminum. See Dini, Giusiano 2011.

⁵⁰ See <<http://ilgiornaledellarchitettura.com/web/2012/01/16/i-cantieri-estremi-del-monte-bianco/>> [Accessed 3 January 2018].

⁵¹ Designed by L. Gentilcore and S. Testa, the building has the appearance of a large telescope in fiberglass pointing towards the surrounding landscape.

⁵² Designed by E. Giacomelli, M. Falletti and B. Amodei (G Studio). The same designers carried out enlargement of the Teodulo refuge in Valtournenche (a

flanking structure recognisable in contrast with the original, with similar materials but a different form) and that of the Toesca refuge in Val di Susa (enlarged by lengthening the existing volume in a clearly visible way).

⁵³ Gianpaolo Treccani illustrate how the 1915-18 War in Italy was “the last conflict in the history of humanity in which, beyond enormous tragedies, new architecture and landscapes were produced” (Treccani 2014: 142).

⁵⁴ The protection of these works is entrusted to the Italian Ministry of Defence: *Commissariato Generale Onoranze Caduti in Guerra* (L.719/1975) and is carried out by renovating structures of warfare (lookouts, shelters in caves or huts, trench walkways).

⁵⁵ See CAI 2014. See also <<http://www.trentinograndeguerra.it/>> [Accessed 21 December 2017]; S. Ardito, “I sentieri della pace nella valle di Caporetto”, in *Il Messaggero*, 19 October 2017; the application for inclusion in UNESCO sites in <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6077/>> [Accessed 3 January 2018].

⁵⁶ Stephen 1871. See De Rossi 2014: VIII, 137, 358.

⁵⁷ See the “debolting” of a famous climbing route on Cerro Torre (Patagonia) in <<http://www.montagna.tv/cms/38579/cerro-torre-kruk-e-kennedy-nongratos-a-el-chalten/>> [Accessed 23 December 2017].

⁵⁸ Walter Bonatti’s famous phrase (“mountains have the value of the men who climb them, otherwise they would be nothing more than a pile of rocks”) seems to prove this, denying the very value of this immense natural heritage.

⁵⁹ Taboada 1999.

⁶⁰ See the cableway on the Piztal glacier (in Austria), which on arrival presents a structure (glass-paneled and with a shell-shaped covering) which blends well into the surrounding landscape and privileges the panoramic view. See also <http://www.repubblica.it/viaggi/2018/01/17/news/rifugi_boutique_con_spa_alpi_dolomiti-186681645/> [Accessed 23 January 2018].

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