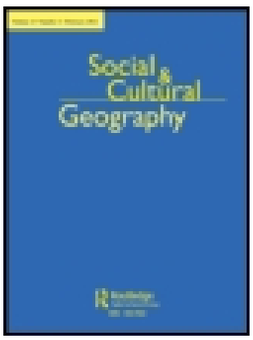

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Manicured landscapes: a video exploration of the Dolomite mountains as memoryscapes

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ABSTRACT

In 2009 UNESCO's World Heritage Program inscribed nine mountain parks located in Northeastern Italy under the single Dolomites World Heritage Site (DWHS). Under criterion vii, they were acknowledged by the World Heritage Convention to be 'widely regarded as being among the most attractive mountain landscapes in the world' with their beauty being 'intrinsic' to the nature of the mountains. In our film and paper we argue for a reconsideration of the 'intrinsic nature' of its beauty in a sense that is much different than that intended by UNESCO. Following a relational line of reasoning we argue that the essence of the distinctive landscape of the Dolomites lies in the entanglements occurring among its inhabitants who, in the course of living there, have historically been and are currently immersed in its formation. We suggest that through such entanglements – sometimes consonant and sometimes dissonant with 'authorized' notions of the heritage landscape – the Dolomitic landscapes exist as manicured landscapes. By drawing from the concept of memoryscape and non-representational ideas we articulate the notion of a manicured landscape.

Paysages entretenus: une exploration en vidéo des Dolomites en tant que paysages mémoriels

RÉSUMÉ

En 2009, le programme du patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco a inscrit les neufs parcs de montagnes situés dans l'Italie du nord-est comme site unique du patrimoine mondial des Dolomites. Selon le critère vii, les Dolomites ont été reconnues comme « étant généralement considérées comme l'un des plus beaux paysages de montagne du monde », leur beauté étant « intrinsèque » à la nature des montagnes. Dans notre film et notre article, nous plaidons pour une révision de la « nature intrinsèque » de sa beauté dans un sens qui est bien différent de celui visé par UNESCO. En suivant une ligne relationnelle de raisonnement, nous soutenons que l'essence du paysage caractéristique des Dolomites réside dans les enchevêtrements se produisant parmi ses habitants qui, à travers leur existence dans ces lieux, ont été et sont encore actuellement immergés dans leur formation. Nous suggérons qu'à travers les enchevêtrements – quelquefois consonants et quelquefois dissonants avec les notions « autorisées » du paysage de patrimoine – les paysages des Dolomites

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existent en tant que paysages entretenus. En nous inspirant du concept du paysage mémoriel et d'idées non-représentatives, nous faisons ressortir la notion de paysage entretenu.

Paisajes cuidados: una exploración visual de los Dolomitas como paisaje como *memoryscape*

RESUMEN

En 2009, los nueve parques de montaña ubicados en el noreste de Italia que conforman los Dolomitas fueron declarados Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO. Según el criterio vii, la Convención del Patrimonio Mundial reconoció que son 'ampliamente considerados uno de los paisajes montañosos más atractivos del mundo' con una belleza 'intrínseca' a la naturaleza de las montañas. En nuestra película y en nuestro documento, se aboga por una reconsideración de la 'naturaleza intrínseca' de su belleza en un sentido que es muy diferente de lo que pretende la UNESCO. Siguiendo una línea de razonamiento relacional, se sostiene que la esencia del paisaje distintivo de los Dolomitas radica en los enredos que tienen lugar entre sus habitantes que, en el curso de su existencia, históricamente han estado y están actualmente inmersos en su formación. Se sugiere que a través de tales enredos—a veces consonantes y a veces disonantes con nociones 'autorizadas' del paisaje patrimonial—los paisajes dolomíticos existen como paisajes cuidados. Basándose en el concepto de *memoryscape* e ideas no-representativas, se articula la noción de un paisaje cuidado.

Introduction

In a 2010 progress report on the use of video in geographic research Garrett (2011), p. 521) correctly argued that geography 'has yet to realize the full potential of video as a research methodology'. This is still very much true today. Over the last eight years readers of this journal – not unlike those of other leading geography periodicals – have been exposed to some of the myriad potential uses of video-based research methods. For instance, video/film has been used as an observation technique (Lee, 2016; Reyskens & Vandenabeele, 2016), as a participatory tool in the development of mobile research (Brown, 2012), and as the inspiration for cultural critique and political reflection (Story, 2013). Nonetheless, while more and more journals continue to go digital through their varied offering of multimodal content on their websites, extremely few articles are accompanied by the type of video productions that Garrett refers to as 'popular geography films' (2011, p. 523).

Bucking the trend of video data being collected but not edited, and video being edited but reduced to plates of still images, this journal article is published together with a free-access geography film meant for consumption in classrooms and seminars. While we do not deny that video is indeed a 'highly specialized and technically demanding' medium (Rose, 2001, p. 238) we believe that when approached with basic consumer technologies and skills, and driven by the geographic imagination, the production of video is of utmost importance for our discipline because it can enhance empirical description, conceptual analysis, and the overall usefulness and accessibility of geographic research. Moreover and arguably originally so, rather than making video subservient to text, with this publication we intend to put writing and audio-visual modes of communication on a level playing field, utilizing the

written word to advance our abstract argument and video to enliven our rendition of the lifeworld under study.

Our study

In 2009 UNESCO's World Heritage Program inscribed nine mountain parks located in Northeastern Italy under the single Dolomites World Heritage Site (DWHS). Scattered around three regions, including two autonomous provinces, the 141,902 hectare site was recognized for fulfilling two of the four 'Outstanding Universal Value' criteria to be met for inscription on the World Heritage List (WHL) of natural sites. Under criterion viii the Dolomites were recognized for their unique geo-morphological characteristics. Under criterion vii, of closer interest to us here, they were acknowledged to be 'widely regarded as being among the most attractive mountain landscapes in the world' (World Heritage Convention, 2009, n.p.). Explicitly descriptive in its language, the inscription outlined what makes the landscape so outstandingly attractive:

> Their intrinsic beauty derives from a variety of spectacular vertical forms such as pinnacles, spires and towers, with contrasting horizontal surfaces including ledges, crags and plateaux, all of which rise abruptly above extensive talus deposits and more gentle foothills. […] The distinctive scenery of the Dolomites has become the archetype of a 'dolomitic landscape.' Geologist pioneers were the first to be captured by the beauty of the mountains, and their writing and subsequent painting and photography further underline the aesthetic appeal of the property. (World Heritage Convention, 2009, n.p.)

The word 'intrinsic' – used by World Heritage Convention officials to describe the nature of the mountains' beauty – denotes an essential or natural quality. Thus, for example, an intrinsically beautiful object is attractive by its very nature. Most social and cultural geographers would promptly dismiss the coherence of such claims and quickly demonstrate how a heritage landscape actually acquires significance and aesthetic value through social, cultural and political dynamics which inform the production, sharing, and consumption of its meanings (e.g. Del Mármol, Morell, & Chalcraft, 2015; Harrison, 2013; Smith, 2006). A social constructionist approach, for instance, might shed light on how historically changing discursive and iconographic practices have shifted dominant conceptions and depictions of Alpine landscape from sites of horror and sheer ugliness to sublime and idyllic places informed by romantic notions of nature (see Ring, 2000). Though such approaches have their merits, in the following pages we intend to take an alternative approach to the making of the Dolomites' heritage landscape and argue for a reconsideration of the 'intrinsic nature' of its beauty. However, we will take a perspective on the meaning of 'intrinsic' that is much different than that adopted by UNESCO. Following a relational line of reasoning we argue that the essence of the distinctive landscape of the Dolomites – and the analytical argument could be extended to the Alps in general, and possibly to other mountains around the world – lies in the entanglements (Ingold, 2008) occurring among its inhabitants who, in the course of living there, have been and are immersed in its formation. We suggest that through such entanglements – sometimes consonant and sometimes dissonant with 'authorized' notions of the heritage landscape (see Smith, 2006) – the Dolomite mountains are *manicured* landscapes.[1]

Though a total of nine sites comprise the DWHS (see Elmi & Wagner, 2013), in this article we will concentrate our attention to only two natural parks: the Schlern-Rosengarten-Latemar Naturpark (Sciliar-Catinaccio in Italian) and the Puez-Geisler Naturpark (Puez-Odle

in Italian)[2] – both located within the autonomous Italian but predominantly German-speaking South Tyrolean autonomous province of Bozen (Bolzano). Through our analysis we will examine three sets of relations through which local landscapes are enacted. These relations bind together different inhabitants of the place such as farmers, conservationists, traditional residents, tourists, developers, tourist agents and regional and supra-national governmental authorities. Though the relations among such actors take place in multiple ways, and leave numerous and different marks on landscapes, here we limit our focus to only three practices through which the 'distinctive scenery of the Dolomites', to borrow from UNESCO's language (World Heritage Convention, 2009, n.p.) is manicured: 1. The mowing of the Alpine meadows; 2. The regulation of motorized mobilities at higher altitudes; 3. The upkeep of vernacular architecture buildings and building clusters.

To manicure something means to meticulously beautify, to shape, polish, trim, and carve something in order to achieve a desired effect. We use the word 'manicure' provocatively. We may commonly think of a manicure as something happening in the context of nail salon or metaphorically perhaps on a golf course or botanical garden. Even though the manicuring happening in the context of our research is not so much driven by fussy grooming, we believe that the aesthetic self-consciousness present in the region at a macro-cultural level is so heightened that the concept of manicure sensitizes us well to the processes we describe. The notion of a manicured landscape is also to be taken relatively. Our multi-site research is taking place at over two dozen World Heritage natural sites around the world, some of which present to the visitor natures that are nearly inaccessible and virtually untrammelled while others, historically more open to tourism and travel, are marked by greater degrees of careful landscaping.

The act of manicuring a natural heritage site is virtually synonymous with the practice of landscaping: the improvement of the appearance of an area by way of facilitating certain types of growth (e.g. of trees, grasses, flowers) and restricting the presence of other objects (e.g. refuse, unwanted species but also buildings, roads, etc.). Manicuring a natural heritage landscape is thus a form of heritagization: a process by which people's enchantment with a landscape is prolonged for a variety of benefits including but not limited to the preservation of select memories and the promotion of tourism (see Kirsch, 2015). Most interestingly the manicuring of a natural landscape must occur in such as a way as to preserve the ecological integrity of a place – at least in a Western cultural environment, where the idea of a wild, untouched and pristine nature is highly valued (Cronon, 1996).

By illustrating how such practices are inherent to the very temporality of the Dolomitic landscape and how they shape the local memoryscape we hope to show how the social and cultural involvement in landscape heritage formation is ontologically inseparable, and thus intrinsic, from the essence of the place. Arrangements of selective (the best preserved, the most valuable, the most typical, etc.) cultural or natural history artefacts in sanctioned displays which memorialize the past through authorized narratives are known as 'memoryscapes' (Edensor, 2005; also see Macdonald, 2013; on the related concept of 'memorylands'). We can think of these displays as exhibits, museums, performed re-enactments, and restored monuments but also of heritage landscapes such as the DWHS and natural history displays where recollections of the past 'rely on pervasive spatial regulation for their power, through which scientific presentation and spectacular display are often blended with retail techniques' (Edensor, 2005, p. 831).

Our interest in the Alpine and more precisely Dolomitic landscape is not limited to the precise borders of the Schlern-Rosengarten-Latemar Naturpark and the Puez-Geisler Naturpark. These two parks and UNESCO sites are comprised of mountain peaks, adjacent scree fields, and only the most proximate meadows, but exclude areas of surrounding high altitude plateaus and the mountain valleys and towns just a few kilometres away. In working from a relational perspective, we wish to understand the mountains and surrounding meadows – the so-called prototypical Dolomitic landscape – as entangled in a meshwork of relations that do not arbitrarily stop at a park boundary. Nature is inseparable from culture, and therefore the heritagization of a natural site must take into account the cultural dimensions of such process, focusing on the social and political ties that bind it together. There is the need of getting 'beyond the Unesco enclosure', as Varotto (Varotto & Castiglioni, 2012, p. 285ff.) state.

The goal of our paper is to contribute to the study of landscape and to the literature on the critical geographies of heritage. Given the vastness of these two bodies of literature our more precise objective is to advance a relational theoretical perspective on the temporality of landscape and to apply it to the study of spatialities of natural heritage. Chief among our sources of inspiration is Ingold's (2000, 2008, 2010) work on landscape, but despite their profound insightfulness we find that his ideas on the temporality have a limited critical political dimension. Therefore, it is our aim to combine his insights with a critical focus on the making of heritage via the notion of memoryscapes (Edensor, 2005). We also find the knowledge on Alpine and more precisely Dolomitic landscapes to be in need of greater attention from the readers of this journal, especially in light of valuable recent interdisciplinary research (e.g. see Grasseni, 2009, 2017). We do recognize that our perspective is rather different from that of Alpine researchers such as Grasseni and others (e.g. Poppi, 1980, 1992; Valentin, 2018; Varotto & Castiglioni, 2012; Varotto & Rossetto, 2016) in that, two-thirds of our co-authoring partnership are outsiders to the Alpine region, being based in North America and not specialized in Alpine anthropology while one author stems directly from the Dolomitic area and, as an anthropologist, has grown his interest in Alpine studies in the last few years while focusing his research on his home region and the Ladin-speaking minority group he belongs to (Valentin, 2018). Nonetheless, it is from the complex combination of the three positionalities of an outsider (April Vannini), a partial outsider (Phillip Vannini) and a full insider (Emanuel Valentin) that our multifaceted perspective gains acumen and value. This is also reflected in the way our video was produced: making use of original Italian language and some Ladin, but also English dialogue and exclusively English text in the subtitles and title cards. In doing so, we truly hope to facilitate awareness of the region among Anglophone human geography audiences.

As mentioned, our paper is accompanied by a 33′:40″ ethnographic film which we ourselves produced, filmed and edited. The film is comprised of excerpts from interviews and site visits we conducted with residents of the areas proximate to the two parks and of images filmed by us within the parks and immediately outside them. The purpose of the film is twofold. First, it is intended to serve as an alternative medium to share verbal data; thus, rather than relying on transcribed excerpts we make use of 'embodied' (i.e. spoken) interview segments to enliven our data representation and to provide description. Second, in an embodied and reflexive fashion the film attempts to reverberate the sense of place of the sites we visited. By relying on sound and filmic imagery to animate our ethnographic renditions of the two park landscapes we hope to engage in a sensuous methodological practice

that brings to life the two places – and especially their aesthetic dimensions – in a different way than a short textual description could have done. In doing so the film also constitutes an attempt to reach to a broader public for our research (on this also see Varotto & Rossetto, 2016). The film was produced exclusively to accompany this paper and it is available at: https://vimeo.com/204640164.

The research upon which the paper and video are based was conducted in the summer of 2016. In South Tyrol we conducted filmed interviews with 13 people[3] who in various ways are involved with the ongoing formation of the Alpine landscape. Heritage specialists and interpreters, farmers, hoteliers, artists, entrepreneurs, local historians and local politicians comprised our sample. All interviewees could speak fluently at least two languages, typically Italian and German. Other interviewees could speak Ladin as well, and some even English and French. We conducted interviews in Italian, German and English, leaving it up to an interviewee to express which language they felt comfortable conducting the interview in. Whenever the interviewee expressed no strong preferences for a particular language we conducted the interview in Italian or English for the sake of convenience, as author [1] could speak both languages, but had very limited knowledge of Ladin or German. We should note that authors [1] and [2]'s ongoing multi-site fieldwork reaches beyond South Tyrol, encompassing 140 interviews across four continents as part of a multi-site project focused on understanding how nature, wildness, and natural heritage are differently enacted around the world.

All of our interviews were open-ended and semi-structured, and filmed with the intent of generating a variety of audio-visual outputs ranging from short videos to longer and more comprehensive documentary productions for broader audiences. It is important to note that author [3] has also conducted extensive fieldwork on matters of cultural heritage in the region from 2011 until today and while those data are not immediately the subject of our analysis here, they undoubtedly inform our understanding of the context and the social and cultural dynamics at play. Author [3] also benefits from his local knowledge of the area, having been a resident since birth, while author [1] can draw from his familiarity with the region having spent several months there on and off since 1983.

Our thematic data analysis followed the procedures of phenomenological research (Moustakas, 1994, p.p 118, 119). Organization and analysis of data entailed a process of (1) horizonalizing the data – that is, 'regarding every horizon or statement relevant to the topic and question as having equal value'; (2) clustering units of meaning from the horizonalized data into common themes; (3) developing descriptions of experiences and practices, based on clusters of meaning units; and (4) integrating descriptions into the meanings – experiential and theoretical – of the phenomena under investigation. With our analysis we are primarily concerned in formulating a conceptual argument based on field data and not in engaging in empirical generalizations about the other regions of the Dolomites or the Alps in general. We are mindful of the fact that a small set of interviews from two of the nine UNESCO sites in the region do not permit us to extend our observations to other parks, valleys and Alpine region, yet such is not our objective here, nor it is our objective to undertake a comparative analysis with regard to other Alpine, South Tyrolean, or Dolomitic regions.

The Dolomites and UNESCO

The Dolomites were named after the French geologist Déodat de Dolomieu, who in 1796 discovered the peculiarities of the local rock. Until the time of this discovery, the Dolomites

– often referred to as 'pale mountains' – were for long time a place reserved for their few inhabitants and the occasional adventurers who undertook sporadic geologic and geographic expeditions. With the growth of mountain sports and leisure in the 1950s and 1960s – most notably epitomized by the 1956 Olympics in Cortina – winter and summer tourism brought successive waves of economic development to the region. Then, from the 1980s onward several of the Dolomitic valleys became widely recognized nationally and internationally (though chiefly in German-speaking countries) for their well-developed accommodation industry and the attractiveness of their landscapes. The DWHS was eventually added to UNESCO's list of natural heritage sites on June 26, 2009. In the nomination document submitted to UNESCO's assessment committee the Dolomites were portrayed as an emblematically sublime landscape:

> the particular drama and magnificence of their scenic values have made the Dolomites a crucial reference for the aesthetic of the sublime in Western culture, so much so that they are considered to be a universal standard of natural beauty. (Provincia di Belluno et al. 2008, p. 17)

Even more explicit about such character is the official website of the DWHS: 'the Dolomites are considered a global point of reference for the aesthetics of the sublime. […] verticality, grandeur, monumentality, the torment of forms, essential purity, the intensity of colours, astonishment, mystical asceticism and transcendence.'[4]

In addition to the beauty of the landscape the Dolomites were portrayed as extremely valuable to researchers and experts of the geological era of their formation, geochronologically settled in the period of about 252–208 million years ago. Interestingly, the name 'Ladinium' of the upper stage of the Middle Triassic (242–235 million years), which was proposed by the Austrian geologist Alexander Bittner in 1892, was inspired by the Ladins: a language minority group which still constitutes the majority of the population in the Dolomite mountain valleys. It might appear as a mere curiosity that of the 363 pages of the nomination document, little more than eight pages (the 'History and development' section) are devoted to the historical, social, and linguistic aspects of the Dolomites. A search for the word 'Ladin' in the document results in a total of 51 hits (plus 7 additional hits in the literature list). 47 of these are, however, related not the culture and society of the Ladin peoples, but to the geological epoch 'Ladinium'. Only the remaining four hits refer to either the Ladin language or the Ladin population. Even a search for the term 'romance' (the Ladin language is also referred to as 'raeto-romance') does not change this picture. As it clearly transpires, the sociocultural contextualization of the DWHS is relatively marginal in this important document, underlining the fact that the UNESCO inscription of the Dolomites refers only to the natural heritage, while the 'cultural heritage' is mentioned only as a kind of 'archaic' curiosity on the fringe thus reinforcing the binary opposition between nature and culture in ways similar to other UNESCO world Heritage sites around the world (see Taylor & Lennon, 2011).

The DWHS is comprised of nine mountain systems (core zones) surrounded by a system of buffer zones. The nine areas can all be found in northeastern Italy and more precisely in three regions (the autonomous region of Trentino – Alto Adige / Südtirol; the Veneto region; and the autonomous region of Friuli Venezia Giulia) and five provinces within such regions (Trento, Bolzano/Bozen, Belluno, Udine, Pordenone). Due to its vastness and availability of resources such as time and money we could only concentrate on a segment of the DWHS as part of our fieldwork. The two sites we visited rank amongst the most popular (in terms of visitor numbers) and arguably amongst the most easily recognized. Both are located within South Tyrol. The Schlern-Rosengarten-Latemar WHS covers an area of 7930 hectares.

The WHS is contiguous with the natural park by the same name; an area protected since 1974. The site is 9302 hectares large, straddling the Seiser Alm plateau to the north (Europe's largest high-altitude meadow), the Val dl Isarch/Eisacktal/Valle Isarco to the west (pop. ca. 47,500), the Gherdëina/Gardena/Gröden to the northeast, and the Fascia/Fassatal/Fassa to the southeast (pop. ca. 9500). The Puez-Geisler Naturpark is an area locally protected since 1978. Its peaks are surrounded by three valleys: the Funes/Villnöß valley to the north (pop. ca. 2550), the Val Badia/Gadertal to the east (pop. ca. 6100), and the Gherdëina/ Gardena/ Gröden to the south (pop. ca. 10,000).

Our film in context

One dominant narrative and three subthemes emerged from our fieldwork. The dominant narrative, clearly articulated by all our interviewees (both those portrayed in our film and those not portrayed as well), reveals how the Dolomitic landscape has been actively shaped by centuries of human and animal inhabitation. The three subthemes centre on three key practices through which the Dolomitic landscape is currently enacted by its inhabitants: the management of meadows and pastures, the regulation of mobilities, and the preservation of vernacular architecture. Our film explores in depth through words, sounds and images this narrative and its subthemes. The film is structured in six sequences, each corresponding to a denotation of the verb 'to manicure'. Each sequence contains visual and verbal material that directly sheds light on the denotation of that word, as illustrated in the title card opening a sequence. The concept of 'manicure' is grounded on our observations and data analysis. It is a concept we ourselves have coined, but only after listening to the insights of our interviewees.

The film begins with Richard Waldboth introducing us to the work that he and his family have been carrying out at their Seiser Alm *maso:* a property that has been in their family since some time after the 1300s. The cutting of grass on Alpine meadows, and the grazing practised by cows, as can be understood from interviews with Richard himself, as well as Klaus Puntaier, Giovanni Mischi, and Fritz Bromberger, is a multifaceted practice underscored by some of the complex relations through which Dolomitic heritage landscapes take shape. As a way of summarizing what our film reveals, the grass is mowed so it can be made into hay and stored inside the *masi* over winter. Stored hay feeds the cows, who will in turn yield dairy and meat products central to the local economy as well as to the regeneration of local tradition and regional identity. Dairy products, such as cheeses, butter, milk, and yoghurt are also served regularly to tourists in restaurants and mountain huts as a way of introducing them to the local cuisine (select mountain huts, or 'alms', are especially dedicated to serving locally sourced products).

Meadows are cut by both private citizens and municipalities not only to procure hay, however. Of essential importance to the narrative is the fact that the cutting of meadows by private citizens – both farmers and non-farmers – is partially funded by taxpayer money. Such economic contributions are in place so that the landscape of valleys and pastures can have a scenic value, or in other words it can look tidy, clean, colourful and pretty – something that tourists and residents alike can benefit from and enjoy, as Giovanni and Fritz explain. Moreover, the maintenance of meadows is done to keep at bay the spread of some less desirable species (like red fir) while stimulating the growth of others (like wildflowers) that are widely perceived to be attractive. Also, incidentally but importantly, as farmers cut grass

with traditional hand tools like scythes they publicly perform memory for the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011), thus lending their working landscape a clear heritage value. As our sounds and images reveal, the cows play an important role too in the making of this heritage landscape. It is virtually impossible to imagine the Dolomitic or South Tyrolean landscape without the sound of cowbells or the sight of a herd munching grass.

Images from our film also reveal a great deal of mobilities occurring at high altitudes. This is where a bit of contrast might shed light on the unique context at hand. As part of our fieldwork in UNESCO sites around the world we often hike, trek, and bushwalk to high elevations, at times undergoing danger, and inevitably experiencing fatigue and physical pain along the way. In the Dolomites, in contrast, it is extremely easy to drive one's car up a well-paved mountain road all the way up to a 2000 m pass, park the car (often the most challenging task of the day), board a gondola, transfer to a chairlift, and soon enough enjoy a fresh slice of strüdel or a refreshing glass of radler, having walked no more than 300 m. These forms of mobilities are important ways through which the Dolomitic landscapes are revealed to tourists in search of new and exciting (but easily accessible) leisure destinations. Without them very few people could gain an appreciation of the unique qualities of the mountains. Without them feelings of fatigue and anxiety could easily override experiences of the sublime. Without them, arguably the local economy would still be heavily dependent on subsistence agriculture – as Heiner Maier, one of our interviewees, explains.

However, as multi-media artist Hubert Kostner underlines in his interview in the film, the aesthetic and environmental affordances of all these forms of mobilities are often at odds with one another and contention is always brewing. In part this is also due to the very unique configuration of private and public properties typical of the DWHS. Unlike many parks around the world, which are exclusively owned by state authorities, the DWHS is a patchwork of loosely fenced lands that have been privately held by families for centuries. In most cases these lands are surrounded by public infrastructures (like roads), publicly subsidized services (like chairlifts and gondolas), and publicly owned areas (such as the mountains themselves). Farmers like Richard or hotel owners like Fritz must therefore constantly thread a fine line between individual property rights and collective interest and welfare. And at times the line is crossed.

For example, in 2010, an activist group called 'Salvun Antersasc' (Rescue Antersasc in Ladin) met on Würzjoch (a pass that can be seen in the fourth sequence of our film) and with a coffin, a funeral procession, and an epitaph they held a symbolic burial: the 'funeral of Antersasc'. Antersasc is a mountain pasture not far from where the symbolic funeral took place, behind the impressive Peitlerkofel (2875 m), a landscape within the borders the UNESCO Puez-Geisler Naturpark site. Antersasc was one of the last mountain pastures in the area without vehicle-access roads but when its private owner applied for the construction of a short road (not much more than 1 km in length) in order to allow vehicle access and to enable the successive restructuring of a derelict hut in the area, conflict erupted. What followed in the next few years was a complex political clash between two factions: on one side the peasants' union and the dominant political party [the Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP)] who sided in support of the land owner; on the other side the environmentalists who wished to protect the mountain pasture. Despite a negative assessment from its own technical offices, the provincial government passed a first resolution in favour of the road construction. This was followed by intense protests and by the creation of the 'Salvun Antersasc' committee who organized a series of actions against the resolution of the government. In 2011 a

judgement of the Regional Administrative Court decreed the illegality of the resolution of the province, granting the appeal lodged by the WWF and other environmental groups. Unexpectedly, in 2013 the then 'Landeshauptmann' (country's chief) Luis Durnwalder brought the case 'Antersasc' again to the vote, shortly before his office dismissal. Again the state government approved the construction of the road with the condition that the street would be only 2.5 m wide and could only be driven by the owner. Shortly after their start, the construction work was blocked by the Regional Administrative Court which in 2015 granted the appeal of the environmentalists. The state government under the new 'Landeshauptmann' Arno Kompatscher decided not to submit a counter-claim against the decision. Since then, the 'case Antersasc' has been stagnant.

Though not referred to in our film, this case is important to appreciate the delicate political balance between private and public property, high mountain mobilities, farming, tourism, and landscape preservation. Development, or more broadly human impact, has been part and parcel of the Dolomitic landscape for over a millennium – as our interviewees reveal in our film. Clashes like the 'Salvun Antersasc' reveal competing visions of heritage and what should be preserved: traditional cultural and economic practices or sublime socio-nature spaces where human intervention can be restricted (or arguably both). In similar ways the same clash reoccurs in the architectural context described by Giovanni Mischi in the third chapter of our film. Though there have been no funerals similar to the Antersasc case, plenty of *viles* have been destroyed in the last fifty years around the region to pave the way for newer homes, restaurants, and hotels. The architectural revolution of the Dolomitic valleys of the last sixty years has given rise to a remarkably modern tourism infrastructure, which – in spite of its sometimes excessive luxury – plays a welcomed functional role in indirectly supporting local farmers' activities. Many of these dynamics are highlighted in our interview with Heiner Maier: an agritourism owner, as well in the words of Richard Waldboth and Giovanni Mischi.

As Giovanni Mischi reveals in his interview, in some locations the demise of *viles* and the decreased presence of farmers in the Alpine valleys has resulted not only in loss of cultural heritage but also in damages to natural heritage, since fewer farmers nowadays are around to look after fields and meadows. This has eventually given rise to the passing of subsidy schemes and landscape liens, which have been striving to contain development in order to not only the preserve the quantity and quality of the still-existing examples of vernacular architecture, but also indirectly to facilitate the caretaking of the landscape by the hands of non-farmers. The autonomous province of Bozen, for example, passed a law in 1970[5] that defines several landscape categories and stipulates precise measures to contain their developments within boundaries of aesthetic acceptability. The law then leaves it up to municipalities to pass bylaws specific to local needs and priorities.[6] This of course is one of the most fundamental ironies behind the designation of the DWHS as a 'natural site': hut restoration, the preservation of vernacular architecture, the active caretaking of meadows, and the maintenance of well-kept trail networks interconnected by subsidized chairlifts are all explicit ways in which human intervention actively shapes the landscape to look attractive and to be enjoyed as an assemblage of well-planned vistas and strategically located accommodations and 'punti di ristoro' (or 'refreshment points'). And yet the landscape is inscribed in the Wold Heritage list for its intrinsic natural beauty. So, at this point we ask that you turn to the film, and later return to the sections below.

Analysis and reflection

Our relational perspective

In recent years mountains have been the subject of sustained interest across both social anthropology and human geography (e.g. Cosgrove & Della Dora, 2008; Cruikshank, 2005; Della Dora, 2008; Morin, Longhurst, & Johnston, 2010; Viazzo, 1989). In attempting to understand this growing popularity Della Dora (2008) has opined that mountains' material solidity lends them an indisputable ontological security which challenges constructivist perspectives and inspires alternative ontologies and epistemologies. These currents of thought disrupt traditional boundaries between bodies and landscape and between animate and inanimate subjects (see, for example, Lorimer & Lund, 2003; Wylie, 2002). Following these emerging traditions we view the Dolomite Mountains as endowed with a capacity to act that is not bestowed upon them by human subjects who 'attach' meaning to them, but is rather something inherent in their temporality and relationality. Thus, we treat the Dolomite Mountains not as just rock formations delimited by narrow park boundaries, but instead as forms of life ensconced in broader geo-political meshworks and temporal relational fields (Ingold, 2010).

Mountains' rocky textures the world over have the apparent power to crystallize time, with their active geological past being so easily hidden by a materiality that appears to be stilled in the present time. Because of such ostensible fixity mountains often become 'topographical memory places': sites that evoke temporal continuity with both prosaic and sacred pasts (Nora, 1996). Evidence of this is the WHL itself: a list teeming with mountains designated as natural heritage all around the world. As mentioned in the introduction, from a constructionist perspective we could easily take this as our point of departure for criticizing UNESCO's claim that mountains' beauty is 'inherent' in its nature. Despite surface appearances – our argument would run – mountains' intrinsic and essential nature is only an illusory mask hiding layers of symbolic and functional meaning 'underneath' the visible thickness and stability of rock. Natural heritage, in this sense, would only be a misplaced or at least misunderstood form of cultural heritage because there can never be a nature outside of culture. We intend to move beyond such constructivist position. By valuing the immanent subjectivity of a mountain, however, we do not mean to fall in line with the Kantian position embraced by UNESCO either. Mountains like the Dolomites do not derive their subjectivity in virtue of being either a social construct or a pre-objective 'nature' separate and distinct from their surrounding 'culture'. We believe that their inherent subjectivity, in other words, cannot be found by transcending their embeddedness in the human world or in denying their inherent vitality. Rather, mountains' subjectivity lies precisely in their being inherently entangled in profound and complex meshworks: relational fields which, amongst other effects, give form to their supposedly beautiful features.

Our perspective is founded upon recent post-humanist theory and scholarship which examines natures, in the plural, as simultaneously immanent and emergent through the unfolding of multiple more-than-human relations (cf. Braun, 2004; Castree, 2003; Panelli, 2010). From such a relational ontological perspective mountains do not have a predetermined essential or mechanistic form. Instead, they are lively becomings enmeshed in inventive and heterogenous meshworks. Their relational nature is not something that adds an anthropocentric meaning to an otherwise formless or inchoate rocky substratum devoid of the capacity to act or affect. Their 'emergent, dynamic, and unstable' (Lehman, 2013, p. 487) relational nature is in fact incipient to their very being. As Lehman (2013, p. 487) has observed:

'by acknowledging that relationships are by nature always happening and open to contestation and surprise, posthumanist relational ontologies are particularly well equipped to theorize the instability, incompleteness, complexity, and nonlinearity that haunt social life'. Such an approach does not undermine the geological solidity of rock by subjecting it to the mercy of representational forms, and neither does it deny the partial, dynamic, constantly shifting, continuously contested character of heterogeneous nature-cultures. This perspective, similar to what Lehman writes about the ocean as actor, treats a mountain 'not as an empty stage for human drama' but animates it as a being and indeed a becoming that 'acts as well, concealing, transforming, rebelling, cooperating, and behaving in myriad ways that are highly influential and not entirely predictable' (Lehman, 2013, p. 497).

Indeed, the mountain landscapes we studied are entangled in meshworks whose forms and relations reveal the cooperations, challenges, accords, controversies, agreements, disagreements, complicities and divisions constantly shifting and emerging among park managers, conservationists, local farmers, agricultural cooperatives, hoteliers, hikers, restaurateurs, developers, heritage professionals, state and regional authorities and so on. In this sense the Dolomitic landscapes are no different from many other protected areas, wilderness spaces, heritage landscapes, urban parks or gardens around South Tyrol, the Alps, or the world where humans are deeply enmeshed with non-human natures to unsettle and rupture, but also to crystallize and stabilize, social and natural subjectivities and meanings (e.g. see Hinchliffe, Kearnes, Degen, & Whatmore, 2005; Panelli, 2010).

In light of all this, our argument that the beauty of the landscape is inherent to its very nature is not a way of denying the old and well-established adage that beauty is in the eye of the beholder (after all the only claim we can make regarding their beauty comes from our respondents' and our own embodied perspective on their aesthetic value). Rather, and much less controversially, we want to highlight how the very same characteristics described by UNESCO (their 'spectacular vertical forms', 'contrasting horizontal surfaces', 'great diversity of colours', 'sublime beauty' and 'sweeping panoramas') are phenomenologically perceived as outstandingly beautiful by local residents and visitors (at least the few that we spoke with) *in virtue of the unique relations with the mountain landscapes into which these subjects are embedded* .To put this in other words, we find that the mountains' inherent beauty lies not (or at least not exclusively) in the discursive practices that ascribe cultural value to them as an inert object (as a constructionist might have) or in the mountains' nature transcending social organization or cultural formations (as the Kantian-inspired argument embraced by UNESCO would posit). Instead, we believe that a mountain's inherent beauty lies chiefly in its capacity to affect bodies, in its vitality to be woven into various shapes over millennia, in its capacity to act through ecological webs of relations that simultaneously enable and restrict species' lives, and in the affordances that it provides to those who dwell and build their lives there. A mountain landscape's inherent beauty lies therefore in its immanent vitality and incipient relationality.

The relation between memory and heritage

An important dynamic of the aesthetic appreciation of the Dolomites – as revealed throughout our interviews – lies in the relation between mountainous landscapes and personal and collective memory. Memory, Della Dora (2008, p. 218) writes,

> has been generally understood as a selective process of commemorative remembrance translated onto landscape, as a set of often concurring discourses able to operate at different scales (from the local to the national) with different degrees of intensity, or as a destabilizing force against historical 'grand Narratives.'

This is certainly a common disposition behind the designation of ecological systems as nature parks and natural heritage sites, yet it is an attitude which relies deeply on a discursive understanding of memory and of place that contributes to the ongoing production of 'authorized heritage discourses' with the power to generate new dominant narratives (Smith, 2006). We do not deny the validity of such views but, like Della Dora (2008), we wish to push our argument beyond the discursive and representational realm and seek out material dimensions of memory and heritage within the domain of social practices and the sphere of physical features and textures of place (see Della Dora, 2008; Edensor, 2005).

Through our own embodied exploration of the two natural heritage sites in question and through the explorations, memories, and reflections of our interviewees, with our film we want to activate perceptions of mountain landscapes which are embedded in the multiple relationships among material features of place and remembering subjects in an attempt to 'shift from discursive memory to the mnemonic act itself as an embodied practice' (Della Dora, 2008, p. 218). In doing so we want to highlight the processuality of heritage-making, or 'heritagisation' (e.g. Del Mármol et al., 2015), and offer a reflection on the ways in which heritage comes to take form and place, how it becomes reified, and how it undergoes enchantment, disenchantment, negotiation, dissent, challenge and resistance (Del Mármol et al., 2015).

According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the making of heritage is a 'mode of cultural production' (1998, p. 7) or a metacultural production (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) through which meanings are generated, categories defined, values reaffirmed and practices put into effect. Heritagization territorializes old and new relations among people and between people and places, casting idealized versions of the past and charging heritage makers and heritage keepers with the responsibility to both enact and preserve such ideals – as the clash over the Antersasc meadow reveals. In this sense the creation of heritage can be understood to be a seductive process, write Del Mármol et al. (2015). What is in fact so powerfully attractive about our recollections of the past is 'a promise of recovery of an allegedly lost world' (Del Mármol et al., 2015, p. 4). Del Mármol et al. (2015, p. 4) explain:

> When heritage making as a process begins, it is most often catalysed by a register of enchanted images, a bewitching stage in which advantages and promises are presented and act as fundamental attractions for its development. What is to be preserved or restored is exhibited as a valuable item, something which concentrates idealised representations and portrays persuasive discourses.

Heritagization is a 'a field of seduction' (Del Mármol et al., 2015, p. 4) hell-bent on animating a sense of attachment to distant (and, partially, current) lifeworlds threatened by the rationalization and disenchantment of modernity and its dystopian futures – embodied by small things perceived to be 'out of place' (see Cresswell, 1996) such as roads, modern apartment complexes or luxury resorts. Heritage-making is thus intent on captivating people and 'harnessing different realms of contemporary imagination' (Del Mármol et al., 2015, p. 7) by selecting, filtering, restructuring and ultimately regulating the past in order to strategically produce the memoryscapes of the present. As Edensor observes, heritage is always inevitably

> caught up in regulatory regimes which determine where and how things, activities, and people should be placed … and is enmeshed in the production and maintenance of single-purpose or 'purified' spaces … in which preferred activities occur, creating a spatially and socially segmented world. (Edensor, 2005, p. 833)

According to Edensor (2005) memoryscapes, both public (such as the sawmill shown by Klaus Puntaier) and private (such as Giovanni's home) guided us around – are designed to convey particular memories typically fuelled by productive nostalgia (see Wheeler, 2017) and are maintained meticulously in order to keep unwanted clutter away. Such regimes of purification are well understood in the ambit of cultural heritage but much less so in the context of natural heritage. Natural heritage sites are more commonly seen by most people to be neutral and transparent testimonies of the biological and geological past. Yet environmental conservation programmes and management plans play an instrumental role in the preservation of natural heritage, in its aestheticization, and thus in the formation of capitalistic alliances among tourism, farming and environmental conservation (Brockington & Duffy, 2011; Brockington, Duffy, & Igoe, 2008). With our film we have shown show the landscapes and memoryscapes of the Dolomitic sites we visited are carefully manicured to be attractive and to appear natural, even intact (a word used by Fritz Bromberger to refer to meadows, for example) despite obvious human intervention.

Though there are multiples ways in which a natural heritagescape can be manicured to be beautiful, in our film we looked at three practices in particular. We focused on these three practices because they emerged from our data but also because they enable us to see well how the process of heritagization is clearly dependent on mundane activities which leave important material traces on the landscapes where they unfold. Better yet, these three practices reveal not so much the 'imprint' of ideas on landscape, as if landscape was a blank sheet waiting to be textualized. Rather, these relational practices reveal some of the entanglements through which a landscape unfolds as part of the world's transformation of itself – thus demonstrating the 'inherent' character of a landscape's temporality. Together these three practices (the cutting of Alpine meadows' grass, the building and maintenance of huts in line with authorized vernacular architectural traditions, and the restricted development of mobility infrastructures) show us how natural heritage sites take place as attractive memoryscapes whose relationship with the past is based on 'an established iconography [which] designates particular relationships and continuities with selective characters, places, and events from the past' (Edensor, 2005, p. 830).

Such memoryscapes as the DWHS serves as the site for the enactment of a variety of everyday rituals whose performance is simultaneously local and embedded in the ordinary actions of long-time residents as well as externalized, mediatized and commodified in broader global networks of money and political power. So, just like memory elsewhere is embodied and materialized in private spaces (see Meah & Jackson, 2016) or imprinted upon bounded commercial spaces made over to draw upon select traces of heritage (see Tchoukaleyska, 2016), within a manicured heritage landscape acts of remembering depend on the removal of clutter and coherent manicuring – such as restrictions on new road development, limitations on building and impositions on farming practices. Together, these processes 'disguise a politics wherein developers and experts remember space for middle-class inhabitants, businesses, shoppers and tourists, raising wider questions about which fragments and spaces of memory are incinerated, dumped or buried and which pass into social and institutional memory' (Edensor, 2005, p. 831).

Manicuring as inhabitation

Up to this point we have mainly developed a critical argument that showed how a natural heritage site is enacted as a type of memoryscape, and how manicuring practices are a form of heritagization. Now we wish to further advance the idea that manicuring is a practice inherent to landscape formation, and for that we turn to more-than-representational and relational ideas developed by Tim Ingold. A more-than-representational and relational approach to landscape views activities like grass-cutting (and grass-eating) or the erection and maintenance of buildings as performative of a multiplicity of emergent realities. In other words a manicured landscape is a performed landscape: a multi-faceted and heterogeneous occurrence enacted by humans (like farmers, builders), animals (like cows), and inanimate objects (like soil or rock) entangled within a field of relations. In light of this it makes little sense to think of a Dolomitic landscape as an asocial, non-cultural, 'natural' heritage site – as our research participants themselves critically observed in our film. Relatedly, it makes no sense to think of the beauty of the mountains as separate from the meadows and forests they rise above. Ideas like these, based in Kantian notions of an essentialized nature, are rooted in binary ideologies which separate cultivated land from wilderness, working landscapes from non-productivist spaces, and nature from culture (see Cronon, 1996). Of course these are the same ideologies enacted in many protected areas worldwide which separate humans from their natural environments by erecting fences and policing boundaries (Brockington & Duffy, 2011; Brockington et al., 2008). According to this essentializing and binary system of oppositions life 'is reduced to an internal property of things that occupy the world but do not properly inhabit it' (Ingold, 2008, p. 1797).

The significance of manicuring can be understood from a more-than-representational perspective based on the principle of inhabitation. A world that is inhabited, rather than mere occupied, is a world woven together from the various strands of the continual coming-into-being of its many forms of life (Ingold, 2010). Weaving, interestingly, is utilized as a metaphor by one of our participants themselves (Hubert Kostner whose art shows how the Dolomitic landscape can be understood as being woven together through the many lines of growth and the many activities in which its inhabitants are bound with one another. This mesh of activities does not give form to life; rather it is life itself, it is incipient to life taking place (Ingold, 2008, 2010). In contrast, Ingold (2008, 1798) observes, in a

> Kantian cosmology, creatures do not find themselves on the inside of a clearing that has been opened up, but on the outside of a globe that is already sealed. They do not, then, live within the world but upon its outer surface. In the words of Kant himself, 'the world is the substratum and the stage on which the play of our skills proceeds'. (1970, p. 257)

According to this Kantian perspective, which has been a dominant force in the development of all modern foundational sciences and heritagization, a material world of nature is set over and aside a knowing subject whose mind gives form and meaning to it. Where such nature exists in ways that appear untouched by humankind it is said to be wild and pristine and its power to be inherent to it, predating human intervention and endowed with forms and textures having somehow turned their backs on the world, closed in on themselves, cutting themselves from the paths along which they came into being, and presenting only their 'congealed, outer surfaces for inspection' (Ingold, 2008, p. 1801).

We simply cannot overstate the importance of the fact that the World Heritage Convention describes the beauty of the Dolomitic landscape only in terms of the forms, colours, and

textures of the rock and without any sustained regard to other elements, such as forests and meadows (referred to as a mere contrasting backdrop), or the buildings, roads, and trails (which do not even deserve a mention) made by the Ladin peoples. By pointing to the mountains alone it is easier to argue that the world is something prepared by 'nature' for people in advance of their presence; a world of nature distinct from the practices and memories of is residents. But what we see with every swing of the scythe of every grass-mowing farmer is a world continuously coming into being in and around the mountains: a dynamic process through which a landscape is manicured in accordance to the seasonal rhythms of growth, to the weather, to traditional lifestyle practices, and in sync with current economic necessities and demands. Life, human and more-than-human, involves the passage of time and 'this life-process is also the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived' (Ingold, 2000, p. 189). Following this relational perspective no element of the landscape is an external backdrop endowed with an inherent nature of its own. Rather, from this perspective 'the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of and testimony to the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it and in so doing have left there something of themselves' (Ingold, 2000, p. 189).

Like all landscapes, the Dolomitic landscape is a chronicle which tells the many stories of its inhabitants' lives. These stories are not only human stories. The rhythms of the activities of those who inhabit a landscape, such as diurnal and nocturnal cycles, seasonal alternations, patterns of weather and vegetation growth, animal habitual movements and so on, play an important role in the world's transformation of itself (Ingold, 2000, p. 200; Panelli, 2010). So for example, one evening during our fieldwork, while near the top of the Schlern summit, we photographed a time lapse of the sun descending down in the sky as the moon rose in front of us. As the sun descends the time lapse shows in the distance the Rosengarten mountains changing colours, losing their paleness and turning pink and orange. But at the same the landscape changes in another way as well. As the sun moves farther below the Schlern peak behind us, the summit's shadow is cast progressively farther onto the plateau in front of the camera. As the shadow creeps up towards the edge of the plateau so does a herd of cows – calmly looking for warm patches of grass in the increasingly small sunlit meadow, repeating a pattern of movement which they have enacted all their lives, and which has been enacted there by herders for generations.

To perceive a landscape from a temporal and relational perspective is an act of 'engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past' (Ingold, 2000, p. 189), an environment that is not awaiting, as if inert, the inscriptions of a human mind, but rather an environment whose unfolding over different temporal patterns becomes part of its inhabitants – cows, blades of grass, herders, celestial bodies, trees, mountain peaks – just as they are part of it. In a world where nature is believed to be contained within itself and characterized by an inherent being that is alien from its social relations, the landscape is separate from and transcendent of its temporality and cannot therefore have any true heritage. But in a relational landscape manicured by its inhabitants over time, memories and heritage unfold according to the relations in which its inhabitants are tied. 'It is from this relational context of people's engagement with the world', Ingold writes, 'in the business of dwelling that each place draws its unique significance' (2000, p. 192).

As our interviews reveal throughout our film, our research participants have a very meaningful rapport with the Dolomitic landscape. In different ways, each of our interviewees (both those shown and those who aren't, unfortunately, shown in the final cut) have built

over time a personally significant relation with the mountains. 'The landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein', observes Ingold (2000, p. 193), those 'who inhabit its places and journey along the path connecting them'. Tasks such as the eating or the cutting of the grass, the restoration of homes, or the movements into and out of the mountains from the lower valleys, are just one of the many ways in which a landscape and its inhabitants' bodies work as complementary terms. Manicuring a meadow, in this sense, is a way of incorporating the landscape, a constitutive act of inhabitation through which a temporary form of place is generated (Ingold, 2000, p. 193). Ingold (2000) notably uses the concept of the taskscape to refer to how every inhabitant's task acquires its significance in relation to the tasks performed by every other inhabitant. The practice of manicuring, on the other hand, is specific to this taskscape but it is arguably occurring in many other parts of the world. Manicuring practices which are performed sometimes in parallel and sometimes even in opposition of one another are an array of related but not necessarily planned or even coherent activities focused directly or indirectly on improving the appearance of a landscape (e.g. see Sarmento, 2009). They are what gives form to the Dolomites landscape. They are part and parcel of its intrinsic nature.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper we have argued that there is merit in the idea that the beauty of the Dolomitic landscape is somehow 'intrinsic' to its nature. Our perspective on this position, however, has differed dramatically from UNESCO's 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006). UNESCO's World Heritage Program posits nature to be inherently distinct from society, mountains to be separate from the broader meshworks in which they are entangled, and natural heritage landscapes to intrinsically transcend the relational temporal rhythms and activity patterns which shape their form. But rather than simply developing our oppositional argument through a deconstructive reading of discourse, in this paper we have adopted a relational view which treats mountain landscapes as deeply entangled in a multiplicity of more-than-human relations.

With our fieldwork and throughout our film we focused on three of these relations and concentrated on practices such as grass-cutting, building and maintenance of traditional architecture, and mobilities management. In doing so we have uncovered how the beauty – as perceived by our research participants – of the Dolomitic landscape is carefully manicured on a day to day basis by a variety of actors whose actions and orientations are sometimes congruent and sometimes dissonant with the dominant view of natural heritage. Even though it beyond the remit of this paper to make recommendations to UNESCO on how to amend its position, we do wish to note that as of recently the World Heritage Committee has begun to inscribe certain sites as 'mixed' natural and cultural. Out of a total of 1073 sites there are now 35 mixed sites on the World Heritage list. Mixed sites are inscribed because their characteristics meet both natural *and* cultural criteria. Even though the criteria for inscription as a mixed site are still separated into two clearly distinct categories – which reinforces the nature vs. culture binary – at least mixed sites are evidence that UNESCO is now beginning to recognize the interdependence of natural and cultural heritage.

A manicured heritage landscape is not an 'inauthentic' entity, like some form of Disneyfied nature. There is no such thing as an authentic version of a landscape which somehow resides innately in a state of nature preceding contact with humans. A landscape is always relational.

The relationality of landscape is immanent to it and inevitable, and therefore practices of manicuring are simply possible concretizations of that relationality. To say that beauty is intrinsic to a landscape is therefore to recognize the genius loci of a particular place, the uniqueness of the inhabitants' ways of lives, their vernacular styles, and the complexity and depth of the taskscapes through which a place is incorporated into their existence. A manicured heritage landscape is not a vision or cosmetic plan inscribed onto a meaningless substratum which, by virtue of such inscription, is then provided with meanings and aesthetic value.

As we have argued, a manicured heritage landscape, however, is not necessarily characterized by political harmony. As we have shown in our video and discussed in our paper there are political and economic alliances working at both the local and global level which strive to enable and stabilize certain components of the Dolomitic heritage landscape while limiting, discouraging, and restricting others. Heritage landscapes like the DWHS are subject to regulation, exploitation, domination, and exploitation as well as negotiations, subsidizations, and compromises. So the forms that a building may take or the functions to which a road may be put become important mechanisms through which agreements and disagreements over heritage become materialized and spatialized in distinct memoryscapes. Heritagization, after all, always results in commodification and assigning ownership to someone. The very notion of heritage as patrimony – clearly denoted by the Italian word for heritage: *patrimonio* – indicates that it must belong to someone. Therefore, understanding who the dominant actors that engage in such manicuring are, and what their practices and intents are, is essentially important. In light of this with our film and paper we have shown how the beauty of the Dolomitic landscape may be inherent to the place itself, but the particular relations that give rise to the regulation and maintenance of these particular manifestations of beauty are not necessarily always wise, fair, or benign. The resulting landscape is thus a contingent and partial taskscape of activities which include policies, plans, rules, financial schemes, border guarding, and regulatory regimes asserting the value of different manicuring practices over others and reinforcing the dominance of specific interest groups over others.

With our documentary we have also made an attempt to display our ethnographic fieldwork differently from the typical text-based style of research reporting. We fully recognize the limited value of our film as an ethnographic document, due to both the limited time in which we were in the field and the limited representativeness of the six individuals we portrayed. Undoubtedly more female participants and a better inclusion of Ladin- and German-speaking participants (among other factors) would have yielded a richer impression. But in spite of its shortcomings, we do believe that our film achieved an important more-than-representational objective in animating a landscape through both visual and aural material that would have been impossible to enact through writing alone, or even writing in conjunction with still photography. Using video together with writing in a more-than-representational manner and style can allow us to sense the lifeworld differently, and thus to apprehend ethnographic and geographic realities not just in a reproductive sense, but also in a creative and poietic one. Combinations of writing with fully edited ethnographic film – film that is immediately viewable by journal readers with a simply click of the mouse rather than through separate searches and acquisitions – remain rare in geography and the social sciences at large, and demand further attention and experimentation.

Notes

1. Our empirical findings pertain to only one area of the Dolomites. Given our epistemological approach we do not aim for our findings to have external validity. Our goal is to generate a concept, that of manicured landscapes, and argue for its interpretive usefulness. It is the task of future research to determine the transferability value of this concept and to compare and contrast our findings across other areas of the Dolomites and the Alps in general.
2. To save space, in what follows we will refer to our sites only by their German names (the locally dominant language).
3. Though our sample was inclusive of men and two women, our video – for a variety of production-related and editorial reasons – only shows men. We fully recognize this as a limitation of our work.
4. Source: Official website of the Dolomites UNESCO World Heritage Site (http://dolomitiunesco.info/en/), last access on January 15, 2017.
5. http://www.provincia.bz.it/natura-territorio/temi/contenuti-piano-paesaggistico.asp
6. As exemplified in this document pertaining to the Badia Valley, as referred to by Giovanni Mischi in our film: http://gis2.provinz.bz.it/mapAccel/docs/Landbrowser_docs/ErlauterndeBerichte_it/15_rel.pdf

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