Europe's Cultural Landscape:
archaeologists and the management of change

Edited by Graham Fairclough and Stephen Rippon
Assistant Editor David Bull

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Europe's Archaeological heritage

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Cover illustration: An early medieval stronghold at Moraczewo, in the Wielkopolska region of Poland, one of c. 7,000 entries on the Polish official register of scheduled sites and monuments. The stronghold is dated to between the 8th-11th century AD, and is associated with the power base of the Polanie tribe, one of the foundations of the future feudal Christian State. It sits within an agricultural landscape of much later date. Current agriculture activities on or near the site are monitored by the Service for the Protection of Monuments. The modern farm near the stronghold was built before the site was designated in 1972. Photo: W. Stêpień.

1: Europe's landscape: archaeology, sustainability and agriculture

Graham Fairclough

Abstract: *This introductory paper sets out some of the main themes that will be explored in the rest of the volume. It attempts a brief overview of some of the ways in which archaeologists in a number of European countries are contributing to the understanding the European landscape, and it places landscape and heritage management into the context of sustainability. The paper considers current trends in agriculture, one of the main impacts on the landscape, and in particular discusses the future of the Common Agriculture Policy as it is poised to be extended eastwards with enlarged membership of the European Union.*

Introduction

The ambition of this volume, as of the symposium that led to it, is to help place the idea of cultural landscape more fully onto the agenda of archaeological heritage management and of archaeology itself. Cultural landscape is already a widely recognised issue within Europe, as indicated by the European Landscape Convention, and internationally, as supported by UNESCO's landscape criteria for the World Heritage List. Many environmental and scientific disciplines are involved in understanding and managing the landscape, but it is notably those disciplines concerned with ecology and nature conservation that have taken the lead.

Few archaeologists or heritage managers have yet engaged fully with the topic, despite the obvious relevance that all aspects of cultural landscape studies have to archaeological heritage management. This volume will therefore try to re-assert the value of an archaeological contribution to landscape management. Its papers highlight some of the work that archaeologists are already carrying out, whilst showing possible further steps that could be taken. The first three papers set the scene: describing the *European Landscape Convention,* discussing the Convention from an EAC viewpoint and considering what archaeologists do with, and how they think about, the cultural landscape.

This paper offers a few introductory thoughts and background on:

- the current diversity and extent of archaeological approaches to landscape,
- sustainable development, which is central to any management of the landscape and
- agriculture which was fundamental in the past in creating much of the cultural landscape that we value

and study today, and which is still one of the main agents of change.

Understanding the landscape - archaeology's diversity

Individual papers in this volume point to several ways in which archaeologists analyse the cultural landscape and explain its significance in ways that can inform and influence decision-making, such as local and regional planning policy, agriculture, housing location or infrastructure creation. These papers demonstrate that there are many parallel but distinctive ways across Europe of characterising the historic and archaeological dimensions of the landscape.

This regional and national diversity is a healthy phenomenon. Europe's landscape is itself characterised by diversity, though within an overall unity that makes Europe's landscapes quite distinctive from those of other continents. It therefore seems important and necessary that this diversity should find a reflection in a diversity of approaches and methods. There are distinctive national histories of heritage management, not to mention the distinctions between national approaches to archaeology, and these too justify a matching variety in methodology. The principles and aspirations of the *European Landscape Convention,* and the professional and academic philosophy of archaeologists and their discipline, together provide constructive frameworks to contain such diversity. Indeed, the Convention advises countries to meet its requirements within the context of their existing instruments and approaches.

In England (with similar derived methods in use in Scotland and Ireland) the approach is one of a generalised

broad-brush characterisation of the whole landscape (Fairclough 1999; Fairclough *et al.* 1999; Fairclough, Lambrick & Hopkins this volume). This method is designed to augment Sites and Monuments Records (SMR) and to provide structured understanding to inform planning and management decisions across a wide range of activities that affect the landscape. It is also designed to allow easy integration of archaeologists' assessment of landscape with those of other disciplines.

Even more fully integrated into regional and spatial planning are the methods employed in the Netherlands. There, the Belvedere Memorandum establishes a national framework for planning decisions and sustainable development that allows the historic aspects of the landscape to be taken fully into account when planning future development (Netherlands State Government 1999). A similar approach was recently adopted in Denmark, defining and characterising areas of special historic environment value (Danish Forest and Nature Agency 2001; Stoumann this volume).

Alongside the Belvedere project in the Netherlands there is a holistic environmental database designed to provide an evolving assessment and monitoring tool for all aspects of the landscape, from cultural heritage to geomorphology and ecology as well as current landuse (van Beusekom & Kuypers 2001; van Beusekom this volume). There are similar programmes in other countries, such as the LandMap system being established by the Countryside Council for Wales, and the National Landscape Typology being prepared by the Countryside Agency for England.

Similar ideas are also being developed at a more detailed level in projects such as LANCEWAD, the Wadden Sea Trilateral Secretariat's InterReg-funded cultural heritage and landscape project (Vollmer *et al.* 2001). To the established perception of this marine wetland area as being of international ecological value, LANCEWAD has added a detailed characterisation of its historic landscape and cultural heritage values, taking into account archaeology, historical geography and architecture. Its view encompasses buried archaeological deposits, farmsteads, churches and villages, and the dwelling mounds, dikes and waterways that have allowed past generations to create out of the sea the landscape that is valued today.

Many other countries are carrying out similar work in specific areas. The Wachau, part of the Danube valley in Austria, has for example been the subject of a range of multi-disciplinary studies of its landscape in preparation for a bid for World Heritage status (Hajős 1999). The Scandinavian countries offer examples of many large-scale landscape archaeology surveys, from Ystad (focussing on a single region) to more wide-ranging discussions of the cultural landscape as a whole (Larsson *et al.* 1992; Fabech & Ringwood 1999). In the Mediterranean region,

EU funds dedicated to understanding climate change, desertificaton and advanced strategies for more sustainable development has allowed innovative archaeological landscape work, such as that in the Vera Basin (Castro *et al.* 1998; Castro *et al.* this volume).

Archaeological agencies and universities in a number of countries have also initiated programmes to explore the scope of their landscape work. In the UK, this includes the *Register of Outstanding and Special Areas of Historic Landscape Character* in Wales which is now being followed up by more detailed characterisations (Cadw *et al.* 1998; 2001), and English Heritage's historic landscape Research and Development project in 1993-94 (Fairclough *et al.* 1999). The latter laid the foundations for comprehensive historic landscape characterisation work throughout England. Further west, the Irish Heritage Council (Heritage Council 1999; 2001) as well as being involved in landscape assessment of the present landscape (ERM & ERA-Maptec 2000) has also commissioned research on earlier archaeological landscapes (Cooney *et al.* 1998; 2001). The Scandinavian countries are all involved in similar projects: the Danish *Changing Landscape* programme, organised mainly through Åarhus University, the Swedish *Living Landscapes* project within the Riksantiqvarieämbetet, and Norway's *Changing Landscapes* programme organised by its two national research institutes, NIKU and NIBR. Bringing these together, a Nordic Council pilot Historic Landscape assessment is also being planned.

Some of this experience is being used within pan-European partnership projects. In particular, a three-year Culture 2000 programme brings together 12 projects to develop new ways of understanding and promoting landscape from an archaeological perspective, and identifying improved management techniques. The programme - European Pathways to the Cultural Landscape - draws in ten countries from Finland to Italy and Ireland to Estonia (www.pcl-eu.de; Kraut, Nord Paulsson, Darlington, and Ermischer this volume).

It is noteworthy that despite a very wide methodological coverage, the work described in this volume covers a fairly restricted area of Europe. This is partly because of the limits on my own knowledge, but also, to some extent, reflects the current situation. Not every region has been able to present detailed accounts of how they approach the cultural landscape. To some extent this is an indication of the early stage of development of this discipline within archaeology. Methods that fully address the issue of cultural landscape are still relatively rare, and new techniques are continually being developed.

Almost all the work described in this volume is comparatively recent. It does of course stand on the very strong foundations of landscape archaeology and landscape history, a tradition going back in most countries

Fig.1.1: A viticultural and urban landscape around Monbazillac, in the Dordogne valley, France. Wine-production is an industry central to many regional cultural identities. Photo: Graham Fairclough.

many decades. This type of work, however, is adding a new concern for the historic depth of today's landscape, while recognising that the landscape is more than the total of its archaeological sites.

Almost all the projects described operate within a determination to achieve *applied* archaeology, that is, to address topical issues relevant to society, notably the crucial place that the cultural landscape occupies in relation to a sense of place, identity, sustainable development, quality of life and much else. It seeks in short to make archaeology contribute to broad social processes, and to be a part of the decision-making processes that will shape tomorrow's cultural landscape. The archaeological contribution to the understanding of the cultural landscape is thus essentially forward looking but (almost uniquely among the many disciplines that need to work together for appreciation of cultural landscape) it is based on knowing about the past, on understanding why the cultural landscape is as it is.

In some European countries, archaeology is still in the process of moving into landscape-scale work of this sort. In other countries, landscape archaeology (in broad terms, the study of past environments at a large, territorial, supra-site, scale) is well-advanced but has not yet fully engaged with management and spatial planning, nor does

it always seek integration with other landscape disciplines such as ecology or geography. It is this multiple engagement and dialogue that are the hallmark of a cultural landscape mentality.

This volume is particularly timely because the new *European Landscape Convention* gives a fresh opportunities for creating new dialogues with other disciplines that are interested in the cultural landscape. Sometimes these disciplines are perceived to be more central to the concept of cultural landscape than archaeology. Compared to the efforts they have devoted to the archaeology of past landscapes, archaeologists have so far given little attention to protecting the cultural landscape. Instead, other specialists, such as landscape architects and ecologists, have dominated landscape conservation, but without a great deal of attention to landscapes' archaeological depth or complexity.

The very distinctive role that archaeologists can play in understanding and managing the cultural landscape is important, as all the papers in this volume demonstrate. An archaeological perspective on landscape treats the present day landscape as material culture, to be analysed, interpreted and 'read' in order to explain both the past and the present, and of course to provide guidelines and insights to influence the future. Other approaches overlook

the great depth of history and changes that make the landscape.

Archaeology brings to landscape study and management a keen awareness of long-term change and a knowledge of historic processes, within which it puts, at the forefront of explanation, the role of human agency (importantly as a group or collective, rather than as individuals). It explains the human and historic reasons for the current appearance of the landscape, without forgetting that change is the product of the long-term and is still continuing. Few other landscape disciplines are able to explain, as well as to describe, the landscape, and those that do explain tend to do so in terms of environmental and ecological determinants. Archaeology puts human influence and decisions at the forefront.

Furthermore, many landscape disciplines operate within an aesthetic that privileges Western ideals of beauty, romantic notions of wilderness or primeval naturalness, and assumptions of past idealised landscapes against which modern landscape change has to be measured (Fairclough forthcoming 2002). All these other perspectives are valuable, and need to be brought into the debates about the cultural landscape, but without historical and archaeological depth they can be very misleading. They are, however, important aspects of the process of democratisation of landscape (an underlying thesis of the *European Landscape Convention)* - the need to ensure that all peoples' values are noticed and respected when managing something so fundamental to everyday life as the landscape.

Archaeology can contribute to all these debates. It complements landscape disciplines that focus only on beautiful, traditional or quaint landscapes, or on areas where a particular form of land management is about to vanish. It ensures that less natural and less 'beautiful' aspects are taken into consideration. It also allows an important distinction to be drawn between studying the 'environment' (unarguably a set of objects actually existing in the world), and the landscape (arguably only existing once it has been imagined or otherwise thought into existence). Landscape is in the eye of the beholder, in other words, or more appropriately for this volume, in the mind of the archaeologist.

One of the main themes of this volume, therefore, is that archaeologists cannot leave the field of landscape to other disciplines. We need to be involved as equal partners to ensure that the long-term aspects of character and the cultural, human dimensions of the world around us are adequately understood and acknowledged. Archaeological input is called for even on the emerging outer fringes of landscape appreciation, the neo-romanticism of describing landscapes in terms of stories, folklore or the landscape-led character of cuisine and local identity. These are areas that archaeology can speak about from its own particular

perspective, notably by drawing attention to diversity and time-depth. Indeed, treating landscapes as a concept and as ideas, or perceptions in people's minds, not as a thing somewhere out there, is at the basis of the best work in historic landscape character.

Whilst we may see landscape as a construct of perception, intellectually and emotion, built on the foundations of the environment but quite distinct from it, we do however live in a real, material world, to whose threats and trends it is necessary to respond. We know that the landscape has always changed, perhaps more than most popular perceptions admit and we therefore accept intellectually that the landscape must continue to change. We should, however, work to influence and guide that change rather than merely standing as mute witnesses to it. The most common modern paradigm for this response, throughout Europe and world-wide, is sustainable development or *sustainability.*

Sustaining the landscape: people's values and managing change

Sustainable Development was pushed onto the world's political agenda by the Rio summit in 1991, but for a long time it was seen mainly as a green, ecological issue concerned with environmental protection in a fairly narrow sense. Climate change, water quality, air quality and bio-diversity were seen as the central issues. Only in recent years has there been much re-definition of the idea to include the cultural heritage (see English Heritage 1997; Bloemers this volume).

Progress is being made in this area by emphasising that the cultural heritage in all its forms is a vital and central part of the environment and therefore needs to be a mainstay of sustainability policies. This is especially true for the cultural landscape. Sustainable development appears to be easiest to promote at landscape scale, and when working with long-term and large-scale processes. It is worth noting that the protection of the cultural landscape is likely to ensure the protection of individual archaeological sites, more effectively than sectoral site-based policies and actions (Fairclough 1995).

Furthermore, looking at the archaeological heritage through the kaleidoscope of sustainability teaches archaeologists and other heritage managers that 'our' heritage is at the same time also other peoples' heritage, but often for different reasons. Archaeology, the historic environment, cultural landscape - these are all significant in archaeological terms, but they also matter in many other ways. Perhaps we need to put more effort into recognising the multiple values that people attach to the landscape. In short, places matter to *people,* for many different reasons and many of the values they attach to places are personal and perhaps subjective. They are important in terms of local, personal and collective identity and quality of life. They are also an economic resource whether from tourism

or to attract business and jobs, and they are valuable because they embody the resources of time, effort, materials and energy that were invested by past generations (English Heritage 1997; Countryside Commission *et al.* 1997; Countryside Agency *et al.* 2001). These ideas lie at the basis of the *European Landscape Convention* (Déjeant-Pons this volume).

Whilst some progress has been made in linking archaeological heritage management to sustainability, a broader definition of sustainability has still not yet been widely accepted, and there is a role for the EAC, perhaps through future symposia, or as part of 'Rio+10', the European Union's review of its progress in this area. Since Rio, individual states have drawn up their own programmes. The UK has produced two successive national sustainable development strategies in 1994 and 1999, both acknowledging cultural heritage although in a relatively low-key way. The current UK strategy, called *A Better Quality of Life,* like other European documents, identifies three strands to sustainable development economic (development), social (communities) and environmental (managing impact), but archaeological heritage was fitted in only as a small, scarcely mentioned, aspect of the latter.

There are also Europe-wide frameworks for sustainability, for instance the European Union's *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP), a 'non-binding framework for national and regional planning' (European Union 2000). Regional strategies are beginning to be built using it as a starting point (NorVision Working Group 2000; NWMA Spatial Planning Group 2001). The Perspective's conclusions and implementation are also supported by statements of environmental health, starting with the Dobríš Assessment, which unfortunately pays almost no attention to archaeological or cultural matters (Stanners & Bourdeau 1995).

The European Spatial Development Perspective adopts as its three goals economic and social cohesion, sustainable development and balanced competitiveness within European territory. From these it draws three priority objectives, establishing a balanced and polycentric urban system, affording parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge, and 'ensuring the prudent management and development of the natural and cultural heritage'. The problem with this approach is that the proper, sustainable management of the cultural heritage is seen as a separate, isolated goal in its own right. This is all well and good (if implemented in good practice), but it misses the crucial point - which many papers in this volume make in different ways (eg Castro *et al.,* Fairclough, Lambrick & Hopkins; and Nord Paulsson this volume), that the cultural heritage cannot be a marginal issue, especially at landscape scale where it constitutes the human habitat made by people over time to sustain their lives. It should be made central to all areas of decision-making to shape the future environment and the landscapes of the future.

All three European Spatial Development Perspective objectives could raise particular issues for EAC action and influence. Archaeological activity is not an isolated study of the past, but needs to be applied in daily life. Its lessons and insights need to be used in a world full of human decisions and actions, such as new agricultural policy, house building, road construction, mineral extraction and quarrying. These actions continuously alter and re-shape the environment, destroying archaeological remains and the earlier layers of historic landscape character, forcing a re-imagining of the historic character of our landscapes, sometimes at lower levels of interest, significance, meaning and quality. Using archaeological techniques and sensibilities to help in the imagining of landscape, and to help society to evaluate what should be protected and cared for, is one of the best ways to influence the course of damaging and changing actions.

Archaeology demonstrates that cultural landscapes do not always show the harmonious interaction between people and nature in the past that the World Heritage criteria envisage. Many human/nature interactions were not harmonious yet we still value their results in the landscape. They have left us for example with much-loved and valued landscapes, not all beautiful but all reminders of our history and with perhaps salutary lessons for the future. These include for example the over-exploited northern uplands with their anthropomorphic heaths and moors, the irrigated farmlands of the south, landscapes scarred by 20th-century militarism or political experiments, or the post-industrial landscapes of both Eastern and Western Europe that tell us so much about our more recent human history. All these have lessons for sustainability; all, although not necessarily beautiful or natural, are part of Europe's common heritage.

The 2001 EAC Symposium began to consider the role of archaeologists in pursuing sustainability to help in the management of the European landscape. There is a particular role, perhaps, in one of the most fundamental areas of landscape management and change, that of agricultural policy, which was the third (minor) strand of the 2001 EAC Symposium, a topic that would justify further, more detailed attention in the future.

Farming the landscape: European policy and trends in agriculture

Modern agriculture has one of the biggest impacts on the landscape and archaeological site resource (Darvill & Fulton 1998; Grenville 1999). This has been so for centuries if not millennia, but now there is a crucial difference. The past impact of agriculture on the landscape is perceived (whether correctly or not) as beneficial, the driving force behind the creation of beautiful landscapes, and of supposedly harmonious interactions with nature and of bio-diversity. Archaeologists might argue with this rosy and romanticised view of the past, but it is part of popular perception.

Fig.1.2: A working agricultural landscape incorporating distinctive historic features, Swaledale, Yorkshire Dales National Park, England. Photo: Geoff Noble.

In contrast, modern agriculture is popularly and widely seen as almost wholly destructive of the landscape. In Western Europe, the destructive aspects of agriculture are now regarded almost as a truism, even though for most of the population it has led to prosperity and cheap food. People are disapproving (whilst enjoying the benefits) of farming's speed of change, its scale and its ready recourse to mechanised, large field, factory-like industrial modes of production. The environmental (and increasingly the social and health-related) failings of modern agriculture are popularly blamed on economic and political forces, as a result of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy, which for most of the last half century has spent about half of the EU's budget. In Eastern Europe, the finger of blame and explanation tends to be pointed at social and political forces, changing patterns of landholding, large-scale population moves in the mid-20th century, the move to collectivisation and high levels of central interventionist planning.

Whilst it is probably reasonable to recognise much modern agriculture as a purely destructive influence on archaeological deposits and sites, there is perhaps room to argue that it is not always negative at landscape scale. Whether political or economic, the agricultural changes of the last few decades across Europe have created new landscapes. These are historic landscapes in their own right and will inevitably become fit subjects for archaeological explanation. Agricultural change is therefore another area for archaeologists to work within as part of heritage management practice.

Agriculture's impact at landscape level is often cumulative and slow. Piecemeal, phased changes in landscape character are much more difficult to monitor, control or mitigate, than rapid interventions on the landscape such as the demolition of buildings, open-cast mining or road building. Agricultural impacts are much more widespread, indeed ubiquitous; they strike at the very heart of the character of the cultural landscape, and they make their mark over years or even decades of gradual change and erosion. Sometimes the end-result can be welcomed in some respects as a new type of cultural landscape, the latest overlay. But it would be far preferable to have a hand on the levers of change, to be able to influence the direction of landscape change, and to be able to record and learn about what is unavoidably lost. The impact of agriculture on the archaeological heritage is one of the largest remaining unresolved challenges for archaeological heritage management; engaging with the cultural landscape movement may offer us a strategic if not tactical solution.

The greater concern across Europe for the cultural landscape, for example the Council of Europe's championing of the *European Landscape Convention,* is

driven, as so often with conservation and heritage management, by an increasingly acute awareness of accelerating rates of change and loss. In Western Europe this has been created among other things by a growing unease with the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and its effects on the landscape. CAP, however, has already changed its policy direction significantly in recent years, although real on-the-ground changes are still mainly in the future. Driven by perceptions at both popular and political level that CAP was encouraging over-production and over-industrialisation, and by concerns for its cost as the EU enlarges eastwards, there has been a major move towards reform. This has taken place under the Agenda 2000 headline that tried to establish EU budgets for the 2000-2006 period, building on earlier (1992) reforms of the CAP.

Agenda 2000 sought to move European policy away from almost complete reliance on interventionist price support and instead (over a twenty year period to 2020) towards an integrated rural policy. This had the intention of supporting the agricultural industry whilst also including non-agricultural rural development initiatives and meeting a growing public concern for environmental and countryside good practice, in short sustainability. This highly complex change had amongst its objectives issues such as food safety, increased agricultural competitiveness, rising standards of living for the agricultural community, employment and the integration of environmental goals with rural economic and social policy.

The environmental part of this agenda was significant, but as always it was dominated by nature conservation, water and access to the countryside. The archaeological dimension was fairly minor and another reason why the EAC chose cultural landscapes as a subject for its 2001 symposium.

The underlying theory of Agenda 2000's environmental aims is that EU funds can be used to pay farmers to produce *environmental goods* as well as food. In some cases incentives might be linked to other types of income support through cross-compliance agreements or regulations such as the UK hedgerow protection regulations. These environmental goods might be improved access, the use of environmentally-friendly farming practices, especially in the context of habitat creation and species recovery, and care for the cultural landscape and other aspects of archaeological heritage. Such ideas have been common currency for about ten years, but such is the length of time needed to change programmes like the Common Agricultural Policy that the first effects have only recently begun to be felt (Foley this volume).

In very general terms, Agenda 2000 is trying to create a concern for integrated management and the creation of environmental 'goods' (Brouwer & Lowe 2000). These

goods notably include a well-managed and sustainable landscape, and widespread public access to it, instead of the rather single-minded concern for maximising production and protecting the farming industry that characterised the Common Agricultural Policy in the 1970s and 80s. To achieve this it relies on agri-environmental payments to farmers introduced as a mandatory activity for all EU member states by Regulation 2078/92 in May 1992 as an accompanying measure to CAP. There had been earlier agri-environmental regulations in 1985 that allowed member states to use funds for environmental purposes, for instance the UK's Environmentally Sensitive Areas launched in 1986 (Jago 1995; McCrone 1999; Potter 1999), but states had not been required to implement measures. A recent study of the implementation and achievements so far of the EU's agri-environment policy has summarised the position in 10 EU countries after completion of their first five-year programmes under Regulation 2078/92 (Buller et al. 2000).

Furthermore, until 1992 agri-environmental measures had not formed a direct part of the Common Agricultural Policy. However, as a result of regulation 2078/92, agri-environmental measures began to have access to a share of the overall CAP budget, and to an increasing share, though dependant in part on member-states domestic polices. By 1997, it still only accounted for *c.4%* of the total CAP budget, even though this financed over 120 different programmes and over 2,000 distinct measures in fifteen countries (Buller 2000). On the other hand the 1999 Rural Development Regulation also saw a sharpening-up of the agri-environmental objectives, and another, admittedly small, step towards integrated countryside policies (Fischler 2001).

Every country will have its own experience of incorporating archaeology to widely varying degrees, and Northern Ireland's experience of implementing agri-environmental measures in recent years is outlined in this volume (Foley this volume). The general UK experience is that the case for an archaeological focus for Common Agricultural Policy agri-environmental schemes is much enhanced when argued in conjunction with attempts to encourage integrated conservation policies, covering cultural, natural and countryside issues (Fairclough 1995; English Heritage *et al.* 1996). Countries vary in their willingness to use regulation alongside financial incentives. The UK, although one of the first to start national agri-environmental schemes, is very reluctant to impose regulations on its farming industry, preferring to interpret narrowly the scope of measures such as the EU's requirements for environmental impact assessment of agricultural intensification. Agriculture generally in the UK is held outside of the spatial planning system.

Variety most characterises the EU's agri-environmental policies and even scheme objectives may vary (Buller *et al.* 2000). In Ireland, the UK, Denmark, Belgium, the
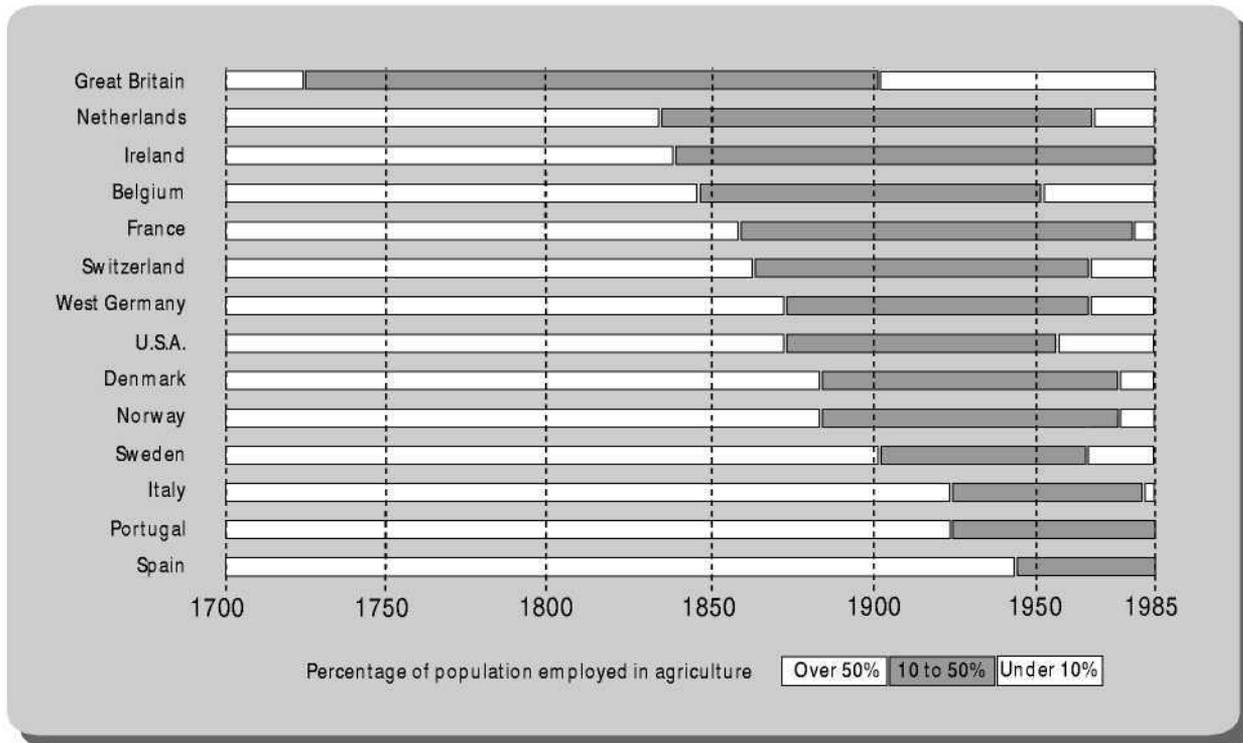
Fig.1.3: *Changes in agricultural population 1700-1985: The graph shows the decline in the percentage of the total population engaged in agriculture over the past three centuries in a selection of European countries and the United States of America. This may explain something about the character of different European landscapes. (Source: modified by author from Rudebeck 2000, fig. 1,p.5 after Grigg 1992).*

Netherlands, Germany and Austria the dominant emphasis is on improving environmental quality mainly focused on wildlife and nature conservation-led landscape work. In Sweden, Finland, France, Luxembourg, Italy and Portugal the dominant focus is on maintaining low-density farming systems, while in Spain and Greece it is on managing very extensively-used or non-productive land (Buller 2000, fig. 12.1). These choices in part reflect each country's farming character, but also their historic landscape character and the relative priority given to other types of rural development. They largely overlook archaeological heritage or any part of the historic environment. Some countries' politicians and decision-makers regard agri-environmental grants as merely a supplementary form of income for farmers; others regard agri-environmental grants as first and foremost a positive measure to improve the environment in terms of landscape, nature conservation and to some extent the cultural heritage. The operation of a reformed CAP will thus be very different with different emphasises and results in varying countries (Merlo *et al.* 2000).

Comparative studies have shown that European countries have differing attitudes towards the Common Agricultural Policy, some seeing it as an environmental or 'Green' issue, others as exclusively agrarian or in terms of consumerism and regional autonomy (Lowe *et al.* 2001). Some of these national characteristics can be read in the existing historic landscape, shaping the future landscape just as much as any social and economic process has in the past. These are quintessentially cultural issues, a collective human agency creating cultural landscapes. The growing democratisation of the debate (Déjeant-Pons this volume) may allow many more voices to be heard and their effect to be felt, than merely that of European politicians, farmers and landowners, including archaeologists

Since *c.* 1990, there has also been speculation about how eastward expansion of the EU will change the Common Agricultural Policy, and conversely how EU policies will change cultural landscapes in Eastern Europe (Tangermann & Banse 2000; European Commission 1998). These areas have already seen massive change during the 20th century while not escaping factors familiar to the west, such as globalisation. The Eastern European candidate countries for EU membership of Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia are already changing their farming policies as they converge in more general terms with EU practice. Agenda 2000 is party an attempt to prepare for enlargement (Davidova & Buckwell 2000). An Eastern enlargement alone would see the agricultural area of the EU increase by 23%, and its farm population by 55%. Poland and Romania between them would bring into the CAP almost as many farmers (7.5 million) as all fifteen of the present EU countries together (8.2 million).

Simple arithmetic makes it clear that the subsidy-heavy Common Agricultural Policy cannot be expanded in this way without change. All this will bring new pressures for change creating new landscapes while elements of the historic landscape are lost or destroyed. What that change will be is still unknown, but a move away from production-led subsidy towards paying farmers for environmental gains not for food production seems inevitable. Farming and therefore landscape has to change, and it becomes ever more important to understand the cultural landscape that we now have, before decisions are taken that affect it or before priorities for managing it through environmentally led grants, are decided.

As this volume was approaching completion, the European Commission issued a new statement on its integration strategy for new members in the context of agriculture (EC2002). This strategy focusses on the need for change - first in agricultural systems but beyond that, inevitably, in the landscape. It is proposed, for example, to phase-in direct payments up to 100% over a period of 10 years, not all at once - explicitly because immediate 100% support payments will 'freeze existing structures' and 'hamper modernisation'. There will be associated significant investment in new member states' rural development policy, specifically to 'incite change'. 'Semi-subsistence farms' (those producing for their own consumption as well as the market place) will be given financial help to become 'commercially viable' encouraging restructuring. There will also be options for agri-environmental programmes and support for environmentally-sensitive areas, but equally for afforestation; it is therefore very easy to see major landscape change in the offing.

Factors changing the landscape include physical change and farming methods, but the issue of farm and landholding size are just as relevant. There are major variations to this area across Europe, reflecting very different historical trajectories.

Landholding patterns as much as territorial patterns are an influential aspect of landscape character in both the past and the present. This diversity is a significant factor in creating locally and nationally distinctive cultural landscapes, but its archaeology has been little studied. In this volume, in their different ways, papers on Poland and Spain touch on this question. In terms of European farming
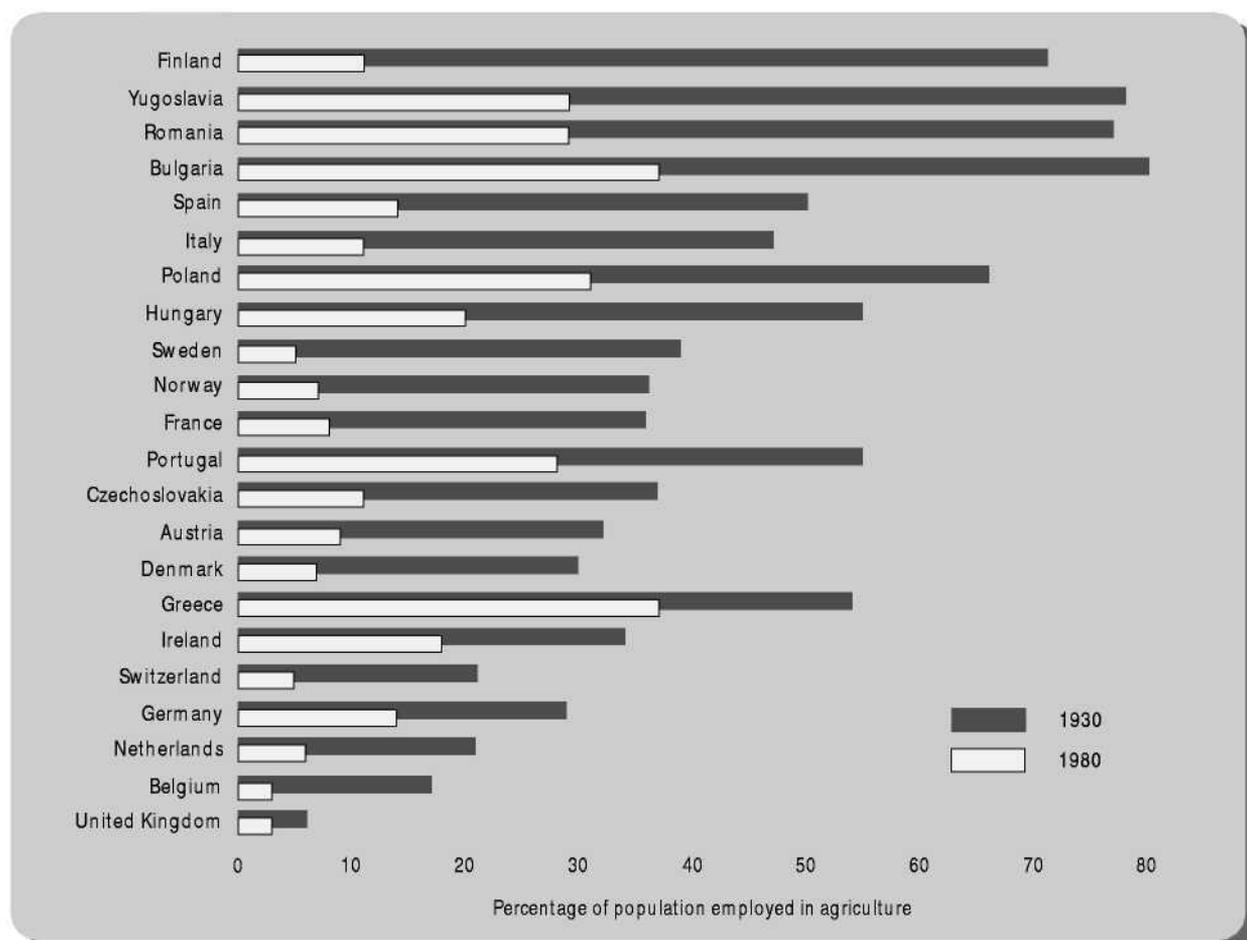

Fig. 1.4: The percentage of working population in agriculture, 1930-1980 for a larger range of European countries, notably from the east, than figure 1. This focuses on two milestones, showing the percentage of the total population engaged in agriculture at 1930 and at 1980. (Source: plotted by author from figures in Mazower 1998, table 3, after Ambrosius & Hubbard 1989).

policy, one effect of the Common Agricultural Policy in the west has been towards larger landholdings, owned by national or global companies rather than families or local collectives. In England at least, the disappearance of small farms has been held to be one of the most eroding aspects of agricultural change. The picture is not constant across Europe, however. In Ireland and Portugal where the family farm is portrayed as the social ideal and protected, there is at the same time a strong perception that farming needs to be modernised, and these are not easily reconcilable aspirations.

In the east the picture is different, but change in landholding patterns has also accompanied landscape change. Putting aside the upheavals caused in the 1950s by collectivisation, in Hungary since 1990 the number of private farms has grown in contrast to larger, public farms. The area of land farmed by co-operatives fell from 80% to 28% and by state farms from 14% to 4% - conversely the number of private individual farms grew from 6% to 54%. Similar, if smaller figures, exist in other countries: in the Czech Republic for example the same figures are declines of 61% to 43% and 38% to 2% for co-operatives and state farms and growth in the private sector of 0% to 23% (Tangermann & Swinnen 2000, pp 190-191; EC 1998).

This move back to private individual farms could be seen as recreating lost early 20th-century patterns of rural society. It remains to be seen whether it will be mirrored by a move back to a type of agriculture that re-creates or supports traditional landscapes; as in England, these farms may be drawn into semi-industrialised production, or they may fail to keep up with market forces. Either outcome could lead to marked landscape change. In some parts of Eastern Europe, one of the most successful farm types during this period of convergence seems to be large corporate farms and not all collectives have disappeared though they have been modernised.

Different parts of Europe are at quite different places on their trajectories of change. In the EU enlargement countries, agriculture still plays a more important role than in the existing fifteen EU countries. The percentage of the population engaged in farming is a useful indicator of why national cultural landscapes vary (fig. 1.3 & fig. 1.4). In Great Britain, because of early industrialisation and urbanisation, the percentage had fallen to 50% as early as *c.* 1730 and to 10% by 1900 (fig. 1.3). Most Western European countries did not reach a 50% level until the late 19th century, and Spain, at the opposite end of the spectrum to the UK, only in *c.* 1945. Figure 1.4, with a larger range of countries, notably from the east, focuses on 1930 and 1980. In the UK, at one extreme, the percentage of the working population, already unusually low, fell only from 7% to 3%; in Finland, at the other extreme, it fell from 72% to 12%.

As these trends continue, it seems, therefore, that in many countries the landscape will continue to change, reflecting both local circumstances and global pressures. At one level all of this is new archaeology in the making; at another level it is a reason why an archaeological perspective on understanding and managing landscape, focused on change and the effect of social processes, is necessary and crucial.

Conclusion

Europe's landscape, both east and west starts the new century under greater pressure for change both politically and socio-economically than for many years. Agriculture, perhaps the most basic influence on the character of the landscape, is again likely to be one of the main engines of change. On the other hand, there are new tools for us to work with to manage this change, notably the sets of new ideas that are wrapped up in the shorthand term sustainable development, and the growing suite of methods that are being developed for archaeological understanding of the landscape. Most importantly, the publication of European-wide instruments (first a *Council of Europe Recommendation on Cultural Landscape in 1995,* now the new *European Landscape Convention* (Council of Europe 1995; 2000) opens new doors for a wide-ranging comprehensive debate on the future of the European landscape to which archaeological heritage managers can make a significant contribution.

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