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ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

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ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 38

PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION
OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

EDITED BY
PANAGIOTIS N. DOUKELLIS - LINA G. MENDONI

ATHENS 2004
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ZAKYNTHOS, DECEMBER 1997**

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INTRODUCTION

Landscape is a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and a commodity in the package.

W.J.T Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*,
Chicago 2002, 5.

This utterance of an art historian is not forwarded for rhetoric reasons. It states the basic characteristic of the term found in the epicentre of the current volume: the dual character of the term *landscape* which signifies a *place*, as it exists, and at the same time it signifies *the essence of a place*, in the way that this place is represented in the form of art, literature, sound and so on. International bibliography includes a significant number of studies dealing with the landscape in its tangible dimension, as a subject of scientific approach in terms of town planning, archaeology, geography, geology or otherwise. Bibliography also considers landscape as an intangible geographical place, such as this is reproduced and presented in the visual arts, literature, architecture but also in town planning, landscape gardening, etc.

In the first case, the landscape is treated as a geographical place, that is precisely defined on the basis of some criteria of a certain nature, such as geomorphologic, geological, cultural, historical. What is attempted within the boundaries of a geographical area is the approach and in each case the interpretation of the various natural or anthropogenic factors. These factors function either independently or interdependently, in this way constantly shaping the image and/or the natural and social structures of where they are found.

In the second case, the question is detached from the natural and cultural components of the landscape and is transferred to the level of the observer of this landscape: namely, how a particular person or some particular social groups perceive, possibly appropriate and certainly express through words or actions their viewpoint regarding the landscape that surrounds them¹. It is

1. On the content and the notional limits of the three basic related concepts: space, place and landscape, see, Chr. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, Oxford 1994, 14, with references to earlier bibliography of mostly geographical content. The citation of the extremely rich discussion regarding the aforementioned terms exceeds the limits of this book and certainly of this introductory note.

obvious that in this case the landscape is approached as an object of perception through the human senses and especially the sense of sight.

In the present state of the development of the studies regarding the landscape, it is difficult to limit any approach to the subject to one of its two aspects. The borders between the quasi-ontological and the phenomenological approach are particularly thin. The obvious thematic overlaps of the disciplines mentioned in the first paragraph of this note directly refer to the known stand of Ludwig Wittgenstein, according to which "representation and reality occupy one single space"².

Therefore, out of the series of questions regarding the content of the key-term arises the complexity of the issue. This was explored in the Symposium that was held in Zakynthos in December 1997. The term *landscape* is understood as a notional instrument that distances us from the approaches of Historical Geography. This is due to the fact that while studying a landscape, a basic factor of reference but also a significant variable is the very observer of the landscape, who describes the place that surrounds him based on experiences of the moment but also on age-old influences.

Perikles Giannopoulos invited the Greek painters to draw their inspiration exclusively from the Greek landscape: "Studying the landscape and searching ourselves we see that the beauty and nobleness of the landscape is also within us"³. For an aesthete in the beginning of the 20th century, who advocated the excellence of the Greek colours and the attic landscape in particular, the relationship between the viewer and the view is a two-way relationship. Through this phrase Giannopoulos states the projection of the special national characteristics of the Greeks on the attic landscape as well as the identification of the Greek observers with the area that surrounds them⁴.

There are plenty of examples where special meaning is ascribed to the landscape. Besides, these are related to the birth of landscape art in modern Europe and the symbolic use of the landscape by the painters of the 17th, the 18th and so on centuries⁵. Any structured references to the landscape may not be considered colourless or without ideological charge. Through the descriptions of landscapes and through works where urban and rural

2. *Philosophical Investigations*, Oxford 1958, proposition 38.

3. P. Yannopoulos, *Η ελληνική γραμμή*, Athens 1992, '1907, 83.

4. Cf. D. Tzivias, *Οι μεταμορφώσεις του εθνικού και το ιδεολόγημα της ελληνικότητας στο Μεσοπόλεμο*, Athens 1989, 73 *sqq*. Especially the collective volume D. Cosgrove - St. Daniels, *The iconography of landscape. Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, Cambridge 1988.

5. K. Clark, *Landscape into Art*, London 1997, '1949, and especially J. Berger, *Ways of seeing*, London 1972.

6. At this point one may call upon the testimony of a traveller around Greece during the 1960s, and who records his experiences from travelling under the weight of his personal intellectual "baggage": M. Heidegger, *Aufenthalte*, Frankfurt 1989 (=Διαμονές. *To ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα*, Athens 1998).

landscapes are arranged we end up investigating the structure, social essence, political ideology, targets and desires of the landscape observer himself⁶.

These connotations and the generally symbolic dimensions of the landscape, place its study in thematic cycles that exceed historical geography and are related to issues of ideas and symbols⁷. They are also related to issues of cultural identities and relations of power, as well as issues of political economy⁸.

The above paragraphs introduce us to the line of questioning that led to the organisation of an international scientific Symposium dealing with the perception and evaluation of the landscape as a cultural good. International bibliography makes available a plethora of scientific, and not only, studies which concern each of these key terms separately, the terms which appear in the title of this meeting and also in the title of the current volume. Terms such as *perception*, *evaluation*, *culture* and *landscape* individually signify major objects of different scientific fields. They constitute subjects of basic and applied research as well as being subjects of study for geographers and earth scientists, planners and cultural resources managers, philosophers and sociologists, historians and archaeologists. Furthermore, judging by the identity of the editors and the authors of the present volume, these key-terms are also subjects of study for researchers who serve various human and social scientific fields.

Through the papers that follow certain issues are posed. One of these regards defining the subject, while another issue posed concerns the methods of treating the subject, be it at a general theoretical level (Aalen), or very specific and applicable levels, such as the one of the archaeological excavations within the urban web of English towns (Lawson) or the Greek rural island country (Mendon). The evaluation of a landscape is based on many parameters, one of them being the reputation created for it by the past centuries and which continues to surround and influence it or raise the need for protective measures (Nappi, Italia; Baghli, Algeria). Issues regarding legislative regulations and structured management of cultural landscapes certainly reappear constantly in the following pages. The landscape, as a palimpsest on which the memory of time is imprinted, constitutes an open book whose reading is neither self-explanatory nor linear. Suggestions regarding the reading and management of different type, content and function of cultural landscapes are forwarded by architects/planners (Zivas - Grafakou and Murtas), architects and archaeologists (Stratouli - Hourmouziadi) geographers and historians (Fouache - Quantin) and also by archaeologists (Kopylov, Nikolaenko - Marchenko, Orejas et alii, Sanchez - Palencia et alii).

7. See relatively the Introduction in W.J.T Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, Chicago 2002, and of course the important book by S. Shama, *Landscape and Memory*, New York 1995.

8. D. Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, Oxford 2000, 120 sqq.

The questioning and the approaches to particular landscapes that surround like halos the archaeological sites are various. Besides, they reflect the particular work requirements of each team. The same occurs with the rest of the announcements that enrich the whole line of questioning developed during the Symposium. Under discussion are the projects that connect issues of heritage management and local societies (Bintliff), heritage management and local or national identities (Sbonias) or heritage management and local activities (Coccccossis-Parpairis). The first two articles that refer to the Greek countryside are written by an English and a Greek archaeologist respectively, while the third article comes from the hands of town planners/economists. We left the most dissimilar articles last: this referring to the teaching of local history in Greek secondary education (Papagiannopoulos) and the one referring to the measures taken for protection of European Cultural Landscapes at a European level (Dower).

From the different case studies presented here, some provide an accurate description of the landscape while others present methods of evaluating, promoting and finally reading the material remnants of an area's past. The latter reconstruct the material dimension of memories for the use of a wider audience. It is at this point that the role and the place of the researchers of the past, the historians, the archaeologists, now acquires an additional dimension: they do not limit themselves to an academic study of the past but they undertake the task of a presentation, a promotion and a management of a cultural site or a landscape to a natural scale. In this sense, the object of the present volume is included in the wider subject matter regarding the use and treatment of the past, as this is expressed and becomes perceptible through the tangible and intangible features of a certain place.

The relevant questioning that constantly develops nowadays formed the major educational and research object of a pilot programme of cooperation between European and American Universities (EC/US Cooperation in Higher Education – *Perception and Evaluation of Cultural Landscapes*), the coordinator of which from the part of Europe was the Ionian University (Corfu). The same line of questioning constituted one of the basic components of the programme COST Action G2 of the European Union (*Paysages Antiques et Structures Rurales*). The inclusion and funding of research and educational actions on the issue of perceiving and treating cultural landscapes in the framework of European and International Networks signifies the importance ascribed to it by international organisations.

The most important proof of this is the signing of the *European Convention for the Landscape* in October 2000 in Florence. M. Dower's paper in the Zakynthos Symposium as it is published in the present volume, has already announced beforehand this European Treaty. Due to the significance we ascribe to the text in question, we are re-publishing it as an

addendum of the present Introduction, having received permission from the relevant services of the Council of Europe. It is indicative that this European Treaty, besides reflecting the dual nature of the term landscape, urges the member-states to proceed with legislating special measures regarding the identification of their own landscapes, their protection as well as educational projects. The Treaty connects the management of the landscape with the local societies and their social and economic needs. In parallel, it treats it as a cultural good and as a component of the sustainable development.

The dual nature of the term concerns also the national legislatures on the protection and the management of the natural resources of places, and as a result, the concept of landscape is introduced in the national legislations. A recent example (2002) is found in the Greek law regarding the "Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage", which is one of the most recent if not the most recent relevant laws in Europe.

We end this introduction with an ambiguous extract from Michel Foucault⁹, in which there is an exact reference to the basic component of the two interrelated concepts, time and space, namely the social being. "*The great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history: with its themes of development and suspension, of crisis and cycle, themes of the ever accumulating past, with its great preponderance of dead men.... The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein. One could perhaps say that certain ideological conflicts animating present-day polemics oppose the pious descendants of time and the determined inhabitants of space*".

The preparation of these Proceedings had nearly been completed during the year 2000. Yet technical and mainly financial reasons did not allow the completion of its printing and publishing. By virtue of the generosity of the Psyhas Foundation, whose Board of Directors we warmly thank, we are today in a position to present the studies that follow.

For the organisation of the Symposium in Zakynthos, we thank the XXII D.G. of the European Commission for adopting the whole project, the Ionian University, especially the Head of the History Department of the time, Prof. Dimitris Tsougarakis, as well the colleague Prof. Eleni Aggelomati-Tsougaraki.

For the inclusion of the publication of the Proceedings of this Symposium

9. M. Foucault, "Of other spaces", *Diacritics* 16, 1986, 22. Cf. the comments of Ed. Soja, "History, geography, modernity", *The reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London 1989.

in the series *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ*, we thank the Director of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Prof. Miltiadis B. Hatzopoulos and the Director of the Research Project of Southern Greece, Prof. Athanasios D. Rizakis.

P.N. D. – L.G. M.
Athens, 2004

ADDENDUM

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
European Treaty Series – No. 176

EUROPEAN LANDSCAPE CONVENTION
Florence, 20.X. 2000

Preamble

The member States of the Council of Europe signatory hereto,

Considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage, and that this aim is pursued in particular through agreements in the economic and social fields;

Concerned to achieve sustainable development based on a balanced and harmonious relationship between social needs, economic activity and the environment;

Noting that the landscape has an important public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields, and constitutes a resource favourable to economic activity and whose protection, management and planning can contribute to job creation;

Aware that the landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and that it is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity;

Acknowledging that the landscape is an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere: in urban areas and in the countryside, in degraded areas as well as in areas of high quality, in areas recognised as being of outstanding beauty as well as everyday areas;

Noting that developments in agriculture, forestry, industrial and mineral production techniques and in regional planning, town planning, transport, infrastructure, tourism and recreation and, at a more general level, changes in the world economy are in many cases accelerating the transformation of landscapes;

Wishing to respond to the public's wish to enjoy high quality landscapes and to play an active part in the development of landscapes;

Believing that the landscape is a key element of individual and social well-being and that its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone;

Having regard to the legal texts existing at international level in the field of protection and management of the natural and cultural heritage, regional and spatial planning, local self-government and transfrontier co-operation, in particular the Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats (Bern, 19 September 1979), the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (Granada, 3 October 1985), the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (revised) (Valletta, 16 January 1992), the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (Madrid, 21 May 1980) and its additional protocols, the European Charter of Local Self-government (Strasbourg, 15 October 1985), the Convention on Biological Diversity (Rio, 5 June 1992), the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, 16 November 1972), and the Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice on Environmental Matters (Aarhus, 25 June 1998);

Acknowledging that the quality and diversity of European landscapes constitute a common resource, and that it is important to co-operate towards its protection, management and planning;

Wishing to provide a new instrument devoted exclusively to the protection, management and planning of all landscapes in Europe,

Have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I – GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1 – Definitions

For the purposes of the Convention:

- a “Landscape” means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors;
- b “Landscape policy” means an expression by the competent public authorities of general principles, strategies and guidelines that permit the taking of specific measures aimed at the protection, management and planning of landscapes;
- c “Landscape quality objective” means, for a specific landscape, the formulation by the competent public authorities of the aspirations of the public with regard to the landscape features of their surroundings;
- d “Landscape protection” means actions to conserve and maintain the significant or characteristic features of a landscape, justified by its heritage value derived from its natural configuration and/or from human activity;
- e “Landscape management” means action, from a perspective of sustainable development, to ensure the regular upkeep of a landscape, so as to guide and harmonise changes which are brought about by social, economic and

- environmental processes;
- f "Landscape planning" means strong forward-looking action to enhance, restore or create landscapes.

Article 2 – Scope

Subject to the provisions contained in Article 15, this Convention applies to the entire territory of the Parties and covers natural, rural, urban and peri-urban areas. It includes land, inland water and marine areas. It concerns landscapes that might be considered outstanding as well as everyday or degraded landscapes.

Article 3 – Aims

The aims of this Convention are to promote landscape protection, management and planning, and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues.

CHAPTER II – NATIONAL MEASURES

Article 4 – Division of responsibilities

Each Party shall implement this Convention, in particular Articles 5 and 6, according to its own division of powers, in conformity with its constitutional principles and administrative arrangements, and respecting the principle of subsidiarity, taking into account the European Charter of Local Self-government. Without derogating from the provisions of this Convention, each Party shall harmonise the implementation of this Convention with its own policies.

Article 5 – General measures

Each Party undertakes:

- a to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity;
- b to establish and implement landscape policies aimed at landscape protection, management and planning through the adoption of the specific measures set out in Article 6;
- c to establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies mentioned in paragraph b above;
- d to integrate landscape into its regional and town planning policies and in its cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economic policies, as well as in any other policies with possible direct or indirect impact on landscape.

Article 6 – Specific measures

A Awareness-raising

Each Party undertakes to increase awareness among the civil society, private organisations, and public authorities of the value of landscapes, their role and changes to them.

B Training and education

Each Party undertakes to promote:

- a training for specialists in landscape appraisal and operations;
- b multidisciplinary training programmes in landscape policy, protection, management and planning, for professionals in the private and public sectors and for associations concerned;
- c school and university courses which, in the relevant subject areas, address the values attaching to landscapes and the issues raised by their protection, management and planning.

C Identification and assessment

- 1 With the active participation of the interested parties, as stipulated in Article 5.c, and with a view to improving knowledge of its landscapes, each Party undertakes:
 - a i to identify its own landscapes throughout its territory;
 - ii to analyse their characteristics and the forces and pressures transforming them;
 - iii to take note of changes;
- b to assess the landscapes thus identified, taking into account the particular values assigned to them by the interested parties and the population concerned.
- 2 These identification and assessment procedures shall be guided by the exchanges of experience and methodology, organised between the Parties at European level pursuant to Article 8.

D Landscape quality objectives

Each Party undertakes to define landscape quality objectives for the landscapes identified and assessed, after public consultation in accordance with Article 5.c.

E Implementation

To put landscape policies into effect, each Party undertakes to introduce instruments aimed at protecting, managing and/or planning the landscape.

CHAPTER III – EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION

Article 7 – International policies and programmes

Parties undertake to co-operate in the consideration of the landscape dimension of international policies and programmes, and to recommend, where relevant, the inclusion in them of landscape considerations.

Article 8 – Mutual assistance and exchange of information

The Parties undertake to co-operate in order to enhance the effectiveness of measures taken under other articles of this Convention, and in particular:

- a to render each other technical and scientific assistance in landscape matters through the pooling and exchange of experience, and the results of research projects;

- b to promote the exchange of landscape specialists in particular for training and information purposes;
- c to exchange information on all matters covered by the provisions of the Convention.

Article 9 – Transfrontier landscapes

The Parties shall encourage transfrontier co-operation on local and regional level and, wherever necessary, prepare and implement joint landscape programmes.

Article 10 – Monitoring of the implementation of the Convention

- 1 Existing competent Committees of Experts set up under Article 17 of the Statute of the Council of Europe shall be designated by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to be responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Convention.
- 2 Following each meeting of the Committees of Experts, the Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall transmit a report on the work carried out and on the operation of the Convention to the Committee of Ministers.
- 3 The Committees of Experts shall propose to the Committee of Ministers the criteria for conferring and the rules governing the Landscape award of the Council of Europe.

Article 11 – Landscape award of the Council of Europe

- 1 The Landscape award of the Council of Europe is a distinction which may be conferred on local and regional authorities and their groupings that have instituted, as part of the landscape policy of a Party to this Convention, a policy or measures to protect, manage and/or plan their landscape, which have proved lastingly effective and can thus serve as an example to other territorial authorities in Europe. The distinction may be also conferred on non-governmental organisations having made particularly remarkable contributions to landscape protection, management or planning.
- 2 Applications for the Landscape award of the Council of Europe shall be submitted to the Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 by the Parties. Transfrontier local and regional authorities and groupings of local and regional authorities concerned, may apply provided that they jointly manage the landscape in question.
- 3 On proposals from the Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 the Committee of Ministers shall define and publish the criteria for conferring the Landscape award of the Council of Europe, adopt the relevant rules and confer the Award.
- 4 The granting of the Landscape award of the Council of Europe is to encourage those receiving the award to ensure the sustainable protection, management and/or planning of the landscape areas concerned.

CHAPTER IV – FINAL CLAUSES

Article 12 – Relationship with other instruments

The provisions of this Convention shall not prejudice stricter provisions concerning landscape protection, management and planning contained in other existing or future binding national or international instruments.

Article 13 – Signature, ratification and entry into force

- 1 This Convention shall be open for signature by the member States of the Council of Europe. It shall be subject to ratification, acceptance or approval. Instruments of ratification, acceptance or approval shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.
- 2 The Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date on which ten member States of the Council of Europe have expressed their consent to be bound by the Convention in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph.
- 3 In respect of any signatory State which subsequently expresses its consent to be bound by it, the Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of the deposit of the instrument of ratification, acceptance or approval.

Article 14 – Accession

- 1 After the entry into force of this Convention, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe may invite the European Community and any European State which is not a member of the Council of Europe, to accede to the Convention by a majority decision as provided in Article 20.d of the Council of Europe Statute, and by the unanimous vote of the States parties entitled to hold seats in the Committee of Ministers.
- 2 In respect of any acceding State, or the European Community in the event of its accession, this Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of deposit of the instrument of accession with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

Article 15 –Territorial application

- 1 Any State or the European Community may, at the time of signature or when depositing its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, specify the territory or territories to which the Convention shall apply.
- 2 Any Party may, at any later date, by declaration addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, extend the application of this Convention to any other territory specified in the declaration. The Convention shall take effect in respect of such territory on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the declaration by the Secretary General.
- 3 Any declaration made under the two paragraphs above may, in respect of any territory mentioned in such declaration, be withdrawn by notification addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. Such withdrawal shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary General.

Article 16 – Denunciation

- 1 Any Party may, at any time, denounce this Convention by means of a notification addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.
- 2 Such denunciation shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary General.

Article 17 – Amendments

- 1 Any Party or the Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 may propose amendments to this Convention.
- 2 Any proposal for amendment shall be notified to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe who shall communicate it to the member States of the Council of Europe, to the others Parties, and to any European non-member State which has been invited to accede to this Convention in accordance with the provisions of Article 14.
- 3 The Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 shall examine any amendment proposed and submit the text adopted by a majority of three-quarters of the Parties' representatives to the Committee of Ministers for adoption. Following its adoption by the Committee of Ministers by the majority provided for in Article 20.d of the Statute of the Council of Europe and by the unanimous vote of the States parties entitled to hold seats in the Committee of Ministers, the text shall be forwarded to the Parties for acceptance.
- 4 Any amendment shall enter into force in respect of the Parties which have accepted it on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date on which three Council of Europe member States have informed the Secretary General of their acceptance. In respect of any Party which subsequently accepts it, such amendment shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date on which the said Party has informed the Secretary General of its acceptance.

Article 18 – Notifications

The Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall notify the member States of the Council of Europe, any State or the European Community having acceded to this Convention, of:

- a any signature;
- b the deposit of any instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession;
- c any date of entry into force of this Convention in accordance with Articles 13, 14 and 15;
- d any declaration made under Article 15;
- e any denunciation made under Article 16;
- f any proposal for amendment, any amendment adopted pursuant to Article 17 and the date on which it comes into force;
- g any other act, notification, information or communication relating to this Convention.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, have signed this Convention.

Done at Florence, this 20th day of October 2000, in English and in French, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited in the archives of the Council of Europe. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall transmit certified copies to each member State of the Council of Europe and to any State or to the European Community invited to accede to this Convention.

FREDERICK H. AALEN

THE STUDY AND MANAGEMENT OF EUROPE'S LANDSCAPES

INTRODUCTION

Within the last decade there has been a strong upsurge of awareness and concern about Europe's landscapes; it is part of the growing sensitivity of European society to environmental issues and carries major implications for practical conservation policies and for academic activities. Landscape awareness is indeed growing worldwide, promising a rich harvest of inquiry and experience from diverse environments.

Landscape is here defined simply as the overall appearance of a territory shaped by the interaction of natural and cultural factors. Moulded by millenia of human interaction with the natural habitat, the remarkable variety of European landscapes reflects both the great diversity of the physical environment within a small compass and the continent's intricate history and cultural complexity¹. The human impact on the landscape has been more pervasive and penetrating than previously recognised; vegetation types everywhere have been created or modified in varying degree by humans, and landscapes widely regarded as natural are the outcome of earlier types of land-use. The concept of a gradient of human impact is thus more relevant than a simple distinction between natural and cultural landscapes² (see figs 1 and 2).

The recent appearance of numerous landscape atlases and surveys makes clear that landscapes are now seen as major cultural, economic and ecological assets³. As the cumulative result of countless generations living in a specific place, landscapes have emotive associations for the historic communities who created them; they nourish deep social and psychological

1. Aitchison 1995; Stanners - Bourdeau (eds) 1995, 172-189.

2. Birks et alii 1988.

3. Aalen - Whelan - Stout (eds) 1997; Alalammi (ed.) 1994; Brunet (ed.) 1992; Glasscock (ed.) 1992; Haartsen et alii (eds) 1989; Helmfrid (ed.) 1994; Jeschke - Jeschke (eds) 1994; *Portugal Rural* 1992; Sporrang - Ekstam - Samuelson 1995; Verdifulle Kulturlandskap i Norge 1994; Wijermans - Meeus 1991.

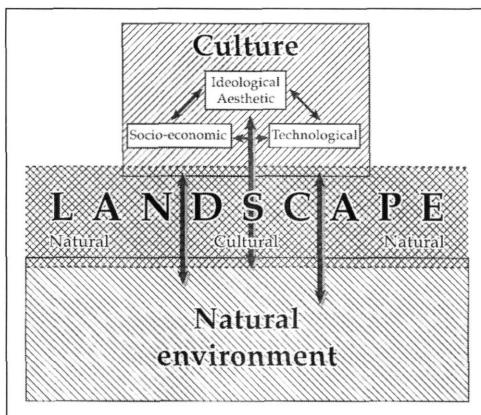


Fig. 1. Landscape is conceived and defined in many different ways and no single discipline possesses a sufficiently broad approach to encompass the landscape's multiple dimensions. Conceptualised as the layer of man-made features on the earth's surface, the cultural landscape is the product of a lengthy dynamic interaction between natural environment (bedrock, relief, climate, soils and vegetation) and cultural components (technology, social organisation, ideology). Technology (including, for example, agricultural land use and mining) has the most direct, pervasive and penetrating impact; ideological and aesthetic considerations are dominant only in small areas of ornamental or ritual landscape and elsewhere generally exert an indirect, often subtle influence.

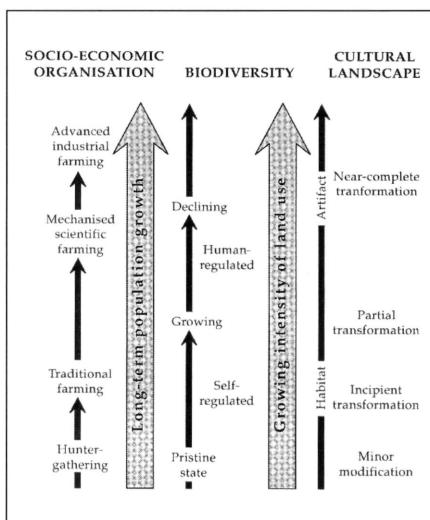
needs by providing a sense of continuity for modern people and are an enduring source of spiritual, artistic and poetic inspiration. They are precious components of national and community identity (in the words of Paul Vidal de la Blache, *medals struck in the image of their people*) and demand the same respect and care as the more obvious expressions of that identity, like architecture, art and literature. Furthermore, many landscapes are the expression of long-established, sustainable systems of economic land use; they embody successful solutions to living in a particular environment and are thus a major source of ideas on how we can best use our land. They provide too a rich habitat for nature, and, through their scenic beauty, are a major resource for the expanding tourism industry.

Major concerns and responses

What accounts for the growth of public and political concern about landscapes? First, it has been prompted by a sense that the continent's rich landscape legacy has been deeply impaired in the post-war period by a range of economic and social forces, especially more mechanised and intensive farming and forestry, mass tourism and a general trend towards standardisation of culture⁴. Despite new interest in conservation and landscape quality, further and deeper landscape changes seem inescapable owing to scientific and technological innovations in agriculture and forestry and continuous land use adjustments within a large free European market⁵.

4. Meeus - Wijermans - Vroom 1990; Aalen 1986.

Fig. 2. Human impact on the environment and landscape change generally increases with growing population and intensity of land use. Few areas of Europe, even the mountains and boglands, have escaped human modification in some degree and a distinction between natural and cultural landscapes now has limited application. The partial transformation of the environment by traditional farming systems often increased biodiversity, while complete transformation by advanced systems has diminished it.



Landscape impoverishment and standardisation generate diverse responses: they feed nostalgia and a desire to preserve a semblance of permanence and solidity as old landmarks and familiar landscape features disappear; they concern the many people in post-industrial societies who value variety in their living environment; in addition, they compound fears about the erosion of cultural identity and traditions by supranational institutions and quicken the emotive ties between historic landscape and national and regional identities. Also of significance is a fear that rapid landscape changes are symptoms of a deeper environmental malaise, ominous portents of an unravelling of intricate and productive ecosystems⁶. Landscape change has always occurred and reflects inevitable socio-economic change, but much informed opinion claims that present-day trends are unlike those of the past, so rapid and large-scale that the quality of the environment is endangered; development cannot be sustained and any benefits from contemporary activities are at best short-term.

In response to these diverse concerns, the view has grown that landscapes should be conserved, managed and enhanced in the interest of society's well-being. It is urged that changing landscapes require careful study, control and management at regional and local levels. Concerns have emphatically widened from the traditional protection of sites and of remarkable and exceptional landscapes, to the management of all landscapes, since these form the daily surroundings of society. Various international initiatives have been developed in response to the challenges of landscape change. The

5. Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy 1992.

6. Naveh 1993; *idem* 1994.

Council of Europe, for example, is promoting a convention on the urban and rural landscapes of Europe which would encourage governments to study and record their landscapes and strengthen their conservation within the framework of policies for overall economic and social development⁷. The EU is also beginning to commission research on landscapes and attempting to assess future trends in landscape quality⁸. UNESCO has recently broadened the World Heritage Convention to recognize a category of cultural landscapes (landscapes reflecting the combined works of nature and man) within the World Heritage List, the first international instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscapes⁹. An IUCN landscape conservation group is bringing together scientists, policy makers and practitioners to promote landscape approaches in environmental planning as a tool for sustainable development¹⁰. The *Action Plan for Protected Areas in Europe* is also an initiative of IUCN, emphasising the relationship between biodiversity and the natural and cultural diversity of landscapes, and the threats posed by rapid and unsustainable changes in rural environments¹¹. This is only a sample of international activities; within individual countries there is an array of initiatives at many different levels.

In general, two distinct approaches are recognizable in landscape conservation initiatives. One perceives the landscape as scenery and emphasises its cultural, aesthetic and educational values and its regional diversity; although allowing for landscape change, the approach is essentially preservationist and well summarised by the Council of Europe Working Group on the European landscape convention in 1996; "*the benefits to be gained from the beauty, diversity and historic integrity of landscapes are so great that peoples and governments must make deliberate efforts to protect and enhance these qualities, by modifying where necessary the process of change*". The other approach is ecological and based on a definition of landscape concerned more with process than pattern; a landscape delimits some coherence of natural processes and cultural activities and is therefore an appropriate scale for comprehensive environmental planning and management. This viewpoint is now evident in IUCN thinking. The two approaches are not incompatible but they are inadequately linked in theory and practice and their exponents have limited rapport. Clearly, a major task of co-ordination and integration lies ahead.

7. Council of Europe 1995.

8. European Commission Programme for Environment. Among the relevant projects are, *Landscape and Life: Appropriate Scales for Sustainable Development* [LASS], and *Nature, Environment and Landscape* [ECQUA]; Stanners - Bourdeau 1995.

9. von Drost - Plachter - Rossler (eds) 1995.

10. Green 1993; Phillips 1995.

11. Phillips 1996.

The forces of change in Europe

In farmed landscapes, the most potent transforming force has been agricultural intensification through advanced technology, a trend encouraged by national and European policies. While bringing benefits in cheap abundant food, this has resulted in monotonous landscapes, machine rather than man-made, commonplace and artificial. Biological diversity and long-term ecological viability, farming jobs and farm holdings have all been diminished as a direct result¹².

In remote and mountainous areas, depopulation has promoted the abandonment of productive land and a vicious downward spiral of social and economic services. Centralising policies aimed solely at economic efficiency and economy also leach vital rural services, such as educational and health facilities, and intensify depopulation. In these declining peripheral areas, landscape quality remains high, providing a basis for recreation and tourism which often replaces farming as the economic mainstay. Ill-conceived tourism and recreational activity however, can soon lead to serious attrition of landscape and culture. Hence the emphasis on "protected areas" in these peripheral regions where valued landscape features can be retained and the frantic development of theme parks and other centres where elements of shattered heritage are reconstructed (with varying degrees of authenticity) and packaged for mass consumption to provide "experiences" for the fickle tourist.

In contrast to the declining countryside, cities, towns and urbanised transportation corridors have relentlessly expanded their population and area as well as their many-faceted influence as commuter settlements, recreational facilities, urban building styles, motorways and power lines proliferate in their hinterlands. Centralisation of commerce, industry and government in major urban centres encourages standardisation of culture while reducing the ability of rural people to determine their own life styles or to counteract the government policies which debilitate them.

Clearly, the forces of change have an uneven impact and three broad categories of region are recognizable within most countries (see fig. 3). First are the city regions where urban and rural interests are intertwined and conflicting. Here, economic activity constantly converts agricultural to residential and commercial usages and the built environment may expand at a pace which surrounding rural communities cannot absorb and with a scale and style of development which swamps rural character and culture. In the absence of physical planning policies, the rural/urban boundary is irremediably blurred. Agricultural production eventually ceases and the rural areas become gentrified by urbanites. The second are remote or sparsely populated regions, such as mountainous zones and the Atlantic and

12. Stanners - Bourdeau 1995.

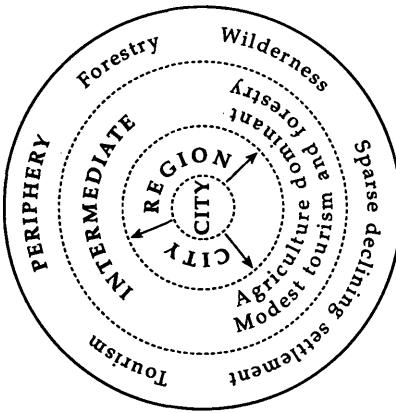


Fig. 3. Current forces of landscape change have an uneven impact, with three broad categories of region (dynamic city cores, intermediate regions and remote declining peripheries) recognizable in most countries. Each category presents different sets of problems; in response, policies for landscapes and rural development require careful calibration.

Mediterranean peripheries, which have experienced sustained depopulation, economic decline and loss of essential services. The total collapse of rural society precipitates a reversion to wilderness or deliberate afforestation. Under prevailing policies, few economic prospects remain for such regions. Tourist developments are at best a local palliative. Third are the intermediate areas between urban cores and the peripheries: here, farming remains a dominant activity and landscape change derives primarily from within farming itself. These areas are therefore especially vulnerable to rapid changes in land use and farm structure. Extensive areas of this volatile "middle ground" exist where future landscape fortunes are likely to be varied, a blend of new forests, "wildscape" and "islands" of intensive farming; tourist attractions are limited and industrial possibilities modest. These three distinct types of region thus present different sets of problems and any national landscape policy needs to be calibrated accordingly.

Envisaging the future

Further, profound landscape changes are imminent in Europe¹³. Increasing farm productivity will permit food needs to be met from ever smaller areas of land with reduced labour. Future agricultural production will be essentially industrial in character, concentrated where soil, topography and communications are most favourable, and dominated by large agri-businesses. Over the next few decades, and in strong contrast to most other parts of the world, the farm population will rapidly contract and the surplus farmland will go to other uses, especially to forests and recreation.

After decades of subsidy and price stability, EU and national policies are now forcing agriculture to be more market-orientated, which will intensify

13. Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy 1992.

instability in land use and promote sharp shifts in landscape character¹⁴. At the same time, there has been a welcome trend away from production subsidies to environmental concerns and the integration of rural conservation with social and economic development. However, in this scenario of continuous change powered by relentless market forces allied to technological innovations, environmental policies may amount to little more than cosmetic damage limitation. The foresight and energy of indigenous development and conservation action at regional and local levels will then be crucial: flexible responses attuned to local needs are absolutely critical.

Apocalyptic generalisations about the prospects for land use and landscape are unhelpful. Intensified change is imminent but strong elements of continuity will remain. Individual trends and their interactions will vary between city cores and remote peripheries and in response to local environmental conditions. In core areas, intensive agriculture will compete with conservation and recreation. In remoter areas, centralisation will prevail with the attendant weakening and perhaps terminal decline of the rural fabric; the possibility then looms of acquisition and control of the countryside by large institutions or agencies for extensive activities such as forestry, open-air recreation or conservation, with increasing standardisation of the landscape and restricted public access.

Rural communities and their landscapes

Cultural landscapes can hardly be conserved while the rural cultures that sustained them are decaying. Safeguarding the landscape entails concern for the well-being of the rural community, and the European Council for the Preservation of the Village and Small Town (ECOVAST), and other bodies, have eloquently voiced the vital need to find a balanced and mutual support between them¹⁵. Rural socio-economic development is entirely consistent with respect for landscape quality. Effective landscape management cannot be a purist pursuit dictated by aesthetic or preservationist values to the neglect of other essential interests; it needs to be embedded harmoniously in wider environmental, economic and social policies. The central challenge is to promote growth consistent with environmental quality, to simultaneously utilise and protect the landscape for sustainable development.

In recent decades, many developments have been inimical to local culture and landscape but there are some encouraging trends. Inspired from many sources, a new vision has emerged of a renewed, sustainable, multi-purpose countryside, where food and raw material production is no longer paramount but sensibly integrated with social development, landscape and wildlife

14. Dessylas 1990.

15. ECOVAST 1994.

conservation, public access and enjoyment of rural amenities. Reinforcing this vision, there has been a renewed respect for the countryside and an appreciation for the vernacular, the traditional and the locally distinctive. There is evidence of this in tourist destinations and in the marked rise of local history and community development groups, whose influence could be far-reaching. For the first time, significant funding is available through the CAP to encourage farmers to manage surplus land in a more environmentally-supportive manner and to conserve traditional landscape features. These various trends can help evolve a modern way of life in rural areas which understands and respects heritage, enriching rather than diminishing it.

A philosophy of landscape policy

Europe now faces an unprecedented challenge and also an opportunity to initiate landscape management policies which are geared to the new millennium, policies which enhance the visual, historic and environmental qualities of the inherited landscape, in particular its regional distinctiveness¹⁶. Traditionally, landscape identity resulted largely from the necessity for rural communities to adapt to their local environment. Now that traditional limitations have been decisively and irrevocably breached, landscape coherence and identity becomes emphatically a question of conscious design rather than necessity.

A design philosophy is therefore required which has historical continuity as its touchstone and conveys a sense of local distinctiveness and evolving tradition¹⁷. This philosophy should nurture valued regional identities while facilitating desirable socio-economic developments. Landscape conservation is inescapably intertwined with broader development goals; the landscape's beauty is a major economic and social resource in itself and important historic and aesthetic elements, such as woodland, terracing and field walls and hedgerows, often coincide with functional features of land use and ecology. Enduring links thus exist between the well-being of a region and the beauty of its landscape.

While striving for a renewed, sustainable and multi-purpose countryside, all necessary innovations should be attentive to the landscape and harmonised with existing features - working with the grain of field and farm patterns, respecting the lay-out of historic settlements, using local building materials and methods and developing the essentials of traditional building forms. Practical application of these guidelines requires attentive study of the authentic character of the landscape and of the appropriate methods of working in and with it. Attempts to mimic local style and tradition are so

16. Phillips 1996.

17. Hough 1990; Aalen - Wheln - Stout 1997.

often shallow; insertions into the rural landscape should be made with the same informed consideration and sensitivity now customary when amending a piece of outstanding architecture.

Landscape Management

The management of landscapes is an ambitious and deeply problematic undertaking, still viewed by some as unrealistic and perhaps unwarranted. What are desirable strategic objectives for a landscape and who should decide them? Effective landscape management is everywhere complicated by a wide range of uncoordinated and sometimes conflicting public policy objectives and frustrated by divided administrative policies for landscape issues. How can the development of the total landscape be guided while rural land uses are largely excluded from physical planning controls and the actions of thousands of independent landowners and managers determine the character of the countryside?

At present, action relating to landscapes normally involves planning, protection and management. Town and country planning, widely practised in one form or other, attempts to exercise controls on individual development proposals. The achievements in respect of landscapes have been modest. It seems that traditional physical planning cannot achieve wide environmental objectives, since it is unable to regulate pervasive, gradual processes and cannot counter the energy of market forces. The chief strategy of conservationists has been to designate protected areas and sites and to safeguard them by limiting or closely managing human use. Such systems are dependent on central authority and "top-down" planning; they are interventionist and professional, indeed can take on an exclusionary and misanthropic aspect. This approach cannot work in the management of the wider landscape and the retention of its regional diversity. Protected areas strategy is too costly to embrace a major portion of a country's landscape. Without wider management, the protected areas themselves become "islands" which cannot survive over the long-term. As rural heritage is threatened, a natural reaction is to multiply the protected sites but this meets with growing resistance from local communities and creates administrative confusion. Protected areas may be scientific and social assets but cannot provide models for the flexible guided management required in the wider, ever changing landscape where economic land use, public access and conservation must be fused. Indeed, if the landscape is treated as a series of discrete elements to be planned in isolation; the outcome is a fragmented and confused perspective, inimical to the landscape which is holistic and requires broad strategic approaches.

The tired protective policies applied to enclaves need urgent complementing by others which address the realities of constant,

unpredictable change on a nationwide scale. This requires a major shift from protection and regulatory planning to "guided management". Such management involves positive action on the ground to care for the countryside either directly through those who work the land, or indirectly, through public bodies who influence work through advice, grants and regulation. The planners role will remain important but the informed action of farmers and other land holders is increasingly seen as a vital complement to planning. The potential for guided development, as distinct from regulatory planning, is now considerable owing to the interest among farmers in conservation for which, for the first time, significant money is available through CAP payments to agri-environmental schemes. It may be possible now to perform the environmental alchemy of converting farmers, silviculturalists and others into countryside managers through education and financial inducements and thereby *to inject landscape quality into all major land uses*. Large payments for set-aside, for example, mean that farmers will be asked to manage surplus land in a more environmentally supportive manner. Dragooning and compulsion may not be required. Thus, landscape policy would cease to be merely protective and opposed to economic and social developments, and could become a constructive enterprise, dynamic and forward looking. Change would not be resisted but guided so that it becomes a productive, not destructive force.

Landscape is a communal product; it cannot be conserved without community responsibility. EU agri-environmental schemes, while increasing in number and resourcing, remain at individual farm level. Accordingly, their uptake is largely voluntary and they are run by competing agencies: the resulting series of *ad hoc* improvements on individual farms cannot produce a coherent landscape. Frameworks are needed at a higher spatial level, for example on the basis of the parish, commune or comparable territorial units. Landscape identity is most often evident at this larger scale and understanding of its visual structure, ecological coherence and historical development requires a matching strategic vision. The involvement of whole communities in the management of their landscapes, including the setting of long-term objectives and guidelines, is a relatively unexplored area but experimentation is underway in various European countries. Recent work in the English Yorkshire Dales is interesting¹⁸. As a tool in future landscape management, researchers have developed the idea of creating images of whole landscape futures in participation with the local community and on the basis of plausible future trends. The landscapes were "imaged" in the form of water colour paintings and then publicly displayed with a large amount of interpretive material. Participants were enabled to "choose" their future landscape, aware of the cost and other implications of their choice. Most

18. O'Riordain - Wood - Shadrake 1993.

people wanted something as close as possible to the status quo, but the Dales are scenically attractive territory and in many other areas we could not assume that the status quo would be the desired end.

On a larger scale, Dutch "framework plans" are instructive. These aim to separate "slow moving" natural elements of the landscape from "dynamic" agricultural parts, and envisage a layout or framework of interconnected natural elements e.g. forests, marshes, ridges, with dimensions large enough to allow the use of intervening spaces for intensive, dynamic agricultural production¹⁹. Landscape architects in Holland have also promoted interesting planning and design activities at a regional scale²⁰. It will certainly be necessary to address landscape conservation at different geographical levels; however, linking the levels is difficult and the wider the area concerned, the harder it is to get meaningful local input and community agreement. The familiar dilemma of marrying bottom-up and top-down initiatives is starkly encountered. However, useful approaches to large-scale landscape planning and management do seem to be emerging; they have not yet been drawn together anywhere into an effective integrated system but the operation may not be as intractable as previously feared. It is a topic which urgently requires research and practical experimentation (see fig. 4).

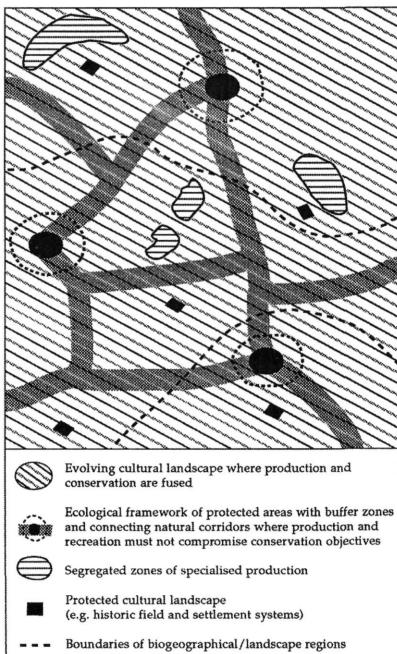


Fig. 4. A schematic framework for future landscape management, aiming to nurture local distinctiveness, historical continuity, visual attraction and ecological well-being. Segregated zones of specialised production exist, but, in the wider countryside, the fundamental aim is to fuse and not segregate production and conservation; production functions along with and sustains wild life, amenity and beauty. A system of protected areas is maintained where conservation has precedence over production; these areas are representative of major landscape regions and connected by natural corridors (river valleys, hill ranges etc.). Areas of valued cultural landscapes may also merit special protection.

19. Sijmons 1990.

20. Kerkstra - Vrijlandt 1990; Vroom 1990.

Landscape Study

The future management of landscapes presents challenges to academic study as well as to planners²¹. Management and planning are complicated and frustrated not only by incoherent administrative policies but by an uneven, fragmented and highly eclectic understanding of the landscape itself, of its material content, history, ecology and meaning. Landscape is perhaps the hardest dimension of the environment to handle and the most complex. Any sustained discussion of landscape brings to the surface that it is a concept of multiple meanings and that there are many disciplinary approaches to its study, differing widely in their focus, methodology and objectives. Symptomatic of this is the absence of an internationally agreed definition of landscape and there is a confusing array of nomenclature in landscape planning which may be unclear even to experts; areas are described, indeed sometimes officially designated, as cultural, natural, historic, heritage, archaeological, vernacular, traditional or ethnographic and certain portions of the landscape may acquire multiple designations.

Landscape in different disciplines

No single academic discipline adequately embraces the full complexity of landscape. Many disciplines, however, make valuable contributions to our understanding and it is important to identify the diverse and sometimes disparate approaches and to assess how far they are able collectively to furnish an adequate basis for the comprehensive and integrated landscape management policies which are increasingly sought, policies not only for the protected and privileged sites which have hitherto been the main focus of attention but for the wider, everyday landscape of rural areas.

Geography, with long traditions of landscape research, permits holistic appraisals of communities and their milieux; these provide valuable context and orientation for planning but generally do not have direct application to practical management²². *Landscape ecology* attracts a measure of multi-disciplinary support and has developed a synoptic methodology for the study of patterns and processes in large scale landscapes which provides underpinning for practical countryside plans²³. However, the subject is heavily allied to the natural sciences and therefore has limitations for full understanding of landscapes where culture history and socio-economic factors are deeply involved. Moreover, many pivotal ideas in ecology (e.g. equilibrium, climax and community) are now under serious question²⁴.

21. Aalen (ed.) 1996; Institute for European Policy 1996.

22. Coones 1996; Williams 1989.

23. Selman 1996.

24. Peters 1991.

Environmental history, or *ecohistory*, embraces an ecological perspective on human affairs, with nature as an independent and potent historical agent, as against the perceived 'anthropocentricity' of traditional history and geography²⁵. Landscape architecture is involved in the planning and design of outdoor places ranging from buildings to the wide rural landscape²⁶. An important contemporary trend is the assimilation of ecological perspectives into the dominant architectural and aesthetic preoccupations of the profession and experimentation in creative landscape planning at regional scales. This could make the subject an important channel for the introduction of ecological thinking into planning and for incorporating aesthetic dimensions into ecological policy. *Palaeoecology* provides detailed accounts of vegetation and landscape change in the past which allow a broader perspective on contemporary issues and a deepened understanding of the extent of earlier human impacts which, in turn, assists evaluation of the long-term outcomes of modern trends. The subject has surprisingly little in common with landscape ecology, possibly because of the different temporal and spatial scales studied²⁷. *Landscape archaeology*, through its attempts to reconstruct human settlement patterns in ancient landscapes, provides an important complement to palaeoecology. But the highly specialised academic traditions of prehistorians, romanists and medievalists etc. militate against the study of landscapes over long periods of time; neither is understanding of the present day landscape a primary objective²⁸. *Cultural anthropology* has been slow to engage with landscape; the very recent interest focusses on the human perception and symbolic ordering of space rather than the material landscape and has been influenced by recent cultural geography and literary criticism²⁹. *Quantitative landscape assessment* is a method rather than a discipline but it can stimulate creative thinking, help to generate and test hypotheses, and by marshaling and manipulating various layers of landscape data can encourage holistic thinking.

Integrated multi-disciplinary projects are often proposed and there is clearly a wide diversity of approaches available with a certain complementarity which could be exploited - the academic and the practical, the holistic and the focussed, orientation to the natural environment and to the cultural. However, integration is problematic even in well-resourced institutions designed to investigate multiple aspects of the landscape, and, with the exception of a few outstanding projects (mainly orientated towards ancient landscapes rather than understanding of the present), progress has been

25. Williams 1994.

26. Cregan 1996.

27. Birks et alii 1988.

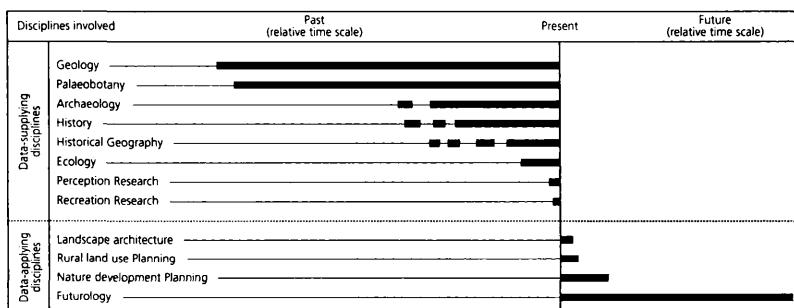
28. Fleming 1996; McGlade 1995.

29. Bender (ed.) 1993; Ingold 1993.

modest³⁰. Moreover, few of the studies undertaken have been directly related to the requirements and problems of practical management and there has been no rigorous assessments of their usefulness (see fig. 5).

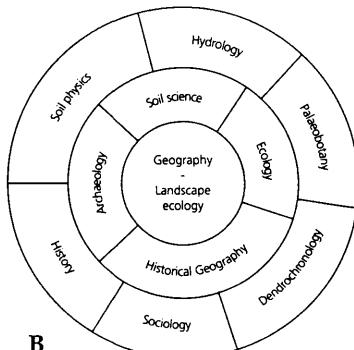
CONCLUSIONS

Guidelines for landscape management and landscape policies might include the following. Greater public awareness of the value and significance of landscapes should be encouraged and changes within them given greater study, recording and monitoring. There should, however, be acceptance of the inevitability of landscape change and an attempt to understand its causes and consequences. Local communities should be educated, motivated and aided to play a major role in recording and managing the landscape, in identifying its economic, social, cultural and ecological values and in defining its overall character and the type of design appropriate to new developments.



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Fig. 5.a. Different disciplines in landscape research on a relative time-scale. Landscapes have been moulded by human activities over long periods and the diagram underscores the need for an inter-disciplinary approach to their study.



b. Disciplines arranged by degree of involvement with the landscape. Geography and landscape ecology are central, surrounded by other disciplines that deal with landscape. The outer ring includes subjects that provide valuable data for landscape research but are not directly involved in it (after Vervloet - Rennes - Spek 1996).

Landscapes should be treated as an environmental resource in the planning process and utilised as an appropriate framework for environmental policy and management. Landscape history should be included in the training of architects, agriculturists, foresters, engineers, planners and other disciplines relevant to landscape management. Special landscapes should be protected as laboratories for the study of ecological processes, as historical and cultural assets and as natural diaries of a community's evolution.

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ANDREW J. LAWSON

PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION OF HISTORIC LANDSCAPES: THE CONTRIBUTION OF RESCUE ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRITAIN

Many visitors to Britain, are struck by the apparently ancient fabric of the countryside: much of the pattern of fields and villages seems unchanged since time immemorial. However, as archaeologists, we have a deeper understanding of chronological depth. We know that many familiar elements of the landscape, such as humble hedgerows, may be many centuries old, yet they are only the latest veneer and a succession of earlier episodes of landuse may still be in evidence to the trained eye. The recognition, investigation and interpretation of this evidence is the challenge which faces the archaeologist daily.

The history of antiquarian and archaeological research in Britain has been a long one and a considerable volume of information on archaeological sites has already been accumulated. Nonetheless, the rate of discovery of new sites clearly demonstrates that the current estimate of some 600,000 known sites in England alone is only a fraction of the potential total. New sites may come to light by chance but others are found during systematic, professional fieldwork.

The superimposition of archaeological sites offers very clear evidence for the progressive development of our society, a process which most would wish to see continuing. However, the inevitable consequence of development is the re-use of land with the potential destruction of what already exists there, including archaeological deposits. Fortunately, in Britain today, both the value of archaeological sites and the destructive effects of development are recognised and powers exist to prevent the destruction of important sites and legally to protect them. It is recognised, however, that while wishing to encourage the nation's economic prosperity, it is neither desirable nor possible to protect *all* archaeological sites and therefore there must be a careful process of selection and the degree of protection afforded them must be commensurate with that grading. Currently, complementary systems exist for the selection and protection of sites at national and regional levels.

PROTECTION

Similar systems exist in Scotland and Wales but for simplicity I shall describe here the situation in England.

Nationally-important archaeological sites can be legally protected and anybody guilty of interfering with a designated site can be prosecuted. The need for such stringent protection was established by Act of Parliament in 1882 and has been strengthened by several subsequent revisions to the Act¹. It has been recognised, however, that the list (or "schedule") of sites protected by the Act is not representative of the nation's heritage; for example, many Iron Age hillforts are protected but very few mesolithic sites². Consequently, revisions to the wording of the Act are sought to ensure that all types of archaeological site are embraced by the legislation. In 1986, English Heritage instigated the *Monument Protection Programme (MPP)* to identify and select the best examples of each monument type in the country for protection. At the moment, there are some 16,000 statutorily protected or "scheduled monuments" in England but when the *Monument Protection Programme (MPP)* is completed (in about 10 years' time), some 24,000 sites being the best 4% of the country's archaeological sites will be protected³. The procedures of the MPP require the definition of individual site types and the assessment of quality of every known example in the country using a points-scoring system within a series of carefully considered criteria⁴.

Archaeological sites of any period can also be protected at a local level from the pressures of development as a result of controlling powers given to County and District Councils (under the Town and Country Planning Acts). Central government has given clear guidance through official published documents, *Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 15*, and 16, that the effects of proposed development on archaeological deposits *must* be considered by councils when consent to develop land is sought. Consequently, every County Council in England employs a professional archaeologist to advise councils in the county on archaeological priorities. This guidance is extremely important because the greatest threat to archaeological sites results from development. The principal points of the guidance are:

1. The *developer* should supply sufficient information on the archaeological content of the site and its setting to enable a judgement to be made on the effects of the proposed development on the archaeological content of the site. If insufficient information is supplied, the Council can ask for further information before they decide upon the application. It must be stressed that adequate archaeological information should be supplied before

1. Breeze 1993.

2. Fraser 1984.

3. Historic buildings are protected under separate legislation: Suddards 1993.

4. Startin 1993.

any decision to permit development is made;

2. Where important archaeological remains exist, they should be preserved in situ, i.e. there is a presumption in favour of the preservation of important archaeological deposits over development;

3. Where the need for development is considered more important than the archaeological deposits, for a variety of social or economic reasons, the council can require the developer to make arrangements specifically for the recording of the archaeological deposits before they are destroyed: in effect, this means professional excavation and publication of the results.

Certain types of development, especially large ones (such as roads) may also require an Environmental Impact Statement in compliance with EEC directives (85/337). The Assessment which precedes any such Statement also necessitates a detailed consideration of the cultural heritage of the land affected, including archaeology.

Occasionally the government may wish to review a particular development proposal because of public opinion or an appeal from the developer, when consent has not been granted. In such circumstances, a Public Inquiry may be held under an Inspector appointed by the Secretary of State. Because the local councils, who control development consents are aware that any of their decisions, including those requiring archaeological work, may be subjected to scrutiny at such an inquiry, they have to be conscious that their requirements are reasonable and their justification for them sustainable.

The majority of developers, of course, have little or no archaeological expertise and therefore turn to archaeological organisations, such as Wessex Archaeology which is an independent company, to provide the necessary service.

PRACTICE

The pursuit of government guidance and the implementation of these planning powers has led to a very considerable increase in the opportunities to investigate archaeological sites and a consequent understanding of ancient landuse. For example, the number of projects undertaken annually by Wessex Archaeology has increased from 86 in 1990/1 when PPG16 was introduced to 200 in 1995/6. Typically, archaeological work may be done in a series of stages:

1. A desk-based *assessment* of previous records;
2. A limited site *evaluation* to test the ground for the location of archaeological remains. Techniques commonly in use in Britain for the detection of archaeological sites may be unintrusive (e.g. aerial photography, geophysical surveying and ground survey), minimally intrusive (e.g. fieldwalking, test-pitting) or intrusive (sample excavation). The techniques used will be governed by a variety of factors including geographical location,

time of year, ground conditions, accessibility, finance etc.;

3. *Mitigation* works which may include the protection, or excavation and recording of remains.

Definitions for these terms and minimum standards have been set nationally⁵ and sometimes in more detail locally⁶. The work may be undertaken by a variety of archaeological companies, but their work must meet the requirements and standards of the local council⁷. At the same time, the developer will wish to agree the time allowed for the work and the costs of it and hence it is normal for a legally binding contract to be completed between the archaeological organisation which will investigate the site and the developer.

In the case of national trunk roads, a detailed manual has been published to help the designers to identify areas and issues where careful consideration of environmental factors, including archaeology is required⁸.

The required archaeological fieldwork will only be conducted within the limits of the development proposal, that is, it is site-specific. However, over a period of time the results from neighbouring exercises can be put together and a more complete picture of landscape change evolved. The same is true for both urban ('townscapes') and rural areas. The effectiveness of this approach can be judged from many examples, but one will suffice for this paper.

Dorchester is the county town of Dorset in southern England. It is surrounded by well-preserved prehistoric monuments such as Maiden Castle (with Early Neolithic and Iron Age earthworks), Mount Pleasant (with Late Neolithic earthworks), Poundbury (Iron Age fortifications) and many Neolithic and Bronze Age burial mounds⁹. The town itself is based on a Roman foundation, *Durnovaria*. In the 1960s the area was comprehensively surveyed by the *Royal Commission on Historic Monuments*¹⁰, their publications demonstrating the extent (and limitations) of the recorded evidence.

Since the Royal Commission's survey the town of Dorchester has expanded, new houses being built on its periphery in what were previously open fields; a new road has been constructed to bypass the town; while in the town's centre new supermarkets have been built to cater for the growing population. Many of these sites have been assessed, evaluated and excavated (above) in advance of construction.

5. ACAO 1993; IFA 1994.

6. E.g. WCC 1995.

7. Lawson 1993.

8. DoT 1992.

9. Lawson 1990.

10. RCHM 1970.

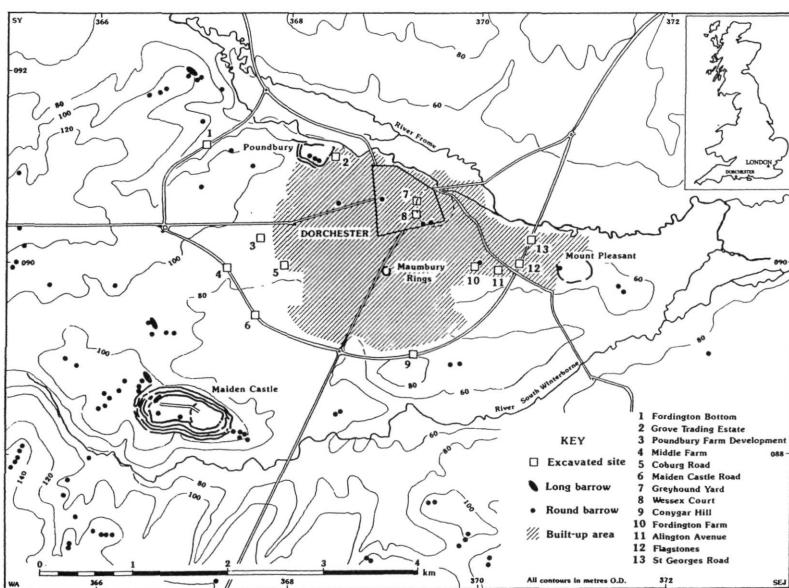


Fig. 1. Location of prehistoric sites in the Dorchester area.

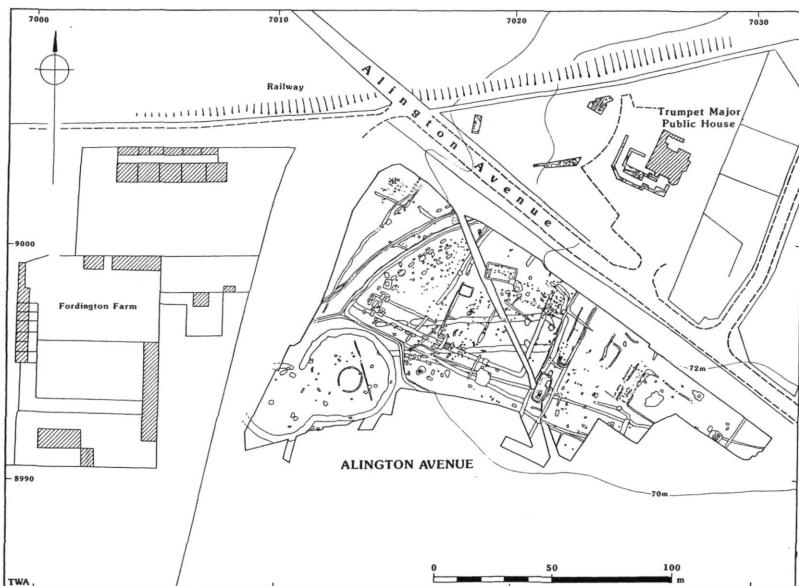


Fig. 2. Plan of excavated features at Alington Avenue. Here the features are of many different periods and offer clear evidence of the frequent re-use of the site, albeit for different purposes at different times.

On the east side of the town, investigations (at Alington Avenue, Flagstones and Fordington Farm) have revealed buried archaeological deposits of many periods. In the Neolithic and Bronze Age, the low chalk ridge, which crosses the area, was followed by a line of ceremonial and funerary monuments set in a grassland environment. In the Iron Age a system of fields had been established around these monuments while mundane traces of settlement within an earlier enclosure (Flagstones) suggest that the inhabitants' use of the place was very different from that during the Neolithic, as was the prevailing environment. Towards the end of the Roman period, a small settlement with rectangular buildings was established, one mile from *Durnovaria* (even the Roman milestone was found in one of the ditches!). The attendant cemetery whose burials had commenced in the first century suggest that the earliest buildings of this settlement have not yet been located. The settlement was abandoned in the post-Roman period and reverted to open fields. In the twentieth century, the area is once again a suburb of the town. We can, thus, see that the use of this landscape has changed from its originally post-glacial wooded state to an elevated ceremonial centre, to an open-grassland maintained for the celebration of the dead, thence to enclosed farmland with the sprawling buildings of settlement, only to revert once more to unenclosed fields and now to dense suburban occupation¹¹.

A similar and complementary picture emerges from investigations on the west side of Dorchester. Here, excavation in advance of the bypass road, houses and sports facilities have located evidence for early neolithic settlement, early Bronze Age burial monuments, Middle and Late Bronze Age houses, Iron Age enclosures and a Roman farm, none of which was previously known before the successive stages of field evaluation and rescue recording were followed¹².

Perhaps the greatest surprise has been the recognition of a Late Neolithic timber-palisade beneath Roman *Durnovaria*, elements of which have been recorded on three town centre sites¹³.

These examples clearly show what can be achieved by consistently applying development control policies for archaeology. Nonetheless, they also demonstrate limitations within the system, not least in conceptual approaches to archaeological evidence. Although our protective legislation and planning process are site-specific, viewed on a broader canvas, individual 'sites' are merely concentrations of the physical remains of particular activities. Past societies operated in well-articulated landscapes but these were perceived in different ways at different times in the past. The

11. Davies et alii 2002.

12. Smith et alii 1997.

13. Woodward et alii 1993.

emerging concern now is how to recognise, describe and protect large tracts of ancient landscapes.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Popular appreciation of the visual or ecological value of extensive parts of the British countryside and of its towns has previously led to the passing of legislation for the designation and protection of National Parks, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, Environmentally-Sensitive Areas and Conservation Areas¹⁴. English Heritage (the independent commission which advises all government ministers on heritage matters) also maintains registers of certain areas of cultural significance, such as Historic Parks and Gardens, and Historic Battlefields. Although these registers offer no legal protection, they give a clear indication to planning authorities of the desirability of respecting the historic importance of the listed areas.

In recent years, there have been calls for a greater definition of the distinctiveness of different parts of the British countryside and a response to the question concerning each designated area "What makes this area special?". As archaeologists we are deeply aware that today's countryside is the result of past human activity, and that the evidence for past activity is both visible as historic elements of the landscape and invisible being buried as the archaeological resource, as the Dorchester example, above, shows¹⁵. Hence, we advocate an analysis of the historic fabric of the landscape as an essential part of its characterisation.

Since the last century, the Ordnance Survey has produced maps of the highest quality which schematically convey objective details of the natural landform (contours, rivers, etc.) its uses (woodland, countryside, towns, roads, etc.) division (streets, field boundaries, administrative boundaries, etc.) and important features (monuments, churches, etc.). These are familiar to most people who have learned to read or interpret them. However, a new map of England has recently been published by the Countryside Commission (1996) based on landscape characterisation in which the historic perspective plays a part. It is clear that this is only the start of a trend borne out of necessity to respond to growing public pressure to give greater consideration to the environmental impact of continuing development and the desire for *sustainability*. Above all there is a need to consider how valued landscapes can be managed. Obviously it is impossible to advise on best management practice, until we understand what it is we are trying to manage¹⁶. In wishing to highlight the importance of the historic dimension and coincidentally to

14. Ball - Bell 1991.

15. Cf. Darvill 1987.

16. Fairclough 1991, 1994.

comply with international conventions, such as Rio, Malta, British archaeologists are also reviewing their concepts of "landscape". If we analyse what has been done in the assessment of the Dorchester example cited above, we will see that two steps have been taken;

1. Classification: the individual components of the landscape have been identified and separated into categories (long barrows, ring ditches etc.) which are already understood or have been defined previously. In less familiar territory new site types would need to be defined so that different analysis had a common understanding of the categories.

2. Characterisation: components with shared attributes have been grouped together. This has been done on a typological and chronological basis. Thus barrows might be grouped but long barrows are differentiated from round barrows because they are both typologically and chronologically distinct - the former are Neolithic in date and the Later Bronze Age.

In this case it has not been necessary to suggest the relative importance of the relic landscape of one period against another or to define a value for those areas where a combination of periods is represented. If that were to be the case then further steps might include:

3. Scoring: whereby each component was scored against a series of criteria, such as condition, vulnerability, rarity etc.

4. Grading: Having scored the various components of a landscape they can be ranked, or combinations of them ranked according to combined or weighted scores. The ranking may vary from site type to site type, or from one relic landscape to another because some may be considered to be more important than others. (This system is used in England for the selection of monuments for statutory protection).

5. Designation: would be the formal recognition of the perceived value of the landscape. The most important landscapes might be protected by law, while others were identified for protection by local authorities.

Whatever system of historic landscape assessment is used it must into account man-made features, both visible and buried, and semi-natural features (woods, colluvial deposits), while analysis must identify the relationship and interactions between the various components. Some data for such a process may already exist and can be gleaned from publications and archives but others will require dedicated fieldwork, both surface and invasive, if the full potential is to be realised, as the Dorchester example demonstrates.

The process of historic landscape assessment is still not perfected but the investigation of archaeologically-important areas through the control of development offers rich evidence to fuel debates on the historic content of the landscape.

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SID AHMED BAGHLI

PERCEPTION ET VALORISATION DU PATRIMOINE PAYSAGER. LES EXEMPLES ALGERIENS DE TIPASA, DE LA VALLEE DU M'ZAB ET DU TASSILI

PROBLEMATIQUE

La notion de paysage est apparemment pleine de paradoxes: à la dimension naturelle essentiellement géomorphologique et écologique s'est greffée la dimension humaine et culturelle plus ou moins agressive ou harmonieuse, selon le cas. La prédominance de l'élément écologique est évidente mais la juxtaposition du phénomène humain a posé et posera d'innombrables problèmes.

Il s'agit en fait de protéger et de valoriser cet important patrimoine. Mais d'aucuns voient là une contradiction de principe de la notion de sauvegarde et de son antithèse, la mise en valeur.

Comment donc dans un monde en changement concilier l'intervention de l'homme, qui joue sur la flexibilité de la forme (au sens gestaltien du terme) et la fragilité, la vulnérabilité d'un écosystème déjà bien complexe?

Comment réaliser la synthèse de l'utile et de l'agréable dans l'évolution des paysages et de leur perception selon les lois optiques mais avec toute la charge émotionnelle de leurs valeurs culturelles? En somme comment concilier harmonieusement nature et culture?

C'est donc cette problématique de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur du paysage culturel et naturel que nous allons tenter d'étudier.

La première difficulté à surmonter en la matière résulte du fait que le paysage est par principe changeant. Cette loi naturelle, conséquence des rythmes cycliques de la vie, engendre une perception elle-même conditionnée par les éléments atmosphériques (la brume, le brouillard, le soleil, l'ombre, la neige ou la pluie...). Alors que le patrimoine immobilier ou mobilier est relativement¹ stable ou stabilisé tels ce temple ou cette mosquée, cet objet

1. Cette relativité tient compte de la succession des civilisations, de l'évolution des structures d'exploitation et d'urbanisation, des aléas des guerres et des destructions dues aux hommes et aux calamités naturelles.

archéologique ou ethnographique, les paysages évoluent, se modifient sans cesse.

Le changement des paysages devient cependant source de destruction, de dégradation et de danger lorsque l'homme ne mesure pas les conséquences de ses interventions et les graves atteintes à la perennité du milieu qui en résultent.

Les guerres, les exploitations excessives, les pollutions, les développements industriels ou touristiques irrefléchis ou dictés par l'enrichissement "à tout prix", les mépris des équilibres écologiques et humains² exigent non seulement une éthique de large portée mais une réglementation et une politique de protection et de valorisation du patrimoine.

Il reste entendu que tout traitement des questions de paysage procède d'une démarche "philosophique", d'une méthode scientifique et technologique éprouvée et d'un savoir-faire où l'art tient une place de choix.

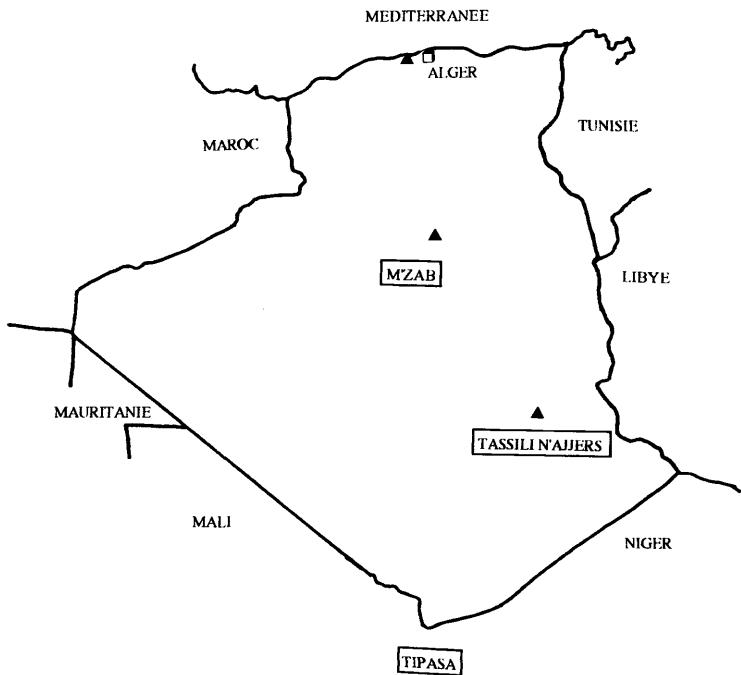


Fig. 1. Localisation des trois sites - exemples sur la carte de l'Algérie.

2. Camargo Moro 1990.

PERCEPTION ET VALORISATION DU PATRIMOINE PAYSAGER: TROIS EXEMPLES ALGERIENS.

Nous avons choisi celui de la Méditerranée et du désert pour étudier Tipasa, le M'zab et le Tassili. Le premier cas, celui de Tipasa, qui a la chance de garder ses plus beaux atours, souligne les vertus d'un développement relativement harmonieux. Comme d'autres sites du littoral méditerranéen, il recèle d'illustres vestiges archéologiques et des paysages d'une merveilleuse beauté.

Deux autres exemples de paysage se situent à 600 km et à 2000 km au sud de Tipasa dans une région aujourd'hui désertique mais profondément marquée par l'homme et son histoire. Il s'agit de la Vallée du M'zab et du Tassili N'ajjers. Tous deux ont eu une destinée paradoxale. Le premier, le M'zab désert à l'origine est devenu par le travail et le génie de l'homme une terre vivante, hospitalière et dynamique. Le second, le Tassili, à l'origine verdoyant et bénit par une nature généreuse et humide, s'est transformé au cours de quelques millénaires en un désert de plus en plus aride. C'est le type même de paysage né de la désertification.



Fig. 2. Tipasa.



Fig. 3. Tipasa.

Rappelons d'abord le cadre réglementaire. Les mesures législatives algériennes relatives au patrimoine culturel sont arrêtées dans l'ordonnance de 1967 et depuis 1983 dans une loi sur la protection de l'environnement. Celle-ci définit la politique nationale en matière de "*protection, de restructuration et de valorisation des ressources naturelles, de prévention et de lutte contre toute forme de pollution et de nuisance, enfin d'amélioration du cadre et de la qualité de la vie*". En application de ce texte, le Ministre chargé de l'environnement peut faire classer des zones du territoire, en "parc national". Plusieurs dispositions de ce texte portent sur la protection de la mer et de l'atmosphère. Il est notamment formellement interdit "*d'altérer la qualité de l'eau de mer*" et "*de dégrader les valeurs dagrément de la mer*". Même si le terme de "paysage" n'est pas clairement mentionné c'est en fait de cela qu'il s'agit.

Et la mer créa Tipasa

Tipasa est une petite ville à une soixantaine de kilomètres à l'ouest d'Alger. Ce site privilégié au bord de la Méditerranée, blotti entre des coteaux et la montagne, a attiré l'homme depuis la plus haute antiquité.

En punique Tipasa signifierait "lieu de passage" car les navigateurs notamment grecs et puniques ont certainement fait escale dans son port.

C'est essentiellement l'influence de la Méditerranée qui a le plus marqué l'évolution des paysages de Tipasa classés monument national et sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. La caractéristique originelle du site est l'omniprésence de la Mer dans l'espace et l'histoire comme le mentionne Fernand Braudel: "*Dans son paysage physique comme dans son paysage humain la Méditerranée carrefour, la Méditerranée hétéroclite se présente dans nos souvenirs comme une image cohérente, comme un système où tout*

se mélange et se recompose en une unité originale. L'explication est à la fois les grâces de la nature ou ses malédictions ... et les efforts multiples des hommes". Permettez-moi d'ajouter que ces "efforts" aussi peuvent être bénis ou maudits.

La complicité de la nature et de l'histoire a su sauvegarder une certaine harmonie pour protéger et mettre en valeur un patrimoine paysager des plus précieux du monde.

Le plan d'aménagement de Tipasa est axé sur cette double préoccupation: la prévention contre la pollution du littoral et une urbanisation anarchique ainsi que l'orientation des activités économiques compatibles avec le milieu tels l'artisanat et le tourisme ou des activités culturelles (cinéma, recherche archéologique et ethnographique). Les contraintes de la proximité de la capitale (Alger) et la demande sans cesse croissante d'extension urbaine constituent aussi un risque grave de déséquilibre.

L'état d'entretien, de conservation et de mise en valeur d'un site est en principe la preuve infaillible du respect et de la considération que les peuples et les décideurs ont pour leur civilisation et leur personnalité.

Tipasa a la chance de présenter dans un décor naturel grandiose un ensemble archéologique unique où la nature et les vestiges antiques reflètent une harmonie exceptionnelle: une grande nécropole, un amphithéâtre et un théâtre, une grande voie décumana, des temples, un forum, des thermes et des villas d'époque romaine avec leurs mosaïques. Le tout relativement bien conservé au milieu d'une végétation verdoyante.

Cependant l'importance des vestiges encore ensevelis sous terre pose des problèmes de préservation d'un site archéologique sur lequel le village d'époque coloniale a été malheureusement édifié.

Soulignons la nécessité d'une contribution scientifique dans tout traitement des paysages dits naturels ou mixtes (naturels et culturels). Dans le cas de Tipasa le rôle des archéologues, des urbanistes et des architectes restera stratégique pour le parc archéologique et son environnement.

Le projet de création d'un parc archéologique continu, côtier et subaquatique doit permettre justement d'assurer la sauvegarde de l'essentiel du paysage, celui de la fonction terre-mer et des antiques témoins des différentes civilisations qui se sont succédées depuis la préhistoire.

Les grandes lignes de l'aménagement et du développement de la région de Tipasa, sont basées sur le renforcement des liens entre les établissements humains et la dynamique des paysages originels.

Chaque objectif est appelé à 1. Préserver l'environnement naturel marin et terrestre; 2. Aider la recherche archéologique sur la côte et en mer et 3. Organiser et gérer un "parc" archéologique et marin "réuni" dans un même programme de mise en valeur et de respect de l'harmonie.

"A Tipasa rien n'est réparti au hasard: les hommes, depuis les temps les plus reculés de la préhistoire, ont répondu par leurs gestes à la dynamique du

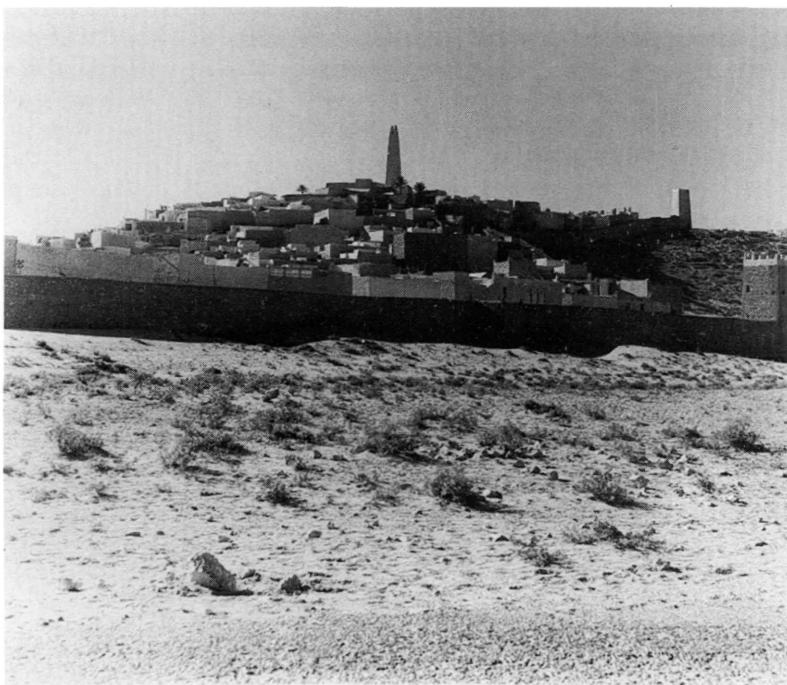


Fig. 4. M'zab : Beni Jsehen.

paysage³.

C'est cette tradition qu'il faudrait perpétuer pour transmettre aux générations futures notamment les charmes et les valeurs vantées par les poètes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. *"Toujours la même mer aussi, presque impalpable dans le matin, que je retrouvai au bout de l'horizon ..Je désirais revoir le Chenoua, cette lourde et solide montagne découpée dans un seul bloc qui longe la baie de Tipasa, voici sa masse sourcilleuse, brune et verte, voici le vieux dieu moussu que rien n'ébranlera"*⁴.

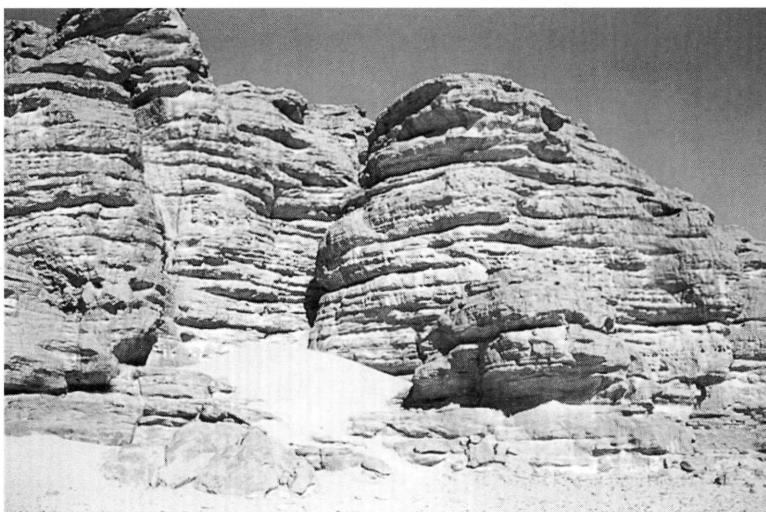
Et le désert créa le M'zab

Il y a dix siècles, la vallée du M'zab était une région désertique difficilement accessible et c'est ce qui a poussé les Ibadites, fuyant vers le Sud, à y chercher refuge après avoir abandonné leurs somptueuses demeures septentrionales.

La vallée du M'zab a vu donc, il y a mille ans, ses paysages urbains façonnés selon des normes extraordinaires, toutes de rigueur, de subtilité et

3. Cf. Archives du Musée de Tipasa, *L'aménagement du parc de Tipasa*.

4. A. Camus, *Retour à Tipasa*.



Figs. 5 et 6. Plateau du Tassili.

de génie dans la conception, l'exécution et l'organisation. La leçon à retenir est qu'il faut savoir vivre en symbiose avec la nature même lorsqu'elle n'a rien ou très peu à offrir.

“Je vous comprends d’admirer l’homme qui a travaillé au M’zab avec ses propres mains. Il a lutté avec les matériaux, les contingences, avec sa culture. C’était un duel avec la matière et lorsqu’il a résolu son problème, il avait créé la beauté”⁵.

Etablie “en oppidum”, la ville comme toute “médina” est enveloppée par des remparts avec au centre le point culminant où se dresse le minaret

5. Hassan 1981.

dominant les quartiers d'habitation. Le fond de la vallée est également rationnellement organisé en espaces aménagés pour la palmeraie et la savante trame des "séguias", canaux d'irrigation des jardins.

Si le paysage est toujours vivant et fidèle à lui-même c'est certainement parce que, dès le début, les règles du jeu ont été établies pour que la symbiose entre une nature pourtant peu hospitalière et l'homme soit harmonieuse. Ces deux critères ont prévalu et le résultat est une perfection rarement atteinte dans la recherche du fonctionnel, et de l'économique. Un résultat d'une beauté plastique unique. L'impératif de l'ascèse a imposé la simplification de l'architecture urbaine musulmane à l'épure. Même les cimetières présentent un cachet exceptionnellement émouvant et significatif. De la succession anonyme et identique des tombes, seuls se détachent les mausolées des savants, qui ont droit à cette distinction.

Comment préserver ce patrimoine paysager et urbanistique en veillant strictement à son évolution normale? Un organisme régulateur spécial a été créé qui, depuis vingt ans, s'efforce de trouver les solutions aux multiples problèmes qui surgissent. Il faut surtout éviter que le citoyen soit "sanctionné" par un classement qui le paralyse et lui interdit l'accès par exemple, aux équipements modernes (cas des antennes de télévision etc.).

Il s'agit de l'*Atelier d'étude, de restauration et d'aménagement de la vallée du M'zab*, institution publique chargée de veiller à cette protection. Cette formule de l'Atelier de site se révèle positive dans la mesure où la priorité est donnée à la sauvegarde du paysage global pour pallier toute atteinte au panorama se la pentapole et de son environnement. Il s'agit aussi de perpétuer le message spirituel de bâtisseurs.

Il faut aussi prendre en considération le danger de la proximité des champs de pétrole et de gaz, qui risquent un jour de perturber et déséquilibrer l'harmonie de ce site unique en son genre.

Et la désertification donna le Tassili...

S'il est un ensemble de paysages qui exprime la complicité dramatique de la nature et de l'homme dans le phénomène de la désertification c'est bien celui du Tassili n'Ajjer à près de 2000 km au sud-est d'Alger. L'aboutissement d'un long processus écologique donne à la fois un résultat grandiose et tragique. Classé "Parc National", le Tassili fait partie du patrimoine culturel universel. Sur une superficie de plus de 80.000 km² les ergs entourent le plateau qui s'élève tel un iceberg dans le désert. De l'azur limpide du ciel se détachent des rocs violacés et plus loin des formes fantasmagoriques des grès érodés. Enfin, en aval ce sont les lits des oued, les dunes et les rares oasis habitées.

"Tassili ou les Tassili (les plateaux) sont devenus de véritables refuges grâce à leur altitude, à la nature géomorphologique de leur roche, le grès,

*poreux et friable qui a favorisé les effets des érosions éoliennes et fluviales sculptant ainsi, sur les hauteurs des formes bizarres, les forêts de pierres, et dans les vallées profondes des canyons qui ont pu garder l'humidité des précipitations des plus en plus rares, favorisant l'installation des hommes qui fuyaient les régions, qui s'aridifiaient et devenaient de plus en plus inhospitalières*⁶.

Le patrimoine culturel est aussi prestigieux et significatif; il témoigne d'une vie préhistorique intense sur ses lieux aujourd'hui désertiques. Les peintures et les gravures rupestres représentent les scènes de la vie quotidienne d'il y a plusieurs milliers d'années alors que la terre fertile, sous un climat bien plus humide, permettait alors la nourriture de l'homme et d'une faune bien plus importante au sein d'une végétation luxuriante.

*"Dans le processus inexorable de désertification, le Tassili représente aussi un véritable hymne à la gloire de l'homme; de sa lutte incessante pour s'adapter à tous les bouleversements climatiques et survivre dans les conditions le plus extrêmes"*⁷.

Aussi paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, la mise en valeur de ces paysages naturels et culturels est plus simple et plus facilement maîtrisable que dans les régions situées plus au nord.

Le nombre d'habitants de 12.000 à peine dans quelques oasis et les ressources en eau très limitées constituent des contraintes et des obstacles très difficiles à lever. Ils sont peut-être -ironie du sort- les meilleurs garants d'un développement rationnel maîtrisable.

Le plan général d'aménagement du parc s'est fixé un double objectif:

1. Sauvegarder des biens naturels et culturels très fragiles par une gestion du parc efficace. On a qualifié le Tassili de "plus grand musée à ciel ouvert dans le monde" Il faut donc en délimiter les différentes zones de protection et en contrôler les accès.

L'aménagement et le balisage des voies et des pistes de circulation à l'intérieur, la désignation et la signalisation des lieux de bivouac et de camping sont soigneusement étudiés et réalisés. Enfin l'implantation des postes de contrôle et de secours et l'équipement en moyen de télécommunications sont d'une importance vitale pour la gestion de cet immense parc.

Une réglementation sévère permet de protéger les peintures rupestres des dégradations, des destructions et des mesures sont prises pour empêcher le vol de l'inestimable matériel archéologique parsemant les centaines de sites.

2. Mettre en valeur le Tassili par une "exploitation" touristique mesurée et spécifique en évitant la dégradation du fragile tapis végétal, la pollution du

6. Cf. Kerzabi 1995.

7. Ibidem.

milieu et surtout des précieux points d'eau. Là aussi, comme au M'zab, ou à Tipasa, l'artisanat, le tourisme et les activités audio-visuelles forment un créneau important pour le développement. Il en est de même des activités éducatives et scientifiques.

C'est ainsi que les universités et des écoles de géologie trouvent au Tassili des exemples de phénomènes géologiques et géomorphologiques très concrets souvent "à fleur de sol".

Enfin la simple contemplation des paysages lunaires est pour beaucoup d'entre nous une heureuse occasion de se reposer et de se rappeler que le silence et l'air pur existent encore sur terre.

CONCLUSION

Les paysages doivent constituer, en cette fin de siècle, la préoccupation majeure des décideurs, des populations et des spécialistes car si le patrimoine classique mobilier et immobilier a déjà fait l'objet de recommandations internationnales et de législations locales, il faut souligner que les risques de pollution de destruction, de guerres, et de désertification au cours des prochaines décennies, doivent être pris au sérieux.

La politique engagée depuis la Recommandation de l'UNESCO de 1962 concernant "la sauvegarde de la beauté et du caractère des paysages et des sites" doit se renforcer. Après la Charte de Séville de 1992, la Rencontre de Barcelone et celle de Bologne en 1996, une nouvelle stratégie de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur des paysages doit être élaborée.

L'ordre environnemental défini au cours des vingt dernières années a comme objectif essentiel "*la protection et la conservation de l'environnement, de la faune et la flore, et des relations de ces éléments de l'environnement entre eux et avec les hommes*"⁸.

Les domaines de réglementation ont pris une ampleur considérable atteignant une dimension régionale et internationale (Plan Bleu, Conférence de l'ONU de 1992 à Rio de Janeiro) et une fonction "existentielle" qui garantissent la vie d'un homme agissant en harmonie avec la nature. Au delà de la fonction esthétique de l'environnement de plus en plus la politique de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur des paysages s'impose comme une ultime "bataille" de l'ordre environnemental pour assurer un développement durable sur le plan économique et social.

L'établissement de "plans de paysages"⁹ permet de préciser l'état réel des paysages, l'état visé pour leur protection et leur mise en valeur enfin les objectifs d'aménagement à prendre en considération.

8. Loi allemande du 6 Août 1993 sur "La protection et la conservation du paysage", J.O. 1458) qui intrègne cette action dans le cadre de la planification régionale.

9. Strom 1995.

L'harmonie des paysages est une notion à révaloriser. Parmi les recommandation à faire éventuellement, il faudrait insister sur l'opportunité de créer ou multiplier des chaires universitaires sur le patrimoine paysager ainsi que des centres de recherches dans ce domaine. Le programme du MAB (Man and Biosphère), du "bouclier bleu"¹⁰ et de l'ICOMOS doivent accorder un intérêt particulier aux problèmes des paysages. Toute politique concernant les paysages "classés ou à classer" doit obeir à une approche globale dans le processus de prise de décision avec le concours d'un groupe interdisciplinaire de spécialistes compétents. La finalité est que toute évolution, tout développement se fassent sans privilégier certaines valeurs ni sacrifier d'autres. La prise de conscience de l'homme et les perturbations néfastes introduites dans son environnement immédiat, dans sa course souvent effrénée et égoïste vers l'industrialisation à tout prix, l'armement le plus destructeur, la guerre et la violence, le gaspillage des ressources naturelles

Le bleu de la mer, la limpidité de l'atmosphère, la couleur, le parfum des plantes et surtout le message culturel et spirituel du patrimoine, doivent constituer une heureuse raison de vivre dans le respect de la condition humaine.

ANNEXE

NOTIONS DE PAYSAGE ET DE SAUVEGARDE

DEFINITIONS DU *PAYSAGE ET DE L'ENSEMBLE CULTUREL ET NATUREL*

PAYSAGES ET SITES

La notion de paysage et site qui a été introduite dans la Recommandation de l'UNESCO du 21 Décembre 1962 fait référence à la valeur esthétique et scientifique des paysages naturels, ruraux ou urbains. Suivent quelques extraits de ce document.

Aux fins de la présente recommandation, on entend par sauvegarde de la beauté et du caractère des paysages et des sites la préservation et, lorsque cela est possible, la restitution de l'aspect des paysages et des sites, naturels, ruraux ou urbains, qu'ils soient dus à la nature ou à l'oeuvre de l'homme, qui

10. Le Bouclier Bleu est un programme pour le patrimoine culturel en danger, en cas de désastres causés par la nature ou par l'homme. *L'Association Internationale du Bouclier Bleu* est composée des responsables de l'ICCROM, de L'ICOM et de L'ICOMOS pour réagir en cas d'urgence.

présentent un intérêt culturel ou esthétique, ou qui constituent des milieux naturels caractéristiques.

Il devrait être tenu compte, dans le choix des mesures à appliquer, de l'intérêt relatif des paysages et des sites considérés. Ces mesures pourraient varier notamment selon le caractère et les dimensions des paysages et des sites, leur emplacement ainsi que la nature des dangers dont ils peuvent être menacés

Parmi les mesures de sauvegarde il est recommandé:

- a. *Le contrôle général de la part des autorités responsables;*
- b. *L'insertion de servitudes dans les plans d'urbanisme et les plans d'aménagement à tous les niveaux, régionaux, ruraux ou urbains;*
- c. *Le classement "par zones" des paysages étendus;*
- d. *Le classement des sites isolés;*
- e. *La création et l'entretien de réserves naturelles et de parcs nationaux;*
- f. *L'acquisition de sites par les collectivités publiques.*

PATRIMOINE MONDIAL, CULTUREL ET NATUREL

La convention de Novembre 1972 sur la protection du patrimoine mondial culturel et naturel souligne l'obligation d'assurer la conservation du patrimoine culturel ou naturel présentant un intérêt universel d'autant plus que la pollution de l'environnement et les dangers qui le menacent avaient considérablement augmenté.

Définition du patrimoine culturel et naturel:

Les monuments: oeuvres architecturales, de sculpture ou de peinture monumentales, éléments ou structures de caractère archéologique etc....

Les ensembles: groupes de constructions isolées ou réunies, qui en raison de leur architecture, de leur unité, ou de leur intégration dans le paysage.

Les sites: oeuvres de l'homme ou oeuvres conjuguées de l'homme et de la nature, ainsi que les zones y compris les sites archéologiques,

Les monuments naturels constitués par des formations physiques et biologiques ou par des groupes de telles formations.

Les formations géologiques et physiographiques et les zones strictement délimitées constituant l'habitat d'espèces animale et végétale menacées.

Les sites naturels ou les zones naturelles strictement délimitées.

Parmi les mesures de protection, il y aurait lieu:

a. *D'adopter une politique générale visant à assigner une fonction au patrimoine culturel et naturel dans la vie collective, et à intégrer la protection de ce patrimoine dans les programmes de planification générale;*

b. *D'instituer sur leur territoire, dans la mesure où ils n'existent pas, un ou plusieurs services de protection, de conservation et de mise en valeur du patrimoine culturel et naturel, dotés d'un personnel approprié, et disposant des moyens lui permettant d'accomplir les tâches qui lui incombent;*

c. De développer les études et les recherches scientifiques et techniques et perfectionner les méthodes d'intervention qui permettent à un Etat de faire face aux dangers qui menacent son patrimoine culturel ou naturel;

d. De prendre les mesures juridiques, scientifiques, techniques, administratives et financières adéquates pour l'indentification, la protection, la conservation, la mise en valeur et la réanimation de ce patrimoine.

LES BIENS CULTURELS DANS LA CONVENTION DE LA HAYE (1954)

DEFINITION

Les biens, meubles ou immeubles, qui présentent une grande importance pour le patrimoine culturel des peuples, tels que les monuments d'architecture, d'art ou d'histoire, religieux ou laïcs, les sites archéologiques, les ensembles de constructions qui, en tant que tels, présentent un intérêt historique ou artistique, les œuvres d'art, les manuscrits, livres et autres objets d'intérêt artistiques.

Les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent à respecter les biens culturels situés tant sur leur propre territoire que sur celui des autres Hautes Parties contractantes en s'interdisant l'utilisation de ces biens, celle de leurs dispositifs de protection et celle de leurs abords immédiats à des fins qui pourraient exposer ces biens à une destruction ou à une détérioration en cas de conflit armé, et en s'abstenant de tout acte d'hostilité à leur égard.

Puissent être placés sous protection spéciale un nombre restreint de refuges destinés à abriter des biens culturels meubles en cas de conflit armé, des centres monumentaux et d'autres biens culturels immeubles de très haute importance.

ENSEMBLES HISTORIQUES OU TRADITIONNELS

EXTRAITS DE LA RECOMMANDATION DE L'UNESCO (26. 11. 76)

La mise en œuvre d'une politique globale de sauvegarde des ensembles historiques ou traditionnels et de leur environnement devrait se fonder sur des principes valables pour l'ensemble de chaque pays. Les Etats membres devraient adapter les dispositions existantes ou, le cas échéant, promulguer de nouveaux textes législatifs et réglementaires afin d'assurer la sauvegarde des ensembles historiques ou traditionnels et de leur environnement, et tenant compte des dispositions contenues dans ce chapitre ainsi que dans les chapitres suivants. Ils devraient encourager l'adaptation ou l'adoption de dispositions sur le plan régional ou local visant à une telle sauvegarde.

Les Etats membres et les collectivités concernées devraient encourager les recherches sur:

L'urbanisme des ensembles historiques ou traditionnels et de leur

environnement;

Les rapports entre la sauvegarde, la planification et l'aménagement du territoire;

Les méthodes de conservation appliquées aux ensembles;

L'altération des matériaux;

L'application de techniques modernes aux travaux de conservation; Les techniques artisanales indispensables.

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ALMUDENA OREJAS - ADELA CEPAS
DOMINGO PLACIDO - F. JAVIER SANCHEZ-PALENCIA
INES SASTRE - MARIA RUIZ DEL ARBOL

LA VALLEE MOYENNE DU GUADALQUIVIR.
PAYSAGE ET TERRITOIRE¹

Le point de départ de notre recherche est une conception large des paysages qui s'appuie sur l'abandon de la vision du patrimoine culturel comme une série de pièces exceptionnelles interprétées comme des monuments isolés. Le paysage est compris, dans nos projets, comme une synthèse complexe de relations multiples, dans lesquelles sont concernés les communautés humaines et le milieu naturel. Il ne s'agit pas, par conséquent, d'une juxtaposition d'éléments divers².

En effet, notre projet concernant la vallée moyenne du Guadalquivir est envisagé dans la perspective d'une analyse globale des sociétés et des territoires anciens du Sud de la Péninsule Ibérique. Notre objectif exige sans cesse le croisement de trois niveaux de documentation: les données de paléoenvironnement, les sources archéologiques - au sens large - et les sources littéraires et épigraphiques anciennes. Nous partons d'une hypothèse globale de travail: les différents modèles d'intégration du territoire péninsulaire et des communautés, qui l'ont occupé dans la Méditerranée jusqu'à l'époque romaine ont construit des paysages spécifiques et cohérents avec leurs structures sociales et territoriales. La construction des paysages et l'articulation territoriale doivent être envisagées comme une forme d'intégration dans l'ensemble de la Méditerranée.

1. Ce travail se développe dans le cadre du projet de recherche *Paysages anciens dans la Péninsule Ibérique: Archéologie et Textes*, financé par la DGICYT et dans le Département d'Histoire Ancienne et Archéologie du Centre d'Etudes Historiques du CSIC (Madrid).

Abréviations:

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

AEP = *Année Epigraphique*

CILA = *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucia*

NAH = *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispano*

HEP = *Hispania Epigraphica*

2. Orejas 1991; Vicent 1991.

Les régions qui sont étudiées dans le projet ne peuvent pas être considérées comme isolées. L'un de nos principaux soucis est de confronter nos données avec celles d'autres régions péninsulaires, notamment des zones dont les rythmes d'intégration dans le monde méditerranéen ont été plus lents: le Nord-Ouest (*Asturia et Gallaecia* romaines) intégré très tard dans le domaine romain et écarté des rapports méditerranéens jusqu'à ce moment-là, constitue un très bon point de repère³. Notre objectif est, d'une part, d'obtenir une vision diachronique dans la région concernée, et d'autre part de contribuer à l'élaboration d'une méthodologie spécifique, qui permettra l'articulation des différents éléments comme paysage en tant que création culturelle.

Il faut ajouter -bien que le Sud péninsulaire apparaisse souvent dans les documents anciens- que les données n'ont pas été systématisées et que les études monographiques sur la région que nous avons délimitée, manquent. Voilà une autre raison pour notre choix.

LE CADRE GEOGRAPHIQUE ET L'INTERET DE LA REGION

La région choisie (fig. 1) appartient *grosso modo* à la vallée moyenne du Guadalquivir et s'allonge vers les montagnes du Nord (la Sierra Morena). Avant la conquête romaine elle était comprise dans le territoire ibéro-turdétan puis, sous la domination romaine, dans la province de Bétique. Cependant il ne faut pas oublier que les populations indigènes avaient déjà éprouvé, avant la présence de Rome, un procès d'intégration dans le monde méditerranéen, qui avait débuté avec l'arrivée des navires phéniciens et grecs. Leur incorporation dans le monde romain n'est que le point final de ce procès.

Deux problèmes fondamentaux se posent au niveau de la conception spatiale globale. D'abord il faut analyser le rôle du *Baetis*; sans doute le Guadalquivir est un élément très important pour l'articulation de ce territoire, mais il ne faut pas l'interpréter *a priori* comme une frontière.

L'autre grand problème apparaît au moment de mettre en rapport les frontières et les peuples pré-romains avec les limites des provinces, des *conventus* et des territoires des villes romaines.

Ces deux problèmes sont déjà mis en évidence par les auteurs anciens qui, même dans les récits des guerres de conquête laissent voir que les populations habitant les deux rives du Guadalquivir avaient des rapports très évidents. Par exemple, Tite-Live dans ses récits des guerres de conquête (XXXIII.21) indique l'existence de contacts entre les peuples habitant les

3. Précisément, nos études sur plusieurs régions du Nord-Ouest péninsulaire et le projet d'aménagement d'un parc archéologique dans l'une d'elles (Las Médulas, León) font l'objet d'une deuxième communication que notre équipe présente dans ce même volume.

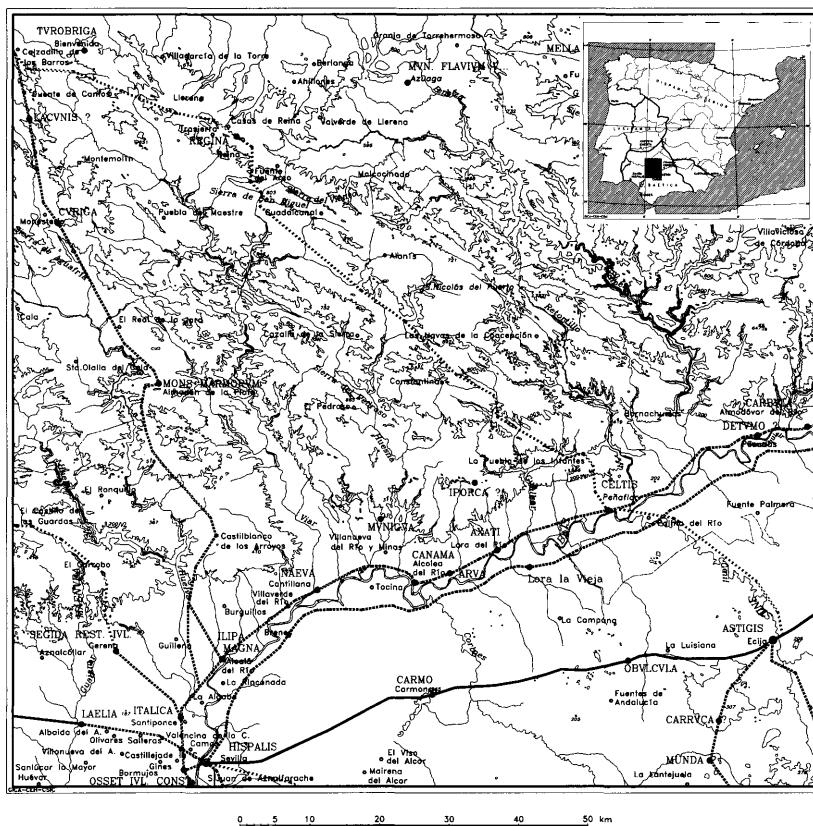


Fig. 1. Carte générale de la région étudiée.

régions au Nord et au Sud du fleuve. Ainsi, il précise qu'en 197 avant notre ère *Luxinius* comptait sur l'appui de toute la Baeturia, mais aussi de certaines villes bétiques (telles Carmo) et même puniques sur la côte de l'Andalousie orientale (*Malaca* et *Sexi*).

D'autre part, et selon Appien (*Hisp.* 59), depuis 151 avant notre ère les Lusitaniens descendaient assez souvent vers la *Turdetania*, où ils étaient vaincus et soumis en esclavage près de *Gades*, tandis que *Luculus* et *Galba* dévastaient leurs terres. Il s'agit des prémisses de la rébellion de *Viriathe* (Appien, *ibidem*, 62, 63, 66-68, 70).

Pline et Strabon font aussi référence aux problèmes frontaliers. Ainsi Pline semble croire que le fleuve jouait le rôle d'axe de communication entre la *Turdetania* (qui correspond *grossost modo* au *conventus astigitanus*) et la région de la Baeturia où vivent deux peuples différents: les Celtes que Pline considère comme originaires de la Lusitanie (à peu près le *conventus*

hispalensis) et les *Turduli* (le *conventus cordubensis*)⁴. D'après Strabon (III.1.6 et III.2.15), Polybe fait la différence entre les *Turduli* au Nord et les *Turdetani* au Sud du Guadalquivir, mais Strabon ajoute qu'une telle différence n'existe plus de son temps. En fait, un changement s'est produit, et il faut probablement le mettre en rapport avec l'intégration de la région *Baeturia Turdula* dans la province romaine de Bétique. Cependant Pline dit qu'il y avait des *Turduli* en Lusitanie (IV.116).

De son côté, Ptolémée (III.4.5) propose aussi une localisation pour les *Turduli* et pour les *Turdetani* et au moment d'établir les villes appartenant à chaque peuple il place la ligne de division avec une direction Nord-Sud et par conséquent le *Baetis* devient un fleuve d'intégration et non une frontière (fig. 2)⁵.

La dynamique interne de la région est nettement attestée par la mobilité des individus, telle qu'on la voit à travers les sources épigraphiques (fig. 3). Il faut encore mettre en ordre cette information et trouver les raisons des déplacements et leurs rapports avec les activités économiques, le tissu urbain, etc. Les sources littéraires anciennes laissent voir aussi cette mobilité: nous avons déjà indiqué les déplacements du côté de la *Baeturia* (entre l'*Anas* et le *Baetis*) et dans la *Celtique* (de la Lusitanie vers le *conventus hispalensis*) dont parle Pline (III. 13). Peut-être aussi les *cognomina Iulia* sont indicatifs d'une colonisation secondaire en rapport avec *Emerita*⁶.

L'angle Nord-Ouest de la zone de recherche fournit des éléments intéressants dans ce domaine, tels que l'apparition de communautés *contributae* (*Contributa Iulia Ugultunia cum Curiga*) et des *termini augustales* en rapport avec le territoire de la colonie d'*Emerita Augusta*⁷. Il

4. Ainsi, par exemple, Pline (III.12) considère *Obulcula* comme l'un des *oppida libera* du *conventus astigitanus*; il y fait référence après avoir parlé des rives du *Baetis* (III.11) et avant de parler de la *Baeturia* (III.13) comme si ces rives étaient l'axe des deux régions. *Obulcula* apparaît dans l'Itinéraire d'Antonin (413.2) entre *Hispalis* et *Astigi* et (414.3) entre *Carmone* et *Astigi*, après la voie s'oriente vers *Celtici*, *Regiana* et *Emerita*. Le Ravennate (315.5) la place entre *Astigin* et *Carmone*, depuis *Celtum* et *Regina*. Dans Ptolémée (II.4.10) elle appartient aux *Turdetani* de l'intérieur de la Bétique, avec la Lusitanie (y sont aussi *Ursone*, *Ilipa*, *Astigi*, *Carmunia*, *Regina*, *Contributa*, *Asta*, *Talica*, *Hispalis*). Strabon (III.2.2) considère *Obulcon*, avec *Carmon* et *Astigis*, plus loin du fleuve que les villes auxquelles il vient de faire référence (*Italica* et *Ilipa*).

5. Ptolémée (II.4.5) fait référence aux *Turduli* de la côte (port de Menesteo, temple d'Héra, *Baelo*), pourtant il parle des *Turdetani* de la mer extérieure, dès l'*Anas* vers *Asta* (II.4.4). Chez les *Turduli* de l'intérieur (II.4.9) sont *Corduba*, *Tucci*, *Astigis*; chez les *Turdetani* de l'intérieur, près de la Lusitanie (II.4.10) il compte *Contributa*, *Regina*, *Nertobriga*, avec *Hispalis*, *Italica*, *Carmonia*, *Oursone*.

6. Tovar 1974, 31.

7. Pline III.14; *CIL* II, 1043; *CIL* II, 1041. A propos de cette zone, voir les *termini augustales emeritenses*, et les villes juliennes, en rapport avec une possible deuxième colonisation augustéenne, qui envisageait la fixation des peuples rebelles: Canto 1995; *Tabula Imperii Romani*, Hoja J-29, Id-Ie; Etienne 1995, 28-30.

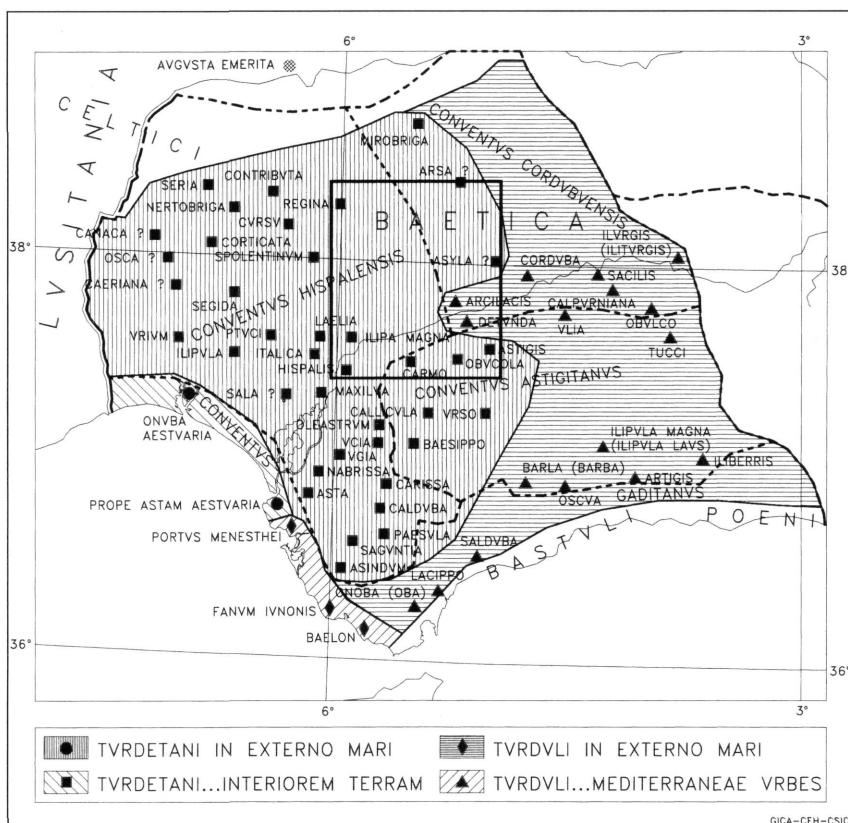


Fig. 2. Le Sud péninsulaire d'après les références de Ptolémée.

y a toujours des problèmes de frontières dans cette région là entre le *conventus*, le territoire contrôlé par *Emerita* et le *conventus cordubensis*; c'est-à-dire sur l'éventuelle appartenance de la *Baeturia Turdula* au *conventus cordubensis* et l'adscription administrative de villes comme *Mirobriga* et *Regina*. Il faut aussi noter ici le problème avec ces mêmes caractéristiques posé pour *Lacimurga*⁸.

Le Guadalquivir, navigable pendant l'Antiquité même en amont de *Corduba* (Strabon III.2.3), a toujours été l'un des axes de communication parmi les plus importants de la Péninsule Ibérique. Il met en rapport les régions montagneuses du Nord avec les zones sédimentaires de la vallée et les plus proches du littoral méditerranéen avec les terres atlantiques. C'est pour cela que, déjà pendant la période de conquête, il a été l'une des lignes de contrôle stratégique.

8. Sáez 1990; Clavel-Lévêque 1993.

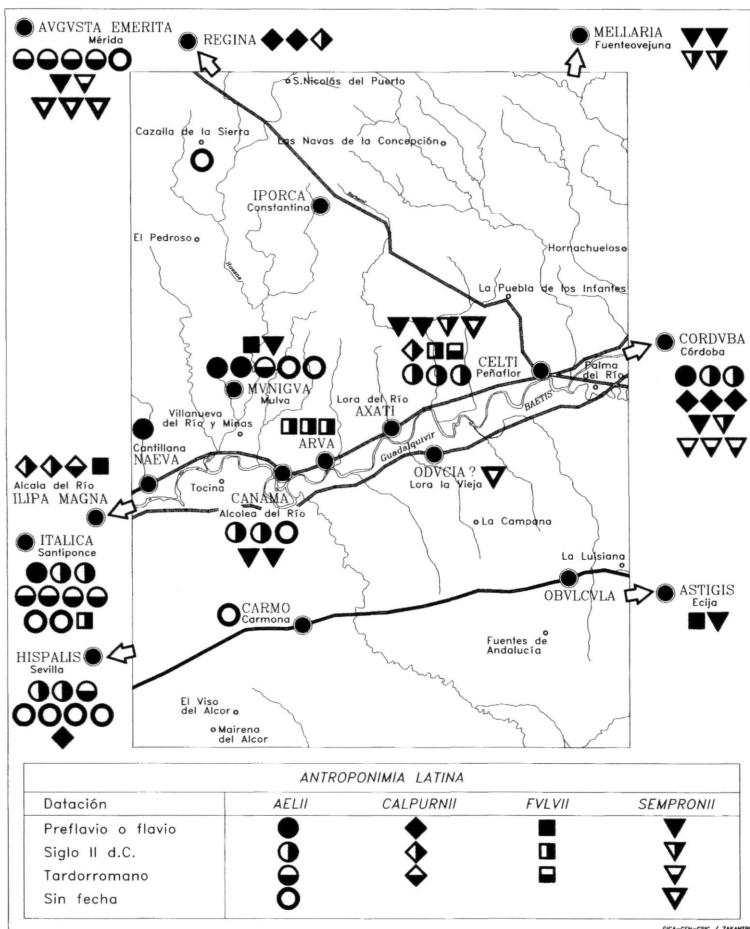


Fig. 3. Distribution des inscriptions avec mention des gentes Sempronia, Aelia, Fulvia et Calpurnia (dans la région concernée et les capitales des conventus).

L'ARTICULATION DU TERRITOIRE. LES RESSOURCES ET LEUR EXPLOITATION

L'un des points d'intérêt est la richesse de la région: depuis le dernier siècle de la République le Sud Ibérique était renommé pour ses mines (Sierra Morena, bande pyriteuse du Sudouest) et pour la fertilité de ses terres (notamment celles de la vallée du Baetis). Dans ce sens Strabon considère cette vallée comme une région très densément peuplée et comme un trait d'union entre les zones d'activité minière et agricole, c'est-à-dire entre les terres fertiles et les terres stériles mais riches en métaux (Strabon III.2.3; III.2.8 et III.2.9).

En effet, les sources littéraires, épigraphiques et archéologiques laissent voir la portée de l'exploitation de ces ressources, mais il y a un certain nombre de problèmes qu'il faut aborder afin d'avoir une perspective plus large. Nous n'en soulignerons que deux qui nous semblent fondamentaux. D'abord, le besoin de considérer les rapports entre les deux activités (minière et agricole) dans le temps et dans l'espace. Dans ce sens-là, nous savons que les mines étaient déjà mises en valeur au Ier siècle de notre ère et qu'apparemment elles étaient moins importantes à partir de la moitié du Ier siècle de notre ère. On sait que l'activité minière avait déjà atteint une très grande importance depuis le Ier siècle avant notre ère. Malgré un fort procès d'étatisation à la fois juridique et administratif -bien documenté dans la région de la Sierra Morena⁹- on peut vérifier au cours du Ier siècle de notre ère la création de quelques noyaux urbains prospères, où l'existence d'une élite puissante est évidente (évergétisme, activités édilitaires etc.). Pouvons-nous penser qu'il y a eu un déplacement de "capitaux" des mines vers l'agriculture, dont nous connaissons l'essor de la production d'huile d'olive pendant le Haut Empire? Les mêmes familles sont-elles responsables de l'une et de l'autre? Comment la coexistence des deux activités géographiquement très proches se produit-elle?¹⁰.

D'autre part, la mise en valeur des procès exige une vision diachronique dès la phase immédiatement antérieure à la conquête romaine: c'est la seule façon de mesurer l'impact de la présence de Rome sur les organisations sociales, territoriales et sur les économies locales¹¹.

C'est dans ces perspectives que notre recherche se développe actuellement à travers trois axes de travail: 1. Le croisement des données épigraphiques: de l'épigraphie privée et publique, des textes amphoriques et aussi des lingots miniers; 2. L'étude de la potentialité des ressources dans la région; dans ce domaine les analyses de paléoenvironnement et les prospections géologiques et archéologiques sont évidemment très importantes et nécessaires et enfin 3. L'étude de la distribution des noyaux de peuplement, de son fonctionnement, de son évolution dans le temps et dans l'espace.

L'établissement d'un réseau urbain précoce constitue l'une des principales pièces dans l'organisation territoriale. Ce tissu évolue d'une façon très significative depuis la fin de la période républicaine et pendant le Haut Empire. Il faut pourtant indiquer que la plupart des villes ont des niveaux archéologiques pré-romains d'occupation et que c'est surtout la

9. La confiscation des mines de Sextus Marius sous le règne de Tibère (*Tac., Ann. 6.19*) reste l'exemple le plus évident, mais il n'en est pas le seul. Il résume bien le protagonisme acquis par l'Etat en ce qui concerne la propriété et la gestion des mines hispaniques à la fin de la République et au cours du Haut-Empire (Domergue 1990, 237-240).

10. Domergue 1972.

11. Berrocal 1995; Ruiz y Molinos 1993.

bande riveraine du *Baetis*, qui souffre de changements remarquables, notamment la rive Nord, sur laquelle plusieurs villes n'apparaissent pas avant la liste fournie par Pline (III.10-11). En général ce réseau urbain est très directement en rapport avec la fixation du réseau routier, héritier aussi des axes de communication déjà existants.

Une zone-test a été choisie pour faire une présentation plus concrète de notre démarche, de notre voie de recherche et de notre problématique. Il s'agit de la zone centrale: à l'Est d'*Hispalis* (Séville), au Nord de *Carmo*, vers l'Est presque jusqu'à la limite actuelle entre les provinces de Séville et de Cordoue (*Palma del Rio*) et, vers le Nord, jusqu'aux contreforts méridionaux des montagnes.

Dans cette bande on peut trouver des zones de contact intéressantes, non seulement par rapport aux différentes zones topographiques, mais aussi par le développement d'activités économiques diverses:

- évidemment l'agriculture, près du fleuve et sur les plateaux proches¹²,
- l'élevage, avec des liens possibles entre les axes de l'*Anas* et du *Baetis* à travers les montagnes de la Sierra Morena¹³ et peut-être aussi des rapports avec le réseau urbain¹⁴,
- les régions minières, comme l'axe Constantina - Cazalla - Villanueva del Rio y Minas, s'étagent sur la rive droite du Guadalquivir, sur le piémont de la Sierra Morena et dans le bassin du Guadiana. Elles présentent un nombre suffisamment important d'indices qui indiquent le développement d'une activité prospère¹⁵. Cependant elles n'ont pas été étudiées avec la même profondeur que d'autres ensembles miniers voisins. L'ancienne *Baeturia* est ainsi considérée comme une zone d'élevage (de pâturage) et d'activité minière, comme c'est le cas d'Azuaga et Llerena¹⁶,

- des axes Nord-Sud devaient faire communiquer la région montagneuse (*Munigua*, et les mines exploitées plus au Nord) avec le Guadalquivir depuis, au moins l'époque augustéenne. Les documents épigraphiques, comme certaines inscriptions funéraires et le pacte d'hospitalité de *Munigua*, permettent de vérifier ces rapports¹⁷.

Munigua est toujours un point de repère très intéressant. Sous la dynastie flavienne la ville devient un municipium, et son centre urbain se caractérise à partir de ce moment-là par une monumentalisation étonnante¹⁸

12. Plana 1994; Sáez 1987.

13. Sáez 1992-93 et 1993.

14. Traina 1990.

15. Domergue 1987, 148, 475-77, 479 et 480s; Ojeda et alii 1988; Hunt 1989.

16. Enriquez 1995 ; Canto 1995.

17. *CIL* II 1378 trouvée à *Carmo*, de T. Emilius Pudens, de la tribu *Quirina* et du *municipium flavium muniguensis*. Le pacte d'hospitalité de *Munigua* (*AEP* 1962, 147 = D'Ors, *Emerita* 287) correspond à l'époque augustéenne, lorsque *Munigua* devait être l'un des *oppida stipendiaria* cités par Pline. Le document est signé par L. Luceius et L. Octavius Silvanus, qui devaient être citoyens romains à titre personnel.

18. Grünhagen 1979 et 1982 ; Hauschild 1989.

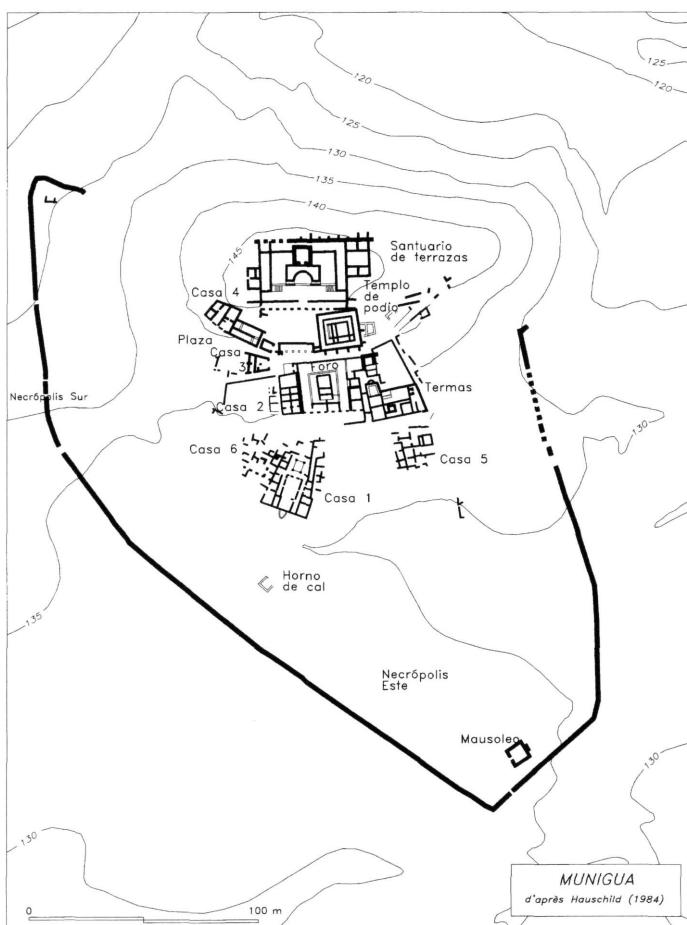


Fig. 4 Ensemble fouillé de Munigua.

(fig. 4). D'autre part dans ce noyau, cinq familles au moins se détachent par leur évergétisme, les magistratures et le sévirat de leurs affranchis¹⁹.

LES ELEMENTS DU PAYSAGE

Nous avons choisi l'analyse d'un certain nombre d'éléments pour une première caractérisation des paysages anciens (les villes, l'exploitation du milieu agricole, les ressources minières) et deux étapes qui nous semblent marquer deux moments importants dans la construction des paysages (les

19. *AEP* 1962, 288, *CIL II* 5120 et 1378, Jacques et Scheid 1990, 191 sur les *vectigalia* de Munigua; Melchor 1994, 65, *HEP*, 4, 1994, 272, n. 774, *CILA*, 2, 1991, 143, n. 167 et Nesselhauf 1990 à propos du sévirat comme indice d'activité économique et de l'évergétisme.

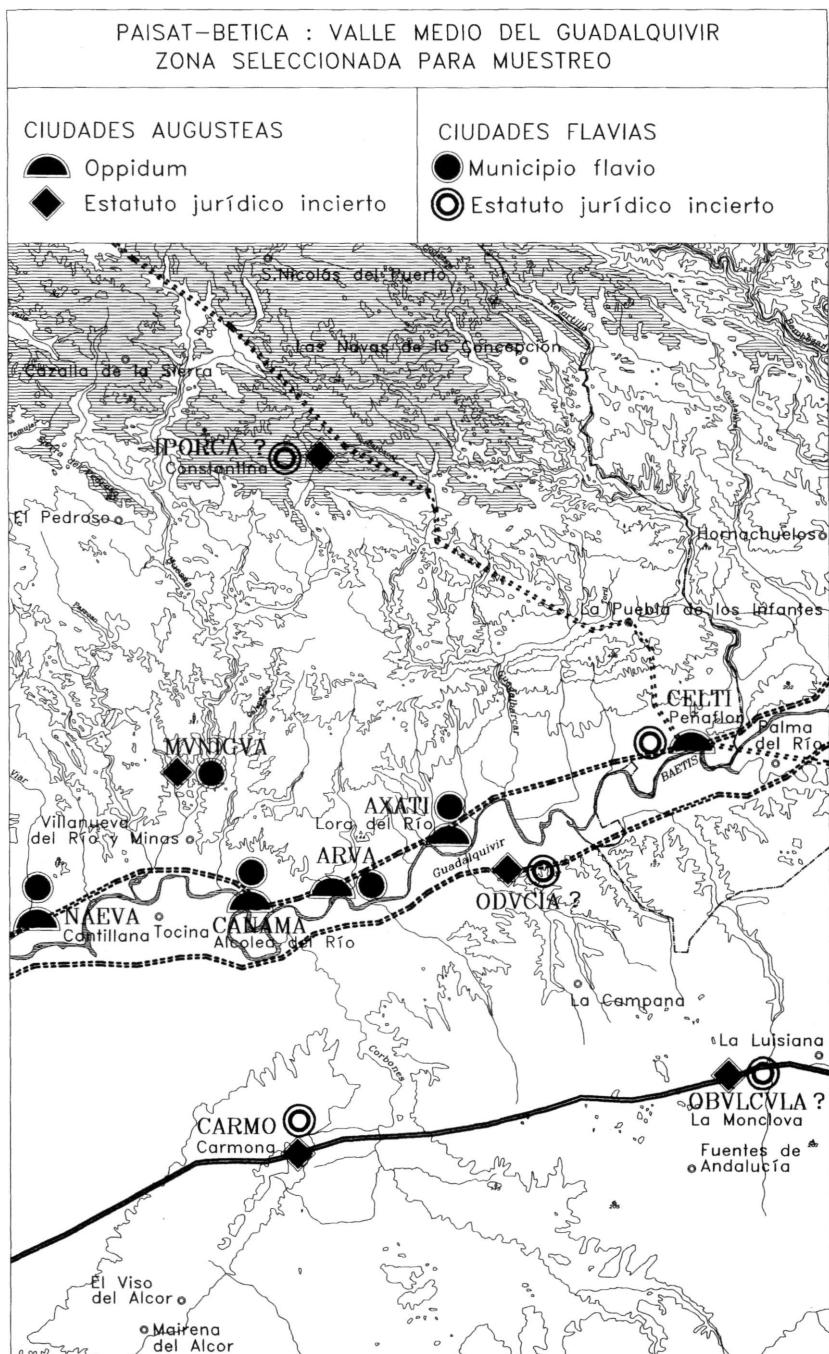


Fig. 5. Le réseau urbain romain et son évolution.

périodes césaro-augustéenne et flavienne).

I. L'occupation et l'exploitation du territoire à la fin de la République et au début de l'Empire (César - Auguste).

Pendant cette période une première organisation territoriale est déterminée. Les traits fondamentaux de l'évolution paysagère semblent être les suivants (fig. 5):

1. La mise en place d'un réseau urbain avec une première organisation territoriale et administrative. Les centres les plus importants en ce moment là sont *Hispalis*, *Corduba* et *Carmo*²⁰, mais il faut compter aussi avec d'autres centres secondaires (dont toute la série des *oppida* cités par Pline). Cette première urbanisation romaine semble être *grosso modo* l'héritière d'un réseau de peuplement pré-romain, mais elle traduit aussi l'établissement d'une nouvelle hiérarchie sociale, des frontières et du peuplement, bref, d'un nouveau modèle.

2. L'exploitation du milieu. En réalité il faut parler plutôt de milieux puisque les conditions pédologiques, topographiques et hydrauliques nous indiquent l'existence d'environnements assez différents, avec des ressources potentielles diverses.

Sur un profil topographique de la zone (sur une ligne Nord - Sud perpendiculaire au Guadalquivir) on peut repérer les potentialités agricoles de la région (fig. 6): il y a certaines surfaces où les cultures sèches -il faut penser sans doute aux céréales- sont possible, des zones de pâturage, des zones irrigables (parallèles au cours du fleuve et près de certains ruisseaux), bandes d'olivier et des *dehesas*, où l'exploitation des arbres (chênes) peut coexister avec l'élevage et enfin des surfaces de garrigue²¹.

Bien que le développement de l'agriculture soit mieux attesté à partir de la fin du Ier s. de n.è., il faut compter sur un certain nombre d'éléments qui indiquent l'aménagement agraire de la zone pendant cette période: l'établissement de l'habitat rural, souvent mal daté²², la construction d'ateliers et magasins en rapport avec la production d'huile²³, l'apparition possible de nouvelles formes de parcellaires et même de réseaux de cadastration²⁴, comme c'est très probablement le cas du territoire de *Carmo* (fig. 7) et, enfin, les références des auteurs anciens, notamment de Columelle.

Les mines de la région se trouvent sur le versant méridional de la Sierra (fig. 8); elles ne sont pas très bien connues, ni bien datées (il s'agit de mines de fer, de cuivre, de plomb et d'argent, mais il y a aussi des indices de minéralisation d'or). Elles se trouvent disséminées entre les terrains calcaires et les schistes qui organisent les étages méridionaux de la Sierra

20. Cortijo 1993.

21. *Evaluación ecologica* 1987; Sáez 1987.

22. Ponsich 1979.

23. Rodriguez Almeida 1989; Chic 1985 et 1988.

24. Chevallier 1972; Corzo 1977; Cortijo 1988 et 1993.

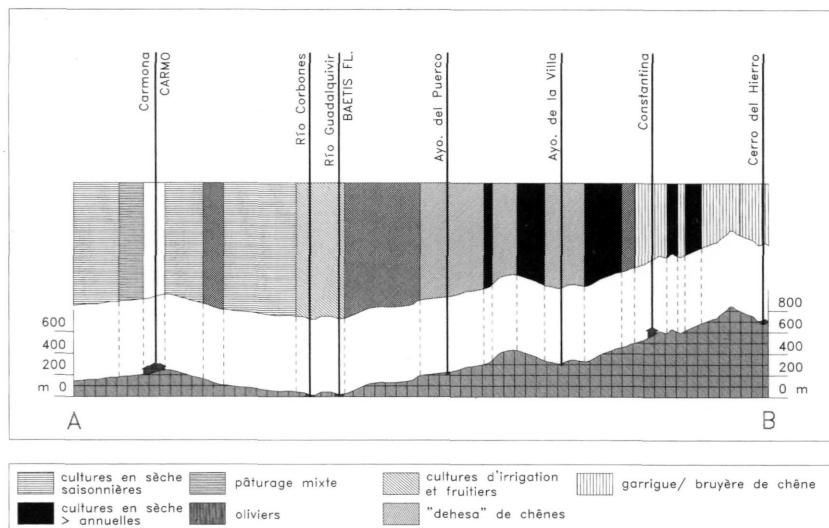


Fig. 6 Topographie de la zone et distribution des ressources agricoles potentielles.

Morena. Bref, il s'agit de deux grands types de gisements: des oxydes de fer faciles à exploiter dans les zones calcaires, et des minéraux sulfurés, tels que des pyrites, des chalcopyrites et des galènes dans les terrains schisteux et exploités pour l'obtention du cuivre, du plomb, de l'argent et même de plusieurs métaux simultanément. Dans les derniers gisements cités on trouve souvent des zones enrichies avec une forte teneur en or et en argent. Sans doute elles ont été exploitées depuis la fin de la République et pendant les deux siècles suivants mais les données sur leur évolution tout au long du Haut Empire ne sont pas très nombreuses. En tout cas, lorsque des prospections systématiques ont été réalisées, par exemple dans le petit bassin inondé à cause de la construction du barrage "José Toràn", à l'Ouest de Puebla de los Infantes²⁵, les résultats indiquent la coexistence, au moins durant une certaine période de l'activité minière et de l'activité agricole. Une prospection de terrain à la fois archéologique et géologique et l'analyse des rapports entre ce type de production, les villes et les zones agricoles voisines est nécessaire. Cela confirme l'intérêt que présente une étude intégrale de la région.

II. L'occupation et l'exploitation du territoire à la fin du Ier siècle de n.è.: la période flavienne.

Pendant le dernier tiers du Ier siècle un deuxième aménagement a eu lieu

25. Ojeda et alii 1988.

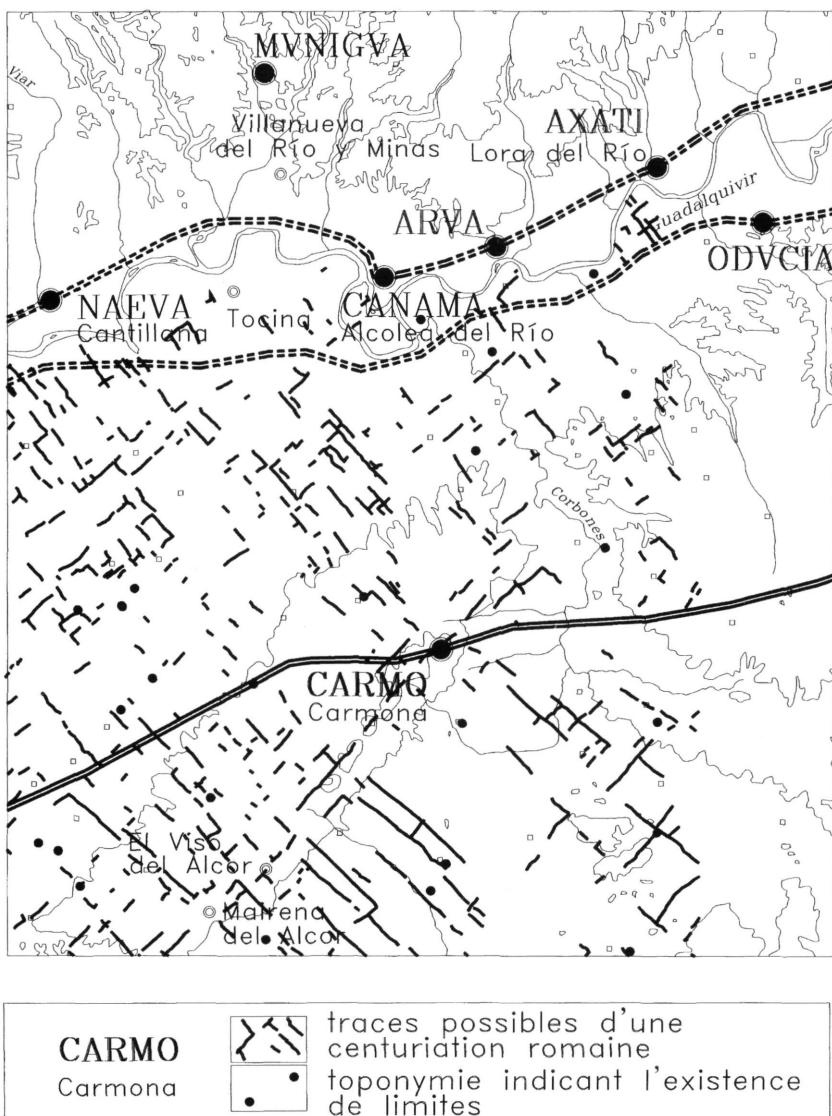


Fig. 7. Les traces de la possible centuriation de Carmo.

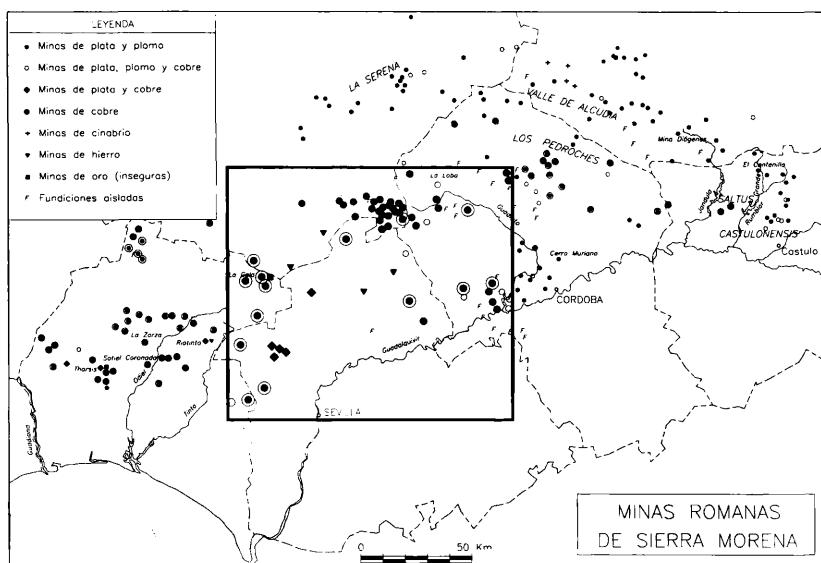


Fig. 8. Principales mines exploitées durant l'Antiquité.

et le paysage a subi des changements notables. Le tissu urbain ne devient pas plus dense (fig. 6), mais plusieurs *oppida* reçoivent le statut de municipes. Cette décision entraîne la disparition des anciennes frontières entre les villes et l'adjudication de nouveaux territoires. C'est le cas, par exemple, de *Munigua*, *Arva* et *Axati* et peut-être aussi d'autres noyaux anciens. La monumentalisation est une caractéristique assez générale de ces villes promues (fig. 5 et 9).

Une inscription trouvée à *Carmo* illustre ces changements²⁶: les *collegia agrimensorum* de huit villes dédient l'inscription à la déesse Ceres. Leur présence indique sans aucun doute qu'ils ont eu la tâche à réaliser dans la vallée moyenne du Guadalquivir. Les villes concernées sont: *Carmo*, *Arva*, *Munigua*, *Axati*, *Obulcula*, *Oducia*, *Segovia* (on ne connaît pas l'emplacement exact de cette dernière) et un *municipium Hienipensium* inconnu. Une autre inscription provenant d'*Arva* (*CIL II*, 1064) indique aussi l'existence de centuriae (*Arvaborensis*) sous le règne de Trajan²⁷. Même si la nature de ces centuriae reste toujours discutée (*CIL II*, 1175= *CILA*, II, 49, n. 32), elles peuvent indiquer aussi un réaménagement du territoire pendant le dernier tiers du Ier siècle.

La plupart des données sur l'exploitation agricole indiquent un essor dans le courant du IIème siècle: certaines villes bétiques centralisent la

26. Plana 1995; Santero 1978, 132-34; Sáez 1978.

27. Sáez 1987; Cortijo 1988, 334.



Fig. 9. Arva. Les vestiges du nymphée donnant sur le Guadalquivir.

distribution de l'huile, les amphores Ibériques arrivent en masse jusqu'au *limes* septentrional de l'Empire. Il n'est pas impossible de penser que c'est l'époque flavienne, avec ses réaménagements territoriaux, qui est aux origines de cet essor.

D'après notre démarche actuelle les paysages du Ier s. de n.è. indiquent une évolution dans plusieurs domaines mais ils doivent être considérés comme un ensemble, comme un tout; ce siècle nous semble être le point de rencontre entre deux activités d'un grand poids dans la région, l'agriculture et les mines, entre l'habitat urbain et l'habitat rural, entre l'organisation pré-romaine et les nouveaux modèles, entre les agriculteurs et les mineurs, mais toujours dans le cadre de la gestion romaine qui impose les clés de l'organisation.

Enfin, nous orientons délibérément notre recherche sur l'idée que les paysages s'intègrent dans l'ensemble des biens culturels et font partie de notre patrimoine méditerranéen commun. Cette recherche que mène notre équipe s'intéresse aussi aux formes de protection, à la mise en valeur des paysages anciens, qui sont contenus dans les paysages du présent et à leur intégration dans les projets d'aménagement du territoire.

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LA ZONE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE LAS MEDULAS (LEON, ESPAGNE). UN PAYSAGE CULTUREL¹

Le Projet *Zone Archéologique de Las Médulas (ZAM)* a été inauguré, en 1988, suivant une double conception. Il a été considéré, d'une part, comme une approche scientifique à l'étude d'une zone minière romaine, avec une échelle et une perspective méthodologique propres à l'Archéologie du paysage. D'autre part, on a aussi envisagé le projet du point de vue du développement d'une "zone archéologique" (terme arrêté par la Loi espagnole sur le Patrimoine Historique), en tant que Parc Archéologique. Dès le premier abord, ces deux perspectives ont été considérées complémentaires, dans la mesure où la recherche et leur projection sociale convergent sur la connaissance et l'évaluation d'un paysage culturel.

Le noyau de cette étude est, en effet, un paysage culturel spécifique et très caractéristique: le territoire du Sud-Ouest de la province de León (fig. 1) occupé par une société indigène pendant les siècles qui ont précédé la conquête romaine (terminée officiellement en 19 avant notre ère), et dont les mines d'or ont été exploitées par l'administration romaine au cours de deux siècles (jusqu'au début du IIIème siècle). Il ne s'agit pas, toutefois, d'une juxtaposition des vestiges archéologiques de nature et chronologie différentes, mais de l'intégration de ces derniers comme construction d'une société déterminée, considérée au sein de la dynamique historique. Nous étudions donc une série d'évolutions et d'activités qui ont eu lieu précisément dans cet intervalle chronologique. La mine d'or romaine présente évidemment un intérêt particulier.

1. Ce travail est le résultat des études entreprises dans la Zone Archéologique de Las Médulas, dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche financé par la Junta de Castilla y León. La rédaction de ce travail a eu lieu dans le cadre du projet de recherche *Paysages anciens dans la Péninsule Ibérique: Archéologie et Textes*, financé par la DGICYT (Ministère de l'Enseignement et la Culture) et dans le Département d'Histoire Ancienne et Archéologie du Centre d'Etudes Historiques du CSIC (Madrid).

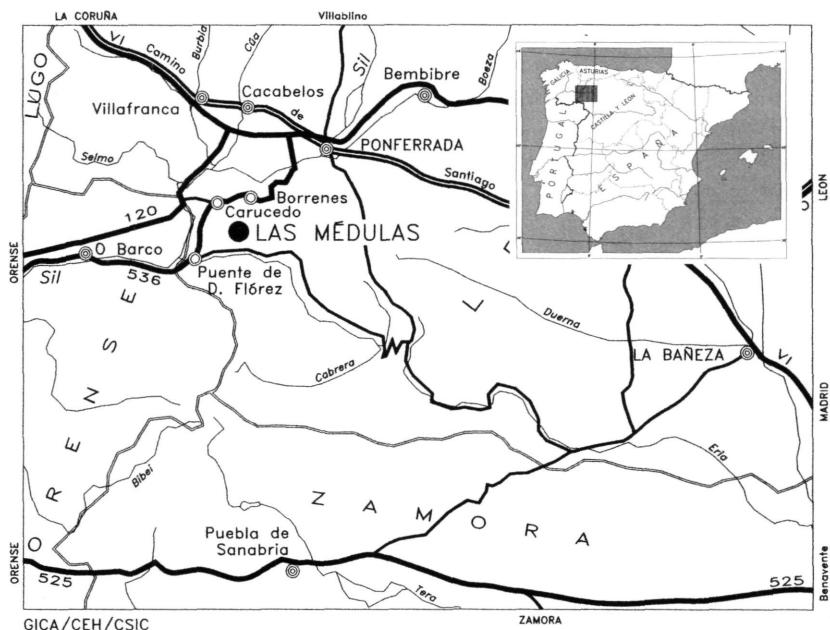


Fig. 1. Localisation de la Zone Archéologique de Las Médulas.

Ces deux aspects de l'étude, celui qui a trait à la recherche et celui qui a trait à la projection sociale du patrimoine, butent à un même objectif. En effet, l'objectif final du projet est, d'une part, la connaissance des transformations sociales qui ont eu lieu dans la zone au cours de la période de contact entre le monde romain et les cultures indigènes et, d'autre part, celles des transformations provoquées par le développement d'une nouvelle activité économique: le travail dans la mine d'or à grande échelle. Cet objectif doit être, à notre avis, le même que celui du Parc. Ce que nous voulons comprendre est aussi ce que nous voulons que les visiteurs comprennent: l'évolution historique qui a produit ce paysage minier que nous pouvons voir aujourd'hui. Car, en définitive, une recherche sans diffusion des résultats à un public plus large que la communauté scientifique, dépourvue d'une projection sociale, ne se justifie pas en tant qu'action. C'est la raison pour laquelle notre projet vise à ce que les visiteurs de la ZAM aient non seulement accès au lieu pittoresque et spectaculaire de la mine, mais qu'ils se renseignent également sur l'évolution historique qui a rendu ce paysage possible.

D'autre part, la ZAM est une zone idéale pour l'étude, la mise en valeur et la rentabilisation sociale d'un des nombreux paysages miniers légués par l'Empire romain dans ses provinces les plus occidentales. En effet, il n'est pas unique mais sa représentativité est claire, car il offre le meilleur exemple

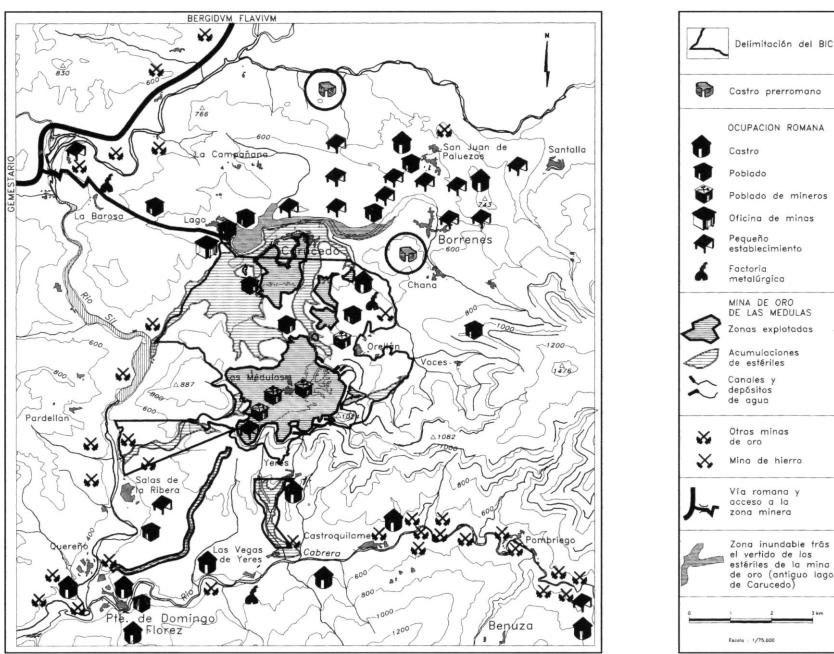


Fig. 2. La Zone Archéologique de Las Médulas. Les sites archéologiques et la délimitation du BIC (Bien d'intérêt culturel).

du genre, non seulement pour la spectacularité et les dimensions des travaux miniers -il s'agit probablement de la mine d'or la plus importante du monde romain- mais aussi pour les raisons suivantes.

La zone est très cohérente au niveau spatial: une échelle régionale et des limites d'action nettement déterminées culturellement et historiquement. Elle présente aussi une unité géomorphologique claire. Il s'agit d'une des cuvettes qui renferme la fosse de El Bierzo, qui s'élève sur les terrains environnants entre le Sil et le Cabrera (fig. 2). Au centre, les dépôts d'alluvions rouges du Miocène où se situe le gisement aurifère sont les protagonistes principaux des transformations du paysage durant l'Antiquité. On y rencontre d'enormes coulées ou déblais miniers, dont certains atteignent 3 Km d'étendue et plus de 100 m de profondeur, et qui représentent un total légèrement supérieur à 600 Ha. En outre, ces travaux ont supposé, à leur tour, la transformation des autres espaces contigus, et c'est ainsi que les déblais provenant du lavage de l'exploitation ont remblayé 600 Ha des vallées primitives environnantes.

Autour de ce phénomène minier s'articulent d'autres éléments qui conforment le paysage: l'utilisation des ressources régionales, et



Fig. 3. L'affiche d'information générale sur le parcours à travers le Parc Archéologique de Las Médulas et l'indication des distances entre les points d'information à l'intérieur de la mine d'or.

montrer, suivant les facteurs proposés par Darvill² dans sa définition des paysages culturels comme catégorie.

La zone est également cohérente au niveau chronologique. Après avoir capté l'attention du visiteur, son intérêt pourra être stimulé grâce aux informations présentées dans une salle archéologique ou centre d'accueil situé à l'intérieur de la mine, à l'entrée du village de Las Médulas. On lui fait ainsi découvrir l'au delà de la spectacularité de la mine, en le conduisant à travers d'autres itinéraires qui lui montreront l'articulation globale de la zone et le passage de l'époque pré-romaine à l'époque romaine. En effet, ces parcours offrent la possibilité de comparer les formes d'occupation pré-romaines s'articulant autour de sites de hauteur et spécialement propices à l'économie autarcique, et la très forte transformation du paysage qui s'est produite à l'époque romaine. Ce que l'on prétend illustrer c'est vraiment une évolution.

El Castrelin de San Juan de Paluezas (n°3) est un site de hauteur fortifié sur une terrasse donnant sur le Sil qui a été occupé du IIème au Ier siècle av. J.C.; il nous situe au début du procès historique qui nous intéresse. Il est possible d'y reconnaître les caractéristiques des espaces domestiques et les formes de vie de ses occupants avant l'abandon du site. Il s'agit d'un village

l'occupation de la zone par des établissements de plus ou moins grande envergure. Tout cela selon un schéma d'appropriation et d'aménagement de la totalité de l'espace et de ses ressources, et dans le cadre d'une planification du territoire et des communautés qui l'ont occupé. Il faut dire à ce propos, que les nouveautés technologiques ont été les agents les plus importants des changements qui ont eu lieu dans la région concernée.

Conformément au rôle primordial des alluvions aurifères, le Parc propose un premier itinéraire de visite à travers la mine (fig. 3). On y reconnaît ainsi non seulement son caractère central mais aussi sa capacité d'**intégration** et d'**articulation** de tous les éléments du paysage culturel qu'il faut

2. Darvill et alii 1993, 565.

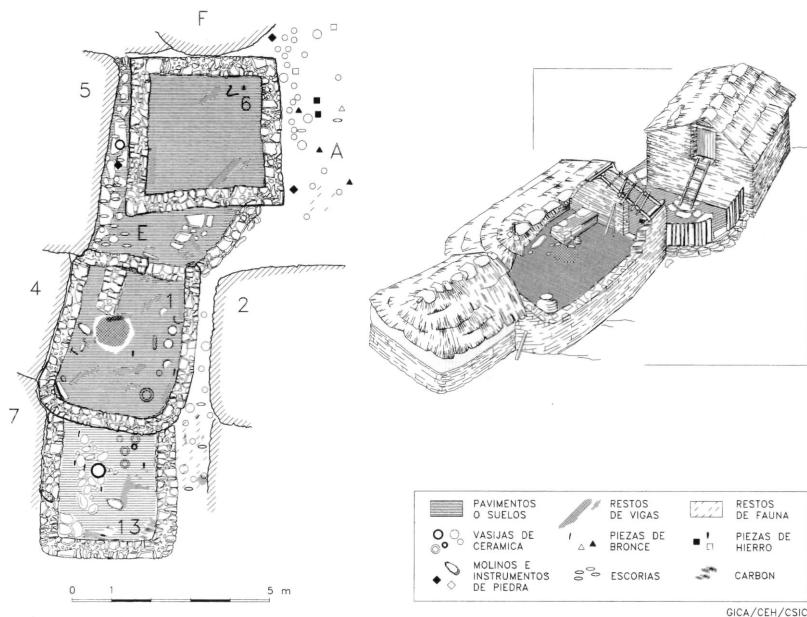


Fig. 4. Plan et reconstruction d'une des unités d'occupation du castro pré-romain El Castrelín de San Juan de Paluezas.

dont la population n'a pas dépassé les 200 habitants ; leurs constructions se trouvent bien différencierées dans l'espace et organisées, formant des unités d'occupation (fig. 4 et 5) dans lesquelles chaque famille vit et travaille, comme c'est le cas dans les sociétés rurales. Toutefois, les différences fonctionnelles et la complémentarité de toutes ces unités d'occupation trahissent une communauté rurale nucléaire et socialement très unie, qui se présente, en outre, comme la seule unité territoriale reconnaissable.

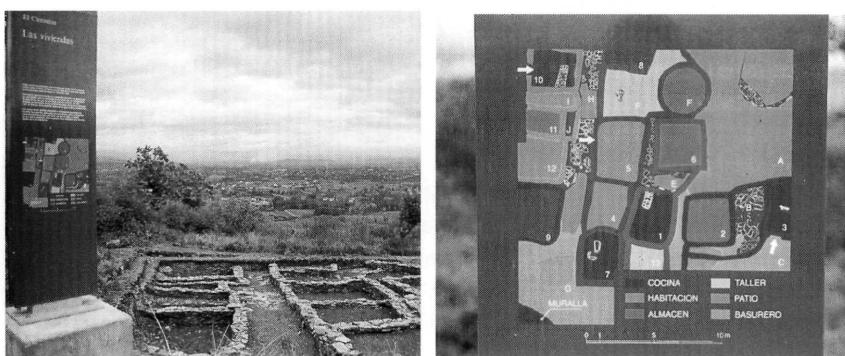


Fig. 5a et b. Un des panneaux d'information dans le Castrelín de San Juan de Paluezas.

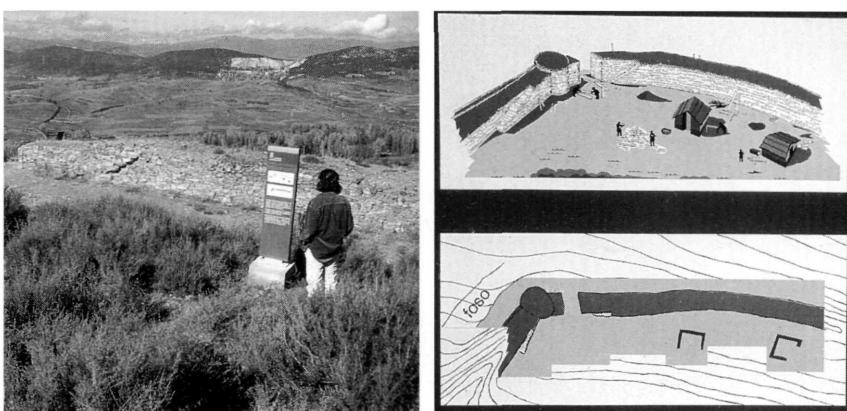


Fig. 6a et b. Un des panneaux d'information dans le Castro de Borrenes.

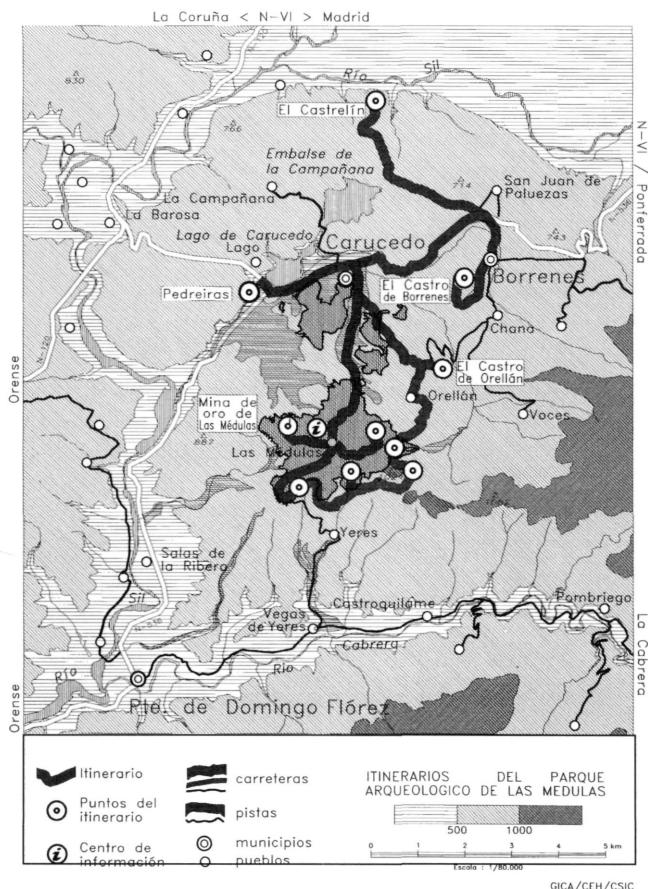


Fig. 7. Les itinéraires à travers le Parc Archéologique de Las Médulas.

L'emplacement de ces sites fortifiés de hauteur et toujours bien visibles, correspond à un environnement qui n'est pas très vaste mais bien diversifié en ressources naturelles et qui répond au besoin d'assurer l'autarcie de chacun de ces noyaux d'habitation dans le territoire.

Bien différent est le cas du deuxième de ces sites fortifiés pré-romains (n°9, fig. 2), le Castro de Borrenes, un site qui illustre la confrontation entre les communautés indigènes et les nouveaux occupants romains. La puissante muraille du *castro* a été démolie de manière intentionnelle et violente, probablement en raison de la présence romaine, sans que le site ait été réellement occupé (fig. 6). En conséquence El Castrelín représente dans le parcours du Parc l'espace domestique pré-romain, alors que Borrenes montre la réponse, aussi bien indigène que romaine, à la crise de contact qui s'est produite pendant et après les Guerres Cantabres, tout en illustrant les caractéristiques et la fonction des murailles dans ces *oppida*.

Nous avons ainsi défini deux itinéraires (fig. 7) qui conduisent à ces sites fortifiés indigènes, et qui illustrent deux moments et deux aspects différents d'une même époque, celle qui a précédé la présence romaine dans la zone.

Assurément la mise en avant de l'exploitation des mines aurifères représente une rupture pour ces populations indigènes. Cette nouvelle activité, qui s'organise à une très grande échelle à Las Médulas, implique nécessairement l'aménagement global du territoire et donne lieu à une autre série d'activités économiques différentes de celle de l'activité minière aurifère: les travaux agricoles nécessaires à la vie de cette main d'oeuvre, l'extraction et la métallurgie du fer dans un volume suffisant pour satisfaire les besoins en outils de cette mine et l'entretien d'une infrastructure hydraulique importante qui fournit l'énergie nécessaire à l'exploitation. Il faut aussi ajouter, parmi d'autres, les activités de contrôle technique et administratif de l'ensemble du système minier. Ces activités montrent la diversité des fonctions, des structures et des établissements, ainsi que les caractéristiques sociales qui en dérivent; elles révèlent les traits d'une période où la société indigène souffre une transformation radicale et se voit contrainte d'adhérer à ce nouveau et très différent aménagement territorial.

Au sein de ce nouvel aménagement qui s'articule autour de la mine, va s'implanter une série d'établissements dont l'emplacement sera fait selon les exigences des différentes fonctions (fig. 2). C'est ainsi que les zones sédimentaires de la petite dépression située entre la Campañana et Borrenes s'entourent d'un nombre considérable et croissant d'agglomérations de genre et d'extension différents, destinés sans aucun doute à l'exploitation agricole des terrains de la zone les plus propices à cette fin. Aux alentours et à l'intérieur de la mine d'or elle-même, apparaissent des installations dont le but final est d'abriter la main d'oeuvre non qualifiée, ce qui s'explique -outre les résultats archéologiques apportés par certains sondages qui y ont été réalisés- par l'espace environnant qui se trouve dépourvu de toutes

ressources après l'exploitation. Les établissements qui ont une tendance préférentielle pour l'activité métallurgique se situent au pied de la mine et à proximité des affleurements de brèches ferrugineuses d'où ils extrayaient la matière première pour fabriquer les outils; ils procédaient à la fonte du métal et à l'élaboration des produits dans les différentes manufactures réparties ensuite dans l'ensemble de la zone. Un autre type d'établissement est celui qui jalonne, depuis la mine, le cours des canaux d'approvisionnement d'eau jusqu'aux sources de captation. Dans ce cas, il s'agit de noyaux de petite taille du genre de ceux qui s'installent sur les sites fortifiés en hauteur, parfaitement adaptables au caractère abrupt du terrain traversé par les canaux. Pour finir, sur l'un des points les plus privilégiés de la zone et à proximité du chemin qui devait rejoindre directement la voie romaine qui suivait le Sud de El Bierzo, on trouve le site de Las Pedreiras (n°30). Dans le registre archéologique il est identifié comme le noyau de la zone le plus précocement occupé par une population fortement romaine, présentant des formes de vie totalement différentes de celles des communautés indigènes. Il semble possible de conclure qu'il s'agissait d'une main d'œuvre qualifiée qui devait constituer le support technique et administratif de l'exploitation, une sorte d'*officina metallorum*.

La régularité systématique de la distribution de ces établissements est en rapport avec l'utilisation des sols et des ressources naturelles. L'adaptation entre la fonction développée et les formes de construction -au niveau fonctionnel et spatial- ainsi que la hiérarchisation qu'ils révèlent, permettent de parler d'une authentique structure à grande teneur territoriale et sociale. Du point de vue archéologique, on peut ajouter que sur de nombreux aspects les formes et les rythmes d'appropriation de l'espace et l'encadrement progressif des communautés indigènes dans la nouvelle structure sociale vont de pair.

A partir de l'information concernant l'époque romaine, on a sélectionné également deux établissements qui font partie du quatrième itinéraire du Parc. Ils offrent au visiteur un contraste marqué entre les formes de vie de la main d'œuvre non qualifiée et celles des techniciens qui contrôlaient les travaux de la mine. Le premier d'entre eux, celui de Orellán (n°12, fig. 2) abritait les ouvriers indigènes qui se chargeaient des travaux métallurgiques. Il a été choisi pour son caractère spécifique mais aussi parce qu'il représente, aussi bien dans l'aménagement de son espace que dans sa culture matérielle, un trait d'union parfait avec la culture indigène et l'acceptation progressive des habitudes romaines. Ceci permet ainsi au visiteur de passer immédiatement aux itinéraires 2 et 3. Le deuxième établissement, le gisement de Las Pedreiras (n°30) présente une construction conforme au plan de la maison méditerranéenne organisée autour de cours intérieures et construite à l'aide de techniques et de matériels romains (fig. 8). Son tracé, ses finitions et infrastructures permettent au visiteur de constater facilement

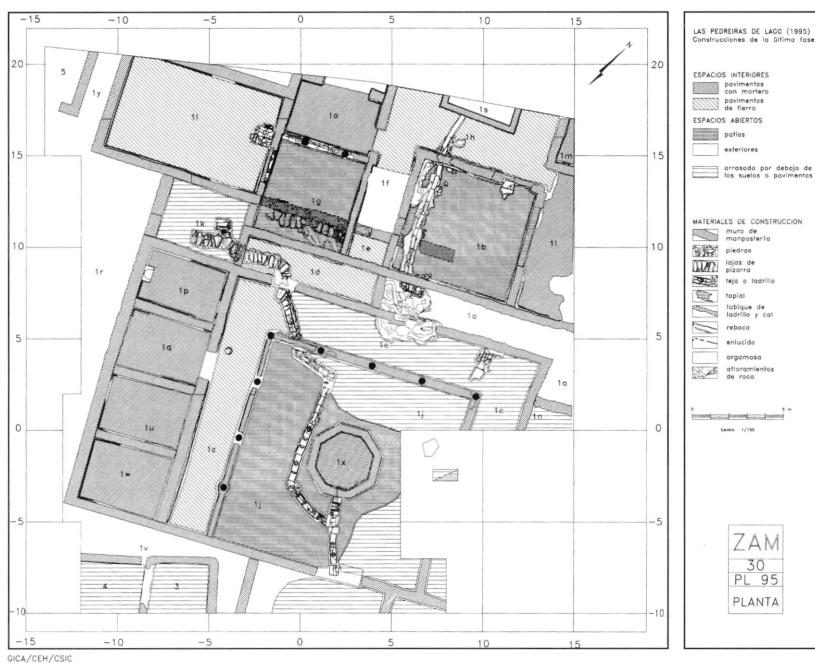


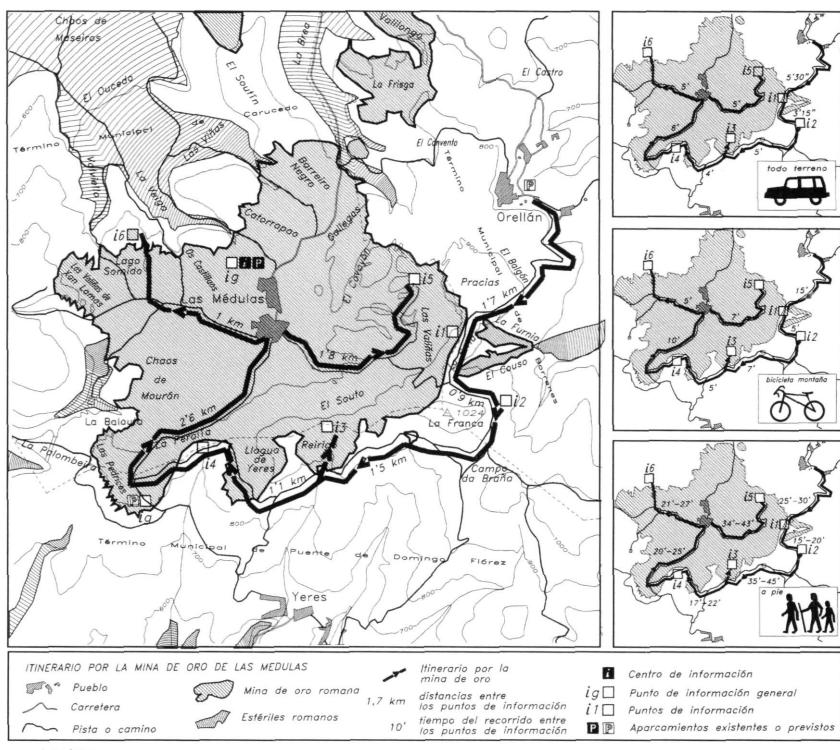
Fig. 8. Le plan du site romain de Las Pedreiras de Lago, une possible *officina metallorum*.

la hiérarchisation des établissements et de leurs occupants à l'époque romaine.

La progression claire de tous ces éléments et surtout le fait de transposer l'élément le plus évident de la mine d'or pour passer aux infrastructures, à l'exploitation d'un autre genre de ressources et à l'encadrement de la population dans de nouvelles **structures** sociales et économiques mises en avant par l'activité minière, apportent au parc la **diversité** qu'il requiert et permettent de le structurer comme un véritable paysage culturel³. La diversité permet, d'autre part, de ne pas se laisser obnubiler par les activités qui, du fait qu'elles ont été prioritaires et centrales (l'extraction de l'or), ont laissé l'empreinte la plus forte dans ce paysage.

Nous pouvons dire également que la zone archéologique de Las Médulas est **représentative** des paysages miniers romains du Nord-Ouest de la Péninsule. Nous avons déjà mentionné qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un exemple unique. On retrouve, dans toute cette région, de vastes zones où les travaux d'extraction d'or ont transformé le paysage de la même manière et où les preuves de cette évolution sont conservées dans le même état que celui de

3. Darvill et alii 1993.



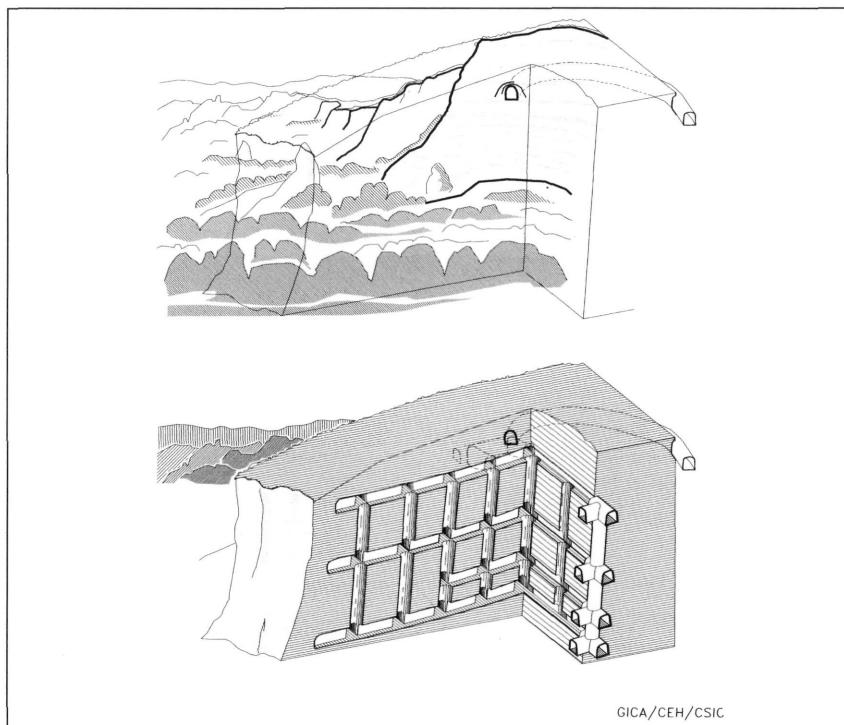


Fig. 10. L'affiche informative qui montre le système d'exploitation minier de la *ruina montium*.

éléments de l'exploitation de l'or, centre et moteur de toute l'évolution, se conservent de manière spectaculaire. L'itinéraire minier proposé (fig. 9) et les six points d'information choisis cherchent à faire comprendre au visiteur tout le procès :

- En premier lieu on fait voir les déblais et fronts d'exploitation qui apportent des renseignements sur les techniques d'extraction de l'or. Il est clair que ces dernières se trouvent stoppées dans la dernière phase, de telle manière qu'il est possible de les étudier directement à ce moment-là. Néanmoins, l'extension des travaux des mines nous permet d'étudier, dans les divers secteurs de la mine, les techniques d'exploitation extensives et sélectives utilisées en fonction de la richesse en or du gisement. Les premières sont expliquées au visiteur d'un point de vue central de la mine, le point d'information n° 1, qui lui permet de comprendre la procédure appelée par Pline l'Ancien *ruina montium* (fig. 10), et qui consiste à éliminer d'un coup une grande masse d'agglomérat pour atteindre les niveaux les plus riches en or. A ce même stade d'information, on explique d'autres systèmes de caractère sélectif, bien qu'il soit possible plus tard de développer les explications sur ce



Fig. 11a et b. L'affiche d'information qui explique le réseau hydraulique de la mine d'or.

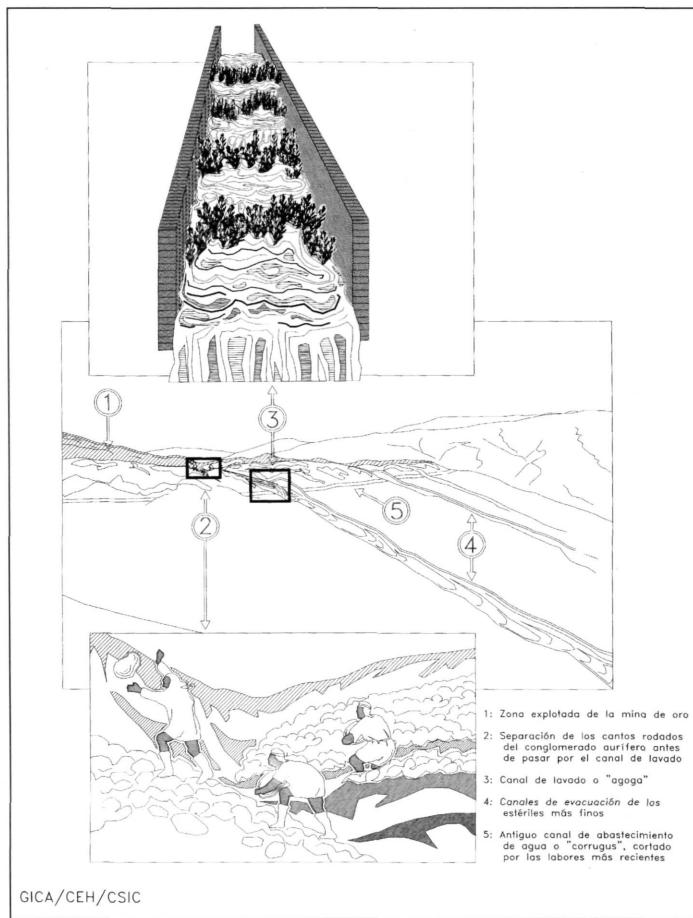


Fig. 12. L'affiche d'information avec l' explication du lavage de l'or.

type de travail dans d'autres zones de la mine qui ne sont pas encore mises en valeur. A côté du point d'information mentionné, le n° 5 complète sur place l'explication des techniques d'extraction grâce à une *ruina montium* naturelle provoquée par des écroulements sur un réseau de galeries romaines abandonnées.

- Le point d'information n° 1 permet également de mieux connaître les caractéristiques du réseau hydraulique employé pour les travaux (fig. 11). On y explique le tracé suivi par les canaux jusqu'aux réservoirs de régulation et d'exploitation d'où se déversait l'eau sur l'alluvion aurifère. Le visiteur peut obtenir une explication complémentaire au point d'information n° 2 où il connaîtra les détails d'un canal d'eau romain ou *corrugus* et les instruments topographiques employés pour établir son tracé.

- Aux points d'information n° 1 et 5 - qui constituent un résumé pour le visiteur qui dispose de peu de temps pour la visite - sont expliqués le fonctionnement des canaux d'évacuation des déblais après lavage et la formation ultérieure des cônes de déjection ou cônes de lavage artificiels. Toutefois, la topographie laissée par les canaux d'évacuation et par les dispositifs de lavage de l'or ou *agogae* est expliquée de manière plus détaillée au point d'information n° 4 (fig. 12). A leur tour, les accumulations de déblais après lavage sont clairement expliquées au point d'information n° 6 situé sur le cône de déjection de Chaos de Maseiros, qui a rempli la vallée existante et a donné lieu à la formation du Lac de Carucedo.

- Le point d'information n° 5 offre également un résumé des caractéristiques géologiques et de la teneur en or du gisement. Une information qui développe celle-ci est offerte également au visiteur, qui dispose du temps suffisant, au le point n° 3, qui est assurément le meilleur point d'observation pour comprendre les aspects décrits (fig. 13).

D'autre part, nous tenons à souligner un autre aspect qui accorde à la zone archéologique de Las Médulas, sa condition de Parc: son **échelle**. La ZAM est

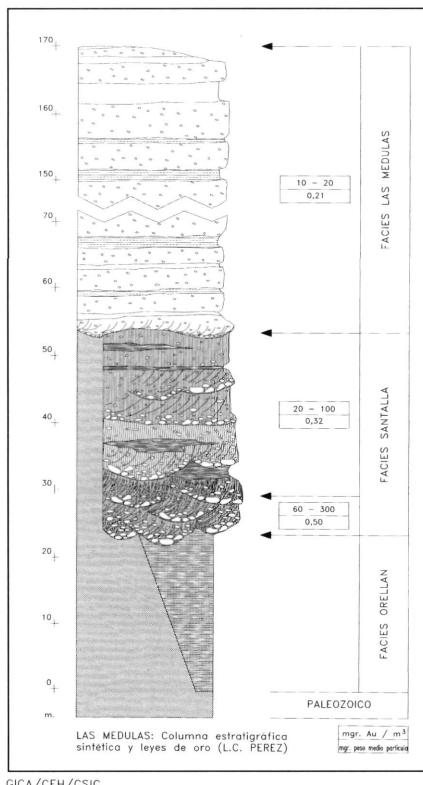


Fig. 13. Le schéma stratigraphique du gisement aurifère de Las Médulas.

capable de montrer les coordonnées spatiales et temporelles de tous les éléments essentiels de l'évolution historique du site sur un peu plus de 10 Km² seulement. Et surtout parce qu'il est ainsi possible de présenter au visiteur une série de phénomènes qui l'aideront à comprendre le paysage minier, de manière facile et rapide. On peut dire, par conséquent, que la forme et le contenu présentent un intérêt extraordinaire dans un espace tout à fait accessible.

Enfin, le volume de données apporté par la recherche - qu'elles soient intégrées ou non dans le support informatif du Parc à présent - maintient le projet ouvert aux initiatives nouvelles, car il y a, par exemple, d'autres sites qui ont fait l'objet de fouilles ou des structures minières documentées mais qui ne sont pas inclus dans les itinéraires. Nous avons préféré d'exemplifier notre discours général avec certains éléments du paysage clés et soigneusement choisis, parce qu'il ne nous semble pas opportun de nous fixer des objectifs trop ambitieux à ce stade de la mise en valeur, même si cela apporterait une foule de possibilités futures. Parmi ces dernières on peut citer le développement historique post-romain, l'analyse des noyaux ruraux actuels et de l'architecture vernaculaire, le patrimoine naturel et, surtout, la géologie du gisement aurifère. Ces lignes de recherche ont été recueillies dans une Étude de Viabilité pour la conversion de Las Medulas en Parc Archéologique, que nous avons réalisé en 1992 sans le cadre d'une série d'initiatives du Ministère de la Culture Espagnol. Toutes ces voies peuvent donner lieu à plusieurs projets spécifiques dans l'avenir.

Pour finir, on ne doit pas oublier que la zone archéologique de Las Médulas est un paysage du passé qui est aussi présent dans le paysage d'aujourd'hui, car il continue à être là actuellement. L'intervention patrimoniale doit s'y faire sentir comme nous venons de l'expliquer: une zone rurale du genre décrit par le groupe des spécialistes des Sites et Paysages Culturels du Conseil de l'Europe⁶, et considérée comme étant la plus appropriée au développement de cette catégorie. C'est un concept qui intègre aussi bien la définition de l'UNESCO/ ICOMOS - en tant que résultat de l'interaction entre le culturel et le naturel - que les Plans d'Aménagement Paysager. D'après cette approche, les zones archéologiques doivent être étudiées dans le cadre d'une stratégie plus générale que strictement patrimoniale. De cette manière, le patrimoine, en tant que ressource non renouvelable qu'il est, peut devenir un facteur de développement de la zone où il se trouve. L'objectif est, par conséquent, de trouver l'équilibre entre, d'un côté, les aspects impératifs de protection, l'évaluation du paysage culturel et l'approche de ce dernier par le citoyen, et, de l'autre côté, les exigences économiques et sociales de cette zone. On s'efforce, par conséquence, de trouver une union harmonieuse entre l'exploitation des ressources naturelles, telles que l'extraction et la transformation de l'ardoise

6. CC-PAT (93)80, révisée 2.



Fig. 14. Un exemple de l'architecture vernaculaire dans le village actuel de Las Médulas.

et du calcaire par les industriels et la culture traditionnelle des châtaignes, et, d'autre part, la présence du tourisme culturel issue de la création du Parc. Il faut absolument, comme l'explique le document précité, faire l'effort d'intégrer pour le mieux le patrimoine dans le cadre d'une stratégie plus générale d'aménagement du territoire.

Pour terminer, nous tenons à insister sur le fait qu'il convient que les approches théoriques et méthodologiques correspondent aux possibilités de planification des parcs dès le début d'un projet, sans attendre la fin de la recherche pour envisager alors l'intervention patrimoniale, sa gestion et sa mise en valeur. Dans le cas de Las Médulas, un autre collectif plus vaste que celui qui est concerné actuellement, devra figurer parmi les responsables de l'administration locale et régionale. Car si le tourisme apporte des revenus sûrs et des avantages économiques aux populations locales, son succès dépend des politiques efficaces d'utilisation et de gestion globale de l'espace. L'une des initiatives à promouvoir est un tourisme rural bien conçu, tirant profit dans la zone de Las Médulas des petits villages quasiment abandonnés, mais qui conservent leur architecture vernaculaire (fig. 14).

Les dangers potentiels du développement du tourisme rural dans la ZAM, dont la mise en valeur est l'axe du projet, pourront rester contrôlés grâce à une protection au niveau juridique et par des plans de gestion concrets, qui doivent être l'appui de cette protection légale, surtout si la proposition d'inscrire ce paysage culturel sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial est acceptée⁷.

7. La Zone de Las Medulas, en tant que Paysage Culturel, est inscrite dans la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial de l'UNESCO depuis le mois de Décembre 1997.

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DONATELLA MURTAS

ECOMUSEO OF THE ANCIENT TERRACES AND VINEYARD CULTIVATION

There are places, and therefore landscapes, which are neither listed nor protected, which are not of outstanding universal or European value, but which nevertheless are cherished by the people who live in them, work in them, and enjoy them every day. These people, in which everyone of us could easily recognise ourselves, give importance to their daily landscape because it is *theirs*, because it is through the landscape that they can experience, feel and consolidate their sense of belonging and care. Indeed, people need to be given the opportunity to say what they cherish.

At present there is increasing interest in landscape issue. This is shown in international debates, European conventions, scientific conferences, proposals for new and wider definitions and meanings for the word *landscape* and creation of new categories of landscape in order to answer to our modern needs.

That is mainly due to the fact that landscapes are threatened almost everywhere. Natural landscapes are already very rare in Europe; and the same will be true for cultural landscapes, if we do not start to recognise their importance for our wellbeing. They deserve our attention.

We must determine how the pace of change can be adjusted to permit the conservation of these cultural landscape.

Cultural landscapes are the result of the interaction between human beings and nature. This interaction has shaped the places where we live over the years. Landscapes have always changed, and they owe much of their historical and social interest to that change, especially in the accumulating layers of features produced by different land uses at different times. For that reason, they are now rightly called ‘cultural landscapes’, because they reveal the history of ‘man and nature’.

With the aim of increasing international consciousness and awareness of the importance of cultural landscapes on a worldwide scale, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre has undertaken research studies and consultation with experts. As a starting point, three different kinds of cultural landscapes

were defined: living and fossil cultural landscapes, designed landscapes, and associative ones. In the first group, a "living" example is provided by Mount Athos in Greece and a "fossil" landscape by Machu Picchu in Peru: in the second group, the Palace and Park of Versailles in France could be an example: in the third group the Grand Canyon National Park could be an example, because it is a holy place for the American Indians.

My concern in this paper is with *living* cultural landscapes, which may be defined as those which embody past ways of life *and* as being viable in modern times. Within this category, rural landscapes are increasingly important. Rural landscapes form much of our everyday environment. They are dynamic and never static. They bear witness to the changes that people have made to nature and the culture that originated them.

For that reason the meaning of rural landscapes has today to be found not only in economic and productive activities, but also in their social and historical function. The palimpsest of rural landscapes, their perception and the reading of their peculiar shape, colors and signs can contribute to the wellbeing of individuals, can inspire everyone to find their personal roots and to recognise the work and the history of past generations. Indeed one should avoid nostalgia in their conservation, and accept that the maintenance of the rural landscapes that we cherish will inevitably involve some changes.

There are, however, cultivations which carry higher significance than others. That is due to the fact that they are considered part of the human history as well as inseparable part of specific sites more than other cultivations are. They make us reflect, they inspire us today as they have inspired poets, writers and painters over the centuries. In Mediterranean countries, the vine has historically represented an essential element of the landscape. The lives of human beings, vine and wine have always been intertwined. Since the third millennium B.C. the consumption of wine and the cultivation of vines have spread throughout the Mediterranean coasts.

To be accepted in the world of adults, the adolescent Greek males had to swear to defend with their lives the land where vines, wheat and olives were grown. Roman settlers took a vinebranch with them when leaving their land to conquer new countries, in order to reproduce their native land where they arrived.

Vine has always been a symbol of peace, abundance, feast and joy. Ultimately, the importance of the vine is strictly linked to that of its final produce: the wine. For many reasons - religious, pagan and economic - vine had and still has a special place, a privileged role compared to all the other cultivations in the lives of Mediterranean people.

The strong desire to grow vines has led vinegrowers to find ingenious solutions for the cultivation of vines, suited to every place. In Italy, vine cultivation has moulded the landscape in many regions. From the poorest flat lands to the hilly and mountainous areas, landscapes have been shaped by the

different traditional growing techniques used by local people which themselves relate to the climatic and geomorphological features of the places. For example, in the Central-Northern Italy the cultivation of vines is based on use of wooden stakes or frameworks which give the plants a better exposure to the sun and keep the grape a certain height above the excessive humidity of the ground. In the South of Italy, the vine is grown at ground level, sometimes even in small holes, in order to maintain the humidity needed for the grape to ripen.

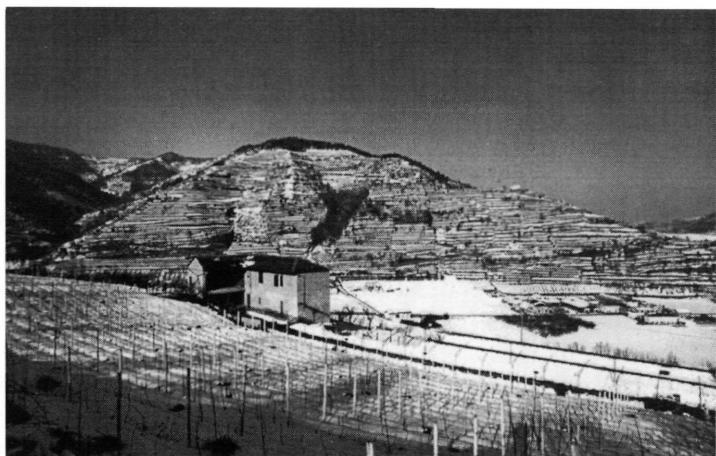
These traditional growing techniques are generally well integrated in the original character of each area. Their structures emphasise the altitude of the area and the undulating shape of the land: they contribute to the beauty, the distinctiveness and the uniqueness of the place.

However, it is certainly on the steepest slopes that human work is most evident and that the sign left on the landscape is strongest. It was during the Renaissance period that the terracing system was extensively used in Italy, in order to make the best use of hilly and mountainous land in responding to the growing demand for food and wine following an increase in population. So the resulting landscape was not conceived with the intention to create a *bel paesaggio*, as if it were a garden-designed landscape based on cultural aesthetic models with an urban origin. Rather, it is a landscape which evokes starvation and suffering: it required a great deal of energy and effort to secure the survival of the local people. Today, we are beginning to appreciate the harmony of these terraced slopes, which are seen and read through our modern concept of beauty.

But the true value of these features is that they are unrepeatable monuments, built by the humblest people to meet their daily needs. When the working practices and living habits which created these terraces are lost, then the landscapes themselves are directly at risk. For historical, social and economic reasons rural life has so changed that it is no longer possible to maintain the original features of the land. If cultivation of the steep areas is abandoned, the direct consequence is the dissolution of the structures linked to the management of the land: dry stone walls, paths, canals for irrigation. They inevitably collapse. This is becoming a very common situation everywhere in Europe.

In the Commune of Cortemilia, in the North-West part of Italy, a south facing terraced hillslope of a valley, traditionally dedicated to vine growing, is currently facing a difficult time. Only twenty years ago it had an impressive terrace system, with concentric lines stretching from the top of the steep hills to the floor of the valley producing a spectacular effect. It was a rich place, that provided plentiful harvests and a delicious red wine that was in high demand in the prosperous trade with surrounding regions.

At the present time, because of depopulation of the rural area and the fact that people will no longer tolerate heavy working conditions, many of the



terraces at Cortemilia are neither used nor maintained. The terraces are increasingly obliterated by woods and land slips. The loss of the vineyard terraces is accepted with resignation and justified by economic reasons, because the cost of cultivation on the terraces cannot be covered by the sale of the wine.

However the maintenance of communities and desired landscape characteristics may be justified by others factors than the economic ones. The inhabitants and the local authority of Cortemilia believe that this area represents not just an economic asset but, more than that, that it is an important part of their history and of the identity of their small town. Therefore, they recognise that its disappearance would obliterate an important part of their culture, traditions and history. They wish to pay homage to people and to their work, to their capability to find answers to his basic needs together while remaining in harmony with the surrounding landscape.

All these reasons make this area a place of memories, inspiration and spirit. The Cortemilia local authority, after a number of meetings with the private land owners of the terraced vineyard area (who were very suspicious and sceptical at the beginning, but very enthusiastic and supportive at the end) took the decision to submit to the Regional Authority a proposal of an Ecomuseo. This project, if approved by the Regional Council would receive financial support according to the Regional Law on the "Institution of Ecomusei in Piemonte".

An *Ecomuseo* may be defined as a project which combines and promotes an area's culture and natural environment, with the intention to conserve and enhance cultural and traditional values linked to places and people. According to George Henry Rivière, father of the movement that originated this concept during the 80's, an *Ecomuseo* could be seen as a mirror in which the local population may recognise themselves and seek the meaning of the place in which they live. This same mirror is then offered by the local population to the visitors, so that the visitors can better understand their hosts, their jobs, behaviour and privacy.

The *Ecomuseo of the ancient terraces and vineyard cultivation* in Cortemilia bases its structure on the presence and meaning of four key elements - terraces, vineyards, traditional farms and *ciabot* (little huts used to keep tools and to offer temporary shelter to the vinegrowers); and the people with their stories, memories, skills and traditions.

The proposal is that to record and display the resource, and through it the story of vinegrowing and winemaking with their social and cultural aspects, to general and educational visitors; to draw attention to the resources and their sound management and to encourage continued use of similar territory nearby.

That will be achieved through an interpretation project in a form of a

physical network. This includes a Reception centre located in a restored traditional farm; walking trails passing through the restored terraced area; on-site exhibits along the trail and within the restored *ciabot*; and access for visitors to active, traditional viticultural process and terrace building, with the contribution of local expert and guides.

The *Ecomuseo* will offer, to both the local people and visitors, its own products of wine, booklets and other interpretative and educational material on local culture and traditions linked to wine-producing and vine-growing. It will also offer training courses on traditional skills and on subjects relating to the *Ecomuseo*'s theme; exchanges of similar experiences in Italy and elsewhere in Europe; and organisation of events, meetings and scientific congresses.

The main object of the *Ecomuseo* proposal would like to achieve, in a short and long term, is keep alive a *living cultural landscape* through the creation of a dynamic structure that can provide new job opportunities for the local people, can reinforce and celebrate the local identity of Cortemilia, and can exchange experience with other similar enterprises in Italy and in other parts of Europe. The success of this proposal in the long term will depend upon entrepreneurial local management and upon the support of the local people, the local private enterprises, the local and regional authorities and visitors.

Accommodating changes, whilst maintaining desired features, is the great challenge of landscape conservation. We must endeavour to keep as much as possible of what we cherish from the past, but narrow preservationist approaches will not lead us in the right direction. We need the vision and the courage to put our convictions and our scientific knowledge into practice so that we can create new landscapes which may not have precisely existed before, but which honour the past and can achieve multi-purpose objectives for the present generation.

MARIA ROSARIA NAPPI

PAYSAGES CULTURELS EN ITALIE.
PERCEPTION ET IMAGE DES SITES

On dit que la première fois se passa comme ça: un bonhomme d'Anverse, qui était un grand Liefhebber (virtuose ou amant des arts), retournait de la région de Liège et de la forêt des Ardennes, après un long voyage. Il s'arrêta chez un vieux ami, un peintre ingénieux, dont il fréquentait habituellement la maison et la compagnie. Le voyageur trouva le peintre au chevalet; alors, tandis que le peintre restait plongé dans son travail, il commença à raconter les aventures de son long voyage, toutes les villes qu'il avait vues et les émerveillants panoramas qu'il avait admirés dans une contrée pleine de choses bizarres, peuplée par des rochers alpestres, de vieux châteaux et d'extraordinaires édifices. Cette histoire, qui dévenait de plus en plus longue, charma le peintre à tel point, qu'il arrêta son travail et, pendant que le conteur se promenait autour de lui, commença en cachette à peindre ce que l'autre contait, mais d'une manière tout à fait plus marquée. Lorsque l'ami termina son long récit, le peintre avait déjà accompli son oeuvre; le voyageur, qui était alors sur le point de partir, presque par hasard jeta un coup d'œil au tableau: il resta stupéfait en voyant que la contrée et les lieux décrits avaient été si vivement brossés par le peintre. Cette première tentative de représentation d'un paysage apparemment procura au peintre de l'argent et de la célébrité. Et d'autres commencèrent à l'imiter (Edward Norgate)¹.

Ce récit a été utilisé par Gombrich² dans son essai sur les origines de la peinture du paysage. Non seulement il donne une analyse spécifique des modalités de description utilisées par l'artiste et le voyageur, mais il souligne aussi que ce dernier a probablement été influencé, dans son observation du paysage, par des images vues autrefois dans le studio du peintre.

La culture de l'observateur représente un élément fondamental dans la vision et la conception du paysage; cela a souvent mené à considérer "les

1. Norgate 1919, 44.

2. Gombrich 1976, 169.

paysages” comme des palimpsestes déterminés par la culture des personnes qui en jouissent les premières.

L'étude des aspects historiques et artistiques d'un site ne représente que l'un des éléments utilisables pour l'identification d'un paysage; toutefois, cette étude est très considérable en Italie, où elle représente l'un des facteurs les plus importants pour définir le sens, les rôles et la valeur des sites avant et après leur reproductibilité technique.

Cela peut faire l'objet d'une étude scientifique qui vise à l'évaluation de nombreux sites, notamment ceux qui sont susceptibles d'avoir une valeur exceptionnelle.

L'Italie se trouve dans une condition très particulière: la plupart des paysages italiens, sauf de rares exceptions comme le site fossile de Dunarobba, sont du type associatif et ont joué un rôle très important au cours des siècles: la valeur des sites est garantie par les références à des principes culturels, et donc intangibles, qui ont, toutefois, un sens universel. D'importants sites italiens, comme la Côte Amalfitaine, les Cinque Terre, le Cilento avec les temples de Paestum, la campagne toscane et les Dolomites ont été admirés, exaltés et diffusés par de centaines de voyageurs provenant de lieux différents, qui les ont visités notamment depuis le XVIIème siècle, et par de nombreux artistes qu'y ont séjourné, plus ou moins longtemps, inspirés par leur beauté.

Dans ce sens, l'Italie conserve, comme les autres pays (européens et extra-européens) de la Méditerranée, des sites à valeur universelle qui n'ont pas de caractéristiques spécifiques du point de vue botanique et orographique par rapport aux autres sites environnants, mais qui sont caractérisés par la présence de ruines anciennes ou par une particulière fusion entre les constructions et le paysage.

Beaucoup de sites italiens ont une valeur universelle parce qu'ils ont été à l'origine de la conception même du paysage en Europe. Aux alentours de Rome, l'exemple le plus considérable est représenté par Tivoli, où la ville et les structures archéologiques, comme le temple de la Sybille bien visible, étaient insérées dans un cadre naturel magnifique, avec les chutes du fleuve Aniene et les pittoresques grottes de la colline.

Cette fusion, qui a fasciné les plus grands artistes de toutes les époques, comme par exemple Pierre Bruegel et son fils Jan, constitue le fondement de l'idée européenne de site. Outre Tivoli, le Latium conserve d'autres sites importants. Par exemple, la campagne romaine (ou “Plaine pontine”), représentée et idéalisée par Claude Lorrain, Poussin, Paolo Brill, Bartolomeus Breenbergh, Cornelius Poelemburgh et beaucoup d'autres peintres, a joué un rôle fondamental au sein du paysagisme, de la peinture européenne et même de la littérature latine, grâce à Virgile, Tibulle, Horace.

L'Italie n'a pas inseré la campagne romaine dans sa Liste Indicative pour le Patrimoine Mondial, mais il est hors de doute qu'il s'agisse d'un site qui a

engendré des mouvements artistiques internationaux et qui possède, ou devrait posséder, une valeur exceptionnelle pour la communauté mondiale.

L'importance historique des sites italiens ne doit pas être cherchée seulement dans les aspects naturels, mais dans l'union constructions - paysage aussi: l'exemple de la campagne romaine, avec ses ruines, est très remarquable et la même chose vaut pour les Champs Phlégréens et la Côte Amalfitaine. Même dans le XIVème siècle le paysage toscan, illustré par la célèbre fresque de Simone Martini située dans le Palazzo Pubblico de Siene, qui représente Guidoriccio da Fogliano, est caractérisé par des édifices monumentaux.

Les sites culturels italiens ont différents niveaux d'importance par rapport à l'universalité des valeurs demandées pour l'insertion dans la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial: en particulier, les sites de Cinque Terre et de la Côte Amalfitaine sont importants pour leur rôle dans le cadre de la naissance et du développement de la conception romantique de la nature, tandis que les temples doriques de Paestum ont marqué la diffusion de l'ordre dorique en Europe entre la fin du XVIIIème et le début du XIXème siècle.

FORTUNE ARTISTIQUE DE LA COTE AMALFITAINE

Outre les représentations picturales, les recits de voyage³ sont l'une des sources les plus importantes afin de comprendre et d'analyser l'image du paysage dans le passé. En effet, les témoignages d'intellectuels, d'artistes ou, simplement, de voyageurs cultivés ou bien informés sont souvent pleins de nouvelles ou d'indications qui montrent la perception du milieu naturel dans des contextes particuliers.

Le mythe du voyage en Italie, qui représentait l'achèvement de la formation culturelle des jeunes nobles et des jeunes bourgeois d'Europe, atteignit son sommet au XVIIIème siècle. Les destinations préférées étaient Rome, Venise et Florence; Naples, avec les fouilles de Pompéi et grâce à sa splendide position géographique, son intense activité culturelle et musicale, représentait la dernière destination d'un itinéraire qui était, surtout, riche en œuvres d'art. Seulement des amants de l'archéologie et des personnes courageuses entreprenaient le difficile voyage vers le Sud pour visiter les imposantes ruines de Paestum ou la Sicile.

Durant le XVIIIème siècle l'Abbé Saint-Non visita l'Italie⁴; il décrivit la province de Salerne comme un lieu désert, infertile et peu accueillant. Beaucoup d'endroits ne pouvaient être gagnés qu'à pied; les villages étaient complètement dépendants des villes côtières. Aux yeux du voyageur du dix-huitième siècle, cette région ne montrait que ses aspects inhospitaliers:

3. Mozzillo 1992; Brilli 1995, 38-44.

4. De Saint-Non 1781-1786; Lamers 1992; Fino 1995, 115, dont on a tiré toutes les citations suivantes.

l'extrême instabilité de son paysage, ses forts contrastes, le manque de voies de communication. En outre, tous les signes de l'influence orientale créaient aux voyageurs un sens de "mauvaise surprise": "*Je n'aurais jamais cru qu'une ville si puissante puisse si vite tomber dans une condition si misérable. Au Moyen Age Amalfi était une république florissante qui poussait sa colonisation jusqu'en Orient; aujourd'hui, la ville n'est qu'un bouge habité par les pauvres de cette côte soumise à un baron du royaume ...*"⁵.

Au sein des arts plastiques, le genre du paysage n'obtient son autonomie culturelle complète et définitive qu'à la fin du XVIIIème siècle. Au début du XIXème siècle et au cœur du romantisme, le goût du paysage et le désir de visiter des lieux connus, se développa sans frein, en dévenant, pendant le XIXème siècle, célèbre au niveau international aussi. Cette fortune se basait sur différents aspects évoquant, notamment, les paysages qui avaient inspiré les poètes latins. La valeur de ces lieux dérivait, donc, de l'inspiration qu'ils apportaient aux poètes et de la force évocatrice qu'ils déclenchaient parmi ceux qui les admiraient. Par conséquent, le rapport entre le paysage et les personnes qui en jouissaient a, surtout, une valeur littéraire, historique et poétique. Le rôle des éléments naturels est réduit par rapport à l'histoire et l'art que le site représente.

Pour ce qui est de la Côte Amalfitaine l'influence de la littérature a été bien complexe. L'image de l'Italie du Sud et notamment de la province de Salerne est symbolisée au XVIIIème s. par les œuvres de Salvator Rosa, un artiste légendaire et mystérieux: ses personnages étaient surtout des brigands et des gueux, auxquels il était souvent comparé. Ses œuvres sont célèbres en beaucoup de pays européens; elles montrent une image très forte et mystérieuse du paysage italien, souvent animé par des teintes brûlantes et des épisodes de sorcellerie.

Avec le temps, les études sur l'artiste nous ont fourni une biographie plus claire: Salvator Rosa fut un peintre et un intellectuel, avec un public noble et cultivé à Rome et Florence. Il adhéra à la philosophie stoïcienne et, à l'avantage de sa propre liberté, refusa les invitations des cours de France et d'Autriche. Salvator Rosa polémiqua contre les amateurs d'art, en jouant ainsi un rôle important à l'émancipation de l'artiste vis-à-vis de son client⁶.

Tant le paysage décrit par Rosa que le paysage tel qu'on se l'imaginait, un paysage de brigands et d'aventuriers, détermina parmi les européens et notamment chez les anglais, une image particulière des lieux en question; en outre, cela peut être considéré l'un des éléments qui ont donné lieu à la naissance du goût moderne pour le pittoresque.

Les citations suivantes de Goethe, montrent que la perception de la nature donnait souvent lieu à l'évocation d'une représentation d'elle-même

5. Pilati 1777; cf. Fino 1995, 115 et notes.

6. Salerno 1970, 34-66 et idem, 1981, 449-522.

ou de lieux proches d'elle.

“Tout le monde se souviennent de pittoresques alentours de Nocera de Pagani et des villages qui vont jusqu'à Salerne! Tout le monde se souviennent des vues panoramiques qu'ils offrent à l'artiste pour ses peintures de paysage! Ces paysages merveilleux, comme la Côte Amalfitaine, qui avaient déjà enrichi le pouvoir pittoresque de Salvator Rosa, sur l'esprit d'Hackert avaient certainement le même bénéfice que l'air salubre du lieu avait donné à sa santé”⁷.

Dans ce contexte, la référence de Goethe au “pittoresque” de Rosa doit être interprétée dans son ancienne acceptation du terme, c'est-à-dire “rélatif à la peinture”, plutôt qu'au sens esthétique et psychologique qu'on lui attribua plus tard. La culture du peintre est le moyen par lequel le poète observe le paysage; elle est composée par deux éléments fondamentaux: l'un est technique et l'autre manuel. A ces éléments se rapportent le terme *pittoresque*, étroitement lié à l'action particulière que le peintre exerce par son oeil, et un terme culturel, qui est représenté par la référence à Rosa, le plus grand paysagiste du dix-septième siècle en Italie.

La personnalité du peintre allemand Jackob Philipp Hackert, qui voyagea longtemps en Italie avec Goethe, est très importante dans le cadre du développement et de la valorisation du paysage en tant que genre autonome en peinture.

Hackert, peintre de la cour des Bourbons, est un des premiers divulgateurs de ce sujet, et son exemple fut suivi par de nombreux artistes de différents pays européens. Ses vues de la région de Salerne sont cependant encore liées, comme la plupart de ses œuvres, à l'esprit documentaire et descriptif du *vedutismo*⁸.

Au cours du XIXème siècle, le sens du terme pittoresque s'est élargi en prenant une valeur liée non seulement à l'objet observé, mais aussi au sentiment de l'observateur, sous-entendant un rapport entre l'observateur et le lieu décrit.

Ce terme acquiert une valeur de catégorie esthétique... *“Ayant l'intention de visiter Amalfi, j'ai pris l'une des routes de montagnes vers le Golfe de Salerne: c'est un compromis entre la route et l'escalier, ici coupé avec des marches sur les rochers, là serpentant par les collines, les gorges et les vallées; le capricieux sentier tantôt vous mène sous les nuages tantôt vous plonge dans l'abîme. Cela n'est pas toujours confortable, mais en revanche toujours pittoresque... Pour un pieton qui ne connaît pas ces lieux, il faut huit heures de marche entre Sorrente et Amalfi, mais la route directe ne m'intéresse point. Hissé sur les roches pittoresques et sévères, après avoir salué le guide et le mulet, je me renseignai sur la route à prendre. J'étais seul*

7. Fino 1995, 47; Porzio 1983; Goethe 1988.

8. Chiarini 1994.

*au milieu de ce désert de montagne, la nature que Salvator Rosa aimait, m'entourait*⁹.

Le terme pittoresque indique, donc, un paysage dont la beauté réside dans son extrême instabilité. Le pittoresque n'est plus seulement la médiation, par la peinture, entre l'observateur et le paysage. Il est devenu un élément autonome de définition du paysage.

La côte répond particulièrement bien au goût pittoresque grâce à la grande variété et caractérisation de plusieurs paysages, comme par exemple la Vallée des moulins à Amalfi.

Préparés par la culture figurative, diffusée grâce aux peintures et surtout aux gravures, les visiteurs du XIXème siècle se trouvent face à un paysage sauvage en de nombreux endroits, mais très soigné en d'autres, où la main de l'homme était de toute évidence intervenu avec force là où cela était possible, mais restait absente en d'autres endroits déserts et impossibles à atteindre. Les caractéristiques géomorphologiques constituaient la raison principale du charme exercé par le lieu sur les voyageurs venant des différents pays d'Europe.

Ruskin écrit en 1841: "Je partis de Pagano (Pagani), avec des ânes, sur un sentier tortueux qui à deux mille pieds mène à un âpre passage en pierre calcaire, avec de telles bruyères là haut, qui me rendirent heureux me faisant penser à Cumberland ... Vent froid et sentier escarpé à la fois, une réelle escalade ... finalement, j'arrivai à la mer et je fis une superbe cavalcade vers Amalfi..."¹⁰.

La côte fut une découverte surprenante: la nature méditerranéenne, réputée plus proche et agréable à l'homme, par opposition à la nature froide et inhospitalière des pays du Nord, révélait une dureté inattendue et âpre : les paysages urbains, évocant l'antiquité classique avec leurs ruines monumentales, étaient remplacés par d'autres d'empreinte orientalisante renvoyant au Proche-Orient.

La Méditerranée paraissait déjà à des endroits très proches de leur pays d'origine comme une réalité complexe et puissante, de grand charme. En ce sens, on peut relever, dans certains choix descriptifs des représentations d'Amalfi ou de Ravello, la tendance qui portera au développement de certains aspects de la peinture orientaliste.

La variété et l'intensité des sensations évoquées constituent l'un des éléments de la valeur du site, mais il y a des représentations et des textes où la personnalité de l'artiste apparaît polarisée par la force d'un seul élément naturel, comme par exemple la mer, et où la nature paraît dominée par le sentiment plus puissamment romantique du sublime.

La *Veduta delle Isole dei Galli* du peintre allemand Franz Catel fut

9. Jakovlev 1855, cité par Fino 1995, 39-40.

10. *Ibidem*, 114 et notes.

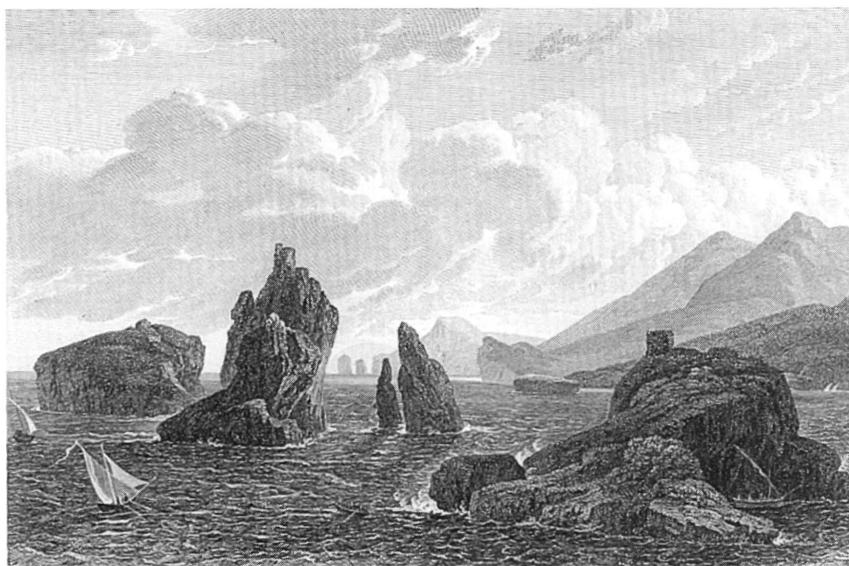


Fig. 1. Franz Catel, Scogli delle Sirene. Illustration pour Annibal Caro, *Eneide de Virgile*, Roma, De Romanis 1819 - Cité du Vatican, Bibliothèque Apostolique.



Fig. 2. Iles de Gaulois (photo de la Soprintendenza dei Beni Artistici, Architettonici e Storici di Salerno).

réalisée avant 1819, peut-être en 1812 ou, plus probablement, en 1818 pendant les premiers voyages que l'artiste accomplit en Italie¹¹. Plus qu'une "vue", il s'agit là d'une interprétation où dominent les contrastes et le climat orageux et, donc, le danger pour les navigateurs, exprimé par le titre rappelant le nom mythique des *Scogli delle Sirene*. Catel fut l'un des premiers artistes qui ont perçu le charme de ces lieux, en les visitant plusieurs fois, aussi en 1820 avec J. Christian Dahl, un artiste qui exerça une grande influence sur sa vision romantique du paysage.

Aujourd'hui la perception du paysage se manifeste d'une manière tout à fait différente: la réproduction photographique de trois îlots prise de Positano a pour but d'en mettre en évidence la vive beauté.

A une époque où une image ne pouvait être reproduite que par les techniques artistiques de la gravure et de la lithographie, son pouvoir était déjà considérable. Aujourd'hui, le rôle des images de la nature et du paysage s'est encore plus accru dans le domaine de la communication. L'étude et le choix des sites naturels et urbains à montrer aux publicités ou aux émissions destinées notamment aux jeunes et enfants, sont essentiels pour organiser la protection d'un bien si complexe qui est souvent mystifié par la vision édulcoré qui en est choisie.

DEFENCE DES SITES CULTURELS EN ITALIE

Indépendamment de la valeur universelle, européenne ou nationale qu'on veut donner à chaque site, le concept de "paysage culturel" est fondamental pour toute activité de protection, car il fournit des éléments significatifs afin d'effectuer une analyse préliminaire des interventions et des estimations concernant l'impact sur l'environnement.

L'Ufficio Centrale del Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali n'a été créé qu'en juin 1995 afin de protéger l'environnement et les sites, et, ensuite, de coordonner les *Soprintendenze*, qui sont les administrations chargées de la protection de l'environnement au niveau local. En Italie les problèmes concernant le paysage sont assimilés à ceux qui sont à la charge du *Ministero dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali*; il y a, toutefois, d'autres ministères qui sont responsables de l'aménagement du territoire, parmi lesquels le plus important est le *Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici* qui gère tous les travaux de construction en Italie et qui fait presque contrepéndant au *Ministero dell'Ambiente*. Il y a quelques années seulement on a institué une procédure nommée "VIA" (*Valutazione di Impatto Ambientale*) qui, après l'avis de différents ministères concernés se prononce sur la compatibilité environnementale des grands projets.

11. Sur le peintre en général: Concina Sebastiani-Catel 1979, vol. 22, 310-317; di Maio 1996; Sur les voyages de jeunesse: Nappi 1997.

Selon certains experts en matière de paysage¹², le concept d'environnement entendu par ce type de procédure est trop vague et devrait être analysé d'une manière plus circostanciée; malgré cela, cette procédure présente des avantages et en tout état de cause est un instrument que l'Italie ait su mettre en oeuvre pour faire face aux graves dégâts affectant son territoire.

La défense des sites est une question fort complexe. En effet, il y a quelques années on n'arrivait à obtenir que de très faibles résultats en ce domaine.

L'Italie est partagée en 20 régions, dont 5 ont l'autonomie administrative; d'après la loi, ces régions devaient rédiger des plans régionaux qui représentent un fort instrument de contrôle et de défense des sites; toutefois, beaucoup de ces régions n'ont pas accompli cette tâche et, par conséquent, l'Etat, ou mieux *l'Ufficio Centrale*, a été obligé à élaborer les plans par lui-même: le plan pour la Campanie a été achevé, tandis que ceux pour la Calabre et la Lombardie sont en cours de préparation. En revanche certaines régions ont géré la planification d'une manière autonome.

La création de *l'Ufficio Centrale* représente une tentative de faire face et de résoudre les sérieux problèmes de protection du territoire italien, qui est caractérisé par une anthropisation ancienne et qui est victime, dans beaucoup de régions, du bâtiment illégal, des déboisements sans frein et de catastrophes hydrogéologiques très néfastes dues aussi à l'extrême cimentation des digues des fleuves.

Les actions de protection exercées par *l'Ufficio Centrale* visent notamment aux nombreux centres historiques et aux monuments qui caractérisent le territoire italien et qui eux-mêmes font l'objet d'une protection.

COTE AMALFITAINE - NOUVELLES

L'Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Ambientali e Paesaggistici a réalisé, en collaboration avec le Sevizio Sismico Nazionale della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri une analyse intégrée de deux sites culturels italiens : la Côte Amalfitaine et les Cinque Terre. Cette étude fait l'objet de l'article qui suit¹³.

Il n'existe pas de méthode bien définie pour l'analyse des sites. Les cas ici considérés ne sont que des expériences qui visent à identifier les éléments caractérisant les sites et les risques auxquels il sont soumis.

Les risques principaux relevés sont d'ordre hydrogéologique, sismique et

12. Romani 1995.

13. Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Ambientali e Paesaggistici, *Permanenze e trasformazioni nel Paesaggio. Proposte italiane per la Liste del Patrimonio mondiale*, Napoli 1996.

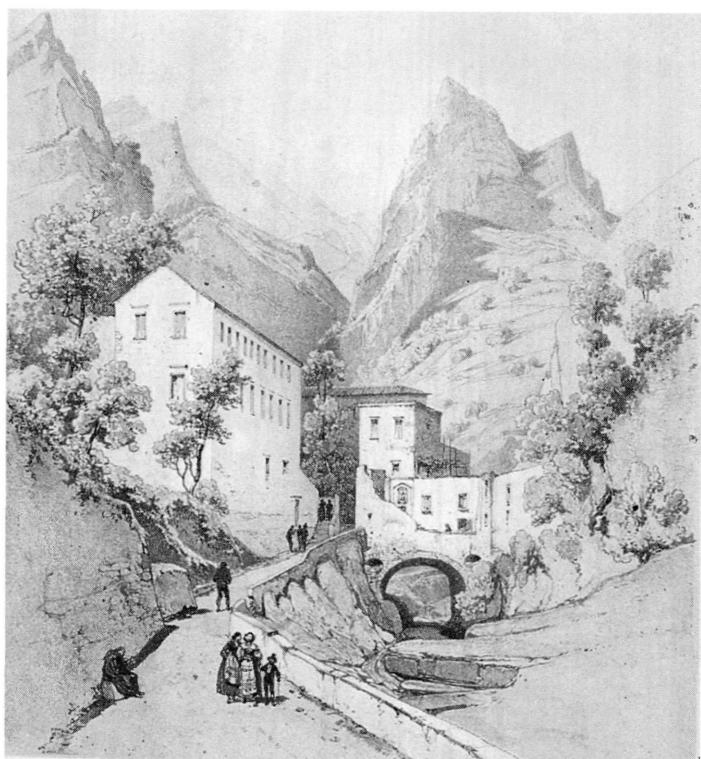


Fig. 3. F.B. de Mercey, *Le Ravin d'Amalfi*, lithographie, collection privée.

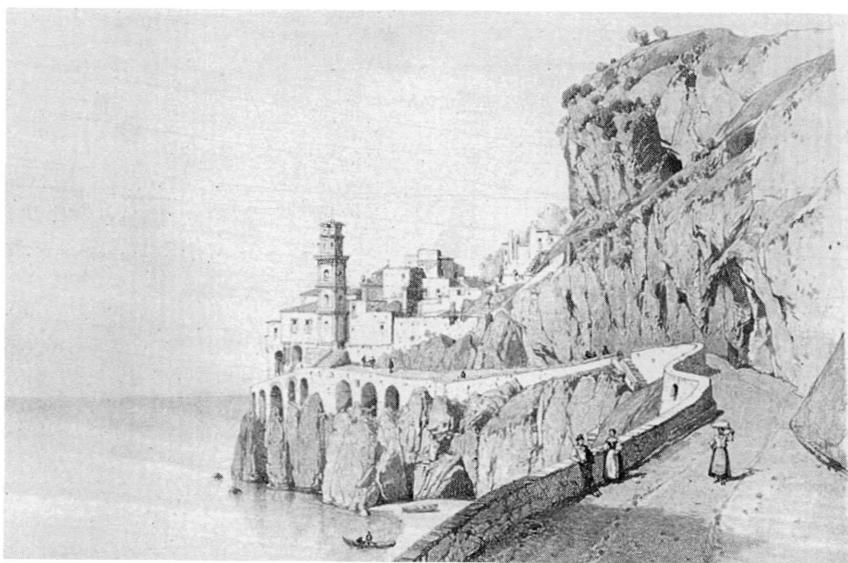


Fig. 4. F.B. de Mercey, *Atrani*, lithographie, collection privée.

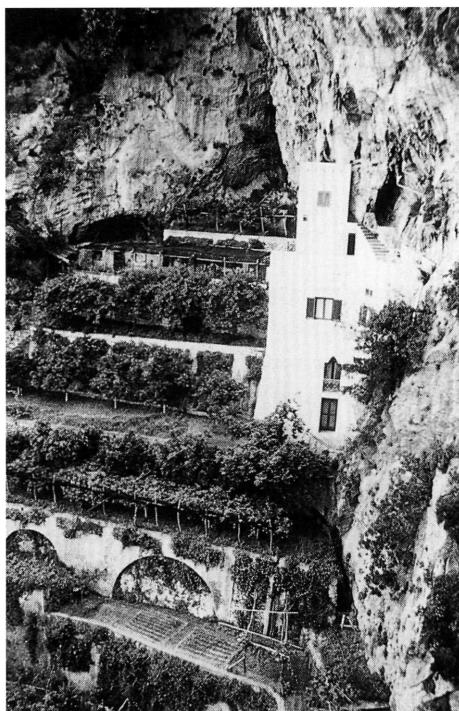


Fig. 5. Atrani, vignobles de la vallée du Dragon (photo de la Soprintendenza dei Beni Ambientali Architettonici, Artistici e Storici di Salerno).

En Ligurie, les communes des Cinque Terre sont toutes dans la province de La Spezia. A l'intérieur de ses limites, le territoire est homogène, sauf certaines exceptions comme Portovenere. En ce qui concerne la Côte Amalfitaine, la délimitation indiquée par la *Comunita Montana Penisola Amalfitana* est peut-être insuffisante, car elle comprend certaines communes de la péninsule de Sorrente ayant des caractéristiques hétérogènes tant du point de vue géomorphologique que socio-économique.

Les deux sites choisis ont en commun la constitution orographique: serrés entre la mer et la montagne, difficiles à atteindre par la terre, ils ont obligé l'homme à étudier des systèmes de culture adaptés à des terrains escarpés et difficiles à cultiver. Dans le passé, ces endroits sont restés isolés par manque de routes et cela a favorisé durant le Moyen Age, la fondation de monastères.

Le site de Cinque Terre a conservé jusqu'au XIXème siècle cette caractéristique d'isolement qui l'a gardé en un état de "détachement idyllique" et qui a préservé ses constructions et ses cultures.

anthropique. Une étude de ces risques comprend, outre à l'évaluation des caractéristiques des bâtiments, la prise en considération du nombre d'habitants et de la densité. Une vision complète demanderait l'utilisation de techniciens de différentes spécialités. L'exposition des données recueillies ne peut être ici que partielle, tant pour des raisons d'espace qu'à cause de la priorité attribuée à certains aspects plutôt qu'à d'autres comme, par exemple, les données d'ordre sociologique ou économique, certes importantes pour une analyse générale.

La délimitation territoriale choisie est motivée différemment pour les deux régions italiennes. Dans l'analyse des raisons qui nous y ont mené, nous pouvons mettre en relief les problèmes que l'on rencontre lors de la recherche d'une unité dans le paysage.



Fig. 6. Atrani, vignobles de la vallée du Dragon (photo de la Soprintendenza dei Beni Ambientali Architettonici, Artistici e Storici di Salerno).

Au contraire, dès le Moyen Age la Côte Amalfitaine constituait un centre d'échanges commerciaux qui rayonnait dans toute la Mer Méditerranée.

Les signes de cette vitalité sont évidents dans les influences hétérogènes du paysage urbain et des monuments des villes principales, où les influences islamiques s'unissent à des motifs décoratifs de Byzance ou du duché lombard.

La partie de la Côte Amalfitaine ici décrite a été proposée par l'Italie pour la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial de l'UNESCO. La surface de l'aire prise en considération est presque 11.231 km² et comprend les communes de Amalfi, Atrani, Cetara, Conca dei Marini, Corbara, Furore, Maiori, Minori (les anciennes Regina Maior et Minor), Praiano, Positano, Ravello, Scala, Sant'Egidio, Montalbino, Tramonti et Vietri sul Mare.

La Péninsule de Sorrente est formée par la chaîne des Lattari, qui va de celle des Picentini vers la Mer Tyrrhénienne, et sépare le golfe de Naples de celui de Sorrente; la zone en question concerne les territoires du versant méridional et correspond presque entièrement à l'ancienne République d'Amalfi qui apporta d'importants modifications au paysage, visibles encore aujourd'hui.

La proposition ne concerne que la province de Salerne où les communes sont toutes protégées par la *Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali, Architettonici, Artistici e Storici della Provincia di Salerno e Avellino - Ufficio Periferico del Ministero per i Beni Culturali*, qui est l'administration

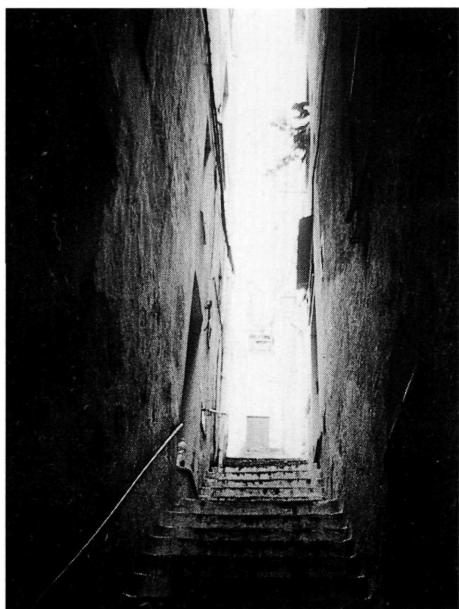


Fig. 7. Atrani, ruelle (photo de la Soprintendenza dei Beni Ambientali Architettonici, Artistici e Storici di Salerno).

versant de Sorrente, mais d'une manière plus faible; toutefois, le bas niveau de vulnérabilité n'a pas empêché les éboulements qui se sont récemment produits près de Pozzano, à proximité de la péninsule sur le golfe de Naples.

Vu la situation géomécanique et hydrogéologique et les caractéristiques morphologiques, clinométriques et végétales, la région a été partagée en des zones homogènes par rapport au niveau de la stabilité: a) le long des parois escarpées et sub-verticales (ainsi que de la côte), il y a des zones potentiellement instables, où l'on repère des phénomènes de fracture, qui peuvent donner lieu à des éboulements et des glissements; b) dans les régions de colline et de montagne où le calcaire dolomitique est couvert par des accumulations de matériaux incohérents et sans végétation. Dans ces cas, les eaux météoriques, qui coulent entre les couches, peuvent donner lieu à des situations de décollement, même indépendamment de la pente, en causant de sérieux glissements.

Les risques hydrogéologiques sont donc très élevés tandis que les risques sismiques sont moyens dans les zones qui se trouvent aux pieds des montagnes et encore plus faibles ailleurs. On se souvient de graves

chargée du dossier pour l'admission à la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial. Plus précisément, les 15 communes précitées ont institué un organisme local, appelé *Comunita Montana Penisola Amalfitana*, afin de mener à terme un projet sur le paysage et les monuments historiques de la région¹⁴.

La péninsule est composée dans sa grande partie d'un relief plus ou moins accidenté, interrompu par des vallons fluviaux et de petites plaines; le versant d'Amalfi est caractérisé par des falaises élevées; en outre, la forte pente des lignes de débit entraîne un haut niveau d'érosion dans les eaux de débit qui cause, ainsi, beaucoup d'éboulements. Ce dernier phénomène peut être remarqué même sur le

14. *Comunita Montana Penisola Amalfitana*, Piano progetto ambiente recupero riuso territorio, Napoli 1994, dont on a tiré les informations concernant la côte.

écroulements causés par le tremblement de terre de 1694 à Cava dei Tirreni, Maiori, Amalfi, Ravello et Tramonti; au contraire, le séisme de 1980 en Campanie n'a pas produit des dégâts notoires.

L'extrême variété d'exposition et d'altitude et l'influence tempérante de la mer donnent lieu à des microclimats homogènes et limités. En général, les hivers sont doux et pluvieux et les étés secs et plutôt tempérés. Ces caractéristiques favorisent une végétation endogène très complexe et variée. On peut alors en distinguer trois zones: des zones maritimes et orientées vers le Sud, riches en oléastre et caroubier (avec le myrte, le lentisque, le genêt, l'euphorbe, le ciste, le petit houx); la zone d'altitude moyenne, riche en chêne vert, bruyère, chêne pubescent, arbousier et genièvre; et la zone montagneuse, riche en châtaignier et aulne napolitain.

Cette dernière plante, qui a considérablement diminué ces dernières décennies, jouera un rôle très important pour la défense du sol et la caractérisation du paysage boisé. En effet, cette plante prend rapidement la place du châtaignier dans les zones où ce dernier est coupé et ses racines s'accrochent solidement aux substrats de roche. Dans quelques zones limitées, il y a aussi certaines espèces de pins et certains biotypes rares, comme les fougères pantropicales qui grandissent dans le vallon des ferrières. A l'Ouest de Vietri on peut trouver une plante carnivore rare, la *pinguicula hirtiflora*.

Mais il n'y a pas seulement la végétation originelle: en effet, grâce à des terrasses artificiels, l'homme a développé des cultures comme la vigne, l'olivier et les agrumes. En beaucoup de zones, cette culture du type "utilitariste" a remplacé les bois de chênes verts qu'auravant étaient plus étendus.

Les terrasses formées par les *murecine*, des murs de pierres sèches extraites du terrain, sont utilisées pour planter des agrumes, des vignes et des légumes. Au bord des terraces on fixe les oliviers qui sont soutenus par de petits murs en forme de lunette, les *macere*, qui servent pour recueillir l'eau et la terre nécessaires aux plantes. Les treilles sont généralement soutenues par des poteaux en châtaignier, les *asproni*, qui raccordent les gradins des terrasses et représentent une technique rurale remarquable. Aujourd'hui ces techniques sont encore utilisées, mais les agrumes sont couverts, contre la glace, par des filets noirs à la place des claires aux roseaux qu'on utilisait dans le passé.

Toutefois, l'agriculture représentait l'une des ressources les moins importantes pour les villes et les villages de la côte qui vivaient, surtout, du commerce et de petites entreprises.

Fondée probablement par les Romains au IVème siècle, Amalfi occupait une aire plutôt ample, qui semble correspondre à celle qu'on examine ici. La ville eut le monopole des produits orientaux dans la Mer Tyrrénienne où elle arriva à développer des points commerciaux dans tous les ports les plus



Fig. 8. Amalfi, Vue d'en haut (photo de la Soprintendenza dei Beni Ambientali Architettonici, Artistici e Storici di Salerno).

importants. Cette organisation commerciale donna beaucoup de richesses aux habitants d'Amalfi et des villages alentour. Les contacts avec le Proche-Orient sont la raison principale du développement de la structure urbaine d'Amalfi et de nombreux éléments architecturaux et décoratifs des monuments et des édifices à Ravello, Atrani et Positano. En outre, même la vie quotidienne du Duché était marquée par les usages et les traditions arabes. Le signe principal de cette liaison est l'importation, durant le XIème siècle, des agrumes qui ont pris la place des châtaigniers et des noyers.

Toutefois, comme on l'a déjà dit, l'économie du Duché se basait surtout sur le commerce et des entreprises, comme celle du papier, qui était produit après un processus de recyclage de vieux tissus. Même si cette production originale a diminué au cours des siècles à Amalfi on continue à fabriquer du papier haut de gamme grâce, surtout, à de techniques traditionnelles de transformation d'herbes et de fleurs sauvages.

La période de prospérité du Duché fut suivie par une décadence graduelle qui a abouti à une grande pauvreté, à la baisse démographique et la disparition des activités artisanales. Pour longtemps la côte resta presque totalement isolée, jusqu'à l'ouverture de la route côtière, la construction de laquelle se réalisa de 1811 à 1853.

La route a entièrement changé la vie des villes et des paysages côtiers; elle a favorisé leur intégration au reste de la région et en a permis une majeure jouissance qui, vu l'actuel tourisme de masse, est devenue un risque

pour la conservation des équilibres naturels et esthétiques du site.

Même si la population n'a pas beaucoup augmenté pendant les dernières années, avec un nombre d'habitants presque constant ou, dans certaines communes, inférieur par rapport à 1881, la côte a été étranglée par une augmentation inconsidérée de constructions, due à l'énorme diffusion des résidences secondaires. Le nombre moyen d'habitants par pièces, qui était très élevé jusqu'en 1971, et le taux d'utilisation des biens immobiliers, c'est-à-dire le rapport entre les maisons habitées et l'ensemble des maisons recensées, ont fortement diminué. Le phénomène du bâtiment illegal, qui est fortement critiqué, est l'une des menaces de la zone; ce phénomène a entraîné la construction de grands hôtels et de bâtiments en rang, notamment à Minori et Vietri.

Le tourisme représente une ressource économique très importante pour les habitants de la région. Il s'agit, dans sa grande partie d'un tourisme saisonnier ou quotidien. Le 50% des touristes italiens et étrangers visitent la zone en été et s'installent dans les hôtels et les autres infrastructures touristiques. De 1985 à 1989, 37% de l'ensemble des touristes ont été des étrangers. Depuis le début du siècle, la Côte Amalfitaine attire beaucoup de voyageurs qui sont à l'origine d'un développement des entreprises du type familial.

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VICTOR KOPYLOV

LES MONUMENTS ARCHEOLOGIQUES DU DELTA DU DON ET LEUR ENVIRONNEMENT¹

Le but principal de l'archéologie est l'étude d'un monument ou d'un ensemble de monuments comme partie intégrante de l'écosystème humanisé. C'est dans le cadre de cet écosystème que les anciennes sociétés adaptées à leur environnement interagissent avec lui au niveau spatial, économique et social.

Selon le célèbre ethnologue russe L.N. Goumiliov, "le site conditionne les différentes activités, le développement de la culture matérielle et en partie le développement de la culture intellectuelle. Lorsqu'une ethnie disparaît, les vestiges archéologiques demeurent comme témoins de son époque, de son mode de vie, de son milieu naturel"².

La région de l'embouchure du Don a joué un grand rôle dans l'histoire des populations installées à la région nord de la mer Noire, et en particulier à la région du delta du Don, grâce à sa situation géographique avantageuse et à la spécificité de ses conditions climatiques.

L'histoire de l'exploration des sites archéologiques du delta du Don compte plus de 140 ans. En 1853, P.M. Leontiev, professeur à l'Université de Moscou, a exploré la partie insulaire du delta du Don³, marquant ainsi le début des recherches archéologiques et paléographiques dans cette région⁴.

En 1908, un autre grand chercheur russe, A.A. Miller, a inauguré une nouvelle étape de la recherche archéologique et topographique dans la région du delta du Don et a procédé à l'étude systématique des sites du delta. Ses recherches nous livrent la description précise de la partie insulaire du delta du Don et en particulier du territoire où se trouvent les vestiges antiques⁵. Dans ses recherches, Miller employait des méthodes pluridisci-

1. Les travaux cités sont écrits et publiés en langue russe, sauf indication contraire.

2. Goumiliov 1987, 37.

3. Leontiev 1853, 510.

4. Kopylov 1990, 25.

5. Miller 1910, 87; idem 1929, 81.

plinaires: archéo-histoire, cartographie comparative et hydrographie. Ses observations, liées à la topographie des sites archéologiques⁶ sont très importantes pour nous.

Suite aux travaux de construction effectués dans les années 1960-1970, le relief historique de la partie insulaire du delta a presque disparu. La construction des étangs de pisciculture dans une grande partie du delta a totalement modifié le relief naturel de sa partie insulaire, causant des dommages irréparables à la plupart des sites archéologiques⁷.

Il faut souligner que jusqu'à maintenant, les études des sites archéologiques du delta du Don ne prenaient pratiquement pas en compte le rôle de l'environnement naturel dans la formation des cultures régionales durant la grande durée historique. Les dernières recherches tentent de combler cette lacune, bien qu'elles soient toutes consacrées à l'étude de la période scythe⁸. Cela s'explique par le fait que sur la partie insulaire du delta du Don se trouve l'un des principaux sites des Scythes de la steppe: le village d'Elizavietovskojé et son tumulus funéraire⁹.

Dans notre exposé, nous essaierons de voir de quelle façon les données, dont nous disposons sur les modifications des conditions climatiques dans la partie nord-est de la région de la mer d'Azov (le Priaзовјé nord-est) sont en corrélation avec la évolution historique, dont témoignent les sites archéologiques de la région deltaïque du Don.

Actuellement, la surface du delta du Don est de 340 km². L'évolution des deltas de rivières est longue, en raison des déplacements liés aux conditions régressives et transgressives. Suite à des changements sensibles des conditions climatiques ayant eu lieu à l'époque du haut pléistocène et de l'holocène, les températures et l'humidité ambiante ont changé, créant les conditions du déplacement des limites des zones naturelles, de la modification du type de végétation et du lit des rivières, et de la formation d'un nouveau paysage¹⁰.

Des vestiges remontant à la période moustérienne témoignent de la présence de l'homme sur la partie insulaire du delta du Don au paléolithique¹¹. Des vestiges du paléolithique tardif ont été découverts par N. K. Alexeev près du village de Rogojkino. La reconstitution du système écologique de l'époque du paléolithique tardif, réalisée à l'aide de l'analyse paléographique complexe, permet de conclure que le climat était froid et sec. Pour cette raison, l'homme cherchait à s'installer près de l'eau et à des

6. Idem 1911, 85.

7. Brachinchki - Kopylov 1975, 113-14; Kopylov 1982, 123. Voir aussi Tzali - Zavgorodni 1985, 19.

8. Cf. Zignikov 1992; Lykasko 1992, Marchenko 1995.

9. Brachinchki - Marchenko 1984 ; Kopylov 1986, 13.

10. Kremenchki 1991.

11. Praclov 1968, 130.

endroits abrités¹².

L'absence de sites datant de l'époque mésolithique sur la partie insulaire du delta du Don, en dépit des nombreuses recherches archéologiques réalisées sur ce territoire, laisse supposer que pendant les périodes préboréales et boréales, elle fut inapte à accueillir l'homme.

L'apparition de l'homme sur la partie insulaire du delta à l'époque néolithique, révélée par la présence de vestiges¹³, est probablement liée à l'assèchement du climat. Dans la région du cours inférieur du Don, on peut fixer les limites de la période aride à la fin du Ve - premier quart du IVe millénaire avant notre ère¹⁴. Des datations au radiocarbone effectuées sur les différentes couches de l'agglomération de Racouchetchny Iav, qui se trouve dans l'île à 120 km en amont du Don, confirment ces dates. Il apparaît que les conditions écologiques de la partie insulaire du delta à cette période permirent de développer différents aspects de la vie quotidienne: la pêche, la chasse ainsi que l'élevage et l'agriculture, qui jouent un rôle de plus en plus important.

L'âge de bronze est représenté sur la partie insulaire du delta par la présence de complexes funéraires découverts dans les tumulus d'Elizavietovskojé¹⁵. On trouve des tombes datant des périodes précoce, moyenne et tardive de l'âge de bronze, ce qui atteste un peuplement important en cette partie du delta à cette époque. C'est pourquoi il faut considérer avec prudence les affirmations selon lesquelles aux IIIe-IIe millénaires avant notre ère, pendant la période "de transgression de Novotchernomorskoe", la plupart des terres du delta du Don étaient inondées¹⁶. Les traces visibles dans les profondeurs sur les tombeaux des IIIe-IIe millénaires avant notre ère témoignent du niveau assez bas des masses phréatiques à cette période, ce qui serait impossible dans le cas d'un relèvement du niveau des eaux de la baie de Taganrog par rapport à celui du delta. Il est important de noter que l'âge de bronze tardif est représenté sur la partie insulaire du delta par des installations humaines¹⁷.

La concentration des sites de l'âge du bronze sur la partie insulaire du delta s'explique par le fait qu'il existait dans la région de l'embouchure du Don, apparemment dès la période précoce du bronze, le passage d'un cours d'eau et que de plus, à cette époque, cet endroit était un point important d'intersection des voies maritimes et terrestres¹⁸.

Des tessons de céramique ont été repérés à l'endroit où se trouve le

12. Gerachmenko 1993, 32.

13. Je dois remercier V.G. Kniasko pour ses informations sur la période néolithique.

14. Kotova 1993, 24.

15. Brachinchki - Kopylov - Jakovenko 1977, 108.

16. Lykiasko 1992, 19; Marchenko 1995, 10-11.

17. Gudimenko 1987, 15.

18. Kopylov 1994, 89.

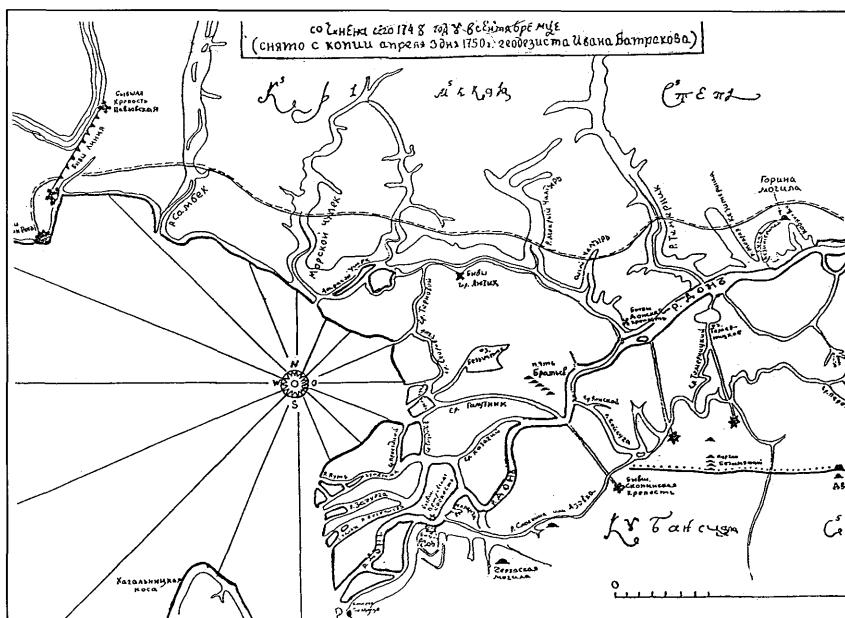


Fig. 1. Le delta du Don et la cartographie du XVIII^e siècle. Carte de 1750 signée par Ivan Badrakov.

village d'Elizavietovskojé, vestiges bien connus de la culture kobiak entre le Xe et le début du VIIIe siècle avant notre ère. Chronologiquement, cette période est liée à une augmentation de la sécheresse climatique, qui provoqua le craquèlement du sol¹⁹. Il n'est pas exclu que ces changements climatiques aient été l'une des causes de la disparition de la culture kobiak.

Le refroidissement global et l'apparition durant cette époque d'un climat moins humide sont typiques pour l'Europe de l'Est à partir du XIIe et jusqu'au VIIe siècle avant notre ère. La dépression xéothermique sur le territoire du Nord de la mer Noire en est une preuve. Selon l'opinion unanime des chercheurs, la fin du IIe millénaire et le commencement du Ier millénaire sont marqués par le passage à la vie nomade de la population du Nord de la mer Noire. En liaison avec tout ce qui a été dit plus haut, il faut noter que les matériaux archéologiques que l'on pourrait dater du milieu du VIIIe siècle jusqu'à la seconde moitié du VIe siècle avant notre ère n'existent pas sur la partie insulaire de la région deltaïque du Don, alors que dans les steppes contiguës, les enterrements des nomades de cette époque sont connus²⁰.

19. Gerachmenko 1993, 37.

20. Il'ukov 1990, 52-54.

Le niveau de la mer Noire et de la mer d'Azov a baissé de 4 à 6 mètres à cause de la “régression phanagorique”, dont l'épanouissement coïncide avec le milieu du Ier millénaire. Ces changements ont dû favoriser l'apparition de monuments archéologiques des nomades de la région insulaire du delta du Don; cependant, les données archéologiques n'en apportent pas la preuve.

L.N. Youmiliov avait peut-être raison de dire que ce delta n'était pas utilisable pour l'élevage nomade²¹. On ne trouve pas non plus de monuments de la population sédentaire de cette époque dans la région de l'embouchure du Don.

Les recherches ont révélé l'hétérochronie des zones de steppe et de forêt-steppe de la région du Nord de la mer Noire. Si la zone de steppe devient humide, la zone de forêt-steppe s'assèche, et vice versa²². L.N. Youmiliov est arrivé à la conclusion que c'est à l'époque scythe que la zone de steppe a connu la période sèche et la zone de forêt-steppe est devenue humide durant la période scythe²³.

La colonisation grecque commence à partir de la seconde moitié du VIIe siècle avant notre ère et c'est à cette époque que la région du Nord de la mer Noire et du cours inférieur du Don devient l'une des zones de la colonisation grecque primitive²⁴.

Le fait que les Grecs connaissaient la région de la mer d'Azov dès la période précoloniale est prouvé par la mention de la Méotide dans la mythologie antique. Eschyle mentionne le lac Méotide dans le mythe de Prométhée. Hérodote, racontant le mythe de l'origine des Sauromates / Sarmates, note que les Amazones vinrent au bord du lac Méotide, à Cremnes, ayant échappé à la captivité grecque après leur défaite dans la bataille du fleuve Thermodon.

La période initiale de la colonisation grecque du Bas-Tanaïs est liée à la colonie de Taganrog, qui a complètement disparu sous les eaux de la mer d'Azov²⁵. Les fouilles archéologiques sous-marines, menées au fond du golfe de Taganrog ont abouti à la découverte d'une ancienne colonie grecque inondée²⁶. L'étude de la céramique, considérablement enrichie ces derniers temps, a permis de dater cette colonie: elle a été fondée au plus tard dans les troisième et quatrième quarts du VIIe siècle avant notre ère et a connu son déclin dans le troisième quart du VIe siècle avant notre ère²⁷. Nous pouvons aussi dire avec une assez grande certitude que la colonie de Taganrog fut fondée par les Grecs ioniens et que sa métropole était Milet²⁸. L'apparition

21. Youmiliov 1992, 19-20.

22. Gavrilenko 1996, 306-309.

23. Youmiliov 1967, 53-56.

24. Kopylov 1990a, 9-12 ; idem, 1991, 42-47: Kopylov-Larcnok 1994.

25. Kopylov 1996, 227 *sqq.*

26. Blavatchki 1985, 224.

27. Kopylov 1996a, 57-58.

28. Idem 1995, 111-115.

des colons grecs dans la région du Bas-Don, vu les conditions climatiques défavorables, peut être liée aux guerres du roi de Lydie Ardys contre les cités grecques de Carie (Hérodote I.15-18).

Les données géomorphologiques permettent jusqu'à un certain degré de juger de la topographie de cette *apoikia* grecque. L'analyse de la structure du plateau formant le cap de Taganrog, la configuration des isobathes et les données sur les vents dominants dans cette partie de la mer d'Azov permettent de supposer l'existence, près de la colonie de Taganrog, d'une baie servant d'abri naturel aux bateaux²⁹.

L'arrivée des Scythes nomades dans le Don inférieur date du deuxième quart du VIe siècle avant notre ère. C'est à cette époque que se rapportent les premières mentions de relations entre les colons grecs et les nomades des steppes du Bas-Don³⁰. Il est à noter que dans la partie insulaire du delta du Don, assez bien étudiée, il n'y a pas de complexes nomades datant du VIe siècle avant notre ère, contrairement aux steppes contiguës au delta, où il y en a beaucoup. Il convient de souligner aussi l'absence de complexes funéraires datés d'après la céramique grecque, chronologiquement limitée entre le dernier quart du VIe siècle et le premier quart du V^e siècle avant notre ère³¹. Les fragments d'amphores de cette époque, trouvés dans la partie insulaire du delta³² témoignent de l'arrivée des Grecs dans le pays après la disparition de la colonie de Taganrog. Il n'y a aucune autre colonie dans le pays. Les données que nous possédons ne permettent pas de résoudre le problème.

Le phénomène est dû au changement de la situation militaire et politique, ou bien peut-être au changement de la situation écologique dans le Priazovié nord-est.

À la fin du premier quart du Ve siècle avant notre ère, arrive dans la partie insulaire du delta du Don une nouvelle population de Scythes aux traditions visiblement sédentaires, qui fonde la cité d'Elizavietovskojé et des tertres funéraires³³ et contrôle les steppes du Priazovié nord-est jusqu'à la fin du IV^e siècle avant notre ère, pour quitter ensuite le pays³⁴. On trouve une analyse détaillée de l'influence de la situation écologique sur la culturogenèse dans le Don inférieur aux Ve-IV^e siècles avant notre ère dans une étude spécialisée de K. Marchenko³⁵, ce qui nous évite de l'examen de cette période dans l'histoire de la partie insulaire du delta. Il est toutefois à remarquer que les traces d'une crise écologique sont déjà évidentes au IV^e

29. Mes remerciements vont au géomorphologue G.V. Arpoxin d'avoir mis à ma disposition les résultats de ses propres recherches.

30. Kopylov 1994a, 22-25.

31. *Ibidem*, 25.

32. Zitnikov 1994, 179 sq.

33. Brachinchki - Marchenko 1980, 211.

34. Kopylov - Vasilev Belgorod 1991, 27.

35. Marchenko 1995.

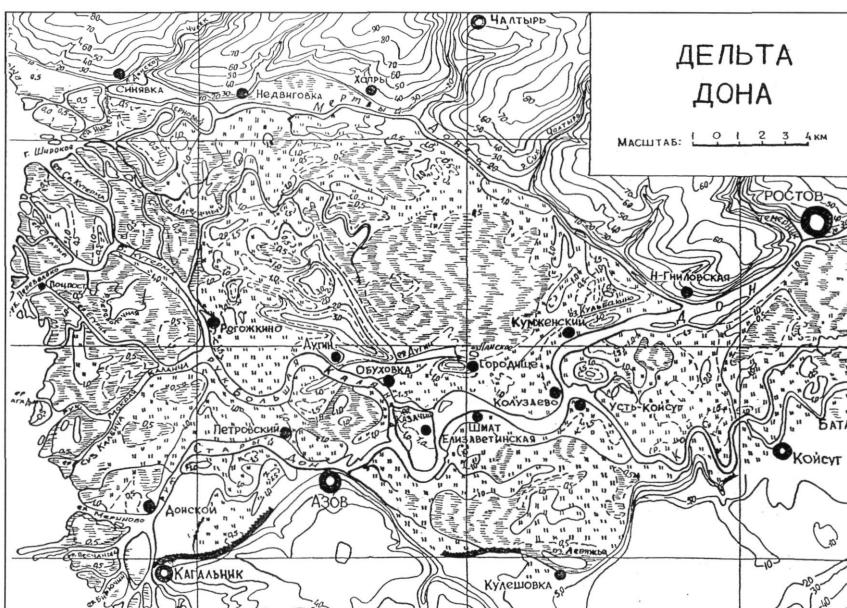


Fig. 2. Le delta du Don.

siècle avant notre ère dans cette partie du delta, la plus peuplée à l'époque³⁶.

Au tournant des IVe et IIIe siècles avant notre ère, Bospore installe sur le territoire de la cité quittée par les Scythes sa colonie, qui périt dans les années 70 du IIIe siècle avant notre ère. L'expédition du Centre archéologique de l'Université Pédagogique de Rostov-sur-le-Don s'occupe depuis quelques années des fouilles de cette colonie grecque en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Histoire de la Culture Matérielle de Saint-Pétersbourg.

La détérioration du climat à partir du milieu du IIIe siècle avant notre ère exerce une influence négative sur l'écologie du Don inférieur et, apparemment, rend la partie en question inhabitable. L'absence d'éléments archéologiques dans le pays jusqu'au Ier siècle de notre ère en est une bonne preuve. Ce n'est qu'au IIIe siècle de notre ère que des colonies apparaissent dans la partie insulaire du delta.

La limite évidente entre les sous-périodes subatlantiques moyenne et tardive est illustrée par les trouvailles qui appartiennent à la culture saltov des VIIIe-Xe siècles. L'analyse pollinique nous permet de dire que le climat de cette période dans la zone de steppe était doux et sec³⁷. Dans la partie insulaire du delta, on a découvert des camps ainsi que des monuments

36. Tickov 1985, 48.

37. Gerachmenko 1993, 38.

funéraires de cette époque.

Les monuments “post-saltes” du delta du Don sont représentés par des tombes des XIe-XIIIe siècles³⁸. Les matériaux polliniques nous prouvent que les conditions climatiques à cette époque étaient assez froides par rapport à celles de la période précédente dans la zone de steppe³⁹.

Nous sommes bien loin de penser que les observations et les conclusions sur lesquelles nous attirons ici l’attention sont définitives et n’exigent pas de précision et de correction. C’est d’ailleurs dans ce but qu’a été élaboré le programme de recherche du delta du Don dans notre université⁴⁰.

L’objectivité des recherches sera améliorée par la méthode paléopaysagère, qui englobe l’étude de toutes les formes actuelles du relief, gardant les traces des époques passées. Elle prévoit l’étude des débris végétaux, l’étude du sol, des recherches géochimiques et ostéologiques. Les analyses pollinologiques des échantillons des couches culturelles des sites archéologiques seront utilisées au maximum pour caractériser l’environnement de l’époque ancienne, suite aux recommandations d’utilisation de cette partie insulaire du delta à l’époque actuelle. La tâche consiste à assembler les données comparatives, qui permettront de recueillir des informations sur la diversité de l’économie et de l’alimentation des habitants de cette région qui, depuis l’époque ancienne, a été une zone de contact de peuples différents. Les variations qui seront avérées peuvent être reliées aux différents paysages et sols, mais peuvent aussi remonter à la différence des structures ethniques et sociales. Malheureusement, le manque de financement retarde l’acceleration des travaux et la réalisation de notre programme. L’expérience positive des recherches internationales menées par des chercheurs de divers pays sur le territoire de Novgorod⁴¹ nous laisse espérer qu’une telle collaboration est possible dans la région du Don.

Dans la région deltaïque du Don, l’ensemble des monuments archéologiques a été mis au jour et est assez bien étudié. Il constitue une partie importante du patrimoine culturel de notre pays, qu’il convient d’utiliser à titre de moyen éducatif efficace.

Les sites archéologiques exposés sur place font partie intégrante de l’environnement humanisé et ils renforcent sa conscience historique des gens. C’est pourquoi le Département de la Culture et de l’Art de la région de Rostov-sur-le-Don examine la possibilité de créer une réserve archéologique dans la région deltaïque du Don.

38. Larenko 1985, 29.

39. Gerachmenko 1993, 39.

40. Kopylov - Byrikov - Miagkova 1994.

41. Alclevén et alii., 1994, 240-242.

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GALINA NIKOLAENKO - LEONID MARCHENKO

KHERSONESOS TAURIKE NATIONAL RESERVE.
CREATION OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK IN THE
TERRITORY OF THE ANCIENT CITY (CRIMEA, SEVASTOPOL)

Khersonesos Taurike is a colony of Heraclea Pontica founded in 422-421 AD in the Crimean peninsula. It is located on the north coast of the Black Sea. By the time of foundation of Khersonesos already existed the Greek colonies of Panticapaeum, Theodosia and Kerkinitis. The steppe part of Crimea was populated by the Scythians, while the south-coast mountainous part by the clans of Tauri. According to the writings of the ancient authors the Khersonesos was located *in the Tauric land*. In spite of the barbarian environment the town had a purely Greek profile and outlook, preserved during its two thousand history and manifesting itself in its excellent geometry of space of the town and the *chora* organised according to the Hippodamian pattern.

In the 4th century BC the major part of land was organised in the form of rectangular lattice (fig. 1) by the method of creation of local systems of allotments (fig. 2). This method is not an invention of the local land measurers. Such systems are known in other regions of the Greek world, for instance in the south of Italy and Corinth, where they appeared about one and a half century before¹. The study of the remains of the ancient land-ownership in the Western Crimea is very important insofar as it enables to reconstruct the process of organisation of lands, the system of land using and land-possessing, as well as to reconstitute the agrotechnics of land-ownership in the peripheral *polis* during antiquity.

The uniquely preserved monuments, upon which the principle of organisation and subsequent development of the Greek *polis* in a barbarian environment can be modelled, attracted the attention of the specialists in the field of ancient history. From the end of the last century begins the intensive study of the town, the rural estates and agrotechnical constructions in the *chora*.

1. Descoedres (ed.) 1990, 350-363; Romano 1993, 9-30.

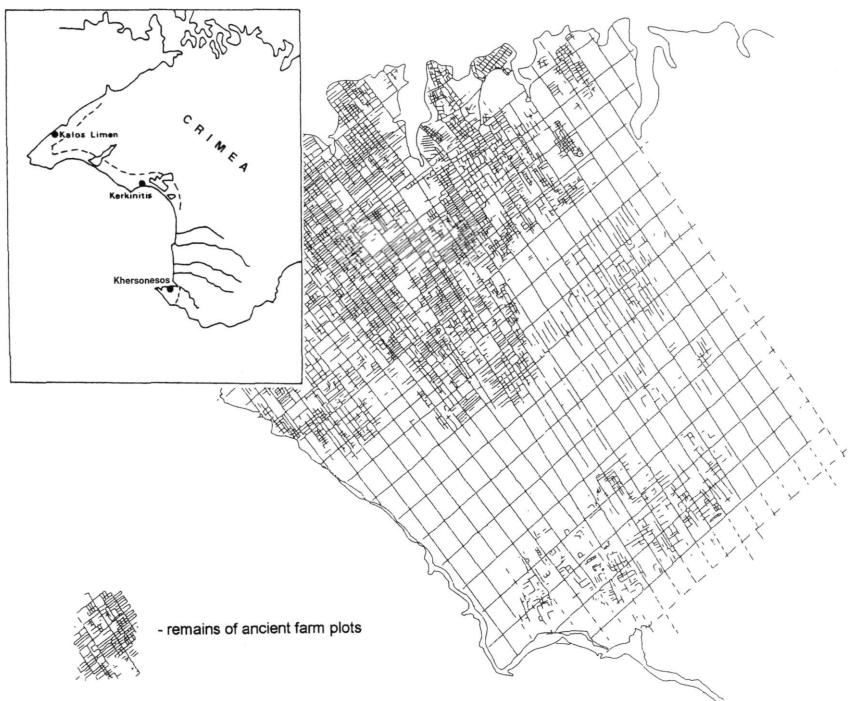


Fig. 1. Khersonesos Taurike and its territory.

By the beginning of the 60s the joint efforts of researchers resulted in the creation of a model for the organisation of the *chora*, represented in the monograph of S.F. Strzheletskij, which till recently remained the top study of the problems of ancient land-ownership and land-possessing². During the subsequent 15 years the researches in the closer area of the colonial territory stopped for objective reasons. However, in the 70s they were revived by a whole group of scholars from the Khersonesos reserve (Nikolaenko), the Institute of Archaeology (Shcheglov, Kruglikova), the Moscow State University (Kuzishchin) and other institutions. These studies led to a significant refinement of the existing model.

It has been proved that in the middle of the 4th century BC Khersonesos possessed an enormous surface of land, namely about 80,000 hectares. Half of the lands of Khersonesos were divided in the second half of the 4th century BC into plots (fig. 2) according to a unified system of measurement and a unique module. The basis for this division of land into standard plots was the plethron (1 plethron = 1,225 m²). It was defined that every citizen had to

2. Strzheletskij 1961.



Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of some colonial land plots.

have a plot equal to 36 plethra (4.4 hectares)³.

The studies showed that the lands that were organised in plots in this way, were designed for viticulture, one of the main trade cultures of the city of Khersonesos. In the stony soils special agrotechnical measures were undertaken for the erection of plantation walls to protect the soil and its blessings to be washed away (fig. 3). This was done for the creation of optimal conditions for a successful viticulture.

On the chora were built estates strengthened by towers (fig. 4). In many estates were found stationary wine-making equipment, on which the harvest, gathered in several allotments, was worked out. Some estates were towers, which were sanctuaries and watchtowers at once.

The team of researchers working in situ includes also the members of the Heraclea expedition of the national reserve Khersonesos Taurike, headed by G. Nikolaenko. The later specialists, in co-operation with specialists from various scientific disciplines and, primarily paleobotanists and geophys-

sists, revived the studies of the monuments of agriculture in the territory of Sevastopol, when the intensive industrial and residential building began 20 years ago. As results of the joint expedition was the discovery of 20 countryside estates, more than 40 allotments with agrotechnical constructions and roads separating them. A geodesic survey of the preserved part of the delimited territory, as well as a botanical map of the different regions, and a geophysical mapping of the north-western part of the chora was made by the method of electric proliferation.

The analysis of the new data in combination with epigraphic sources enabled us to modify and supplement the existing pattern of settlement and to create a new one for the evolution of the territory of Khersonesos. The chora of ancient Khersonesos was occupied by settlements of different size.

3. Nikolaenko 1985, 11-13.



Fig. 3. A view of the colonial territory with traces of the rural limits.

So we can recognise strengthened settlements of significant proportions, economic-industrial complexes, strengthened by a tower, not strengthened estates, watchtowers and towers-sanctuaries. All this was densely scattered on continuous network of lot allotments covering a space of 10,000 hectares.

The intensive growth of the infrastructure within the city *chora* shows its



Fig. 4. Part of farmhouse with the remains of a tower.

important role in the evolution of the city, as well as the great importance of the agricultural economy, serving as the material ground of the economic and cultural development of the Khersonesos city-state.

In whole the study of the remains at the *chora* of the ancient Khersonesos permits an hypothesis about the rural landscape of the Doric *polis*. Unfortunately the *chora* of Khersonesos is in danger of almost complete disappearance by the modern buildings and suffer the same fate with the other ancient Greek cities. This compels the specialists in the fields of ancient economy and agriculture to undertake concrete steps to save the monuments of Khersonesos the unique intactness of which has made its *chora* a privileged subject of scientific research and studies.

It is noteworthy that in the considered territory except the monuments of the ancient lots of allotments there are also other unique archaeological sites. The Khersonesos reserve and the municipal department for the preservation of monuments undertook lately several measures for the preservation of the archaeological heritage located within the archeological landscape and the use of archeological zones. In Sevastopol was created a general plan for the development of the city and the surroundings, in which was organically inscribed the scheme of the functional zoning of the monuments of archeology, suggested by the reserve.

In 1991 a plan of protection of historical and cultural monuments was elaborated. According to this plan, different zones of protection were established as well as the borders of the lots of the Khersonesos reserve in Heracleotic peninsula in Sevastopol. The scheme of the position of the lots within the limits of the reserve defines the regime (rules) for the protection of this invaluable archaeological heritage. For the elimination of inconstancies raised by the contemporary situation in land-ownership, was accepted the complex solution of ascribing the status of *reserved territory* to the lots with unique archaeological remains on them, which today belong to private, in order to transform these lots to the status of reserve in the future. This work was a continuation of that done in 1989 by the Kiev Scientific Research Institute for the Theory of Architecture and Town-building on the historical architectural supporting project of protected zones at the historical centre of Sevastopol.

The total area of the monuments included in the reserve is about 500 hectares. In 1994-95 was worked out historical architectural supportive plans and projects of zones for the protection of the historical and cultural heritage, dated from the Neolithic stands to the late mediaeval fortresses and located on the border of the city territory (in the region of Balaklava, Inkerman and Chernorechie). The work was done in accordance with the *Regulations for the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments*, issued affirmed by the ukranian government.

Taking into account the uniqueness of the ancient monuments of

Khersonesos and its surroundings the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma ascribed to Khersonesos by a Decree, the status of national institution and transferred all its archaeological heritage to the public property. Thanks to this, the actual city planning and geographical distribution of industrial and agricultural activities, has to take into consideration the special regulations concerning the protection of the archaeological and landscape heritage. Within the limits of the reserve, every constructive activity not connected with the restoration of monuments or their use, is forbidden. The borders of the reserve match (wherever is possible) with the planning or natural boundaries: roads, reservoir-sides, edges of ravines, watersheds, talwegs, etc.

In the legislative enactment for the landscape protection are directed towards the preservation of the historically natural relief, the reservoirs, the restoration of the historical view of the landscape and the connections with the environment, the elimination of buildings, distorting the landscape, the preservation and establishment of vegetation, the protection of waterside and other territories from landslide, breaks, strengthening of the slopes of ravines, their planting of trees and shrubs, necessary measures for natural protection.

To any building or earth work precede the necessary archaeological excavation from researchers with a licence and special permission of the state authorities for the protection of monuments.

The joint scientific expeditions is one of the very concrete measures for the study and evaluation of the monuments. The last three years, the *Heraclea Expedition of the Khersonesos Reserve* conducts investigations in the Khersonesos chora jointly with a team from the Texas University headed by the Director of the Institute of Classical Archaeology Joseph Carter, known expert in the study of similar monuments, namely for more than 20 years he studies the chora of Metapontum and Crotone in Lucano, in southern Italy.

These joint investigations are the first steps towards the creation of an archaeological park in the zone of Sevastopol. The initiative for this belongs to the national reserve *Khersonesos Taurike*. The aim of the creation of an archaeological park is the preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind by the conservation of the archaeological remains and their exhibition to a larger public, both the inhabitants of the region and the visitors.

According to this, the archaeological park consists of several parts with total area more than 200 hectares. It is located within the city, partly in the green zone of Sevastopol. The later and the burial grounds of the native population of the pre-colonial period, of the strengthening of the ancient period, the allotments and the country estates of the inhabitants of Khersonesos, the Roman military camps, the medieval donjons, the Genoese fortresses, the Christian monasteries, sculptured on the rocky slopes of ravines, the ancient agrotechnical constructions, the storage lake systems

and other monuments.

In 1996 under the financial support of the *World Foundation of Monuments* were initiated restoration and repair works in the largest part of the park with total area 120 hectares, located among the contemporary gardens. This territory is part of the ancient chora, in which 14 allotments and estates established in the second half of the 4th century BC. were preserved. Some of them vanished in the Hellenistic age, others at the end of the Roman period, and some remain till the 10th-13th centuries AD. The study of these diverse in type and time monuments of the ancient agriculture will give new data and wide information for historical reconstructions.

In order to get a clearer idea about the topic *lot-estate* it is planned to study the lots of the roads connecting lots, as well as to restore by experimental means the lot of vineyard and wind-protective belt by plantations of vines and fig-trees, applying the agrotechnics of the ancient cultivators of Khersonesos.

The program of works in this lot includes:

- Excavations and conservation work of archaeological remains;
- The elaboration of a project of reconstruction of estates, territories, and plots of the Hellenistic and Roman ages and the agrotechnic systems in the fields;
- The planning of tourist routes.
- The equipment of a service building, access-roads and camping.

The outlined program is supposed to be implemented together with archaeologists and other scientists from USA and Ukraine (Kiev, Crimea and Sevastopol). From the USA part, investigations for some years are planned, i.e. investigations of the chora by a group of specialists from the Texas University and the participation of architects and conservators in the project of the evaluation of the archaeological heritage.

The support by the Ukrainian government, namely the Ministry of Culture and the Arts is a long-term financing for the development of the reserve, aiming primarily at the conservation and restoration works in the chora. Further, in the site of ancient town, at the reconstruction of the ancient theatre the medieval reservoir, the residential districts of various periods (with work on reconstruction of the electric system, the telephone installation, the water-supply system, the maintenance of the archaeological infrastructure on which is supposed to be established the international school of archaeologists).

Questions of financing of the above project are considered. With the assistance of the Texas University and personally Joseph Carter, Khersonesos was included in the list of the 100 monuments of the world, the preservation of which as it concerns restoration is inspected by the *World Monument Fund*. Moreover, the Khersonesos reserve, the Texas University and the USA Embassy in Ukraine submitted to the *International Soros Fund*

Renaissance a proposal for the creation of a park.

The financial support of the USA aims at the creation of an archaeological park in the chora of Khersonesos. The conservation and restoration works of the defensive walls of the town and coastal fortification works. Unfortunately, we lacked earlier such a possibility, since Sevastopol, in the territory of which Khersonesos is found, was closed for foreign specialists or even tourists.

Now the situation has become better and we hope that the implementation of the project outlined above on the study and conservation of monuments of ancient landscape will attract new researchers in Khersonesos and its chora, as well as new sponsors.

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KOSTAS SBONIAS

ACCEPTING DIVERSITY AND THE MULTIPLE LAYERS OF MODERN GREEK IDENTITY. THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN GREECE

A central issue of the Zakynthos Symposium is the ways that cultural landscapes are perceived, evaluated and presented to the public¹. This emphasis on perception and evaluation and not merely on the presentation of archaeological sites and monuments underlines the fact that the ways in which we become aware of the past and the reasons we embrace, alter or exclude it is a complex issue.

Although we can hardly accept the relativist position of the subjective and political nature of historical knowledge, our perception of the past is indeed to a large extent a constructed image. It is a rediscovered, "domesticated" past² preserved and made accessible within a historical setting that affects its meaning and understanding. As David Lowenthal puts it "The past as we know it is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics"³. A central question in any attempt to study and evaluate cultural landscapes is how the perception of what constitutes our heritage is constructed. What is the role of assumptions, biases, omissions and hidden ideologies in shaping our knowledge of the past; to what extent do they influence the ways we choose to conserve and excavate our sites and monuments and present the museum collections to the public; how do changes in our perception of the past affect our heritage and ourselves?

Among the various factors that affect our perception and policies⁴ nationalism takes a central role. Within the framework of national history

1. I would like to thank Dr B. Phelps for correcting the English text, Dr J. Bintliff for his help and friendship during my stay in Durham, and Captain D. Boudouris for giving me time to write this paper during my military service in Chios.

2. Kristiansen 1992, 9-10.

3. Lowenthal 1985, 26.

4. Cf. Lowenthal 1985; Bintliff 1988; Gathercole - Lowenthal 1990; Kristiansen 1992.

the cultural heritage as presented and interpreted often ignores the complexity and diversity of previous experience and takes a formal, standardized, homogenous form shaped or influenced by official policies and ideologies. A large amount of bibliography illuminates the politics connected with the display of the past and the role that archaeology has played in serving establishment ideologies and aims of nation - and colonial states⁵. From trying through a unified syllabus to develop notions of the nation-history and identity and justify the cultural bases of the nation⁶ to the misuse of archaeology by fascist and racist regimes to legitimize their positions⁷. Biases in the interpretation and presentation of the past are found especially within multi-cultural societies, where dominant groups shape the official ideology, denying access and evaluation of the past to other subordinate groups. Political struggle for self-determination in many parts of the world is thus linked with archaeology and the use and presentation of the past⁸. But even if we leave apart such conscious misuse of archaeology, the relationship between nationalism and archaeology remains fundamental. As Diaz-Andreu and Champion notice, nationalism "is deeply embedded in the very concept of archaeology, in its institutionalization and development", as to a great extent it was nationalism that stimulated the creation and development of archaeology as a discipline⁹.

THE IDEOLOGICAL USE OF THE GREEK PAST

With the model of nation-state dominant in Europe, it is not strange that Greece, under the direct political, economic and ideological influence of the European powers, should follow the same path. Its glorious past and its appropriation by the Europeans created an idealized image of Greece that ensured the support of the European philhellenes for the emergent nation-state during the Greek War of Independence¹⁰ and reinforced the ideological use of the past as the dominant ideology of the new state¹¹. Since then the past, equated with the ancient Greek past, is used with pride as "symbolic capital"¹² and it is not an exaggeration to argue that to this "capital" modern Greece owes a lot. From its recognition as a nation-state to its present position within the European community. Koraes, an eminent Greek scholar

5. Trigger 1984; Gathercole - Lowenthal 1990; Stone - MacKenzie 1990; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996a.

6. See papers in Graves-Brown - Jones - Gamble 1996.

7. Arnold 1990; Wiwijorra 1996.

8. Layton 1989; Stone - MacKenzie 1990.

9. Diaz-Andreu - Champion 1996b, 3, 11.

10. St. Clair 1972.

11. Skopetea 1988; Kotsakis 1991, 66.

12. Hamilakis - Yalouri 1996; Hurst 1986.

of the late 18th/early 19th century¹³, clearly formulated the exploitation of this ideological potential:

*The Greeks, proud of their origin, far from closing their eyes to the lights of Europe, considered the Europeans as mere debtors, who could repay with very great interest a capital sum received by them from the Greeks' ancestors*¹⁴.

Yet despite the common sense of identity among the Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians of the Eastern Roman Empire as well as efforts towards the end of the Byzantine period to reinforce links with the classical past¹⁵, this identity of cultural continuity was largely a constructed image¹⁶. As Kristiansen notices: "A feeling of connection to the past is in fact an expression of an 'imagined' subjective community which only rarely contains any socio-historical reality"¹⁷. The formation of national consciousness is a historical process, that in the case of Greece underwent various stages too: Greekness as the common and equally accessible heritage of the multi-ethnic Byzantium¹⁸; collective identity as the expression of attachment to the land and the immediate environment as well as to a church, that progressively took on nationalistic characteristics (Greek, Bulgarian or Serbish); with the spread of 19th century nationalism emphasis on culture as the main component of being Greek, especially among the educated component of the population¹⁹; progressive shift of the weight from stressing consciousness created by culture and religion and not language or origin as the primary criterion of Greekness to arguments of unbroken linear descent from the ancient Greeks, culminating at certain times in modern Greek history, such as the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936-1940, in the forced assimilation of non-Greek speaking groups²⁰.

Yet although the ancient Greek past provided the ideological framework, it was the heritage of the Byzantine past under Ottoman rule, the Greek speaking Orthodox church and its collective consciousness, that provided the link to unify the populations of the new Greek state²¹. Moreover Greek, being the language of commerce and the church, attracted many Orthodox Christians towards Hellenism and Greece²².

Around these two poles of Greek history, the Classical and the Byzantine, the construction of national history evolved, affecting the ways that Greek

13. Dimaras 1985; Beaton 1991.

14. Cited in Herzfeld 1982, 16.

15. Svoronos 1976, 21-22.

16. Cf. Herzfeld 1982; Friedman 1992.

17. Kristiansen 1992, 18.

18. Petropoulos 1976, 23.

19. Herzfeld 1982, 18.

20. Skopetea 1988, 29-40; Kitromilides 1989; Lithoxoos 1992; Divani 1995, 131, 228, 261.A

21. Vryonis 1976; Gerasis 1989, 26-35.

22. See Vouri 1992 for the role of church and education in shaping national consciousness.

archaeology established itself as a discipline. The Classical past was regarded as a crucial means for symbolizing the essence of the new state and this ideology remains at the centre of state policy in education and cultural resource management. The dominant position of the Classical past is not strange, as this past validates the present. On the contrary, Greek prehistory had to struggle to find its recognition through the Classical ruins²³. Being treated not on its own merits, but as a stage, a forerunner of the Classical civilization, was not unusual. Moreover prehistoric civilizations had to fit into pre-conceptions of the Classical ideal. The reaction caused in Greece by the theory of the human sacrifice in the Minoan sanctuary of Anemospilia in Crete is an example²⁴. Although Minoan is a non-Greek culture preceding the Classical civilization by about one thousand years, the possibility of conducting ceremonies involving human sacrifice was unthinkable. Archaeological finds had to be interpreted within the framework of an idealized image of Greece. But more considerable was the effect on the study of the Middle Ages in Greece. Archaeological research was confined to Byzantine monuments, such as churches, frescos, mosaics and icons, as Byzantine history and archaeology undertook, not without opposition from the pure classicists²⁵, the task of establishing the link between ancient and modern times. Moreover the study of the period and its presentation to the public was made from the point of view of Constantinople, from the perspective of the capital of an empire, the *imperium romanum*, and not from that of the provinces that today constitute the modern Greek state. Outside of Byzantine archaeology, the study of the Middle Ages remained almost non-existent as a field, and periods of non-Byzantine dominance of the country, e.g. Frankish, Ottoman etc., were to a great extent neglected, as their impact on the Greek essence was considered as corrupting. It is characteristic that till 1950 the archaeological legislation protected only antiquities dating before 1453, the year of the Fall of Constantinople²⁶. Even today the discipline of medieval archaeology, with the exception of Byzantine Archaeology, is very weak in the Greek Universities²⁷. The same set of ideological concerns dominated Greek folklore studies, which were organized around the principle of cultural continuity, seeking to discover surviving ancient traces in the rural population, reinstate the connecting link with the ancient ancestors and thus strengthen the identity of the modern state²⁸.

23. Cf. Kotsakis 1991.

24. Sakellarakis 1994, 23-24.

25. Cf. Skopetea 1988, 177-184.

26. Petrakos 1982, 36-37.

27. Cf. however, Williams II - Zervos 1992; Bintliff - Hamerow 1995; Lock 1995; Lock - Sanders 1996.

28. Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978; Herzfeld 1982, 4-8; Danforth 1984.

CONTESTED GREEK PASTS

These ideological outlooks have taken a strong hold, and Greece is characterized today by an overwhelmingly homogenous population in terms of culture, language, religion and consciousness. Yet during the first stages of the new state a much more complex reality pertained. In contrast to the middle class and the educated segment of the population, a large illiterate rural population with almost no documented history predominated in the Greek countryside. The situation in the new lands acquired after 1918 shows the extreme end of a complex situation. In Greek Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace alongside the main Greek speaking local or refugee component a mosaic of populations was living together. Slavic-speaking with Greek or Bulgarian ethnic consciousness, Moslems of Albanian (Tsamidhes), Turkish, Greek (Valaadhes) or other origin (Pomaks, Gypsies), Vlachs with Greek or Rumanian ethnic consciousness, Jews and Armenians²⁹. The matter of the national consciousness of these people was vague from the beginning. It is characteristic of the confusion how the Tsamidhes, a Moslem Albanian-speaking group living in Greek Epirus (Thesprotia) till the second World War, were treated by the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1924. Divani notes: "Most of them had no idea of their origin. Usually their position was determined by the question of property. Those who believed that by going to Turkey they would acquire land, declared they were Turks, those who believed that in this way they would retain all their property in Epirus, said they were Albanians. Most of them characterized themselves simply as Moslems"³⁰. The historical version of the origin of such groups was equally complex; a variety of competing stories existed side by side, serving the propaganda and the territorial claims of the different Balkan countries.

Greek archaeology and anthropology hardly shed any light on the historical discourse, unable to free themselves from their patriotic character. Occupied with trying to demonstrate the diachronic continuity in Greek history, they neglected or saw as irrelevant any other aspect of it.

The shift of focus to a distant Classical past over the last two centuries as well as the "alteration" of the more recent past in order to conform with the view of modern national states as natural and eternal essences, as seen for example in the hellenization of Slavic, Turkish and Albanian place-names in the Greek countryside, has largely affected the ability of Greeks to perceive and become aware of their cultural landscapes. What makes us aware of the past is our surroundings and monuments. Yet as memories and the immediate environment are considered as irrelevant, we loose the ability to

29. Kitromilides 1989; Kofos 1989; Lithoxoos 1992, 37-51; Divani 1995; Agelopoulos 1995.

30. Divani 1995, 234 (our translation); see also Ladas 1932, 384-390.

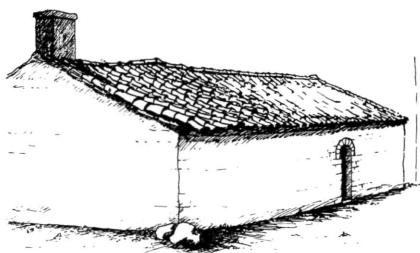


Fig. 1. Single storey stone house from Thespies, Boeotia, c. 1780 (from Stedman 1996, 189, fig. 2).

interact with the remnants of the past and to respond to this knowledge. Memory of past experience is lost and remnants on the ground become unfamiliar. We lose the ability to perceive and recognize them. Things become unintelligible, with no value, and are thus destroyed or not recognized as worth preserving. Our present is another one, and thus the benefit of the past in making the present familiar becomes irrelevant.

So in Greece today the link with people's "own" past at the local and regional level is expressed only indirectly, for example in the important role that regions play in the political patronage system as well as in the strong ties that the population of major centers shows towards its place of origin, with people returning there for holidays and feasts and maintaining their political rights there. Yet this identity is an identity of place, a geographical origin. The monuments expressing regional history and character are not always recognized as worth preserving. The past is lost at an ever-increasing rate, as memories and oral traditions die. The whole history is projected back to a mythical past. It is characteristic of the ideological power of classicism that the 19th century neo-classical style in architecture is perceived often as the basic traditional form in Greek architecture, as in the past the variety of local traditions was confined within a norm, not recognizing elements of the several regional cultures as worth preserving. Recognizing the value of the local heritage, even if it has for example the simple form of a single-storey longhouse, the traditional vernacular architecture in the villages of Boeotia³¹ (fig. 1), is something not always evident in the Greek towns.

Yet a multitude of elements constitutes the Greek past, and an extreme local diversity can be observed which creates a variety of cultural landscapes that remain largely unexploited. A less considered component is constituted by the history of non-Greek speaking groups, such as the Arvanites and Vlachs³², who were incorporated in the making of the modern Greek state not as ethnic minorities but as basic constituents of the modern Greek nation. Their largely collective consciousness with the rest Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian population, as well as their restiveness under Turkish rule, provided a powerful argument for their assimilation to the Greek

31. Stedman 1996, 185, fig. 2.

32. Jochalas 1971; Biris 1997; Divani 1995; Balamaci 1991; Karakasidou 1993.

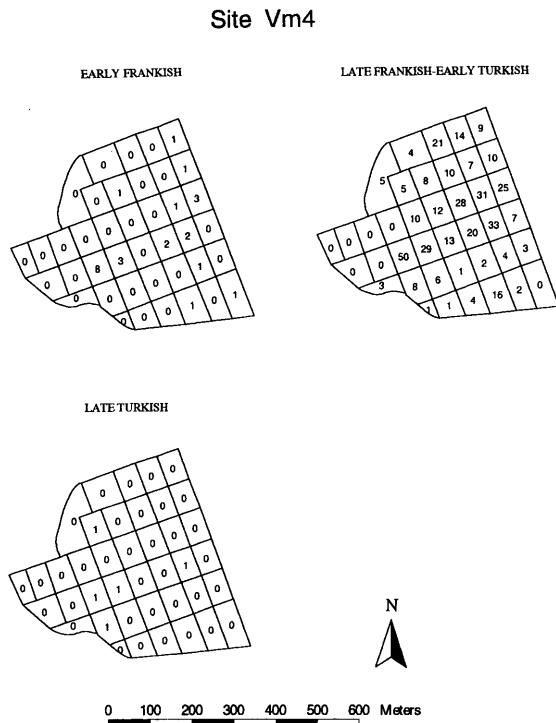


Fig. 2. Distribution of the early Frankish, late Frankish-early Turkish and late Turkish sherds in the site VM 4 in the Valley of the Muses (based on data from the Boeotia survey project).

national identity. Yet their individual history has never been fully handled outside the filter of what ideally is meant to be Greek. The lack of differentiation in Greece between the concept of ethnicity and nationality, both are expressed by the same term “*ethnikotita*”, further contributes to this attitude. This equates ethnic cultural characteristics with national consciousness and leaves little place for cultural variability. It is worth noting that in contrast to other European countries, where a renaissance of nationalism in archaeological interpretations can be observed³³, in Greece no such use of the past is evident for the self-determination of certain groups,

33. Diaz-Andreou - Champion 1996b, 11.

34. See, though, the Macedonian issue, the appropriation of the ancient Macedonian past by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and its links with the debate about the existence of a Slavomacedonian minority in Northern Greece; Karakasidou 1993; Danforth 1993; Brown 1994; Roudometof 1996.

35. Ladas 1932.

which could be seen as threatening to the central administration³⁴.

The way that the ethnological complexity of Southern Balkan was confronted in the past, that is by massive population transfers in the first half of the century³⁵, also contributed to the alienation of Greeks from the diversity of the cultural landscapes of their country. So the exodus of Slavonic-speakers and Moslem Turks and Albanians left historical landscapes not valued any more, while the influx of Greeks from Asia Minor created new ones, projecting back to memories and traditions from the “lost countries”. Moreover the very popular view of the assimilating power of Hellenism, that is able to absorb any foreign cultural and racial elements and remain intact over time, based on the fact that in the Medieval and Early Modern periods cultural homogenization in Greece was achieved by the Greek speaking population over the successful invaders, prevented the acknowledgment and study of the variety of cultural elements that influenced, affected or altered Hellenism over the centuries³⁶.

Going beyond the view of the past as exclusively a record of “our own” culture opens up further possibilities for perceiving a wealth of historical landscapes. This presupposes that we develop the ability to see the traces of history outside ourselves and not merely as a symbol of identity. Archaeology can play a crucial role in helping the public to recognize the variety of human cultural experience and acknowledge the importance of it. An example is accepting the wealth of other cultural traditions, such as the Ottoman, which Greeks often find difficult to identify with. Yet the attitude towards such traces of the past is influenced largely by present politics. This is seen for example in the different reactions of the public towards Venetian and Turkish elements in the vernacular architecture of the old city of Rethymnon, in Crete. Although in the past there was a strong resistance against oppression by both Venetians and Turks, today Venetian elements are valued positively, reflecting a common European Past, in contrast to Turkish ones that are still viewed as symbols of past misery³⁷. Even the decision to preserve this architecture is not free of ideology, on the contrary, as Herzfeld notices, fits “the liberal ideology of self-occidentalization: we are not like the Turks... who destroy our churches and turn them into mosques or museums”³⁸.

Although the above issues are important, the discussion in Greece is not adequate³⁹. Yet not raising such issues creates conflicts and contrasts,

36. See Skopetea 1988, 186-187 for the ideological and political background of eliminating the Slavic presence in Greece during the Middle Ages; Malingoudis 1991 for a different approach.

37. Herzfeld 1991, 227, 232-233.

38. Herzfeld 1995, 227; 1991, 15.

39. Cf. however, Skopetea 1988; Andreadis 1989; Kotsakis 1991; Karakasidou 1994; Hamilakis - Yalouri 1996.

especially as in an ever-increasing rate regions play a more prominent role in the administration as well as in the educational system through projects of teaching local history to schools. Conflicts with the developed perceptions of the nation's history and identity that focus on the ancient Greek and Byzantine past are created. The problem of reconciling a rich variety of cultural heritage with the need for uniformity on which nation-states are founded hasn't yet found a satisfactory solution in Greek archaeology and heritage management. Moreover confining archaeology and history to a distant classical past affects the ability to interact with traces of later periods and respond to this knowledge. On the other side, the reaction of many Greeks towards what is seen as excessive preoccupation with the Greek past, perceived again as ancient Greek past, doesn't offer solutions but creates an unhistoric view of modern Greek identity. In this perspective preoccupation with the past is denied in favor of the present, the insistent and one-sided presentation of antiquity by the Greek institutions is seen as problematic, as it obscures the face of modern Greece.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY IN REVEALING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Within this framework archaeological survey projects offer new insights into the ways we perceive cultural landscapes. Intensive Survey is an archaeological technique that consists of fieldwalking across the countryside in continuous blocks or in samples producing quantitative estimates of the distribution of pottery on the surface. Evaluation of this surface pottery permits us to generate settlement distributions, or estimate the size of sites and locate zones of agricultural intensification, data which open up new possibilities in the study of social, economic and demographic trends⁴⁰. The implications for the study of antiquity are well known⁴¹. Yet some of these characteristics, for example the ability to go beyond commemorations of ancient authors with a bias towards certain periods, cities and levels of society, allowing in parallel a glimpse of rural areas and the fortunes of individuals living in the countryside, have a parallel in later periods as well.

The emphasis of such projects in the long term development as well as their limited geographical scale develops an interest in the study of present regional communities and a shift of focus from large scale national history to local regional history. The Greek countryside and the rural component of the Greek population, whose archaeology had a limited role in shaping the official view of history and ideology, comes in the foreground. A wide range

40. Cf. Keller - Rupp 1983; Macready - Thompson 1985; Barker - Lloyd 1991; Cherry et alii 1991; Jameson et alii 1994; Bintliff - Sbonias 1999.

41. Cf. Alcock 1993 for an example.

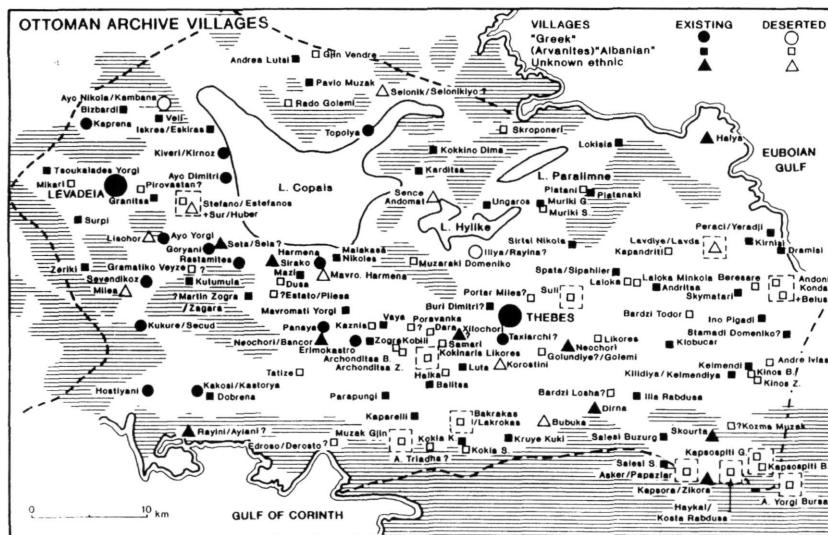


Fig. 3. Ottoman archive villages in Boeotia, 15th-17th century, with recorded ethnicity and presentday status (occupied/deserted, from Bintliff 1995, 127, fig. 10).

of interdisciplinary methodologies is used, like geophysics, augering, excavation, geomorphological work, environmental analysis, faunal evidence, documentary studies and cemetery data, in order to reconstruct the long term development of a region⁴². Surveys seek to understand how the different forces of history operated at different timescales in the transformation of settlement and culture and so go beyond the selection of certain periods, that could fit in the filter of the official ideology. They go also beyond efforts to study periods under the perspective of establishing links between high antiquity and modern times for ideological reasons. All monuments and periods are treated the same irrespective of their ideological or symbolic value. Lack of interest in spectacular finds is a characteristic of surveys.

Looking with a fresh eye at the landscape survey projects can go beyond the complex knot of ideologies, propaganda and political strategies. They shift the perspective from the centre to the region, from the homogenous to the variety of human experience and culture. New ways of approaching monuments, histories, people and modes of life are created. Especially for the medieval period surveys recreate the lost link between history and the region and its monuments. Neglected periods and types of monuments become material for study⁴³. New data are revealed that offer new insights

42. Cf. Barker et alii, 1995 for an example.

43. Cf. for example Lock 1986; Sorensen - Guldager 1987; Sutton 1990; Stedman 1996.

into dark periods of Greek history. The flourishing for example of the Greek countryside in the Early Ottoman period, as seen in the dense settlement pattern revealed by surveys, is in contrast with the public held view of misery and poverty under Turkish rule, shaped by the political and economic decline of the Ottoman empire in the 17th century. Figure 2 based on data from the Boeotia survey project⁴⁴ shows for example the growth of the village VM4, successor to the classical village of Askra as the centre of the valley of the Muses in the medieval period, from a small site in the early Frankish period to a large village in the late Frankish to early Turkish with cultural material spread over the entire site area.

The growth of such villages in the Early Ottoman era as well as the dense settlement pattern of the Boeotian landscape revealed by the survey is only partially a result of the considerable natural population increase within the Early Ottoman period⁴⁵. It reflects also the Albanian colonization that almost doubled the population within a very short period around 1400 AD, in the Late Frankish period. From the political history⁴⁶ as well as from the study of the Ottoman census records⁴⁷ we know the main points of development⁴⁸. A picture of massive depopulation characterizes the late Frankish period, a result of the mid-14th century Black death and increasing warfare between Franks, Byzantines and Ottomans, leading the Duke of Athens to invite Albanian settlers (Arvanites) to repopulate the Boeotian landscape, a practice continued also under the Early Ottoman administration. These villages, although initially small with a mainly pastoralist base, grew gradually and stabilized themselves so that by 1570 the rural population of Boeotia is Arvanitic (Albanian), in contrast to the predominantly Greek population of the urban centers.

Such villages are definitely found by the survey as they are associated with a new pottery style and mark the relocation of villages. From the pottery alone it is not possible to determine the ethnicity, yet the study of the Ottoman census records by Kiel⁴⁹ together with efforts by John Bintliff to localize the named villages on the basis of the survey data⁵⁰ offers important information for reconstructing the historical landscape of Medieval Boeotia (fig. 3). So in a series of period by period settlement maps we can follow the settlement history of Boeotia, from the medieval to the present times⁵¹:

44. Bintliff - Snodgrass 1985; Gillings - Sbonias 1998.

45. The population quadruples within a century according to Kiel 1997 and 1999.

46. Jochalas 1971.

47. Kiel 1997 and 1999.

48. Bintliff 1995, 1996, 1996a.

49. Kiel 1997 and 1999.

50. Bintliff - Kiel, forthcoming.

51. See Bintliff 1995, figs 4-12.

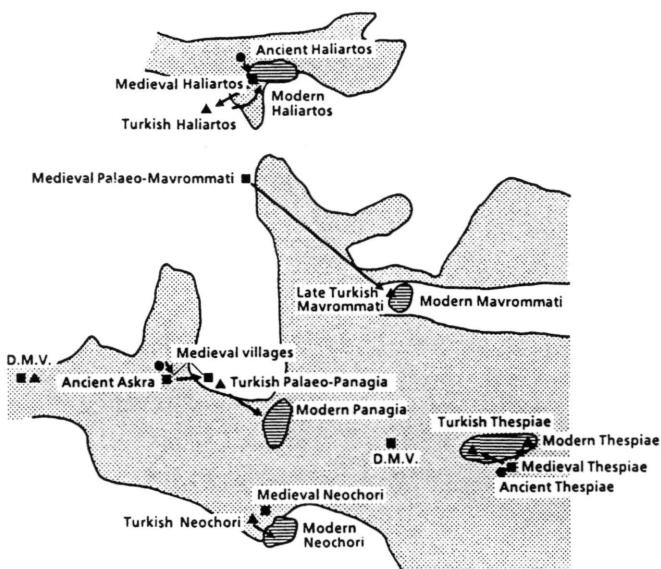


Fig. 4. Post Roman settlement foci and key soils (from Bintliff - Snodgrass, 1988, 205, fig. 14.23).

- a high degree of continuity of settlement location from Greco-Roman times to the high Middle Ages;
- dramatic loss of traditional Greek village populations in East Boeotia at the end of the Frankish era, in the 14th-15th centuries, and abandonment of numerous Byzantine village sites;
- a considerable population increase between the late Frankish and early Ottoman era, a result of the planned Albanian resettlement and natural population growth; appearance of new village sites and relocations within deserted ones;
- stagnation and decline in the late Ottoman period, when many villages in the Arvanitic Eastern Boeotia are abandoned, in contrast to Greek villages in the west that are less affected;
- finally a revival between the late Ottoman and early Modern period, with a high proportion of villages still occupied today.

In many cases the shifts of settlement from the post-Roman period to modern times can be followed and the long-term history of individual villages reconstructed (fig. 4)⁵².

Yet the use of such material in local history projects at schools or in exhibitions at the regional level could be controversial, as it clearly comes

52. Cf. Bintliff - Snodgrass 1988, 180 and fig. 14.23.

into conflict with the ideology of a common ancient Greek past, as was discussed above. It also conflicts with the view of education as an ideological mechanism for shaping national consciousness, an educational tradition that, although it has its roots back to the 19th century⁵³, still makes its traces visible today in some cases.

The case of the Arvanites is a good example for revealing the problems created, as their presence has never been disputed by the modern Greek state, on the contrary their contribution was recognized as fundamental in its creation. The predominantly Arvanitic origin of many leaders in the Greek War of Independence, their compact and widespread physical presence in the Greek countryside, especially in the regions of Boeotia, Attica and northern Peloponnese, their orthodox religion and attachment to the Greek Church, as well as the late formation of an Albanian national movement outside Greece in the late 19th century, allowed their incorporation into the Greek state not as a separate ethnicity, but as a close relative to the Greek nation. Several theories in Greek bibliography contributed to this also, which downplayed the different ethnicity, seeing Arvanites as a branch of the Greek race, a relationship going back as far as the prehistoric Pelasgians, “common ancestors” of ancient Greeks and Illyrians, or to the Dorians, who in an earlier time, like Arvanites, had come to Greece from the North⁵⁴.

With such public held views it is not strange that conflicts are created when archaeological results on the settlement and village history of the region find their way at the local level. Opposition is caused from the side of the public, that often is itself of Arvanitic origin. This is seen for example in the reaction observed when the origin of Arvanites is mentioned, especially when they are referred to with the term “Albanian” instead of that of “Arvanites” that is commonly used by both Greeks and Arvanites⁵⁵. The reaction is indicative of the Greek perception of Arvanites, who regard themselves as being both Greek and Arvanites, and not as Albanians, on which they usually tend to look down.

The stand of Arvanites themselves against their dialect, the Arvanitika, shows an example of the conflicts of identity created. Arvanitika, a dialect of tosk or southern Albanian, which has followed an independent line of evolution from Albanian since the 14th century⁵⁶, is the only identifying characteristic that differentiates Arvanites from the rest of the Greek speaking population. Otherwise Arvanites live in a typical Greek village in

53. Cf. Vouri 1992.

54. Cf. Skopetea 1988, 188 and note 37; Biris 1997; Kollias 1992.

55. Arvanitis (plural Arvanites) is a Greek word that literally means the person who comes from Albania, yet it has come to designate the group without any ethnic connotations; for the etymology see Biris 1997, 13-15.

56. Tsitsipis 1983, 290-291.

respect to economy, architecture and cultural traditions, even their costume, the Arvanitic kilted dress, was adopted as the national Greek costume in 1828⁵⁷. In deserted villages the Boeotia survey was unable to distinguish ethnicity on the basis of the pottery, as the same ceramics were found in both Greek and Arvanitic villages, whilst in vernacular architecture the long-storey single house was the typical traditional form in both types of villages. Arvanitika is a dying language today as a change in attitudes to the language and ethnic group membership has been taking place since the foundation of the modern Greek state⁵⁸. The current generation of Arvanites doesn't face any problems of practical nature (but also no encouragement or positive measures for protecting cultural characteristics) as they are assimilated to Greek culture, yet sociopsychological problems certainly exist. This is reflected in the lack of importance they attach in maintaining their language, on the contrary children exert a strong pressure to change their parent's speech habits⁵⁹. So although there is a pride in being an Arvanitis, a race associated with toughness, honesty and comradeship, and although language distinctiveness does not appear to be accompanied by any awareness of a separate ethnic identity⁶⁰, the arvanitic dialect, this main cultural characteristic, is consciously dismissed, under the ideological dominance of modern Greek culture.

Denying traces of regional history, which are seen as separating them from a sense of a shared past as perceived through common held views of Modern Greek identity, is another expression of the conflicts created by competing values and conceptualizations of the past and of the pressure felt for cultural homogenization. From this perspective, possibilities in the educational system as well as in local heritage management for perceiving past cultural landscapes and the ability to place them in the long-term history of the region can bring greater awareness of the value of cultural diversity and solve existing problems of conflicting identities in present-day communities.

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological Heritage Management is “implicitly concerned with the definition of, and debates about cultural, historical and national identities”⁶¹. In Greece, where sometimes different opinions on culture and history are

57. Biris 1997, 288, note 2.

58. Trudgill - Tzavaras 1977; Tsitsipis 1983.

59. Trudgill - Tzavaras 1977, 181.

60. In a questionnaire, to the question whether it is possible to be an Arvanitis and a Greek at the same time 98% answered yes, 2% that they were Greeks, not Arvanites; cf. Trudgill - Tzavaras 1977, 179.

61. Smith 1993, 56; Rowlands 1994.

perceived as unpatriotic when coming from Greeks or as attacks on Greek integrity when coming from foreigners, archaeologists should define their role and position in debates about contested pasts.

In this paper we argued that archaeology can increase the value to society of “our other” past. Incorporating archaeological data from contested pasts in the local heritage management promotes the acceptance and evaluation of a rich cultural history, creating in parallel through an open history at the local level a change of attitudes in the ways people perceive themselves and their history. Moreover this allows us to move from a debate on the rigid continuity of Hellenism from ancient to modern times, to an understanding of the creation of this continuous historical tradition out of diverse characteristics, discontinuity and change⁶².

Archaeology can be an important factor through which historical knowledge is communicated and should take an active role within education. This presupposes that it works independently from state ideology and that there is a separation between politics and academic research. At the academic level the recognition of the multi-cultural perspective as constituent in shaping the history of medieval and early modern Greece requires the further development of medieval archaeology, beyond the limits of classical and byzantine art and archaeology. At the level of heritage management it demands new criteria and strategies for excavating, preserving and presenting sites to the public.

Especially important is the integration of landscape archaeology in the ways that past environments are presented to the public. Over the last decades presentation of the past has shifted from museums displaying objects to the integration and presentation of whole environments either as part of a monument or historical site or for its own sake as a past landscape⁶³. Landscape studies and archaeological surveys, not focusing on particular monuments but recreating whole cultural landscapes, can go beyond the notion of landscape as merely a part of an archaeological site. They present landscapes as living organisms over time. They add the dimension of time and of the forces of history over time and open up new possibilities at the level of presentation and communication of history to the public.

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62. Beaton 1991, 16-17.

63. Kristiansen 1992, 10-11.

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JOHN L. BINTLIFF

LOCAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN GREECE. THE POTENTIAL AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

In many if not most regions of Greece the work of archaeologists and historians is seen as remote from the lives and traditions of contemporary communities, unless it concerns events and places that are part of the national traditions of Greece, such as the Athens-centred classical florescence, the development of the Orthodox Church, and locations that feature prominently in the War of Independence. The work of regional public archaeologists is often perceived as a threat to agricultural and industrial development, and for most people the history and prehistory of their own parish or town, and the rich remains of previous settlements and monuments even in such small landscape and townscape units is both poorly-known and little appreciated.

Thus for example the village called today Leondari (fig. 1) after a classical placename somewhere in the district and looking down on the ancient city of Thespiae, began life around 1400 as a settlement of Arvanites or Albanian



Fig. 1. Photograph of the villages of Erimokastro (Thespies) - foreground - and Zogra Kobili (Leondari) - distant hill - c.1890 (courtesy of the Photothèque, Ecole Française d'Athènes).



Fig. 2. Extract from the sheet *Hellas und Thessalia* of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 1 (Koder - Hild) displaying medieval monuments and placenames in historical sources.

pastoral immigrants, under the name Zogra Kobili, a name it kept in one form or another till recently¹. The older people here still talk in a thick mixture of Greek and Arvanitika, as our colleague Kostas Papayiannopoulos verified for us two years ago. Our other colleague Kostas Sbonias has reminded us in his contribution of the many different ethnic histories of Greece². Both of these Greek colleagues would agree with me, that making history come alive for the people of villages like Leondari should begin with the hidden and untaught history of their own ancestors.

In fact the resources available to write regional archaeologies and histories are considerable, and improving in quantity and quality all the time. Every province has academic summaries of the major archaeological sites dating from prehistory and Greco-Roman times, whilst the Byzantine Atlas Project (fig. 2)³ is rapidly extending this picture into Medieval times. Environmental context is available through the excellent geological maps of Greece prepared by the Institute of Geology in Athens. A remarkable if today dated attempt to synthesize regional landscapes and their history of settlement was achieved in 1959 with the completion of the 5-volume Greek

1. Bintliff 1995; Bintliff 1996.

2. In the present volume.

3. Cf. for example Koder - Hild 1976.

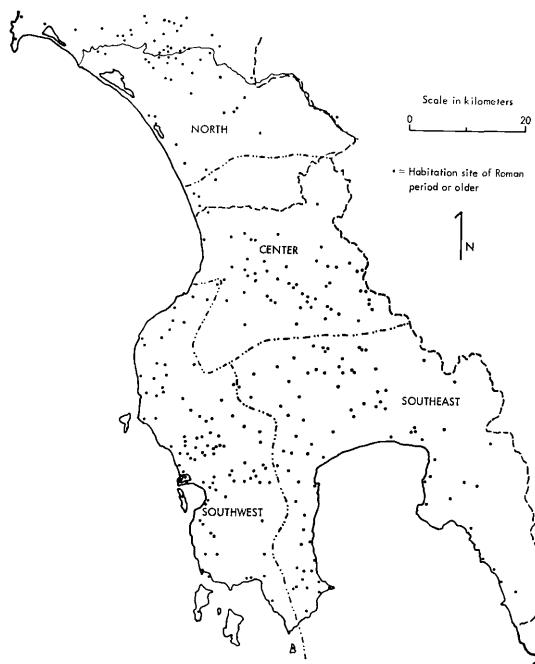


Fig. 3. Distribution of archaeological sites of roman and earlier date recorded by the Messenia Survey (McDonald - Rapp, 1972).

Landscapes series by Philippson and Kirsten⁴. A modern revision is long-overdue. The State Archaeology Service has records of vastly more numerous places of archaeological and historical importance in every region, which multiply many times over the number of major sites published in the regional syntheses noted above. Occasional publications utilising such data, e.g. in the Ekistics Series of the Athens Technological Organisation (publisher of the *Ancient Greek Cities*) remind us of the immense detail for regional history available in the archives of the local Ephoreia and Museums' Service, and which our hard-pressed colleagues rarely have time free from rescue work to publish and evaluate in their own right.

The growth of intensive regional archaeological field survey in most regions of Greece since the pioneer work of the Minnesota Messenia Survey (fig. 3)⁵ in the 1960s, has opened up a new level of even greater detail across regional landscapes. Although the Messenia Survey was primarily concerned with filling in an entire province with all major sites, subsequent surface

4. Philippson 1950-9.

5. McDonald - Rapp 1972.

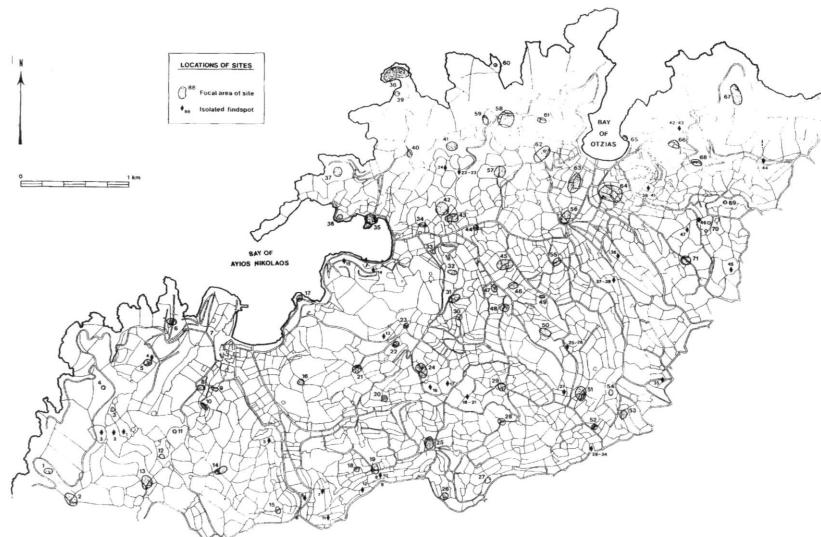


Fig. 4. Distribution of archaeological sites of all periods found by the North-West Kea Survey (Cherry et alii, 1991, fig. 2.4).

surveys⁶ have narrowed down the scope of prospection to small areas of landscape covered with great intensity of search (fig. 4). Figures of four or more archaeological sites per square kilometre within agricultural districts are common, and these new surveys have extended the chronological focus to include sites of every age from Palaeolithic campsites to Early Modern abandoned settlements and agricultural installations⁷. These regional survey projects have increasingly collaborated with historians of the ancient, medieval and early modern eras to compile maps of settlements and monuments mentioned in historical sources; from the 15th century onwards (fig. 5) there are contemporary maps which have also been analysed to complement purely archaeological surveys of landscapes and townscapes in the Greek provinces (fig. 6).

It has become clear that the whole of modern Greece features in many of the extraordinarily-detailed tax censuses of the Ottoman Empire (fig. 7), allowing population dynamics and economic activities as well as ethnic history to be written at both the province and individual village and town level (fig. 8-10)⁸. In some areas of Greece Venetian archives (fig. 11) offer a comparable level of detail in the 17th century⁹.

6. Cf. Bintliff - Snodgrass 1985.

7. Cherry - Davis - Mantzourani 1991.

8. Balta 1989; Bintliff 1995; Kiel 1987, 1997; Kiel - Sauerwein 1994.

9. Panagiotopoulos 1985.



Fig. 5. Map of the island of Kea, c.1658 (from Cherry et alii, 1991, fig. 19.6).

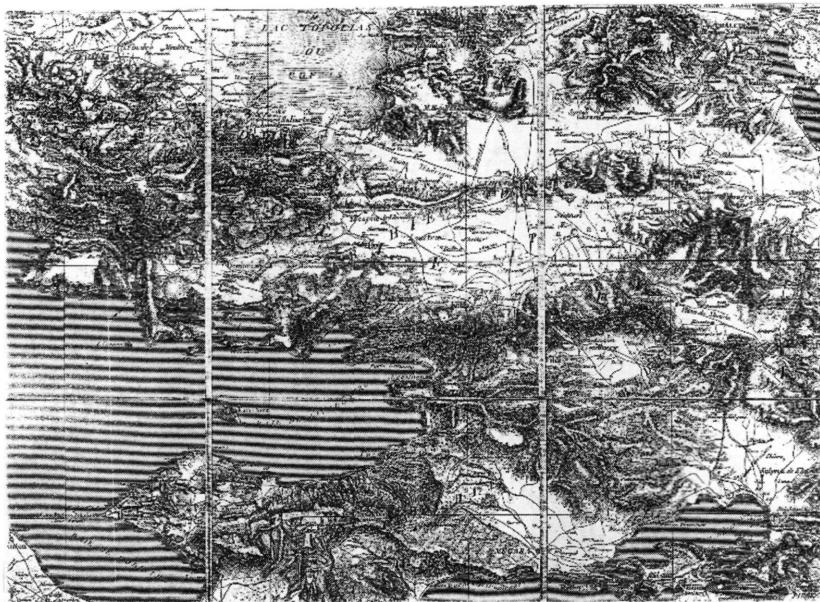


Fig. 6. Extract from the Carte de la Grèce (Paris, Département de la Guerre 1852, Sheet 8) showing Boeotia. Note the mapping of deserted villages using a dashed village symbol and the note - “re” = ruiné.

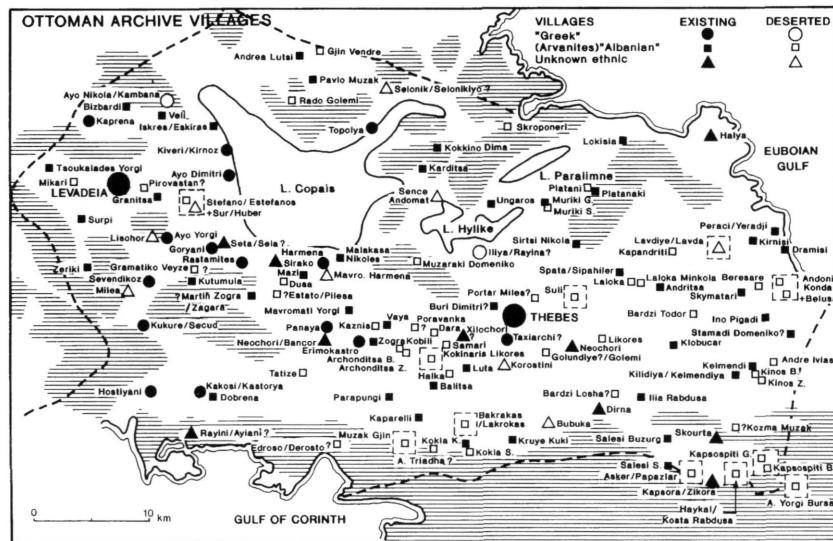


Fig. 7. Distribution of locatable villages and their ethnicity as recorded in the Ottoman tax archives of the 15th-17th centuries in Boeotia, Central Greece, based on work by M. Kiel (archives) and J. Bintliff, Bintliff 1995.

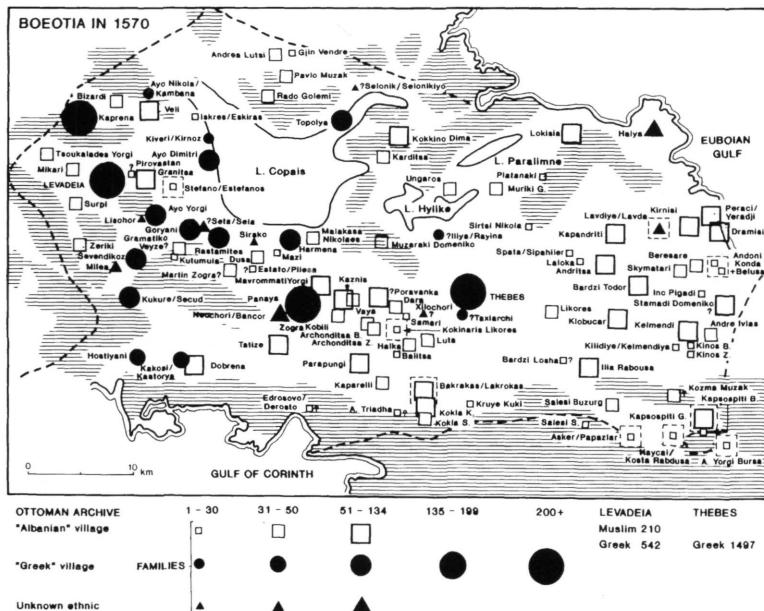


Fig. 8. Population of Boeotian villages in 1570, according to Ottoman tax archives (Bintliff 1995).

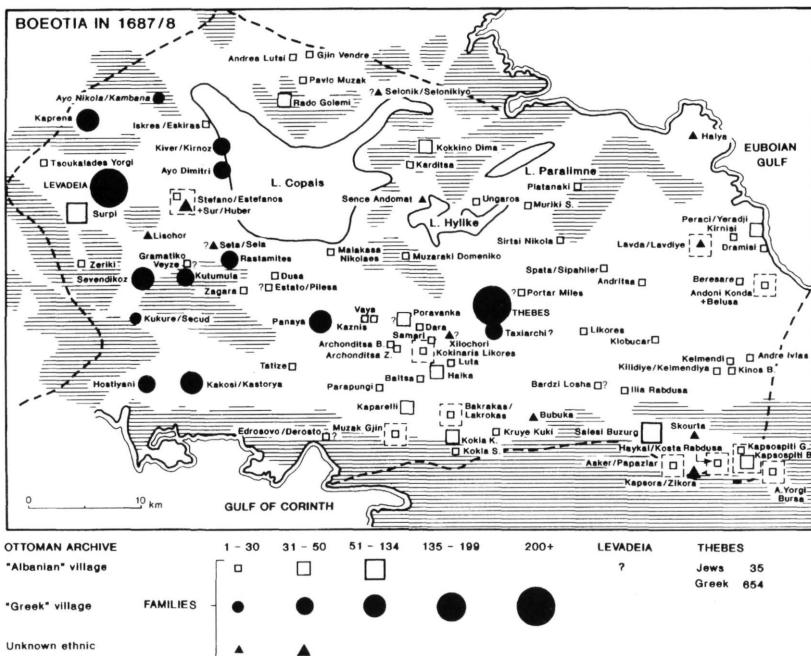


Fig. 9. Population of Boeotian villages in 1687/8, according to Ottoman tax archives (Bintliff 1995).

The rich portfolios of paintings often created by or in association with the Western Travellers¹⁰ (fig. 12) offer great detail on individual communities and ways of life, complemented by the Travellers' remarkably full descriptions of hundreds of villages and towns¹¹ (fig. 13). These can go even further back (in my own survey area, for example, there is a remarkable icon depicting the town of Thebes around 1600). Early photographs provide a graphic view of traditional life (fine catalogued collections are available in both the French and German Schools in Athens, figs. 1 and 14).

Finally the growing number of excellent publications on Greek vernacular architecture, particularly the Melissa Press series¹² (fig. 15), even if usually lacking accurate building chronologies, represents a major regional resource waiting to be expanded and tied to dated buildings at the individual community level.

In fact the vital problem at present is how best to proceed to awaken

10. Tsigakou 1981.

11. Cf. for example, Lolling 1989; Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990.

12. Cf. for example, Dimitantou-Kremezi 1984.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE OF MOURIKI 1466 - 1570								
	Households	Unmarried young men						
1466	-	-	(in 1506 explicitly mentioned as an ALBANIAN settlement)					
1506	16	-						
1521	33	7						
1540	58	7						
1570	40	5						
SOURCE DATA								
Name of product and year of registration	tithe expressed in load (hıml)	value of 1 load in akçe	total production in kilogr.	total value in akçe	kg. per househ.	akçe per househ.		
	1 load = 166,764 kilogr.							
WHEAT								
1506	24	35	30 787	6 461	1 924	404		
1540	102	36	131 845	28 246	2 256	487		
1570	100	46	128 280	35 384	3 207	884		
BARLEY								
1506	24	15	30 787	2 771	1 924	173		
1540	54	16	69 270	6 646	1 194	114		
1570	30	25	38 584	5 769	962	114		
SHEEP								
	tax amount	price per sheep	total sheep	total value in akçe	number of sheep per househ.	akçe per household		
1506	250	18	500	9 000	31	562		
1540	1 416	24	2 832	67 968	49	1 172		
1570	1 300	28	2 600	72 800	65	1 820		
HONEY								
	tax amount	number of hives	total prod. in kg.	total value in akçe	kg. per household	akçe per household		
1506	38	47	564	2 820	35	176		
1540	65	78	936	5 616	16	97		
1570	65	78	936	6 552	23	164		

Fig. 10. Demography and economy of the Boeotian village of Mouriki, 1466-1570, from Ottoman tax registers (Kiel 1997, Table V).

local communities' interest and involvement with the archaeology and history of their own immediate environment - whether village or regional town. The increasing activity of regional historical societies and their conferences are a promising sign, although participants tend to be drawn from regional elites and such groups are not presently concerned with promoting local heritage awareness at the "grassroots" and local community level. Provincial state archaeologists are overburdened with rescue excavations and the maintenance of their major sites, and there is still at present no programme from the Ministry of Culture in Athens to finance "outreach" programmes, with full-time employees disseminating at the province level the accumulated results of archaeological and historical investigations to individual rural and urban communities. The work of the foreign

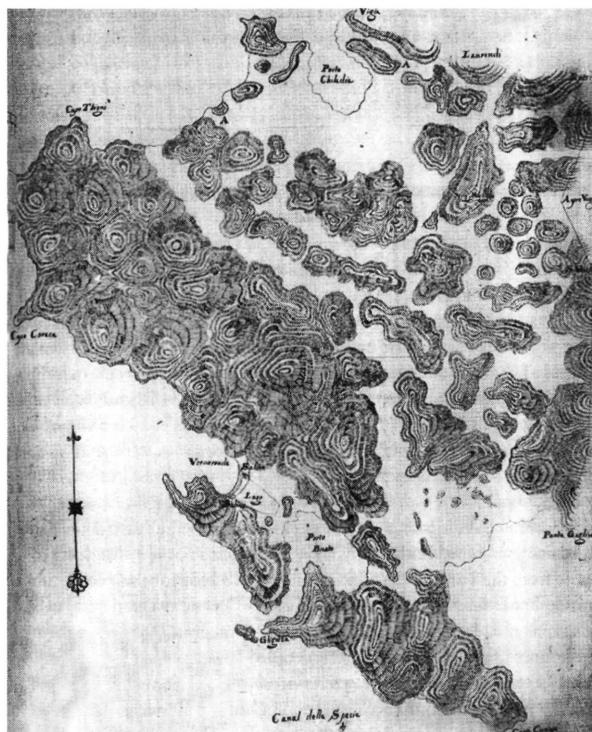


Fig. 11. Map of the Kranidhi commune in the Venetian Catastico Particolare of c.1705 AD (from Jameson et alii 1994, fig. 2.9).

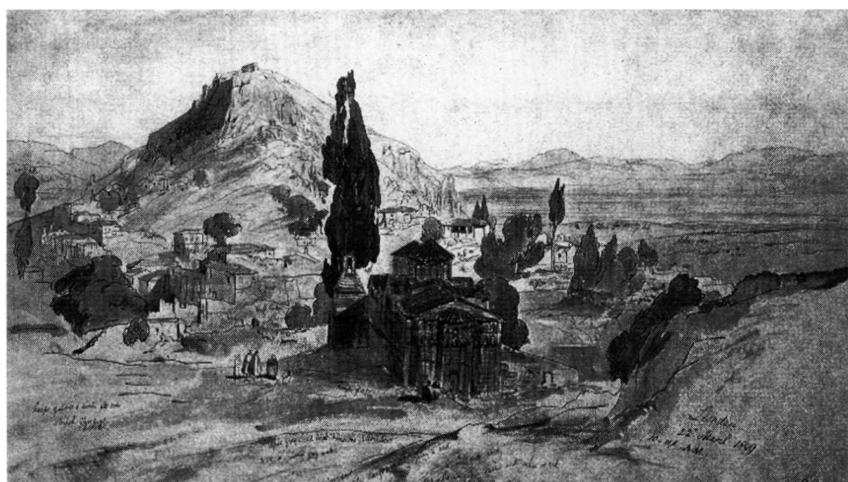


Fig. 12. Edward Lear 1849: Leondari in the Peloponnese (watercolour).

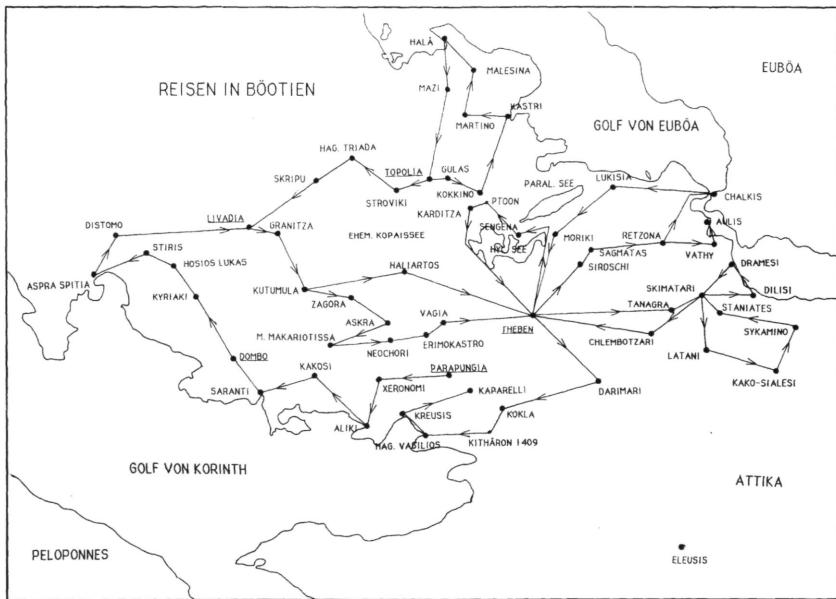


Fig. 13. Routes followed by the topographer H.G. Lolling in his Greek travels 1876-7 (from Lolling 1989).



Fig. 14. The Lion of Chaeroneia with the village of Kaprena (Chaeroneia) in the background. Photograph c.1900 (courtesy DAI Athen).

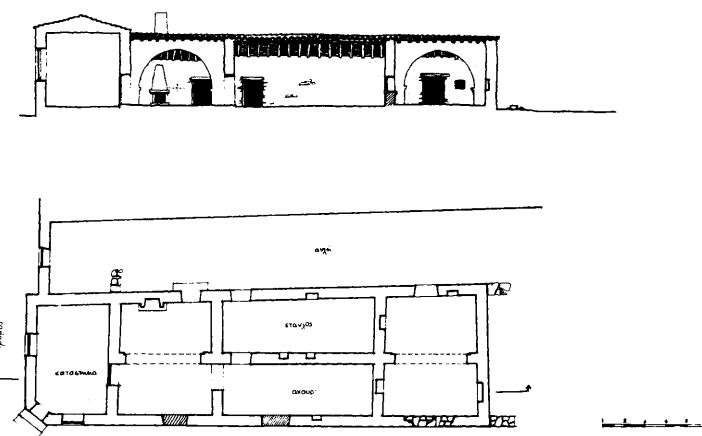


Fig. 15. Traditional single-storey dwelling, Koropi, Attica (from Dimitstantou-Kremezi 1984, fig. 48).

archaeological schools often remains disconnected from local community awareness and even from the programmes of regional state archaeology.

In my opinion a number of radical steps require implementation. Perhaps the most critical opening for improved public awareness is provided by the Greek provincial school. The teaching of Local History and Archaeology ought to be an essential part of education. Educational resources on local history for each province should be gathered at the regional level and disseminated to individual schools, where they ought to be used interactively - through guided visits to local monuments and museums and especially through projects involving children recording traditional housing and oral histories in their own communities¹³. Mutual feedback from school projects would continually enrich the database available in regional teacher resource centres.

Archaeologists and historians, both Greek and foreign, specializing in each province, should be invited to synthesize current knowledge of the sites, monuments and historical and archive information on behalf of regional resource centres. An appreciation of the past that begins with the past of your own community is the best way to enhance the protection of sites and monuments and increase public interest in the heritage. At the adult level, regional heritage resource centres of this kind (whether run by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture, or a combination) should collaborate with the public archaeologists for each province to prepare guidebooks and

13. See Papagiannopoulos, the present volume.

4 GRANDS CENTRES ROMANS DE RENOMMÉE MONDIALE

La Bourgogne du Sud est riche en témoignages de l'Art Roman. Les plus remarquables édifices d'architecture romane connaissent en Saône et Loire une renommée internationale. Ce sont CLUNY, TOURNUS, PARAY LE MONIAL, AUTUN grandioses illustrations d'un art à son plein épanouissement.

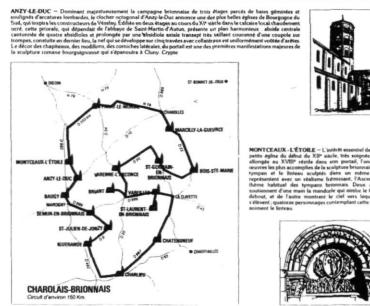
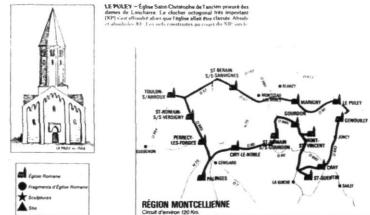


Fig. 16. Excerpt from tourist leaflet of Romanesque monuments in south Burgundy, France, illustrating itineraries and key monuments to visit.

guided-walk or car-tour pamphlets encouraging visits to individual sites and related sets of monuments based on a period or theme. All such material should be clearly associated with a Code of Conduct reminding visitors of the importance of not climbing over monuments and not removing artefacts.

To illustrate the kind of publications that could be produced to enhance

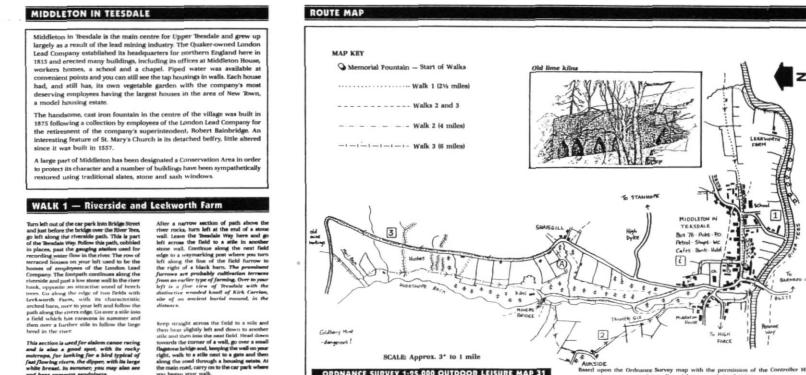


Fig. 17. Guided walk leaflet for the village of Middleton in Teesdale, North-East England, highlighting local history and features of the natural environment

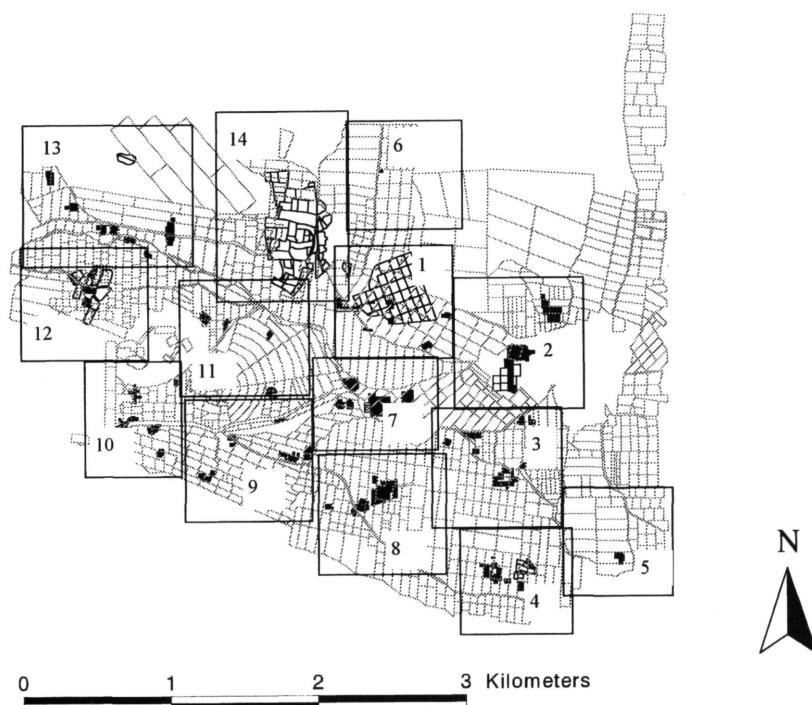


Fig. 18. Master Offsite context map. The Valley of the Muses, Boeotia, Central Greece. Archaeological sites indicated by black grids or in solid black shapes (see Bintliff 1996).

local awareness of the historic landscapes of Greece, I have reproduced two visitor guide leaflets: the first (fig. 16) is a regional guide to the Romanesque churches of a province of France, matched to an itinerary. The second is at the village scale (fig. 17) and depicts a walk in and around an historic village in northern England in which the itinerary is provided together with notes on

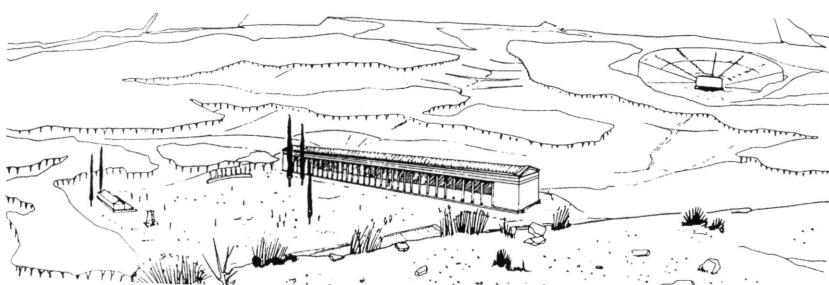


Fig. 19. Reconstruction of excavated sectors of the Sanctuary of the Muses by P. Bonnard (from van Effenterre 1989, 137).



Fig. 20. The medieval tower near Ipsilanti, Boeotia, probably Frankish early 13th century AD.

entire Valley, with a visitor centre based in reconstructed buildings of the ancient Sanctuary of the Muses (presently partially-dug ruins lying in wasteland at the top of the valley, fig. 19). One imaginative concept for this visitor centre would be to create within it, using the latest computer technology, a “virtual valley” at every stage of its settlement, as well as a “virtual sanctuary”.

But heritage and local history must begin at home,

features of interest both historic and to do with the natural environment.

In each region a specific area might be set aside for concentrated display as an area of outstanding interest in terms of its archaeology, history and natural environment. The Valley of the Muses, in Boeotia (Central Greece), combines all of these¹⁴. We have an unusually deep knowledge of this rich historic landscape that has become available from both total archaeological survey and rich deserted medieval village records (fig. 18), as well as through the farming calendar of the archaic poet Hesiod (who lived in the village of Askra in the Valley core). There is indeed a proposal in search of funding to create an “archaeological park” of the

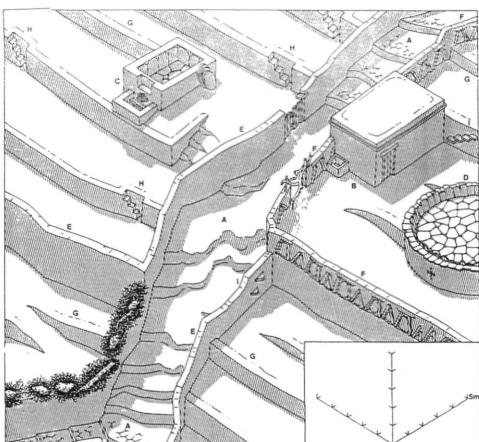


Fig. 21. Some elements of kean field systems (Whitelaw 1991, fig. 21.3).

14. Bintliff 1996.

with a new appreciation of the story of each local community. Each Dimarcheion (community centre or town-hall) should have an updated-guidebook to the history and monuments of its parish, to encourage a better understanding of the local heritage and a respect for its conservation. I suspect that EEC funding and some of the money made available to local communities from central government would be appropriate sources to fund the preparation and publishing of such community handbooks, which would be based on the regional resource centre database. Although some local communities may have obvious monuments of traditional, 'classical' interest in their borders, it is more likely that for every two or three villages there will be equally important and interesting monuments, often ones that relate directly to the village's own history. I am thinking of the innumerable Byzantine churches or remains of Early Christian basilicas; of historic rural monuments such as the 16th century watermills usually mentioned in Ottoman tax records. A practical example will illustrate the kind of ideal candidate for local history that is actually relatively common in the Greek countryside: from the modern village of Ipsilanti, but a few minutes by car off the main road between Thebes and Livadha in Boeotia, Central Greece, there is a fine country walk to the edge of the steep slopes of Mt Helicon, where one can visit an enormous Medieval tower, almost certainly constructed by a Frankish lord when Greece was taken over by the Fourth Crusade in the early 13th century AD (fig. 20). This could well feature on a leaflet for a regional "Frankish trail" taking visitors, whether tourists or interested members of local communities, around a series of monuments of that neglected epoch of Greek history and archaeology. Another example of abundant local monuments are the ubiquitous deserted villages of medieval and postmedieval times, that lie in rich profusion across the Greek countryside; they are about as common as the modern villages they lie between¹⁵. Finally one can mention the educational value of agricultural field monuments such as elaborate traditional systems of terracing, threshing floors and fieldhouses (fig. 21), as recently published in a meticulous study on Kea by Todd Whitelaw¹⁶.

There is little doubt in my mind that bringing History and Archaeology down to the level of the immediate world of regional populations ought to reduce the activity of illegal excavators and the ignorant destruction of ancient sites, as well as improving public attitudes to the work of archaeologists. More importantly, it will enhance the importance of their own lives for members of regional societies and the role of their local community in the making of the past, present and future of Greece.

15. Cf. Bintliff 1995.

16. Whitelaw 1991.

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DIONYSIS ZIVAS - MARGARITA GRAFAKOU

NIKOPOLIS: AN ANCIENT CITY
IN THE CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE

THE AREA

In the peaceful landscape of the peninsula that encloses the Ambracicus Gulf, only a short distance from the bay to the East and the Ionian Sea to the West, lies Nikopolis, the city founded by Octavius, after his victory over Antonius and Cleopatra at the naval-battle of Aktium in 31 AD. The city was named Nikopolis to perpetuate the memory of that victory.

Nikopolis was of exceptional significance to the ancient Greek world having been inhabited by Greeks from the surrounding areas whose settlements had been destroyed by the Romans. It was awarded the *civitas*



Fig. 1. An aerial photo of the site (between Ionian Sea and Ambracicus Gulf).



Fig. 2. The general view of the site from the Augustus Monument.

libera status and had the right to issue currency. However, despite the monumental Roman buildings and what's even more, in spite of its declaring as an important center of Christianity, proven by its Early Christian basilicas, the city survived for only 6 centuries. Barbarian attacks that the impressive and rescued until today byzantine walls could not repel, devastating earthquakes as well as many other adversities resulted to the decline and depopulation of the city that for a long, as it seems, period of time was confined to supplying building materials for the settlements that developed around it, either on the hills to the north or at the location of at-first insignificant city of Preveza on the southern tip of the peninsula, exactly opposite Aktium.

Already in 1436 Cyriakus of Ancona mentions it as an ancient site, while it was not until 1805 that Leake made a documented imprint of the surviving ruins of its monuments.

THE MONUMENTS

In the fields extending North of Preveza, in the still unchanged, peaceful landscape, amongst the usually calm waters of the Amvracicus gulf and the Ionian Sea, the visitor comes in view of the impressive Byzantine walls that protect a part of the original city of August. Beyond these walls one can see the Roman walls that define the city's rather irregular boundaries. Both of the above defense enclosures speak for the two major periods of life in Nikopolis. The roman city is spread over an area of 150 hectares. The Byzantine one covers only a quarter of the roman one, that is roughly 40 hectares.

In a relatively short distance from the walled Roman Nikopolis, the visitor will come upon the monuments of *The Proasteion* (the Suburb), the most important of which are the theater, the stadium and the Augustus monument.

Within the walls of the Roman city there are also surviving monuments like the "Odeion" in the center and the mansion of Manius Antoninus in that

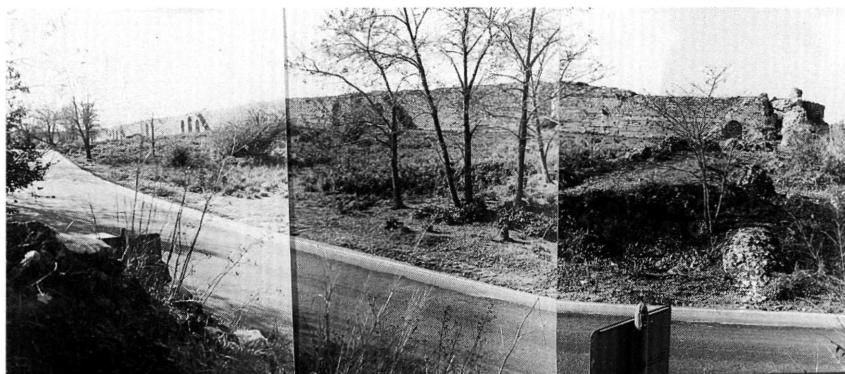


Fig. 3. Part of the Byzantine wall near the North Gate.

same area. Of equal importance are the Early Christian monuments that have survived within the perimeter of the Byzantine walls; monuments like the Basilica of Alkisson, the Basilica A and the Episcopate. The walls of the ancient city also have a prominent place among the monuments.

After centuries of silence, the abandoned Nikopolis has today become a place of special interest. Its walls surround many important Roman and Early Christian monuments, all parts of a yet unspecified city plan. Major works of art like the mosaics on the floor of the basilicas must be protected; the Theatre and the Odeion - which are already being used occasionally - constitute two monuments of extremely important architectural and archaeological value.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE IN THE CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE

The most important fact about this archeological site may well be that the entire ancient city remains free of later structures. On the other hand, the location of ancient Nikopolis is part of the terrain of present-day Preveza and its two neighboring communities, Mytikas and Nikopolis (previously called Smyrtoula) and is thus suffering the pressures applied by the development of the greater area.

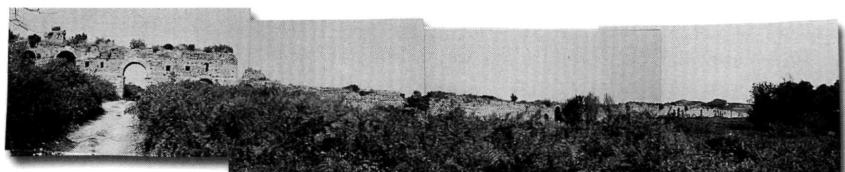


Fig. 4. The West Gate of the Byzantine Wall.



Fig. 5. The Odeion and the hill of Proasteion in the background.

Therefore, Nikopolis becomes vital again within a solidly different "scene". The purpose of this study is to define both the methodology and urgency of preserving and recomposing what once was the ancient city of Nikopolis.

Only the ruins enclosed within the Byzantine Walls are clearly defined today since the excavation has not yet been completed. In fact, the Roman walls are not even seen as a clear boundary to the "city space" and the monuments within this area are scarcely located. Although the monuments of the "*Proasteion*" extend the boundaries of the archaeological site to the north, they are not connected to the "city center".

The significance of the archeological site of Nikopolis as well as its location in the Prefecture of Preveza play an important role in the land-planning problems of the Prefecture. Any attempt of a more comprehensive confrontation highlights the need to deal with the mostly land-planning problems of the greater vicinity. The developmental and city-planning options for the Prefecture of Preveza are gradually transforming the terrain and the functional characteristics of the vicinity around Nicopolis.

The road system has been extended and areas for industrial use have been defined. The green areas that one can see in older aerial photographs of the area, consisted of mostly self-sown vegetation, while now, apart from the area surrounded by the Byzantine Walls, they have assumed a utilitarian character and are covered mostly by crops.

Within those surroundings, the archaeological site remains an islet whose functional association with its setting is the object of our study. Besides the land-planning parameters, the complicated framework through which the archaeological site is examined, is also affected by the rest geographical, environmental and climatic circumstances of the area, by the standing limited experience in archaeological site management in Greece and by the existing legislation on the protection of monuments and archaeological sites.

The present situation of the site with all its positive or not elements is, to a great degree, owed to that legislation and to the laws concerning especially the area of Nikopolis. Suggestively, the peculiar land ownership regime is mentioned, where further segmentation is forbidden and thus we have stable ownership, in an area whose all other characteristics are



Fig. 6. The Early christian monuments of the Basilica A and the Episcopate.

changing, as it has been mentioned before.

All of above factors not only form the circumstances in which the archaeological site is placed among, but they also constitute a major category of data for the analytical phase of the study. The extent of the data research and the depth of the proposals is such that it makes the study an inclusive management plan of the area complete with guidelines and proposals on which further special studies could be based on so as not to operate in an unconnected fashion. At the same time some of the proposals included in the program are being elaborated into application studies so as to serve as a model for the special studies that will follow in case the program goes ahead.

THE PROPOSAL FOR PROTECTION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE SITE

This study aims to reinstate the cohesion of the archaeological site so as to revive some of the character and scale of the initial urban area, an action that requires at least the visual connection of the major monuments. The means for achieving this purpose is the recomposition - as far as possible - of the ancient city plan by marking the major parts of the initial (Roman) city for which adequate evidence is available.

The ideological basis for this effort lies in our need to protect our architectural heritage. Contemporary museological concepts and environmental protection principles are being used as theoretical tools for this attempt. Within the web of manifests concerning the protection of our architectural heritage, we mined those items where modern views on the management of our monumental wealth are expressed and the utilization and enhancement of our monuments or ensembles is encouraged, in order to make them approachable to the public and to allow them to function as cultural centres within the planned environment.

The proposal for the general layout and organization of the archaeological site inevitably involves a reshaping of the natural surroundings since both elements (the reshaping of the city and the landscape) constitute the problem whose solution is now being pursued.

Definition of the study area

The protection program for the ancient city does not suggest the setting of boundaries in the intervention area. On the contrary, it defines special interest areas which affect all parts of the archeological site that include visible monuments as well as the land between the monuments where the routes that will connect them can be developed. Therefore, instead of setting the boundaries of a general intervention area, an action that would exclude the more isolated monuments, the study suggests the creation of a route network that will connect the monuments that constitute the core of the archeological site (Early Christian Wall - Odeion area). This network will not only be an ensemble of access roads but an expandable system which will be used to extent the archaeological site towards monuments which might be uncovered later. It also constitutes a rational setting on which the today incomplete elements of the ancient city plan ought to be explored.

The overall layout of the site

The suggested route network incorporates three types of access routes: a) the speculations about the ancient roman city-plan b) the existing network of national and farm roads, and c) the desired routes so as to provide easy access to the monuments as well as highlight them.

Based on the principle that the subject matter in question, as it has



Fig. 7. Areas of special interest.



Fig. 8. Existing road network: the national road crossing the archaeological area.

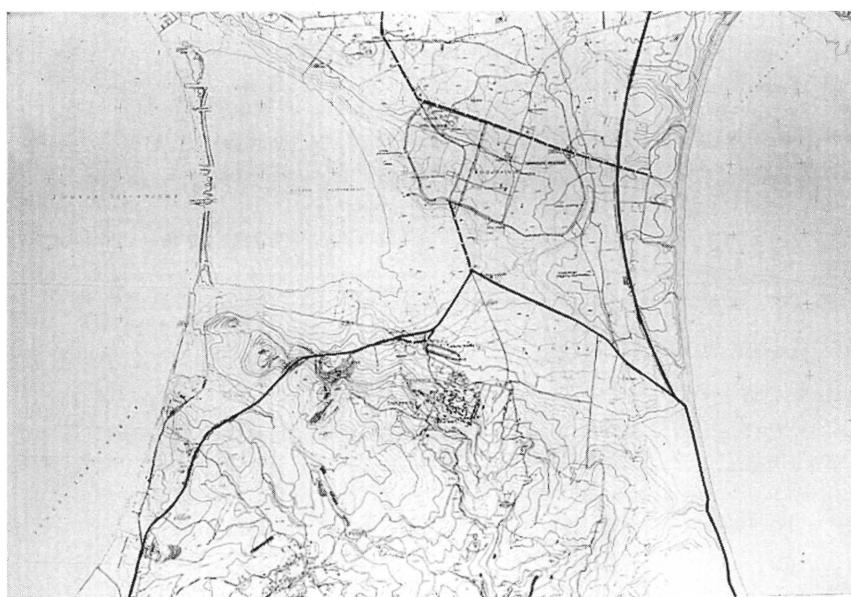


Fig. 9. Suggested route network: the part of the national road within the walls becomes a pedestrian way.

already been mentioned, is the entire ancient city, the proposed network is the connecting factor, the means to fulfill, up to a degree, the gaps, in information and findings, among the visible monuments and to restore the impression of an ensemble instead of unconnected but significant ruins.

Based on the above, the proposal for the general layout of the archaeological site provides for the following :

a. A regulatory intervention on the area's road network and diversion of passing traffic around the archaeological site.

b. Suspension of all automobile traffic in the area designated as the core of the site, and facilitating visitor traffic from the suggested three parking areas, two near the early Christian walls and one in the proposed access routes to the Odeion.

c. The construction of a visitor reception center at the access point on the South Gate (on the Preveza side) and the North Gate (on the Arta side) of the early Christian wall. There will be a ground-floor building next to the parking area and it will house a ticket booth, a refreshment bar, W.C. and an information office with printed material about the site.

d. The construction of outdoor sitting areas at the intersections of the access routes as well as right before the gates of the early-Christian and roman walls. Also, sitting areas will be constructed at the end of the *decumanus maximus* route at the seaside park and in the area being formed in front of the theater.

e. The development of a free area around the Odeion so as to facilitate public gatherings during the cultural events performed there and to provide a sightseeing point for the monument. In that same area, there are proposals for an underground W.C. complex, which should bear a special study in combination with backstage facilities for the cultural events performed at the monument.

f. The construction of a route in the tracks of the ancient *decumanus maximus* This route is extremely important since the following can be achieved: 1) it restores the impression of an ancient avenue 2) it organizes the area west of the early Christian wall 3) it facilitates the approaching of vehicles for the cultural events performed at the Odeion without them having to enter the early Christian walls 4) it connects the west side of the roman walls that includes the Gate and the Nymphaia with the core of the archaeological site and 5) it creates a connecting route to the seaside leisure park, the access to which is not provided through a random point but it is combined with the organization and function of the archaeological site. Besides that seems to be the ancient city's passge out to the sea. The speed of vehicles in that connecting route will be kept low (using decelaration devices) so as to discourage through traffic.

g. Functional and visual association with the monuments of the *Proasteion*. The North part of the archaeological site needs reinforcement of



Fig. 10. The proposal: general lay-out of the historic tissue including part of the national road changed into a pedestrian way.

its function and emphasis of its association to the core of the site so as not to seem isolated. In order to emphasize its association to the core the old national road will be extended with stone cubes, trees and lights will be placed on the side of the route and the roman walls from the South Gate to the Theatre will be illuminated. In order to reinforce the functional association of the two parts, the construction of the new Archaeological Museum of Nikopolis in the area of the Suburb is suggested.

h. The installation of information signs in all traffic routes as well as the locations of the monuments, lighting fixtures in traffic areas and monuments and the equipping of outdoor areas.

CONCLUSION

How feasible is it nowadays for an ancient city like Nikopolis to play a creative role, to continue to educate us with its presence and at the same time relax us and create the preconditions for the recomposition of the historical landscape that once served for its founding and development?

To what degree can this landscape accord with today's terrain in order to have a comprehensible and observable combination of the two? To what extent can today's natural terrain, by embracing the historic event which is expressed with the monuments and walls of Nikopolis, be transformed into something different, assume the dimensions of cultural good and be

evaluated in such sense in the eyes and the conscience of today's visitor?

Today Nikopolis is an ensemble of ruins that does not even have the density or coherence of Delos, Phillipoi or Ostia and Pompei. However, its walls alone, whether roman or early Christian, are sufficient enough to reflect to the natural terrain that medium that is necessary to create the "different", the "unexpected". In other words, to produce the element of surprise and at the same time to serve as an invitation to get acquainted with that different element, and to help us approach and reveal its significance.

Here, it should be noted that the area within the walls both the historic and the archaeological one maintains to a great percentage of its initial originality.

There are not any later structures or major interventions of any kind. The visitor has the feeling that he is in an area where the dominant element is nature. The isolation from the "outside world" felt by the visitor when he passes through the Gates of the Walls, when he begins to approach the architectural remnants while walking in today's paths are good enough preconditions for the imagination to be set free.

Therefore, within this landscape, the highlighting of the major surviving elements, the marking of some routes and their re-connection with the structures -with their ruins- and the Wall Gates will give to the student or to the simple visitor the incentive to attempt the recomposition of the sight of ancient Nikopolis with all the wholeness or gaps allowed by that same existing evidence.

If that is achieved then the intervention proposed here will have worked towards both the incorporation of the historic landscape to the contemporary one and the continuation of archaeological research necessary for the as far as possible full recomposition of the initial scene.

Such an outcome, for that matter, will constitute the justification of this proposal.

ERIC FOUACHE - FRANCOIS QUANTIN

AUTOUR DE L'ENTREE DES ENFERS DE THESPROTIE.
PROPOSITIONS POUR UNE MISE EN VALEUR DU PATRIMOINE
PAYSAGER ET ARCHEOLOGIQUE DE LA PLAINE PHANARI

La plaine du Phanari (fig.1), comme l'ensemble de l'Epire, enclavée, considérée comme un "bout du monde" dès l'antiquité¹, souffre d'un déficit touristique par rapport au littoral, tandis que son patrimoine archéologique régional² est bien moins fréquenté que celui de la vieille Grèce.

Seul le Nékyomanteion (sanctuaire où l'on pratiquait la nécromancie) de Thesprôtie jouit d'une renommée certaine. Récemment la critique archéologique formulée par D. Baatz³, a totalement remis en cause l'identification du site occupé par le monastère de Saint Jean Prodrome au promontoire de Mesopotamon, fouillé de 1964 à 1975 par S.I. Dakaris. La prise en compte de la manière dont les Grecs anciens concevaient les entrées des enfers, nous a conduit dans un travail précédent⁴, dont nous ne résumerons ici que les grandes lignes, à proposer une autre localisation au Nékyomanteion, beaucoup plus près des gorges de l'Achéron.

En Thesprôtie, le mythe d'une entrée des enfers revêt une réalité géographique et historique qui pourrait être exploitée au bénéfice du développement touristique de la région. Cette mise en valeur pourrait intégrer une protection écologique des zones sensibles, c'est à dire le littoral, ce qui reste de zones humides dans la plaine du Phanari, les gorges de l'Achéron, et une meilleure utilisation du riche patrimoine archéologique et historique de la région en y associant la montagne de Souli.

1. Cf. Ballabriga 1986, montre que les îles Echinades marquent à l'époque archaïque une limite occidentale du monde connu (p. 36), concrétisée et signalée par l'Achéléos (p. 42): "la froidure épirote peut ainsi apparaître comme un reflet anticipé de l'hiver perpétuel de l'Hadès et des brumes de l'Extrême-Orient" (p. 59); Cabanes 1987.

2. Seuls les sites de Dodone, Cassopé et Nicopolis sont intégrés à quelques circuits touristiques.

3. Baatz 1979; idem 1982.

4. Fouache - Quantin 1999, 29 et iidem 1996.

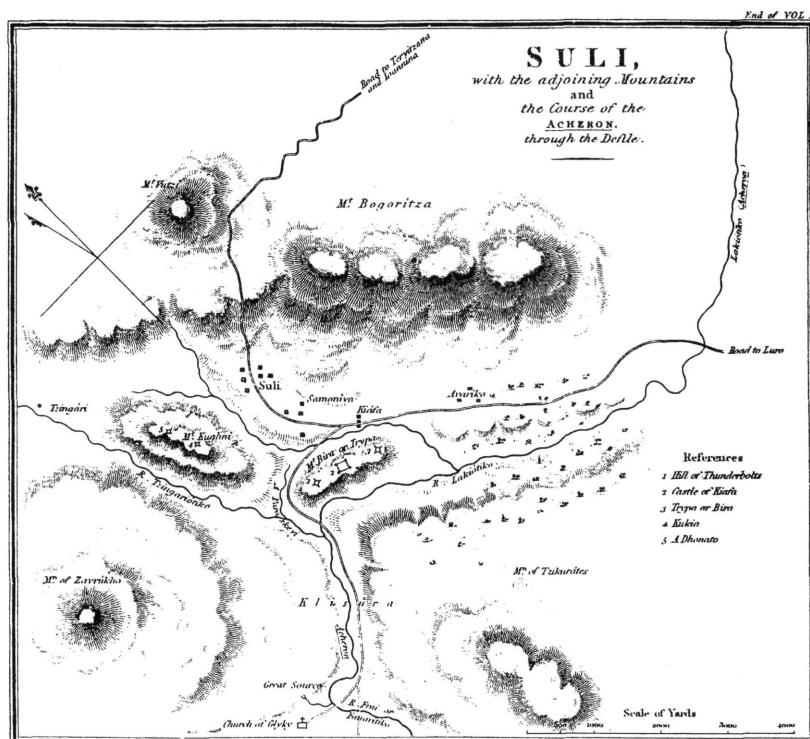


Fig. 1. Les gorges de l'Achéron et le Souli (d'après Leake 1835).

ARGUMENTS LITTERAIRES ET ARCHEOLOGIQUES POUR L'EXISTENCE D'UNE ENTRÉE DES ENFERS EN THESPROTIE

La description la plus couramment citée pour affirmer l'existence d'une entrée des enfers en Thespròtie est celle donnée par Homère dans l'Odyssée, au moment où Ulysse part consulter les morts (Chant 10). Rien dans ce texte ne permet pourtant d'affirmer qu'il s'agisse de l'Epire. Plus important de notre point de vue est le fait que les Anciens, en l'occurrence Pausanias et Hérodote, aient situé cette consultation près de l'Achéron d'Epire, ce qui pour nous suffit à établir la réalité d'une tradition localisant une entrée des enfers dans la région, en tout cas aux époques archaïque et classique.

Hérodote (*Histoires* V.92, 7-12) apporte un témoignage direct de la tradition d'un Nékyomanteion en Thesprôtie. Périandre, tyran de Corinthe, ayant provoqué accidentellement la mort de son épouse a besoin du témoignage de cette dernière pour retrouver un "dépôt" fait par un étranger, en réalité subtilisé par l'épouse de Périandre.

Il (Périandre) avait envoyé des députés au pays des Thesprôtes sur les bords du fleuve Achéron consulter l'oracle des morts au sujet d'un dépôt fait par un étranger; Mélissa apparut, et déclara qu'elle n'indiquerait ni ne révélerait à quel endroit se trouvait ce dépôt, parce qu'elle avait froid et était nue⁵.

Pausanias quant à lui (*Description de la Grèce I.17, 5*), s'interrogeant sur la véracité ou la vraisemblance du mythe de Thésée retenu avec Pirithôos aux Enfers et délivré par Héraclès, nous livre une version historicisée de la légende. Thésée, aidé par Pirithôos, désirait enlever la femme du roi de Thespròtie; la bataille tourna à l'avantage des Epirotes, et les deux héros furent faits prisonniers à Cichyros. Le périégète décrit alors la basse vallée de l'Achéron en ces termes :

Il y a assurément en Thespròtie bien des curiosités qui méritent la visite, tout particulièrement le sanctuaire de Zeus à Dodone et le chêne sacré du dieu. Près de Cichyros se trouve le lac que l'on nomme Achéronien, ainsi que le fleuve Achéron. Celui-ci porte dans son cours l'eau du Cocyté, l'eau la plus détestable qui soit. A mon sens, Homère avait vu ces paysages et il a osé en faire un sujet de poème sur l'Hadès; en particulier il a donné aux fleuves des noms qu'il tirait de ceux de Thespròtie⁷.

Cette courte notice touristique et érudite nous indique qu'à l'époque de Pausanias l'association entre l'évocation des morts de l'Odyssée et la Thespròtie est faite. Ce fait est confirmé plus loin lorsqu'au livre IX (30, 6) Pausanias rapporte plusieurs traditions au sujet de la mort d'Orphée. Selon l'une d'elle, le héros se serait suicidé après son échec à sauver Eurydice de la mort définitive. La source de Pausanias situe la scène près de l'Aornos en Thespròtie :

D'autres, pensant que sa femme était morte avant, racontent qu'il vint pour elle près de l'Aornos en Thespròtie, car il y a là un antique nékyomanteion.

Les sources numismatiques régionales, notamment le monnayage d'Eléa apportent un indice supplémentaire, qui confirme l'importance de cette tradition. P.R. Franke classe les monnaies d'Eléa en quatre groupes qu'il date du IVe s. Les représentations de Cerbère et du couvre-chef d'Hadès qu'elles portent sont les témoignages archéologiques d'un sanctuaire ou d'un lieu infernal dans la région. Hadès n'est pas présent directement, mais par l'intermédiaire de son portier, Cerbère, qu'un autre portier, Héraclès saura

5. Texte établi et traduit par Ph.-E. Legrand, CUF, Paris 1946.

6. La légende est aussi donnée par Plutarque *Vie de Thésée*, 31. 6-7 et 35. 1-3, mais le roi est celui des Molosses et se nomme Aidoneus. Lepore 1962, 43, pense que la version de Plutarque est la moins ancienne, et qu'elle est d'origine athénienne.

7. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par M. Casevitz - J. Pouilloux - F. Chamoux, CUF, Paris 1992.

vaincre ou éviter. Ces monnaies confirment l'importance de cette tradition, surtout que le culte d'Hadès est peu diffusé en Grèce⁸.

REMISE EN CAUSE ARCHEOLOGIQUE DE L'IDENTIFICATION DU NEKYOMANTEION

Comme Pausanias, S.I. Dakaris pense que la consultation d'Ulysse est située par Homère dans un lieu précis, le Phanari de Thesprôtie. Ses fouilles sur la butte du monastère Saint-Jean à Mésopotamon⁹ montrent pour lui que ce lieu devint un sanctuaire dont il observe des traces aux époques archaïque et classique. Un complexe architectural monumental fut construit à l'époque hellénistique. Les fouilles n'ont pas donné lieu à une publication d'ensemble. La bibliographie se compose donc de compte-rendus archéologiques réguliers et de quelques synthèses rédigées par l'archéologue.

Dès le premier article en 1958 qui évoque les vestiges des collines de Xylokastro et du monastère Saint-Jean, S.I. Dakaris formule lors de la première campagne de fouilles son interprétation du site¹⁰. La crypte est pour lui un édifice cultuel consacré à une divinité chthonienne ou un héros. Quelques mois plus tard¹¹, il interprète l'ensemble du complexe comme étant le palais d'Hadès et de Perséphone, où les pèlerins venaient consulter les ombres. Les campagnes de fouilles qui suivront, interrompues de 1964 à 1975, ne cesseront de confirmer cette identification¹².

Cette hypothèse a été battue en brèche par D. Baatz, dont nous résumons

8. Nous verrons infra que le Sud de l'Elide et Elis elle-même font exception.

9. L'ancien nom du village est Licourési, remplacé par Haghios Haralambos, puis par Mésopotamon.

10. *PAAH* 1958, 107-114. Le premier auteur qui situe le Nékyomantéion dans la région semble être Hughes 1820, 311-312 (cf. *PAAH* 1958, 110-111, n. 3). Leake 1835, IV, 53, situait Kichyros sur la colline du monastère Saint-Jean: *standing on some remains of Hellenic walls of polygonal masonry*.

11. Les informations communiquées à l'EFA pour la rédaction de la chronique des fouilles en Grèce en 1958 contiennent déjà cette interprétation, absente dans *PAAH* 1958 (*BCH* 83, 1959, 665-669).

12. Les références essentielles, que nous rassemblons dans cette note pour en faciliter la consultation, sont les suivantes (les chroniques de G. Daux, puis de G. Touchais et d'A. Pariente dans le *BCH* sont citées, car leurs développements sont très fidèles aux articles de S.I. Dakaris): *PAAH* 1958, 107-114 (*BCH* 83, 1959, 665-669). Il n'y eut pas de fouille en 1959; *Ergon* 1960 (1961), 102-111; *AD* 16, 1960, 201-205 (*BCH* 85, 1961, 729-733); *BCH* 86, 1962, 767-772; 88, 1964, 771-774; 89, 1965, 770-777 (traite du matériel et des éléments d'artillerie). La fouille est interrompue en 1964, et reprise en 1975: *Ergon* 1975, 82-88 (*BCH* 100, 1976, 672); *PAAH* 1976, 146-149; *BCH* 102, 1978, 688 (dernière campagne importante); *Ergon* 1990 (1991), 73-77 (*BCH* 115, 1991, 878, et 1991 (1992), 58-62 (campagnes de restauration)). Le plan le plus clair et le plus complet est publié dans le *BCH* 101, 1977, 574 (reproduit à la planche 3) et dans *Ergon* 1991 (1992), 58-59, fig. 98. S.I. Dakaris 1962 et 1963 publia deux synthèses précoces: (cf. aussi, *Thesprotia*, 179-181), et un résumé dans l'*Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* (Suppl.), Rome 1970, article *Mesopotamon*, 474-477. Il rédigea aussi deux guides : Dakaris s.a.p., 7-22 et idem 1993, illustré de bonnes photos des vestiges et des objets.

très sommairement les conclusions. Pour lui la morphologie du complexe découvert à Mésopotamon ne peut être celle d'un sanctuaire oraculaire¹³ et le complexe peut tout simplement être compris comme une villa fortifiée de l'époque hellénistique. Le bâtiment rectangulaire fortifié de murs épais et défendu à sa porte par une chicane est une tour, un donjon qui domine les autres constructions. Les diverses pièces contenaient des outils, de la céramique et des témoignages d'activités agricoles et artisanales¹⁴; mais elles servaient surtout de magasins. La crypte est une citerne dont l'étanchéité est assurée par la roche naturelle¹⁵.

Notre propos n'est pas de reprendre une à une les conclusions de S.I. Dakaris. Entreprendre une fouille avec une hypothèse interprétative préconçue ne nous semble pas être une erreur de méthode. Un a priori est souhaitable, et, sans doute, inévitable. Celui de S.I. Dakaris était enthousiasmant et son apport à la connaissance archéologique régionale décisif, mais la question de la double localisation d'une entrée des enfers et d'un sanctuaire reste posée. Nous avons notre propre analyse de la question qui combine les approches géomorphologiques, archéologiques et historiques.

A LA RECHERCHE D'UNE RATIONALITE GEOMORPHOLOGIQUE ET HISTORIQUE

Chercher à tout prix à faire coïncider la description homérique avec le paysage de la plaine du Phanari constitue selon nous une erreur. Nous pensons que le paysage infernal n'est pas à chercher à la surface du globe, dans le monde des vivants, mais que par contre un lieu de communication entre les deux mondes put être identifié. La manière dont Ulysse consulte les morts nous apporte quelques indices En effet, Ulysse ne descend pas aux Enfers, il attend des ombres qu'elles viennent à lui, au seuil des enfers. Le lieu de consultation est une frontière, pas forcément ouverte, un lieu favorable où "les morts doivent monter du sol pour se nourrir des offrandes d'Ulysse".

13. Lauter 1986, 230, admet la fonction oraculaire du complexe de Mésopotamon, mais relève son originalité ("Das ganz singuläre").

14. De nombreux pesons furent aussi retrouvés dans des maisons de Cassopé (*BCH* 108, 1984, 776-779 : 36 pesons furent découverts dans la maison 4), ou d'Ammotopos (un métier à tisser et 28 pesons, cf. *Dodoni* 5, 1976, 431-436). L. Rey découvrit par exemple 134 pesons dans une maison d'Apollonia, dont un, qui porte un timbre représentant peut-être Héraclès (*Albania I*, 1925, 22 et 24, fig. 21).

15. La grande extension de l'ensemble du complexe peut aussi s'expliquer par la nécessité d'une toiture importante pour remplir la citerne. Roussel 1916, 136-137, montra que la crypte du Sérapéion de Pompéi n'était pas une salle d'initiation, mais un réservoir souterrain. Ginouves 1962, 402, donne d'autres exemples. La couverture est comparable à celle de la citerne de l'établissement des Poséïdoniastes de Bérytos à Délos (cf. Picard 1921, 87-89, fig. 68 et 69), ainsi qu'à celle de la citerne du théâtre (Vallois 1944, 265-268). Un autre type de couverture est la poutre, comme à Pérachora ou Néo-Pleuron (cf. Argoud 1981, 73-77, et idem 1992, 42-43).

A quoi bon ce souci d'un pilote à ton bord? Pars! et, dressant le mât, déploie les blanches voiles ! Puis, assis, laisse faire au souffle du Borée qui vous emportera. Ton vaisseau va d'abord traverser l'Océan. Quand vous aurez atteint le Petit Promontoire, le bois de Perséphone, ses saules aux fruits morts et ses hauts peupliers, échouez le vaisseau sur le bord des courants profonds de l'Océan; mais toi, prends ton chemin vers la maison d'Hadès ! A travers le marais, avance jusqu'aux lieux où l'Achéron reçoit le Pyriphlégethon et les eaux qui, du Styx, tombent dans le Cocyté. Les deux fleuves hurleurs confluent devant la Pierre: c'est là qu'il faut aller, - écoute bien mes ordres, - et là, creuser, seigneur, une fosse carrée d'une coudée ou presque. Autour de cette fosse, fais à tous les défunt les trois libations, d'abord de lait miellé, ensuite de vin doux, et d'eau pure en troisième; puis, saupoudrant le trou d'une blanche farine, invoque longuement les morts, têtes sans force; promets-leur qu'en Ithaque aussitôt revenu, tu prendras la meilleure de tes vaches stériles pour la sacrifier sur un bûcher rempli des plus belles offrandes (Odyssée 10, 505 - 532)¹⁶.

Les traits remarquables du paysage décrit par Homère sont les suivants:

- le site est proche du littoral, et signalé sur la côte par un "petit promontoire" et un bois composé de saules et de peupliers consacrés à Perséphone.

- la mer et le site oraculaire semblent séparés par une zone humide: c'est la maison d'Hadès que le texte, littéralement, qualifie d'humide (le verbe et les vers précédents suggèrent plutôt qu'Ulysse rejoint le site en marchant, sans embarcation¹⁷).

- Ulysse doit marcher jusqu'au lieu de la réunion des cours de l'Achéron, du Pyriphlégethon et du Cocyté, qui est un bras du Styx¹⁸.

La localisation du Nékyomanteion par S.I. Dakaris sur le promontoire de Mésopotamон repose pour beaucoup sur une identification du paysage actuel, avec le paysage décrit par Homère dans l'*Odyssée*. L'évocation d'un littoral au pied d'un petit promontoire et d'un marais en arrière de celui-ci apparaît troublante en première lecture. Mais à y bien réfléchir, on se rend compte que cette description pourrait convenir à la plupart des sites grecs

16. Texte établi et traduit par V. Bérard, CUF, Paris 1992.

17. "A travers les marais" est donc une traduction abusive, sans doute influencée par d'autres sources qui mentionnent un lac Achérousia.

18. La traduction de V. Bérard est ici trop compliquée: elle privilégie les mentions de l'Achéron et du Cocyté, sans doute retenues par le vers 515. L'hydrographie peut être ainsi décrite: le Pyriphlégethon est un affluent de l'Achéron, et le Cocyté est un bras du Styx. Le Cocyté est un rejeton du Styx, bien plus important dans la généalogie fluviale des Enfers grecs.

fondés sur tout le pourtour du bassin méditerranéen.

L'originalité de la baie d'Ammoudia réside dans le fait que la communication avec l'océan est assurée par ce qui semble, vu de la mer, n'être qu'une petite échancrure dans la falaise, laquelle masque la plaine et l'Achéron. Or cette caractéristique n'est pas précisée dans le texte S.I Dakaris s'appuie pourtant sur la suite du texte pour légitimer le site du Nékyomanteion sur le promontoire de Mésopotamon. C'est en effet là que confluent deux cours d'eau, où l'on veut reconnaître le Cocyté et l'Achéron.

Pourtant est-il légitime de vouloir retrouver dans le monde réel à la surface du monde habité par les hommes, une confluence située dans le monde souterrain des enfers? Le texte parle explicitement du lieu de la confluence, mais ne précise pas que cette dernière soit visible dans le paysage. La permanence de la confluence de Mésopotamon à l'époque historique est en outre fortement improbable.

MOBILITE DU PAYSAGE DE LA PLAINE DU PHANARI A LA PERIODE HISTORIQUE

Si l'on exclut l'architecture morphostructurale régionale acquise depuis la fin du Pliocène¹⁹ la mobilité caractérise l'évolution des lits fluviaux et du littoral depuis le début de l'Holocène²⁰.

L'observation d'une photographie aérienne de la baie d'Ammoudia²¹ démontre la mobilité des lits fluviaux et du cordon littoral. Les cercles concentriques que l'on peut observer sont les anciens cordons littoraux sableux qui témoignent de la fermeture progressive de la baie. Il apparaît ainsi que le plus ancien cordon littoral, prenait appui sur le promontoire de Mésopotamon.

Le cours aval de l'Achéron a lui-même fluctué. La même photographie permet de préciser un ancien lit, tandis que la simple observation de la carte topographique au 1/50.000 permet de constater qu'entre Glyki et Mésopotamon des chenaux abandonnés, du Cocyté et de l'Achéron, qui fonctionnaient encore en période de crue avant les aménagements de la plaine, confluent en plusieurs endroits.

Dans l'Antiquité, la confluence entre le Cocyté et l'Achéron ne se trouvait donc certainement pas à Mésopotamon, mais plus à l'amont. Peut-être même la confluence ne se faisait-elle que par l'intermédiaire de la vaste

19. Cf. Bousquet 1976, 541.

20. Sur la mobilité des paysages grecs à la période historique, en relation avec l'archéologie, nous renvoyons aux titres suivants : Bousquet - Dufaure - Péchoux 1987, 137-153 ; Bousquet - Dufaure - Péchoux 1983; Doukellis - Fouache 1992, fig. 1; Dufaure 1976; Dufaure - Fouache, 1988, 259-278 ; Dufaure - Fouache 1991, fig. 5; Fouache 1994, 360.

21. Photographie aérienne de l'armée grecque, au 1/30.000, de 1988.



Fig. 2. La vallée de Souli et l'Achéron (gravure sur acier d'après un dessin du Major Irton).

zone marécageuse qui occupait jusqu'en 1948, avant la mise en oeuvre d'un draînage systématique²², le fond du val en hiver. Y a-t-il dans la plaine de Phanari un site géomorphologique stable à l'échelle de l'Holocène qui puisse avoir frappé les esprits et être proposé comme entrée des enfers?

L'EXSURGENCE²³ DE GLYKI: ENTREE DES ENFERS DE THESPROTIE?

Nous pensons pouvoir identifier ce site géomorphologique avec l'exsurgence de Glyki. Cette exsurgence est en effet aujourd'hui encore la plus puissante de la région, installée dans un site remarquable au débouché de la gorge de Glyki au pied d'une paroi calcaire abrupte²⁴. L'eau surgit sous pression avec un courant très rapide d'un oeil noir que l'on devine sous l'encorbellement du pied de falaise. En milieu méditerranéen, même sub-humide comme l'Epire, les exsurgences sont toujours des phénomènes remarquables, tant l'abondance d'eau fraîche toute l'année, notamment en période de sécheresse estivale, semble toujours un peu miraculeuse.

L'exsurgence de Glyki présenterait de notre point de vue l'avantage du

22. Péchoux - Sivignon 1990.

23. Exsurgence: (du lat. *exsurgere*, s'élever) Forme souterraine de modelé karstique. Source nourrie des infiltrations d'eau en milieu karstique. Le terme de résurgence doit être réservé à la réapparition sous forme d'une source à fort débit d'une rivière, aérienne, qui avait été absorbée par une perte.

24. Il s'agit peut-être de celle que Leake 1835, IV, 56: a vue "a large body of water issues from the foot of the rocks".

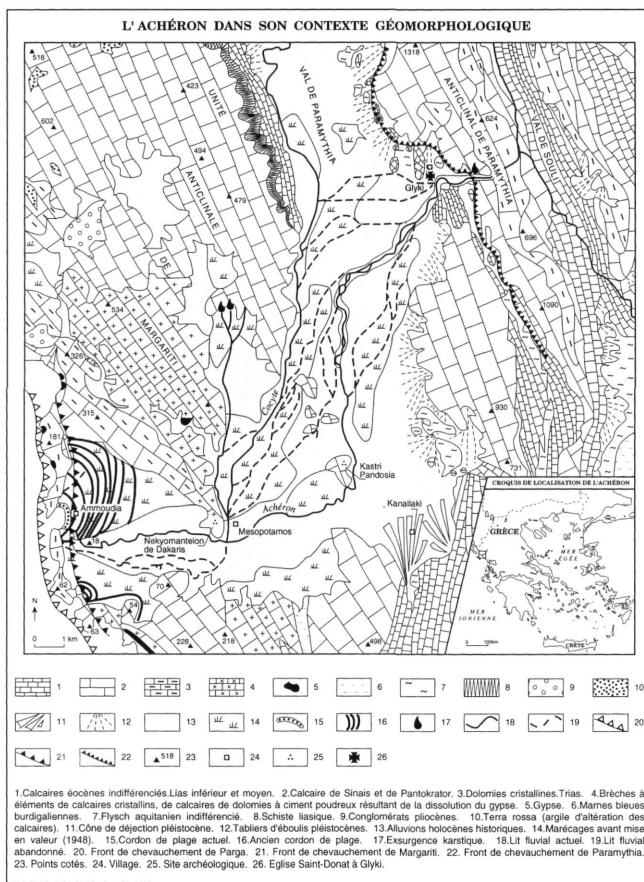


Fig. 3. L'Acheron dans son contexte géomorphologique.

mystère. Elle n'expliquerait pas la confluence infernale, mais elle la localiserait tout en la masquant, dans un contexte d'écoulement turbulent qui n'est pas sans rappeler l'image homérique des deux fleuves qui se réunissent au pied d'une roche ou une falaise. Mais l'argument essentiel à notre démonstration réside dans le fait que la localisation de l'entrée des enfers de Thesprotie à l'exsurgence de Glyki permet de proposer une cohérence géomorphologique et de créer un lien logique entre les enfers de Thesprotie et ceux de Triphylie. Il ne s'agit bien sûr que d'une hypothèse, mais elle nous paraît séduisante. En outre, nous avons pu observer tout au long d'un beau dimanche d'août 1995, le maintien d'une superstition locale, apparemment intégrée aux fêtes religieuses célébrées en l'honneur de la Vierge. La population locale se presse autour de cette source, expliquant à l'étranger incrédule que ses eaux peuvent assurer longévité et, qui sait, éternité.

Cette hypothèse d'une localisation de l'entrée des enfers à Glyki, à proximité des gorges de l'Achéron, a d'ailleurs déjà été formulée dès le XIXe siècle²⁵. Une convergence d'indices archéologiques, toponymiques et géographiques firent des environs de Glyki l'un des lieux proposés pour situer le Nékyomanteion²⁶. Divers voyageurs et savants ont visité Glyki et les gorges de l'Achéron. Leurs descriptions sont souvent enthousiastes, riches de notations pittoresques ou pertinentes et insistent sur la grandeur de ce paysage²⁷. Tous les voyageurs ont remarqué que l'église de Gkyki, Saint-Donat, remployait des blocs antiques, de grands orthostates, et des colonnes²⁸. Tous ces éléments sont encore visibles aujourd'hui ; l'église fut fouillée et le site est maintenant protégé²⁹. Le sanctuaire fut détruit pendant la guerre souliote menée par Ali Pacha de Tépélen, qui utilisa ses pierres pour construire une *kullë* à proximité immédiate³⁰. S'il est certain que des blocs sont antiques, leur provenance est impossible à déterminer, car les sites sont nombreux dans la région³¹. Ces remplois semblent appartenir à un ou plusieurs édifices d'époque romaine. La fouille de cette église mériterait d'être reprise.

L'exurgence de Glyki doit son existence à la présence de roches calcaires et à l'importance du phénomène karstique autour de la plaine du Phanari. Le phénomène karstique n'est pas propre à notre région, il est très fréquent en vieille Grèce, notamment en Arcadie. Or, la colonisation de la plaine du Phanari a été conduite par des Eléens, qui eux-mêmes connaissaient une zone infernale aux confins de leur territoire.

25. Une carte de l'Institut géographique militaire allemand, datée de 1877, donne Lekuri, au lieu de Glyki. Ce nom indique sans doute l'activité des tanneurs, dont les travaux nécessitent beaucoup d'eau (lék-ré signifie en albanais le cuir, ou une dépouille). Le nom du village fut aussi porté par le fleuve, dans le Phanari, où son cours est tranquille.

26. Frazer 1923, 354 et Cabanes 1988, 80-81, n. 23.

27. Holland, 1819, II, 248-249, donne une belle gravure des gorges vues de Glyki.

28. *Op. cit.* (fragment d'un chapiteau corinthien, éléments de placage en marbre et deux inscriptions qu'il n'a pas pu voir) ; Leake, 1835, IV, 56-57 (fragments de colonne en calcaire) ; Frazer 1923, 354 (fragments de colonne en granit, de corniche en marbre blanc décorée d'un motif de feuille d'acanthe) ; Hammond 1967, 70 (colonnes en granit gris et marbre blanc de 0,50 m de diamètre, un fragment de colonne en calcaire de 0,75 m de diamètre). Pendant les travaux de construction d'une école à 180 m de l'église en direction du NE, un bloc en marbre de 1,50 m de long fut exhumé. N.G.L. Hammond note aussi de la céramique, dont des fragments d'un pythos, dans la partie haute du village de Glyki.

29. Le site avait déjà été exploré en 1953 et 1954, mais les recherches furent reprises par D. Pallas, *PAAH* 1970, 82-89, complété par *PAAH* 1972, 99-108 (*BCH* 99, 1975, 633-635), où l'archéologue signale des blocs de marbre remployés dans l'appareil byzantin qui proviennent probablement d'un édifice antique des environs. Les blocs dont l'antiquité est probable sont en particulier remployés dans les murs du chevet (cf. pl. 7, fig. 2). Des compte-rendus sont aussi publiés dans *Ergon* 1971, 125-131 (*BCH* 96, 1972, 687), 1972, 45-49 (*BCH* 97, 1973, 325).

30. Leake 1835, 56. Elle était probablement sise sur une levée de terre au Nord de l'église.

31. Mousélimi 1980, 149-150, signale des grottes artificielles à l'Ouest de l'église, et détaille leurs pouvoirs thaumaturges.

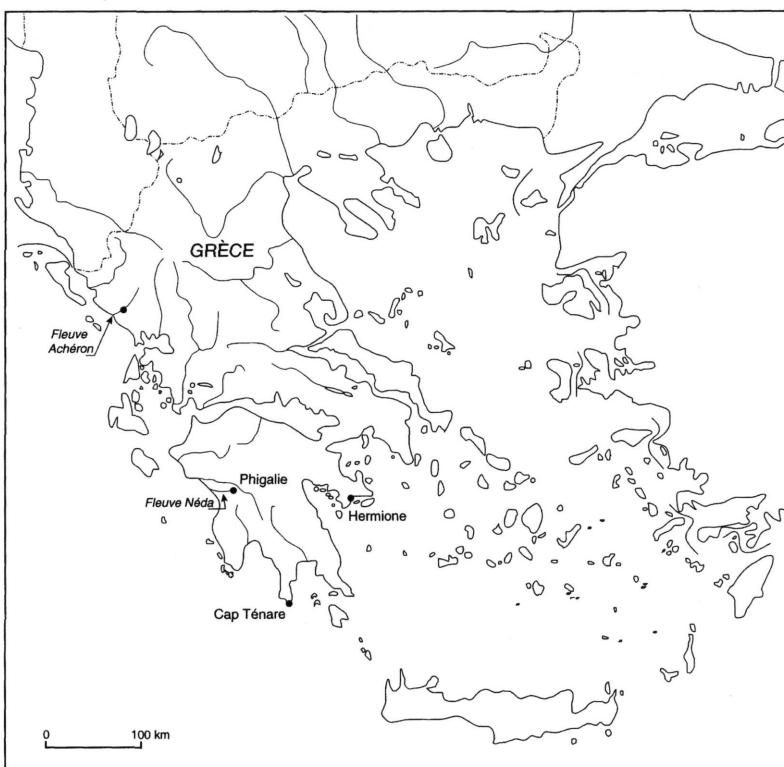


Fig. 4. Entrées des Enfers en Grèce ancienne.

UNE CONVERGENCE HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHIQUE ENTRE LES ENTREES DES ENFERS DE THESPROTIE ET DE TRIPHYLIE

Une convergence d'arguments historiques et géomorphologiques permet d'établir à titre d'hypothèse une cohérence entre les entrées des enfers de Thesprotie et de Triphytie par le biais de la colonisation éléenne. Si notre hypothèse est juste, c'est le site géomorphologique remarquable de "Stomio" sur la Néda, qui serait à l'origine du choix par les éléens de l'exsurgence de Glyki.

La Néda, fleuve torrentiel, qui fixait dans l'Antiquité la frontière entre l'Elide et la Messénie prend sa source au mont Lycée, non loin du village d'Haghios Sostis. De là, le fleuve se jette dans la mer Ionienne, entre Zacharo et Kiparissia, après un parcours d'une trentaine de kilomètres, qui lui fait franchir une dénivellation de mille mètres. La majeure partie de son cours s'effectue dans un contexte karstique dominant, au fond de gorges taillées dans le calcaire d'Olonos³².

32. Dufaure 1975, 1422.

A la verticale du site antique de Phigalie, le canyon de la Néda est profond de 250 mètres. C'est à cet endroit que se localise le site géomorphologique remarquable dénommé "Stomio"³³ ou "gouffre de la vierge". A cet endroit où la gorge est étroite et le cours de la Néda torrentiel, le fleuve disparaît par une perte et s'écoule sur une centaine de mètres dans un tunnel naturel. Ce tunnel correspond aux restes d'un conduit karstique non éboulé et témoigne des processus de dissolution et d'effondrement à l'origine de la formation du canyon. L'entrée de cette perte, le "gouffre de la Vierge", est impressionnante par son ouverture ogivale d'une vingtaine de mètres de hauteur et l'obscurité dans laquelle les eaux s'engouffrent. Le lit de la rivière est impraticable au-delà du *stomion*³⁴. Là aussi une pratique religieuse contemporaine peut être observée. A l'occasion des fêtes de la vierge du mois d'août, les villageois descendant des villages avoisinants en procession et convergent sur le gouffre de la Vierge pour bénir l'eau du fleuve.

Si nous admettons que les Éléens connaissaient une entrée des enfers caractérisée par la disparition d'un cours d'eau dans un gouffre la complémentarité géomorphologique entre les entrées des enfers de Triphytie et de Thesprôtie est troublante. En effet, les Éléens, partis coloniser de nouvelles contrées, soucieux de recréer un contexte culturel et mythologique familier et fondateur, auraient choisi une nouvelle entrée des enfers en Thesprôtie complémentaire de la première et non concurrente. A Glyki, le fleuve émerge du sous-sol, alors qu'il disparaît sur la Néda. Les arguments historiques et archéologiques en faveur de cette hypothèse ne manquent pas. Archéologie et traditions littéraires montrent que la basse vallée de l'Achéron et les régions voisines sont une vieille terre de colonisation, même si l'on fait abstraction de la fragile hypothèse d'une présence sub-mycénienne³⁵. Les puissances colonisatrices sont Corinthe et l'Elide. La présence éléenne ne remonte pas nécessairement au VIII^e s. av. J.-C.; elle est plus vraisemblablement contemporaine de la colonisation corinthienne³⁶.

33. La bouche ou l'ouverture en grec moderne.

34. Y. Béquignon donnait en 1935 une bonne description de la région (mise à part la localisation de la grotte de Déméter la Noire dans le gouffre), *Grèce - Les guides bleus*, Paris 1935, 443-445 : "De là (cascade d'*Aspra-Néra*), en s'accrochant aux rochers et aux arbustes, on atteint le fond du ravin de la Néda, mugissante entre ses falaises hautes de 200 m ; puis on contourne, à l'Ouest, un promontoire rocheux".

35. Les deux faits archéologiques évoqués à l'appui de cette hypothèse sont la tholos de Parga, découverte en 1937 et fouillée en 1960 (S.I. Dakaris, *Ergon* 1960, 110-111 et *PAAH* 1960, 123-126; Pelon 1976, no 48, 257, et Papadopoulos 1981) et l'acropole de Kichyros près de Mésopotamon (S.I. Dakaris, *PAAH* 1958, 107-113 ; le site, acropole et nécropole, fut fouillé par Th. Papadopoulos: pour un aperçu du matériel, *BCH* 109, 1985, 792 et Laffineur 1987). Le plus enthousiaste avocat de cette très ancienne colonisation est Suelef 1993, 29-46, dont le travail doit être nuancé par la lecture de la mise au point de Poursat, 1987, 31-34 (cf. aussi, Treuil Darcque-Poursat-Touchais 1989, 438).

36. Des dates aussi éloignées que le XIII^e s. (S.I. Dakaris, *AD* 18.2, 1963, 154) et le Ve s. avant J.-C. (Franke 1961, 52) furent proposées.

Comme l'a suggéré P.R. Franke³⁷, la présence éléenne peut avoir un rapport avec celle d'Hadès associée à une entrée des Enfers.

PROPOSITIONS POUR UNE MISE EN VALEUR TOURISTIQUE DU PATRIMOINE PAYSAGER ET ARCHEOLOGIQUE DE LA PLAINE DE PHANARI.

Les paysages du delta de l'Achéron (Phanari) et le cours moyen du fleuve nous paraissent, regardés à travers le mythe des entrées des enfers, constituer un ensemble unique, une part originale du patrimoine culturel grec. Un développement touristique durable, associant au tourisme littoral, une mise en valeur de l'intérieur nous paraît possible. D'autres exemples épirotes guident nos propositions. Le tourisme épirote met déjà en valeur les richesses naturelles continentales de la région. L'aménagement de sentiers pédestres dans le massif des Zagoria au Nord-Est de Ioannina fait figure de pionnier. Ces chemins signalisés et cartographiés permettent à la fois de visiter les gorges de Vicos, et de découvrir les beaux villages de Papingo ou Monodendri. Ces régions font dans le même temps l'objet d'une redécouverte scientifique ou nostalgique très encouragée par les éditeurs de la région de Ioannina, en particulier la maison d'éditions *Dodoni*. Ces études sont à l'origine de publications destinées au grand public.

De cet exemple trois axes de développement touristique peuvent être retenus:

- L'amélioration de la mise en valeur des sites archéologiques, et l'augmentation du nombre de sites visitables, c'est à dire signalés et protégés.
- Le développement de la curiosité envers les sites byzantins, les églises en particulier, mais aussi le patrimoine ottoman, ou celui de la montagne de Souli. La forteresse de Kiafa, restaurée, ferait un superbe gîte de randonnée.
- Le développement des itinéraires pédestres agrémentés de visites de sites naturels et archéologiques.

La réalité actuelle est composée par une concentration d'habitations saisonnières à Ammoudia, à la fois lieu de séjour pour les vacanciers et port où arrivent des bateaux venus de Parga où l'on vend des excursions dans le Phanari. L'urbanisation sur ce site devrait être arrêtée, au risque de dépasser un seuil de saturation et le terrain de camping paysagé, tandis que les zones humides subsistent et les berges de l'Achéron devraient être classées en zone

37. *Ibidem*, 47. L'idée, maladroitement critiquée par Hammond 1967, 427-428, évoque la position de la Thesprotie dans l'épopée pour justifier la haute antiquité d'une entrée des Enfers dans cette région. Mais nous avons vu que l'Odyssée ne peut ainsi être appelée à témoignage ; la proposition de P. R. Franke est au contraire très cohérente : les Eléens arrivent dans la région au Ve s. et la première source nommant un nékyomanteion en Thesprotie, Hérodote, V. 92, date du Ve s.

protégée. Le cours aval de l'Achéron est maîtrisé et navigable partiellement.

Le centre de service de la région est constitué par Kanallaki³⁸, petite bourgade sans charme, mais qui pourrait en acquérir. Le village de Kastri, site de l'ancienne Pandosia, au pied de la colline de Mésopotamon, avec ses tavernes au bord de l'Achéron offre à l'inverse un lieu reposant pittoresque et authentique de la société rurale grecque. Le village de Glyki offre les mêmes tavernes au bord de l'eau, avec en plus l'avantage du paysage des gorges, les ruines de l'église de Glyki, entièrement à valoriser, et selon nous la véritable entrée des enfers: la résurgence de Glyki.

En résumé, le contexte archéologique et naturel régional est riche. L'acropole de Pandosia est peu étudiée et mériterait une étude attentive, ainsi que les vestiges situés à Coroni, dans la vallée du Cocytus, probablement l'antique Eléa, en cours de fouille et visitable. L'église de Glyki a fait l'objet d'une étude³⁹, et elle est maintenant protégée par une grille. Son intérêt pour la connaissance de l'Epire médiévale est grand, mais ses blocs, dont un bon nombre sont des remplois antiques, peuvent aussi nous renseigner sur la forme des édifices antiques de la région. Visiter les gorges de l'Achéron par un sentier ottoman est déjà possible sur la rive gauche; il permet d'atteindre une petite chapelle et un pont et de continuer la marche dans le lit du fleuve. Cet itinéraire demanderait à être balisé, pourquoi pas jusqu'au sanctuaire de Dodone, en direction duquel la vallée progresse dans les magnifiques monts de Souli. Le mont de Souli lui même, avec tout le respect dû à cette montagne martyr, pourrait facilement devenir un centre de randonnée et de découverte des arts et traditions populaires Epiotes, au milieu d'une réserve naturelle.

Devant ces paysages et ces vestiges archéologiques historiques, il doit être possible d'imaginer et de réaliser un large programme comprenant le balisage d'un itinéraire dans la vallée, la reprise d'une fouille et la publication d'une étude sur l'église Saint-Donat, une prospection intensive aux abords des gorges de l'Achéron pour enregistrer tous les vestiges antiques et médiévaux. L'aspect éditorial ne doit pas être négligé, et l'exemple des guides archéologiques du grand chercheur qu'était le professeur S.I. Dakaris doit inspirer de nouvelles publications. Une bonne manière de concilier les intérêts économiques et touristiques serait aussi d'envisager une étude architecturale de l'église de Saint-Donat, dans la perspective d'une restitution suivie d'une anastylose. Ces propositions de mise en valeur exigent une collaboration entre les scientifiques du musée et de l'Université de Ioannina, les services régionaux d'aménagement du territoire, et les associations de défense de l'intégrité du territoire. C'est en suscitant un

38. Péchoux - Sivignon 1990.

39. Le site avait déjà été exploré en 1953 et 1954, mais les recherches furent reprises par D. Pallas.

tourisme de qualité, culturel et tourné vers la découverte de la nature, que le développement touristique de l'Epire est possible, si l'on veut éviter une hyper-concentration sur le littoral et à terme le désintérêt du public pour des sites saccagés. Cela ne peut se faire que par une prise de conscience collective de la valeur des paysages épirotes par tous les acteurs du développement régional. Le projet d'une autoroute passant tout près du sanctuaire de Dodone est à cet égard inquiétant.

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GEORGIA STRATOULI - NASSIA HOURMOUZIADI

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK AT THE POLYPHYTOS LAKE,
KOZANI, WEST MACEDONIA:
WHEN THE COMMUNICATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
ACTIVITY CREATES CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

We view our proposal for the Creation of a *Multi-functional Archaeological Park by the Lake of Polyphytos, Kozani: a Walk in Prehistory* as an ambitious and challenging attempt, since it aims at the construction in the periphery of the country of an innovative and experimental program of communicating to the public the dynamic prehistoric past (fig.1). The realization of the proposal presupposes the finding of the adequate means for the successful application and function of its theoretical objectives on three levels: the scientific, concerning researchers, archaeologists, architects and teachers, and both the *educational* and *recreational*, concerning visitors. A fourth and, in our opinion, extremely important level is that aspect of our proposal related to the *development* of the Kozani and West Macedonia territory. Practically, we propose the communication of the archaeological activity and, in result, of the historical background of the district, attempts which, in turn, will prompt a multi-dimensional and multi-functional development characterized by an anthropocentric, historical, ecological and economic content.

Fundamental in our proposal was the coexistence of three interwoven elements of the Polyphytos Lake: the exceptional natural beauty, the important geographical location and the abundance of historical background in Aliakmon's valley. The unequaled natural landscape of the valley in question with its visible crevices, such as that of Servia, the variety of its geomorphological elements, and the recent appearance of the artificial lake compose a unique scenery as far as its aesthetics and its possibilities for an economic development are concerned (fig. 1 and 2). The valley's important geographical and political character, which constitutes and has constituted for ages an important junction in a network of communication and transport among Thessaly to the South, central and west-central Macedonia to the East, and the Balkans to the North, can be witnessed rather eloquently in the

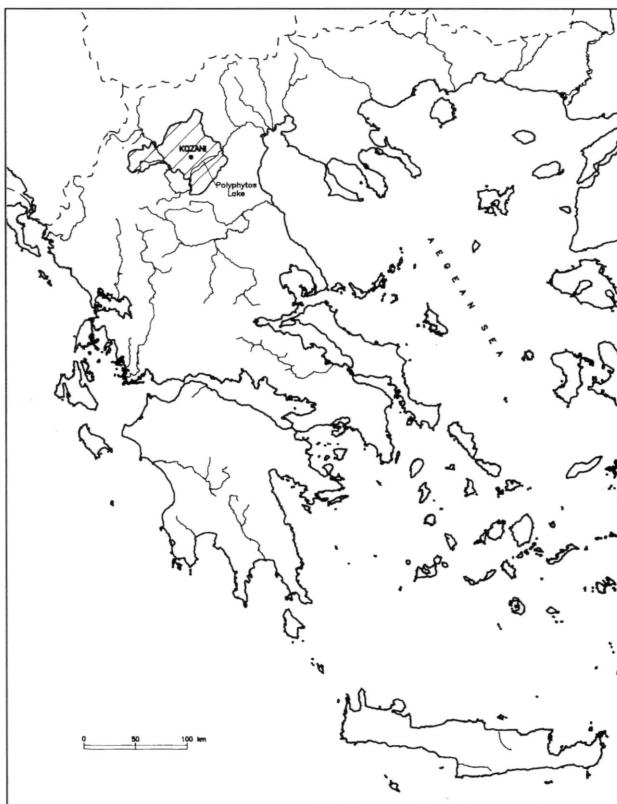


Fig. 1. Map of Greece with the location of Polyphytos Lake, Kozani, West Macedonia.

relics of the district's significant history. A history which dates back to the 7th millennium BC.

Our proposal concerning the archaeological aspect of the Park is based on the very existence of these relics. A dense network of small Neolithic settlements as well as burial sites dated to the Bronze Age has been revealed along Aliakmon river and, at present, by the artificial lake, in between Velvendos and Rymnio¹. Most of the elements concerning the organization and function of space in a prehistoric settlement come from the excavations conducted in the Neolithic settlement of Servia, by the Bridge, in the early 1970s². The site nowadays is covered by the water of the lake and, thus, cannot be visited. The historic era of the district is represented by the

1. Hondrogianni-Metoki 1990, 1992, 1994, 1995; Ziota - Hondrogianni-Metoki 1993

2. Ridley - Wardle 1979

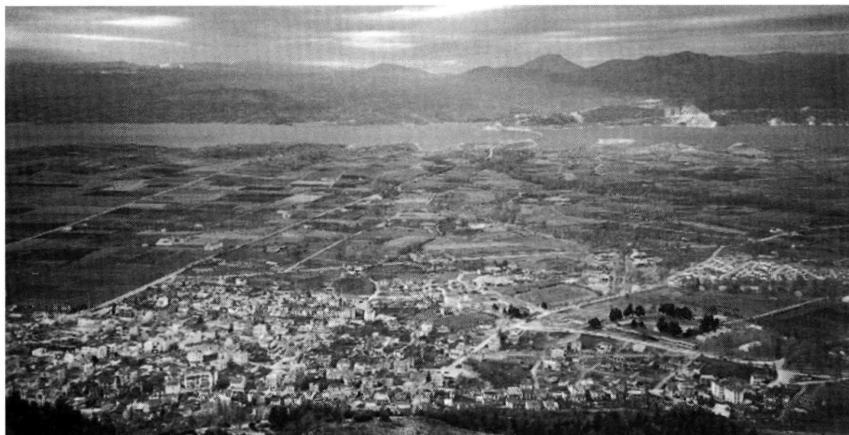


Fig. 2. A part of Polyphytos lake. A southern view from Servia city (photo: Kosmas Savilotidis).

presence of monuments dated to the historic times of Eani³ as well as by the monumental fortresses of Servia's Byzantine period.

The creation, then, of such an archaeological park would allow the communication of the archaeologist's work product, as well as the exhibition of the methods used to derive information and to approach the social structures, the economic relations and the ideology of the past. On the other hand, it would offer to the non-knowledgeable public the opportunity to

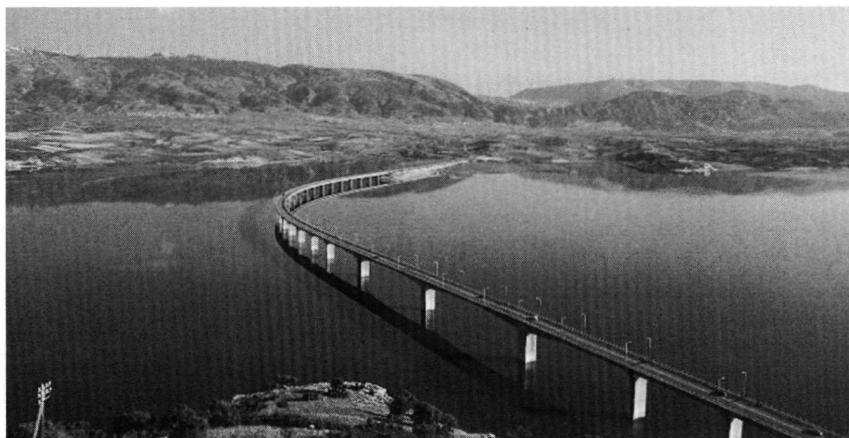


Fig. 3. A part of Polyphytos lake. A northern view with the high bridge of Servia (photo: Lazaros Hatzilazaridis).

acquire a solid and complete picture of the nature and the subject of archaeological research, as well as of the questions posed by such a research.

We decided that the subject matter of the Park should be Prehistory, since the district's prehistoric material, although in abundance, remains unknown. Equally unknown remain the dynamics and the achievements of that prehistoric past. A past that covers a big part (actually, the biggest part, if we include the Paleolithic Period) of human history. The part which follows the food-gathering and hunting stage, which is contemporary with the beginnings and the evolution of the productive stage, and which precedes the political systems expressed by the city-states, the Macedonian kingdoms and the subsequent empires.

Prehistory, however, cannot exhibit monumental constructions and overwhelming finds such as those of historic times. Therefore, in order to approach the prehistoric material as well as the relations that lead to its production we need to go through complex and intricate procedures.

The emphasis laid on prehistory will fill in the huge gaps existing in education, information and communication of the public with that particular period, will compensate for the insufficient visiting possibilities of prehistoric sites in the district, and will encourage the prehistoric research.

The next key-word we used in the description of our proposal is the word *park*. It refers, first of all, to an open-air space, a characteristic we consider crucial, since it allows the immediate visual contact with the elements of the ecosystem, i.e. the lake and the surrounding landscape. This contact will also enable the visitors to experience the natural environment, to perceive the limitations it imposed on the prehistoric communities and, furthermore, to consider how it was possible for these communities to control and exploit it. Simultaneously, the non-specialized public, by acquiring this experience and by establishing such a close relation to the natural surroundings, will be able to derive accurate historic information necessary in order to draw a respectively accurate picture of the prehistoric past. In addition, the archaeologist and (his/her) associates will have the opportunity to organize the space and its functions in a natural environment similar to that of prehistory. They will also be able to develop wide experimental research activities which demand natural conditions.

Of course, the word "park" does not refer only to the open-air element. A park consists of separate areas, different in their structure and organization; characterized by their loose linking, their "light" construction, their multiplicity of function. These characteristics lead to the next key-word included in our proposal: *multi-functional*.

We believe that the Archaeological Park can be multi-functional because it is not intended for a particular kind of public. It will fulfill the expectations of the conscious and well-informed lover of antiquity, it will excite the interest of the indifferent passing-by tourist, it will bring forth the so-far

hidden interests of the reserved villager, it will fascinate the children, and it will also open new horizons to the specialized researcher.

We do not assert that we have found the recipe for the "perfect archaeological park" which would please all visitors. We simply think of a loose and simultaneously well organized on various levels space, which would cover a variety of activities in a parallel way, so that each visitor could choose *what* to see and *what* to do in respect with (his/her) mood or firm interests. Our ambition is to create an exhibition area that would not exhaust its purpose as a conventional exhibition of definite size and potentiality. On the contrary, since our philosophy is based on the active participation of the visitor and on the operation of a changing and expanding program, we expect that the park will provoke a desire for multiple visits.

The Park could host, for example, models of spaces and constructions of prehistory (houses, storehouses, workshops, hearths, etc.), in order to describe in an eloquent way the whole range of everyday life in prehistoric communities, as far as the organization of space, the productive activities, and ideology are concerned, always according to the researchers' point of view. And for that description to be complete it will also be attempted an experimental, appealing -although not unscientific- *in situ* enactment of some of the production processes of the times. Through the construction and function of such a representation the archaeologist would be enabled to check the conclusions (he/she) has drawn by means of a series of fragmentary finds and deductive information. It is strikingly interesting, for example, to try to reconstruct a prehistoric roof applying the techniques thought to be applied by our remote ancestors, or to fire pots in prehistoric ovens, to weave using the whorls found in hundreds in the excavations of the district, to crop wheat forgetting the modern methods of farming, to verify whether the food products can be preserved, and under which conditions, in pots. Or to experience, even though momentarily, how it feels to spend your winters in low-ceilinged, dark, single-room houses, creating with an unparalleled sensitivity flutes and statuettes of fertile women full of curves.

Naturally, the communication of information as well as the experimental archaeological research should be additionally aided by a series of modern, though discreet, elements which will house supporting material-visual and electronic-laboratories and study rooms. They will also be available for the occasional or permanent exposition of some original material.

However, apart from the possibility for a stroll around the park, we believe that the potentials of such an attempt can be fully developed only when permanent or occasional programs concerning side aspects of our proposal's objective are organized. Namely, programs concerning special visits and activities organized for children, school and college students, or even research programs concerning not only archaeologists, but also geologists, botanologists, anthropologists, ceramists, etc.

Preventing the potential visitors' terrified hesitation in front of an archaeological worksite, where they will be bombed by raw historical information, we hasten to assert that the Archaeological Park will be enriched by every element which would constitute it a pleasant unit of cultural amusement, relaxation and entertainment. Not only because it seems fundamental to give them the opportunity to end their visit drinking a cup of coffee in the park or buying souvenirs, but also because we consider it wrong to create a sterilized center of research and education in the midst of such an oneric landscape by the lake. We think of the park more as a place available for a non-scheduled walk, for a snack by the lake, regardless of any exhibits and information, a place that would host cultural activities of a local or a much broader character and range.

The last but not less decisive word we used to describe our proposal was a *walk*. It really echoes the philosophy of our proposal as far as the way the unit is to be organized. We hope that we managed to get through our vision for a "fluid", loose, alternating, variable, expandable and changeable unit. A unit formed by light elements and discreet constructions respecting the landscape, supporting the archaeological nucleus, and, at the same time, being updated and modern.

We strongly believe that the realisation of the proposal we supported will establish a new cultural scene - "landscape" in Kozani and, more broadly, in West Macedonia. The aforementioned arguments are dictated by the dynamic process embeded in the rationale of the project of the archaeological park, consisting of certain parameters, quite often, unknown to the pioneers and invisible to the ignorants.

A level of high significance, directly related to the realization outcome, becomes the question of how the supportive mechanism, at its current stage of presentation and analysis, bears the potential to point out the dynamic nature of the proposal and "touch" certain sensitivity of the civilians and social agents in the region.

Through a two years experience in a multi-level intensive and in many aspects attempt to come into contact with, mainly, the local agents, we recorded a broad range of reactions, primarily a variability in the perception of the proposal depending either on the education or the social status of the perceptors. Obviously, the economic factors along with the social profile or prestige become crucial dimensions to the support or not of the proposal.

We would estimate that many leaders of the municipalities and mayors in Kozani welcomed the proposal enthusiastically. It is also strongly supported by new members of the parliament in the region, politicians, intellectuals and mostly, of socialists.

Objections and doubts on the necessity of the park are being brought out by the civil agents, i.e. communities of the area by the Polyphytos Lake. The problem is oriented not to the long term aim but towards the arguments over

which community will shelter the park. In addition to that, certain members of the local Archaeological Service raised doubts, which apparently, indicate the misjudgement of the substance of the proposal, more specifically, it not being competitive in the absorption of the funds for the protection, research and promotion of the significance of the archaeological monuments in the area by the Polyphytos Lake.

We would think that it is too early for the citizen to formulate a complete picture of the specific proposal. He was not given the opportunity yet, because firstly, he “is taught” to keep a distance from the boring and incomprehensible discussions of the committees and secondly, we have not tried any attempt to attract him, a task we feel the local societal agents should undertake. It would be appreciable if, after a thorough and detailed presentation of the final study of the park, being preceded by a broad scale awareness of people, we could suggest a gallop based on updated statistical methodologies, where the citizen's opinion will be evaluated. The trip is long . . . towards the accurate routes to prehistory. In spite of the difficulties and obstacles, we keep our spirit high.

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LINA G. MENDONI

THE PROTECTION AND PRESENTATION OF
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN CONNECTION WITH
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF KARTHAIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

There has been much discussion during recent years about the need for the development of our country, especially of the mountain and island regions, in terms of the principles of sustainable development¹. In the proposal of the G.H. Brundtland² committee, sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without endangering the ability of future generations to fulfil their own requirements"³.

Thus sustainable development means the use of natural resources as material possessions of today's humankind, without reducing or destroying these resources, in order to safe-guard the needs of future generations. The interpretation of this is self-evident. It expresses the need for logical, right-minded and fair use of natural resources, be they renewable or non-renewable⁴, as opposed to the developmental policy of the post-war decades

1. For the meaning of sustainable development, see Laskaris (ed.) 1996.

2. This is a statement entitled "Our common Future", which was drawn up by a committee headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, at the request of the General Secretary of the U.N. in 1983 and published in 1987. It examines the close connection and interdependence of Development and the Environment and it strongly promotes the meaning of sustainable development, a meaning that was the central theme of the World Congress on the Environment in Rio in 1992, a meaning that is included in the Agreements of Maastricht (1992) and Amsterdam (1996).

3. Laskaris 1996a, 50.

4. Mankind had already developed a balanced relationship with nature and his environment in earliest antiquity. The basic principle for ancient man was the economical use of resources, time, material, energy. See briefly Mendoni 1998a, with relevant bibliography. This same perception of logical use of natural resources is characteristic also of the traditional pre-industrial communities. This explains, for example, the system of leaving fallow land in farming or the sustainable use of forests.

in which the environmental cost was not considered, and the natural and cultural environment suffered, in some cases irrevocably.

A special and less evident category of “resources” comprises the cultural wealth of every place, both material and non-material: the monuments, archaeological sites, the myths, the music of every geographical unit, large or small, of an island, a country or a continent. In this sense and in the framework of a sustainable development, the cultural wealth of each place is a non-renewable resource⁵. Since there is no possible way of replacing it, it is a resource that demands both strict protection, and the right sort of conservation, exhibition, presentation, utilization⁶ and management⁷, so that it is not “consumed”⁸. For Greece in particular, with its vast cultural inheritance, the above approach assumes special weight and significance.

During recent decades systematic surface surveys have been conducted in many regions of the country by both Greek and foreign research teams⁹. The results have greatly increased the number of known and recorded archaeological sites, thus raising questions as to the management of the especially large amount of new information yielded by this sort of research. Moreover, the possibilities provided by surface survey for the study of a

5. Patton 1996, *passim* and especially 190: “...ecological and social relationships are linked by a complex of interconnections”. For the connection between cultural goods and sustainable development in the island context, see in general Trill (ed.) 1998, and in particular for the History of Locality, see Doukellis - Mendoni 1998. Cf. also Evans 1973 and Bonanno et alii 1990.

6. The use of the term “utilization” may be particularly repellent to some of our colleague-archaeologists. See for example the discussion about the archaeological site of Karthaia that followed the paper given by Fittschen 1999, 539-541, 542-545. Yet seen in the framework of sustainable development, the entire sense of utilization is not to be connected with the alteration or destruction of the natural or cultural environment. Quite otherwise the goal of complete preservation of both the natural and the cultural environment accompanies the aim of utilization, which includes the communal and economic parameters, since the natural and cultural resources contribute to the realisation of local identities and to a tourism of good quality.

7. The choice and use of the term “management” in the case of cultural possessions, while used by an increasing number of archaeologists and historians, continues to present a problem to many humanists because of its association with the market, trade and business concerns. Commercialization, in the current sense of the word, of cultural heritage is neither permissible nor desirable, since it is counter to the ethical significance of the monuments. This means that as applied to cultural objects, the term “management” must have a different meaning, one that responds to different principles and requirements from those of commerce. The term must apply to the gamut of activities required for the complete protection of cultural objects and monuments, the excavation, scholarly study, conservation, protection and continuous care that are necessary for the remains of the past, which must be understood not simply as lifeless ruins but as live organisms that are of interest to society and are part of community existence. For a pertinent discussion of the term “management”, see Lambrinoudakis 2000, 369. See also Doumas 2000, 399-405.

8. As early as the 1970’s, the terms “Cultural Resource Management” and “Conservation Archaeology” have been widely used, beginning in the United States of America, while the idea that whatever bears the marks of time must be preserved, is steadily gaining ground. See Lowenthal 1996; see also, Demakopoulos 2000, 327- 336, 327.

9. Acheson - Davis (forthcoming).

place over a much longer historical time and comprising a wider area than that provided by a systematic excavation, raises crucial questions related to the modern place itself, to past forms of its organization and to the social, economic, demographic and political history of the area, in which must be sought the meaning of the place as it is today. Good examples are to be found in the systematic surface surveys that have been carried out in the island environment of Melos¹⁰ and Kea¹¹, and in the Peloponnese, in the Argolid¹² and Lakonia¹³.

The continually increasing number of rescue excavations carried out by the various Ephorates of Antiquities of the Ministry of Culture, especially in places under pressure from building activity or the relatively recent activities connected with the construction of large infrastructural works such as the Metropolitan Railway System in Athens¹⁴, the highway axis of Patras - Athens - Thessalonike - Evzonon¹⁵ and the Egnatia Highway¹⁶ or the Railway Network¹⁷, is revealing countless monuments and archaeological sites, thus changing the archaeological map of the country. Together with

10. Renfrew - Wagstaff (eds) 1982.

11. Cherry - Davis - Mantzourani (eds) 1991; Galani - Mendoni - Papageorgiadou 1987 for southwest Kea; Mendoni 1994, for the southern section of the island; Mendoni 1999, 24- 26 for the area of Karthaia in southeast Kea.

12. Jameson - Runnels - Munn 1994.

13. Cavanach - Crouwel - Catling - Shipley (eds) 1996.

14. See for example, *AD* 47, 1992, *Chronicles*, 21-24; *ibidem*, 48, 1993, *Chronicles*, 31-35; *ibidem*, 49, 1994, *Chronicles*, 27-38; Parlama 1995; Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1998, 74 and *ibidem* 1999, 85.

15. See for example, *ibidem* 1997, 93 (13th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Magnesia, areas of Velestino and Aerino), 96-97 (14th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Phthiotis, areas of Proskyna, Akritsa, Pelasgia); *ibidem* 1998, 107 (13th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Magnesia, areas of Alos, Aerino, Mikrothebai, Chloe Velestinos, Ayios Georgios Pherai); *ibidem* 1999, 118 (13th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Magnesia, areas of Aerino, Mikrothebai, Almyros, Alos, Velestino).

16. See for example, *ibidem* 1998, 116 - 117 (16th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Thessalonike, area of Lete); *ibidem* 1999, 130 (16th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Chalkidike, *chora* of ancient Lete, area of Riviera- Asprovalta), 135- 136, (17th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Emathea, sites of Asomata, Tzamala, Palaiomana, Nomos of Kozani, sites of Polymylos, Xerolimni, Mavrodendri, Pontokomi, Mavropygi, Aiane, Kremaste).

17. See for example, *ibidem* 1997, 103 (16th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Pieria, areas of Louloudia, Skotina, Neos Pantaleemon, Platamonas), 172 (9th Ephorate for Byzantine Antiquities, Nomos of Pieria, areas of Louloudies, Platamonas); *ibidem* 1998, 97 (9th Ephorate for Byzantine Antiquities, Nomos of Boiotia, area of Pyri), 117- 118, 117 (16th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Thessalonike, Nea Philadelphiea, Nomos of Pieria, areas of Makryialos, Ayiasma, Kastro Platamona), 122 (17th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Kozani, sites of Xeropygadho, Kremaste, Polymylos, Xerolimne); *ibidem* 1999, 130 (16th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nomos of Thessalonike, Nea Philadelphiea, Nomos of Pieria, area of Platamona). Reports on the excavations and finds found during the course of constructing the Egnatian Highway and the Railway Network have been included in recent Symposia on the Archaeological Work in Macedonia and in Thrace, Thessalonike 1997-2000.

alterations in the archaeological picture because of these works, has come a basic change in the appearance of settlements and cities, and in the countryside itself. The very relationship of mankind with the countryside and the landscape has undergone a transformation.

Together with the emerging discussion of the subject and the institutional framework that is continuously formed around questions of environmental protection, the logical utilization of natural resources, the use of harmless forms of energy and the demand for open public spaces within the cities, are forces that all contribute toward an understanding of what is meant by an archaeological and cultural place. They contribute to a perception of how the remains of cultural heritage are related to the natural environment and how the archaeological finds can be incorporated in the community network of a modern settlement or become functional elements of a local community.

Given that the monuments are a non-renewable resource, and that the natural environment is insufficient, the monuments, the archaeological and historical sites in each area must be taken into serious consideration in the regional planning of each area¹⁸. These resources must be considered on a higher level than areas of special cultural interest. They must be treated as areas of environmental importance since no creation of mankind should be divorced from the natural environment in which it is placed and in which to a great degree it is interpreted and understood¹⁹. Viewed in this way, the significance of a cultural place assumes real content²⁰.

It is a fact, although not always accepted²¹, that protection of the monuments and archaeological sites requires adjustment of the area, to greater or lesser extent according to the resource to be protected²². Moreover, it is becoming ever more evident that the policy of utilizing the material remains of cultural heritage cannot be considered simply as a

18. Included in the requirements of the regional planning for the Aegean islands, proceeding under the administration of the Ministry of the Environment, Regional Planning and Public Works, especially in the framework of the European Program ENVIREG, is the necessity for cooperation of the planning team with the authorities of the Central and Regional Services of the Ministry of Culture. This is considered a positive step. It is not, however, sufficient. Legislation of this principle is needed so that its application is a requirement and so that it is understood both by public employees and by the citizens at large.

19. Mendoni 1998a.

20. Doukellis 1998.

21. It is obvious that any form of restriction on land that is privately owned usually causes problems between the officials involved with protecting the monuments and the landowners. The prohibiting of building in many of these cases (see below, nn. 22 and 25) without compensation, when the intended use (farming and animal husbandry) is not restricted, or a decision to expropriate the property, usually accompanied by lengthy delays, can create intense social problems that may lead to explosive situations.

22. According to Article number 50 of Law 5351/32 "On the Antiquities", "without permission of the Ministry of Culture, no enterprise may be undertaken near the antiquities that might harm them directly or indirectly". Another example is the legalizing of Archaeological Zones of Protection around important archaeological sites and monuments, see below n. 25.

dimension of regional planning, which in turn is a prerequisite for sustainable development. The policy of management systems of the monuments and the archaeological and historical sites should form an independent component of regional planning²³. As environmental policy, cultural policy should be a horizontal dimension and as such should be incorporated with other developmental policies²⁴.

The protection and exhibition of cultural heritage is in every case directly linked to protection of the natural environment since the relevant acts of protecting the monumental property implies the preservation of extensive areas that must remain open and are not to be built over²⁵. Environment and monumental heritage are collective resources that demand the care and protection of everyone, both officials and citizens²⁶. By applying the principles of protection and presentation of an archaeological site or of a place of cultural interest in itself, you are actually forming natural and cultural places of special beauty and ultimately of educational and recreational value, in the ancient sense of the term²⁷. Indeed it is such sites and such places that both State and citizens are obliged to protect as

23. According to Article 2 of Law 2742/99 "Regional Planning and Sustainable Development", the goal of regional planning is to assist "in the protection and restoration of the environment, in saving the ecological and cultural wealth and in the promotion of the geographical, natural products and cultural advantages of the land. To reach these goals the authorities must bear in mind especially the following principles: ...The systematic protection, restoration, conservation and promotion of regions, settlements, places with elements of natural, cultural and architectural heritage". The earlier Law 2508/97, "Sustainable Building Development in Cities and Settlements of the Land", serves the same outlook: Article No. 1 of which states that "The purpose of this law is to define the guiding principles, terms, procedures and forms of city-planning necessary for sustainable building development of the wider area of the cities and settlements of the land, which are to be classified specifically: ...as protection, promotion and environmental improvement of the city centres, of the cultural foci and traditional cores of settlements, areas of greenery and other elements of the natural, archaeological, historical and cultural environment of the cities, settlements and suburban areas".

24. In the European Convention for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (Valletta 1992), article 5 stipulates that each member-state undertake to ensure the cooperation of archaeologists in planning developmental policy and in regional planning. Included in the minutes of the Conference of Ministers of 17 June 1994 (EE no. 235/23.08.94) is the necessity for cooperative evaluation of the cultural dimension in relation to other developmental policies.

25. According to Article 91 of Law 1892/90, in areas that are outside the planned building areas and have important archaeological sites and monuments, the Ministry of Culture may forbid all kinds of building, legislating Archaeological Zone A, with complete protection, and Archaeological Zone B, in which building is permissible under the terms and restrictions determined by the Ministry of the Environment, Regional Planning and Public Works, on request of the Ministry of Culture. This ordinance is repeated in Article 184 of the "Document of Basic City-planning Legislation" (Official Journal of the Greek Government 580/D/27.7.99).

26. The decree on perpetual protection of the natural and cultural environment is defined in Article 24 of the Greek Constitution: "Protection of the natural and cultural environment is an obligation of the State. For their protection, the State is obliged to take special preventative and restrictive measures".

27. For the criteria used in characterizing a cultural site, the values of which include its direct relationship with the sustainable development of a place and the need to protect it, see in general von Droste - Plachter - Rössler (eds) 1995, *passim* and especially 15-105 and 380- 427.

laboratories for learning and research, as laboratories of knowledge, self-knowledge, self-recognition and self-determination²⁸.

Constantly gaining ground is the perception that the archaeological sites and monuments are better protected and preserved when they are part of the community²⁹, when they are included in the economy of free time and become part of contemporary life, being understood as factors that enrich our own present-day existence. In modern life, culture is directly connected with the idea of continuing education. It affects the education of people of all ages³⁰, occupying them in their increasingly free time, since it is now possible to choose how to spend one's time and money and how to satisfy a desire for learning.

For the purpose of protecting the archaeological and historical treasures, the Greek State has as its main tool Law 5351/32 "On the Antiquities", together with whatever additions and amendments it has received in the meantime³¹. Moreover recent years have seen a series of adjustments and regulations in the way in which the completion of the works of protecting, conservation, restoration, arranging of the archaeological sites and monuments and enterprises is performed³². Today, some seventy years later, new circumstances exist in the field of Archaeology, with modern perceptions of the position and significance of the monuments in the educational process of continuing education. Moreover, the funds available

28. Gizeli 1998; Grydakis 1998 and Papagiannopoulos in the present volume.

29. A characteristic example is provided by the Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens. The plan of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Environment is to create an archaeological park in the heart of the city, an archaeological area that is unified, to the extent possible, alive to the citizens of the city and to visitors, and part of the daily life of the city. To unite these sites required a series of interventions in six archaeological sites of Athens (Olympieion, South and North Slopes of the Acropolis, the Hills of Phipopappos, the Pnyx, the Nymphs, the Ancient and Roman Agoras) and the preparation of Dionysiou Areopagitou, Apostolou Paulou and Hermou streets as pedestrian ways. Beyond this, however, this approach inspires the works of protection, presentation and management of the archaeological sites that are funded by the Sub-programme "Culture" of the Operational Program "Tourism – Culture", and by the Regional Operational Programs of the 2nd Community Support Framework, responsibility for completion of which is held by the Services of the Ministry of Culture, especially the Archaeological Ephorates. Interventions are planned with this same approach by the Operational Program "Culture" and the Regional Operational Programs of the 3rd Community Support Framework.

30. Lambrinoudakis 1995.

31. Petракος 1980, 109- 212; Doris 1985.

32. According to Article 81 of Law 1958/91, "The archaeological works in process that are included in the Yearly Program of Works approved by the Central Archaeological Council... can be carried out directly by the Service, with auto-verification and cost-data, on the basis of their scientific and artistic nature and their extreme fragility". For putting this law into effect, Presidential Decree (PD) 99/92 was published: "Study and Completion of Archaeological Works in Process", on which all the activities of the Ephorates of Antiquities are in fact based. In this Presidential Decree, all matters were regulated that pertain to the study and completion of archaeological works, to bids and supplies, with the guarding of works and work-sites, the hiring of necessary personnel, the funding of the works and the management of the relevant funds. With Law 2557/97, the provisions of PD 99/92 for the ancient monuments, were extended to apply to works on recent monuments as well.

through the 2nd and the 3rd Community Support Frames, the European Social Fund, the European Regional Development Fund likewise impose a response to the new circumstances and a modern legislative framework that ensures not only protection of the monuments themselves and their immediate environs, but also protection of the wider environment in which they are set.

At the same time, the human being of today, the citizen, the resident of a place, as an agent of his local cultural heritage, requires the material remains of the past to be community possessions. There is a realisation that the monuments are not just objects of scholarly study and knowledge and that an understanding and practical acquaintance with them is the concern not only of the specialists. It is of interest to a wider public who wants to understand them in depth, to come close to the aesthetic, social and historical values they contain, to communicate and to converse with them³³. This means that there must be a specific and legally binding organisational framework that will express the principles and method of management of the archaeological works and projects³⁴ as well as the archaeological sites, historical sites and isolated monuments.

THE FEASIBILITY OF A PROPOSAL FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF KARTHAIA

The archaeological site of Karthaia, one of the four ancient cities of Kea (fig. 1), on the southeast coast of the island, is an excellent specimen for the application of what has been described above.

The industrial model of development of the post war period and mass tourism, particularly during the last forty years, has directly affected the island group of the Cyclades, the most numerous of the Archipelago, with unique natural beauty and vast monumental wealth. While there is evidence to show that the culture that developed several decades ago in the Cyclades continues to exist in various forms of artistic expression and in the daily life

33. Lambrinoudakis 2000. On p. 368, he uses the term "substantial publication" to mean "presentation of the antiquities themselves to the general public", that is, the appropriate form of presentation of the archaeological find so that its various qualities can function educationally and pedagogically directly for the general public rather than the specialist, in distinction to a "conventional publication", strictly academic, or a popularisation. In an earlier publication, the same author has employed the term "material publication", Lambrinoudakis 1993, 451.

34. The term "archaeological work" in Article 81.4, of Law 1958/91 applies to: "...excavations, restoration, stabilising, conservation of antiquities and monuments, arranging of archaeological sites, museum work in general, repairs, alterations...". The archaeological works are clearly a separate category of public works, since they are special projects carried out on monuments, thus on non-renewable resources, which require specialised and deep scholarly knowledge because in most cases the monument must be interpreted prior to any intervention. Thus they are governed by special legislation (see n. 32) and their chief aim is full protection of the monuments.

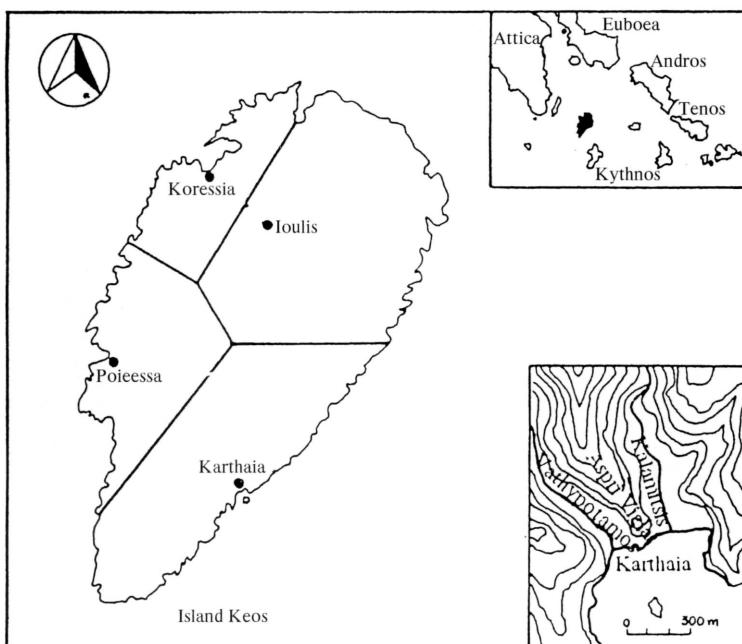


Fig. 1 Map of the island of Keos with the four ancient cities. In the square the area of Karthaia.

of the islanders, some changes that have entered the Cyclades in recent years have been entirely negative, because in many cases the nature, the landscape, the cultural resources of the islands have been largely altered, to say nothing of the social consequences³⁵.

During the past forty years the population of the islands has fallen dramatically, with a reduction of some 30%. Until then, the population had remained at about the level reached by the late 19th century³⁶. During this same time the islands saw a notable increase in tourism. The result of these two factors has been the abandonment of the countryside and farming, which until then had been the main occupation of the inhabitants of the islands. It is obvious that the consumption of goods and services in an area where they are produced and distributed has manifold economic, social, cultural and environmental consequences. The extensive and irrational use of touristic revenues, of the beaches, traditional housing, the natural landscape and forms, and of the archaeological and historical sites, in a framework of

35. Tsatras 1989, *passim* and especially 89- 97, 106-136, 166- 211; idem 1994; Coccosis 1998; Coccosis - Parpaïris, in the present volume.

36. Exarchoulea 1998.



Fig. 2. The modern harbour of Livadhi. On the hills in the back the site of the ancient Koresia.

relaxation for the visitors, has opened these places to various forms of pollution and aesthetic degradation³⁷. The Cyclades, especially certain islands, Mykonos, Santorini, Ios, Paros, are now living the consequences of this sort of tourism.

Despite its proximity to Attica and Athens, Kea has to a great extent kept its relative advantages, its cultural characteristics and the special features of its landscape, even in the northern part of the island where, because of the harbour of Livadhi, private pleasure yachts anchor at the site of the ancient city of Koresia (fig. 2), and at the safer anchorage of Vourkari, in the bay where the prehistoric settlement of Ayia Irini lies (fig. 3). So too, the traditional town of Chora on the site of ancient Ioulis has been exposed since 1980 to a continuously increasing touristic and building market (fig. 4). The touristic and building activities of the area are seen in relief in the form and appearance of the more recent settlements at Livadhi and Vourkari. While the hard facts show that the cultural resistance of the old cellular communities of Livadovourkaro are yielding day by day, whatever changes have occurred in the natural or human environments are, for the time being, reversible.

37. Tsartas 1996, 146- 154. In particular on the effects of mass tourism on the monuments, the traditional settlements and on the cultural environment in general, see Constantinidis 1967; Bouras, 1974; Tsartas 1989, 50- 51, 60, 89, 93- 94, 132- 133, 136; idem 1996, 152- 153; Coccossis 1998, 372- 373.



Fig. 3. The site of the prehistoric settlement of Ayia Irini in the Vourkari bay. In the back the modern settlement.



Fig. 4. A view of the Chora, on the site of ancient Ioulis.

In the southern part of the island the situation is clearly more encouraging. The environment has remained virtually as it was and on the ground are the many remains of man's interventions over a long historical span³⁸. Still preserved in this part of the island is the prototypical rural settlement that is known to have existed in antiquity³⁹. Scattered houses, without settlements or villages, were in those days directly connected with the city-state, with Karthaia or with Ioulis, the city that is today the administrative centre and focus of economic exchange, the Chora⁴⁰. Without exception, all those living in the area keep a second, organised house in Chora, where they are always present for the various social events or festivals. The rural buildings, such as the *kathoikies* and *kathedres*⁴¹ at Hellenika, Kato Meria and Petrousa, most built on the hillsides, protected from the north and facing southeast, and made of local schist, harmonize completely with nature and the environment (fig. 5).

Located in this part of the island, on the southeast coast opposite Kythnos, at a place known as Poles⁴², is the archaeological site of Karthaia, one of the most important, interesting and best preserved of the

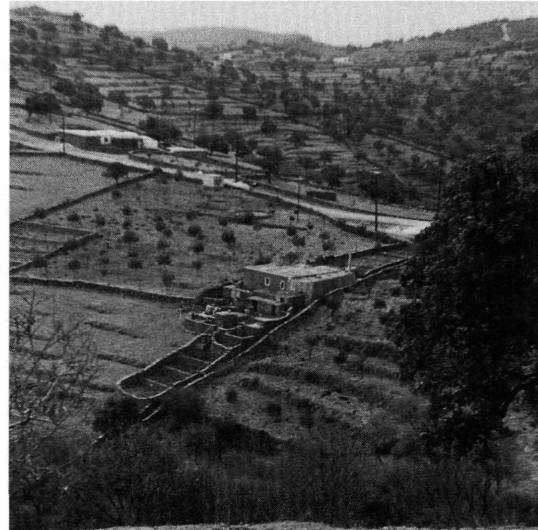


Fig. 5. A country house somewhere between Kato Meria and Havouna.

38. Mendoni 1994, 151- 153; eadem 1990 and 1999b; Doukellis 1999; Simantoni- Bournia 1999; Zachos 1999; Fitschenn 1999; Papanikolaou 1999a; Mourtzas - Kollaiti 1999.

39. Mendoni 1994, 156-157.

40. The fact that Kea has been relatively neglected from the touristic standpoint up to now has given the island its only opportunity to plan its development following the principles of sustainable development. In the case of Kea, the regional plan with its provision and its prevention finds its real significance. Even so, the continued lack of a regional plan, despite the efforts made over recent years, may have serious consequences in an era when things are moving rapidly. The margin remaining at present for adjusting land use, for legislating special building regulations, for an arrangement of the area with balanced criteria in terms of quality and need, for preserving the environment, and managing the archaeological sites, will not exist forever.

41. Spyridakis 1962, 755-760; Kloutsinoti - Faraklas 1981, 23-28

42. Thomopoulos 1963, 302.



Fig. 6. The bay of Poles, the site of ancient Karthaia.

archaeological sites in the Cyclades and the Aegean (fig. 6). Because the site has been left abandoned since the first post-Christian centuries⁴³, its special features and the remains of earlier times have been preserved undisturbed, nature has remained supreme in its sparseness, and the essence of the place itself preserves the same elements of which it was composed during the course of its diurnal cycle, centuries before. G. Kandyli's definition is eminently applicable to Karthaia: "a place is not simply the immediate or general environment, nor is it the monuments, antiquities, old or recent, that in the course of time become markers - pointing out the way for the observer. The essence of place is also the light, the colour, the sound and, sometimes, the fragrance. And whatever else gives the feeling of the place, something ineffable that poets and painters with their gift of sensitivity can feel and sometimes catch"⁴⁴.

43. Systematic habitation of the area of Karthaia appears to have ceased during that period. See Mendoni 1989, 169-170. According to the results of the surface survey and archaeological clearing, the graves that are scattered over the terrace and in the cella of the Apollo temple, and on the terrace of the Athena temple, belong to the same time. Datable likewise to the 4th and 5th centuries A.C. are the inscriptions, *IG XII 5*, 564 and 565, see Mendoni 1988, 346- 350; Kiourtzian 2000, 64- 66, 73- 75. Also belonging to the same period is the church excavated by Graindor 1905, 333-337. This does not mean that the area ceased to be used for agriculture and animal husbandry. This continued not only during Byzantine and Post-Byzantine times (pottery of those periods has been found in the surface survey, and the local toponyms Kalodoukas and Kalamitsis are directly connected to the same time, see Mendoni 1989, 175), but also up to today with the gardens at Vathypotamos, Kalamitsis and Kalodoukas, and the continuation of apiculture throughout the area.

44. Kandyli 1989, 264.



Fig. 7. Path from Havouna to Karthaia.

This unique experience of feeling, offered to the visitor so freely by this site, from the moment the climb begins on the pathway from Chartsidio or Agios Symeon, is described by A. Fasianos, commenting on his paintings, inspired by the archaeological sites of Kea: “the archaeological places... harmonised in today’s landscape assume a special fascination... I am filled with a complex feeling made up of history, fantasy and reality. In Karthaia, let’s say, I feel the fragrance of the sage binding me to the old Karthaians. In those days the sage will have smelled the same, I think to myself; it cannot have had a different fragrance. And when they came down this very path, will they not have seen the same sky? the same sea? And their eye will have reached the island across from them, Kythnos...”⁴⁵.

The ruins of the acropolis, the city and the walls of ancient Karthaia⁴⁶ for centuries now have lain preserved on the ridge of Aspri Vigla, on the ἐλαχύνωτον στέργον τόπον as the poet says⁴⁷, which even in classical times⁴⁸ had already undergone extensive human intervention in two building programmes that ultimately gave the site the form we see today⁴⁹. The two

45. Fasianos - Mendoni 1988, 67.

46. For bibliography on Karthaia, see Mendoni 1999a, 22- 25.

47. Pindar, *Paian* IV, 14: Carthaia indeed is but a narrow ridge of land... (trans. J. Sandys, The Loeb Classical Library, 1968)

48. The geometric settlement that preceded it lies on the same place on Aspri Vigla, specifically at Koula, the rocky projection between the terraces of the temple of Apollo and the temple of Athena. This, at least, is indicated by the study of the pottery found during the cleaning of the west section of the terrace of the temple of Apollo and particularly from the area between the rock and the west wall of the temple. See also Papanikolaou 1999, 556.

49. Kollaiti - Mendoni 1992; Mendoni - Kollaiti 1993;



Fig. 8. Path from Hellinica to Karthaia (foto K. Fittchen, courtesy DAI Athen).

valleys, Kalamitsis at the north and Vathyptamos to the south, with the sea to the east, completely bound the area, creating a closed unit of extraordinary natural beauty, a refuge for a considerable population of various kinds of birds and a place favourable to a wide span of native pharmaceutical herbs⁵⁰. By land, Karthaia can still be approached today only by foot, a walk of around an hour - more or less - by way of the stone-paved paths and tracks⁵¹, which in most cases coincide with the ancient pathways⁵² (figs 7-8-9). Approaching by sea in a small boat, there is anchorage at the same place as used in



Fig. 9. The path from Ayios Symeon to the Kalamitsis valley and Karthaia.

50. Malakates 1927, *passim*; Zerledis, 1952, *passim*; Diapoulis 1961; Beriatos 1993, 61-68.

51. Buchon 1911, 234 describes the roads of Kea as the best in the Kingdom of Greece. The network of paths, stone paved in many places, connecting Karthaia with the interior of the island and from there leading to the other three ancient cities, is preserved in extraordinarily good condition. The system is one of the few preserved in the Greek countryside, as the paved roads are usually found within limited ekistic complexes, see Sifounakis 1998. The visitor reaches the archaeological site of Karthaia by walking some 45 to 75 minutes on the following pathways: Havouna - Ayios Taxiarchis - Pegadhaki - Kallisia - Karthaia (around 1700 m.), Stavroudaki - Chartsidio - Vathyptamos spring - Karthaia (around 2200 m.), Kato Meria - Kalodoukas spring - Vathyptamos spring - Karthaia (around 3000 M.) and Hellenika - Ayios Simeon - Koukovayia - Kaukasos - Karthaia (around 3500 m.), to mention only the main paths and not the trails opened by the local farmers in order to service their farms and animals.

52. For the approaches to Karthaia see Manthos - Mendoni 1991, 60 and 132-133, n. 303. For the path that runs by way of Ayios Simeon - Koukovayia - Karthaia, see Kazamiakis - Pikoulas, 1999, 185-187, and Fittchen 1999, 540-541. Fittchen, as opposed to Kazamiakis - Pikoulas, believes that "Whoever goes to Karthaia, follows not only the ancient pathways," meaning evidently the line of the ancient roads, "but treads on the ancient paving itself, which still exists in excellent condition over large sections of the roads". Personal research and exploration leads me to believe that all the pathways leading to Karthaia, as reported by Manthos in his walks (1877), are to be identified as ancient road lines and pathways. Some sections of these roads even preserve some of the ancient construction, yet the impressive constructions with steps of large schist slabs, such as seen in the section from Havouna to Taxiarchis, must be the work of later times.



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Figs. 10-11. View of the hill of Aspri Vigla, the bays of Mikres and Megales Poles and the ruins of the ancient city of Karthaia. a. The fortification walls b. Terrace of Apollo Temple c. Terrace of Athena Temple d. Koulas e. Propylon f. The hellenistic building D g. The site of the theater i. The church of the Dormition of the Virgin and its small festival house k. The church of Panagia Myrtidiotissa and its festival house l. Mykoniatis summer house m. Kazazis house n. The old stables (otos K.Fittschen, courtesy DAI Athen).

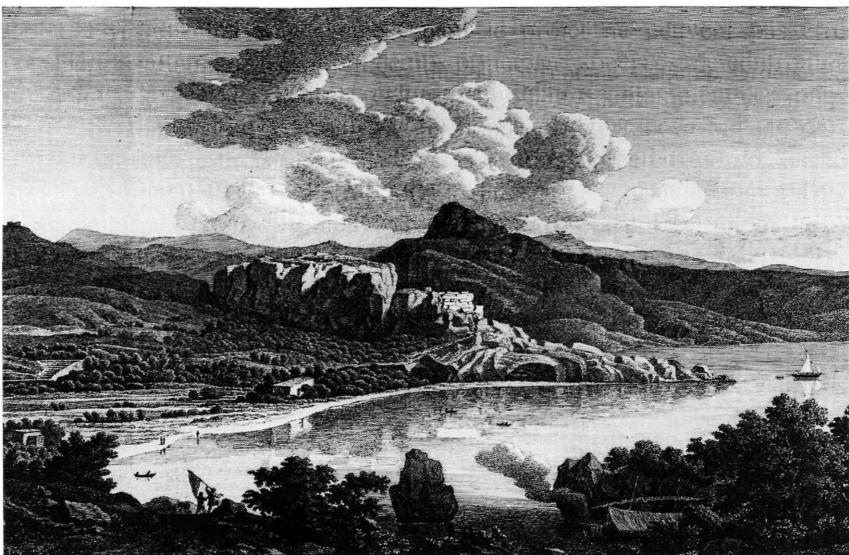


Fig. 12. A view of Karthaia made by P.O. Brönsted (1812).

earlier times, without the help of any modern harbour installations⁵³.

The ancient city, comprising the *asty* and the *chora*, is one of the few instances in Greece where the ancient topography has been preserved entirely with its city and area plans (figs 10-11). From the ground the specialist, and not only the specialist, can “read” a rich archive of information about the city itself, its building network, the harbour, the cemetery, the road network, the installations bordering the city, the settlements, the burial grounds of the early Christian centuries⁵⁴ and the shrines and stables that exist in the area at least from 1800 on⁵⁵ (figs 12-13). From then until today the only constructions that have been added to the site

53. For the ancient harbour works of Karthaia see Mendoni - Mourtzas 1989 and 1990; Mourtzas - Kollaiti 1999, 682- 684. In the centuries that followed the abandonment of the city, the various ships (corsairs, fishing boats, touristic boats etc.) that entered and still enter the quiet bay of Poles drop anchor in the northern part of the little bay of Megales Poles.

54. Mendoni 1999, 24- 25, with all the relevant bibliography.

55. The first topographical sketch of the archaeological site of Karthaia, made by Brönsted 1826, pl. VI (see Mendoni 1999a, 19-20), shows three more recent buildings, the church of the Dormition of the Virgin in the beach of Mikres Poles, built with ancient building material (for example the inscription IG XII, 5, 538 about which F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: *Lapis oblongus... ecclesiae Panagiae 'ς τες Πόλες muro ad portam inaedificatus*) - the ancient stones are visible even today despite the repairs made to the building (shown on the drawing by Bronsted with I), the house and stable likewise at Mikres Poles (denoted by II) and the church of the Panaghia Myrtidiotissa at the highest point of the acropolis (denoted by F), see Mendoni 1989, 162-163.

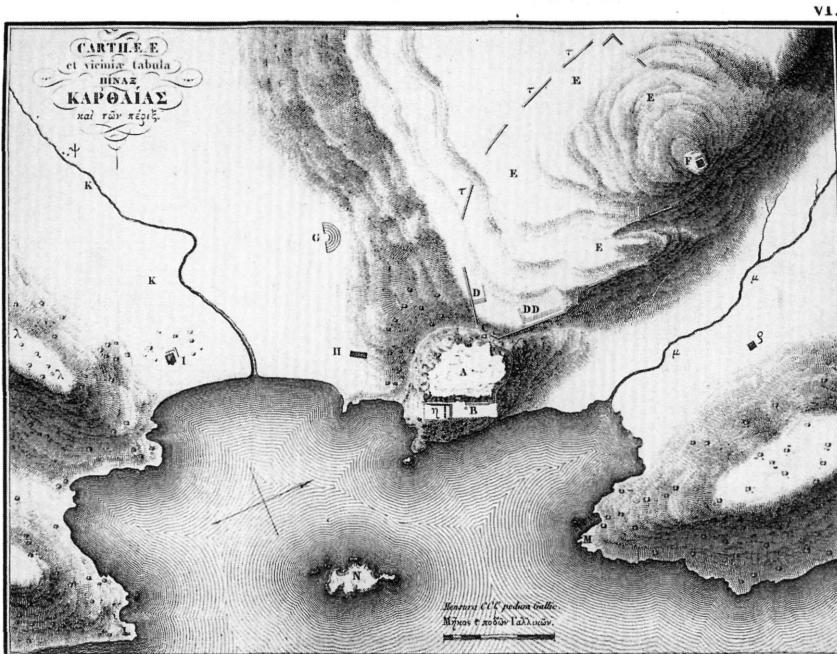


Fig. 13. The topographical sketch of the archaeological site of Karthaia made by P.O. Brönsted (1812).

are the two small festival buildings appended to the church of the Dormition and the Myrtidiotissa, the small summer house of N. Mykoniatis at Mikres Poles and the now half ruined, unfinished⁵⁶ building owned by Kazakis on the side of the Kallisia hill⁵⁷. The area clearly has an advantage not found at those archaeological sites that are more or less close to a modern inhabited centre. It is no exaggeration to compare the wider area occupied by the city-state of ancient Karthaia with a palimpsest and to term it a living data base. To recall the words of K. Fittschen, “rarely found in Greece are sites where nature and history form so harmonious a whole”⁵⁸.

From the above it is quite clear that this specific site, not only in the narrow sense of an archaeological site, but in the wider meaning as a geomorphological unit, must preserve its authenticity, ecosystem and history. The wider area must be protected so as to remain in its present

56. Thanks to the timely intervention of the Archaeological Service.

57. These structures, built in the 1960's and 1970's, while they may be said to interfere with the landscape, have in a way been absorbed by it. They do, however, give an idea of the danger that threatens this area, now far more than in the past, see also Fittschen 1999, 540.

58. *Ibidem*

condition, safe from any form of building activity⁵⁹ or infrastructural works such as harbour works or roads for automobiles⁶⁰. At the same time, as a balance to the prohibition of building, some motivation for the agricultural use of the land should be provided, including apiculture⁶¹, since it is only in this way that the old terracing can be preserved with its terrace walls and dry-masonry⁶². The family gardens near the springs at Vathypotamos, Kalamitsis and Kalodoukas should also be encouraged as they are valuable diachronic features of the karthaian countryside (figs 14-15).

In this framework, with special caution and complete respect for archaeological and environmental needs, the archaeological site has to be comprehensible, proximate and easily grasped by the visitor, without

59. Karthaia belongs to the special category of protection of declared archaeological sites in accordance with two decisions by the Ministry of Culture, 1962 (Minister's Decision no. 4897/17.04.62= Official Journal of Greek Goverment 149/B/28.04.62), as the result of research by the Ephor N. Zapheiropoulos and Chr. Doumas, and 1990 (MD no 45225/2155/20.11.90= OJGG 822/B/28.12.90, as a result of the surface survey carried out in the area, see Mendoni 1999, 22, 24- 25. The boundaries of the archaeological site of Karthaia were reviewed in 1998, by decision of the Ministry of Culture no. 20956/1288= OJGG 536/B/01.06.98), in order to "include within them the archaeological site 'Pygadhaki' where there are important remains of an ancient farming establishment" (see in connection, Mendoni 1999b, 281, 297-299), and to declare "the sea area of the bay of Poles-Karthaia as an archaeological site", following the discovery of the remains of the ancient harbour (see Mendoni - Mourtzas 1989 and 1990; Mourtzas - Kolaiti 1999, 682-684.) Finally, the 1999 decision of the Ministry of Culture, no. 5171/217= OJGG 108/B/17.02.99), legalizes "Zone A of complete protection, no building in the archaeological area of Karthaia". In order to achieve total protection of the archaeological site in the restricted sense of the term, the properties within the fortification wall and other visible remains have to be expropriated by the State. Part of the urgently needed expropriation of the land with the temple and the theatre has already been carried out thanks to N. Zapheiropoulos in the decade of 60's. The process of expropriating another section, from the temple of Athena up to and including the western part of the fortification walls nearing completion and there, remains the payment to the owner. Yet much still remains to be done.

60. A constant request of the local inhabitants, especially those of Kato Meria, is the extension of the regional road network to include the shore of Poles, firstly in order to make use of their property in the area, and secondly because they believe that a road giving easy access to the archaeological site would make it attractive to mass tourism.

61. As in antiquity, Kea today produces excellent honey. Bee-keeping is connected with the myth of Aristaios, who taught the Keians apiculture (*Herakleides Pontikos, Κείων Πολιτεία*, 2). The vast numbers of sherds from pottery beehives, found in the surface surveys bear witness also to this enterprise. Notable is the large number found not only in *chora* but also in the *asty* of the ancient city.

62. The continuous decline in the numbers of islanders involved in farming means the abandonment of the terraces, that remarkably typical feature of the Cycladic landscape. This leads invariably to their collapse and destruction, while in time the hillsides recover the natural form they had before human intervention converted them into arable land. This is ecological and cultural destruction. Apart from upsetting the ecosystem, destruction of the terraces means that a vast cultural tradition is lost. On the technological level, the terracing of a slope for agriculture needs not only a work force, but it requires developed knowledge of topography, the possibility of making use of the natural landscape, proper diagnosis of the possibilities of a given piece of land, knowledge of how to support the soil, the correct use of the stones extracted and control of the hydrographic network, see Doukellis 1999 and 2000; Papadimitriou - Mairota 1999.



Fig. 14. Modern family gardens and ancient terraces in Vathypotamos.



Fig. 15. Modern family gardens and ancient terraces in Kalodoukas.

endangering its authenticity⁶³. Comparable care must be taken in any intervention on the monuments themselves, the main purpose of which is their conservation and protection with as few interventions as possible. They must be promoted and they must be recognizable for what they are.

Exploration and study of the area to date permits us to make a pilot proposal for complete protection and management of the area and its monuments⁶⁴. The proposal includes: the critical restoration of certain monuments of the site with as little intervention as possible, the conservation of ruins, the adjustments necessary for the safety of the monuments and for the protection of visitors, accessibility of the site, the necessary informative material on the history of the site and the artistic significance of the monuments and the required substructure for accommodating visitors to the site⁶⁵.

If the archaeological site of Karthaia were to meet the criteria enabling it to be promoted⁶⁶, such a project would serve as a return-gift for the island, which has contributed significantly to the history and culture of the Aegean, has great monumental resources⁶⁷, yet has no archaeological site that is organised so as to receive visitors⁶⁸. In addition, display of this particular

63. The possibility, or rather the need for creating an archaeological park at Karthaia in order to preserve the place, is one of the conclusions reached in the "Study on the Protection - Organisation of Settlements in the Island of Kea", produced by the Directorate of Oikistic Policy and Habitation of the Ministry of Environment, Regional Planning and Public Works in 1996. A corresponding proposal was made by Fittschen in 1999, 541 and n. 18, who suggests as eminently suitable for the area of Karthaia the "Landschaftsschutzgebiet, that is, an area where the natural environment is protected, in accordance with the Gesetz über Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege (Bundesnaturschutzgesetz – BnatSchG I 889/ 12-03-87".

64. The wider archaeological area of Karthaia and its monuments have undergone documented exploration and study, a prerequisite for such an approach. This is not to say that the work or interest in it has come to an end. To the contrary, with display of the site as a goal, such work can continue further to the immediate advantage of research. A result of ongoing research is the possibility to evaluate the results and place them in a frame of reference. For relevant bibliography, see Mendoni 1999a, 22- 26. Likewise, Papanikolaou 1999a and 1999b; Toulioupa 1999; Kanellopoulos 1990 and 1996.

65. Any program of presentation at Karthaia obviously must be preceded by complete scholarly studies, architectural/restoration of every single monument, movement and circulation of visitors, rebuilding of old stables for the service of visitors etc.

66. Such criteria are a prerequisite given the high cost of every project of presentation/promotion of an archaeological site, particularly a site such as Karthaia that is isolated and difficult to reach. Not all archaeological remains can be displayed, for it depends on their condition and degree of preservation, on their academic and historical value and on relevant ekistic and regional factors. On the cost of promotion of archaeological sites, see Lambrinoudakis - Simantoni-Bournia 1997, 10 and Lambrinoudakis 2000, 367.

67. According to the results of the surface surveys that have been carried out in the island during the 1980's and 1990's, over 360 archaeological sites have been located in the island, see Georgiou - Faraklas 1985 and 1993; Galani - Mendoni - Papageorgiadou 1987; Manthos - Mendoni 1991, 105- 151; Cherry - Davis - Matzourani (eds) 1991, 69-156; Mendoni 1994 and 1999.

68. Although the archaeological site of Ayia Irini has met the requirements and is organized and ready to be visited, it remains closed to the public except for a short time during the summer.

archaeological site could help to overcome the dissatisfaction of the Keians and the existing problem created by archaeological restrictions on their property because of the density of archaeological sites⁶⁹. This is one practical and positive way in which the interest of the State in the island's archaeological heritage could be demonstrated.

As far as the inhabitant of Kea today is concerned, the public interest in the island's monumental resources is of negative value, since it leads to prohibitions and restrictions⁷⁰. Yet a program of presentation would endow the ruined site of Karthaia with "the public prestige and acceptance acquired by monuments that are fortunate enough to have the care and concern of the public"⁷¹. In this way, moreover, the local community would have the possibility of improving the island with the wider area of Karthaia becoming a new focus for tourism of quality. This concerns especially the inhabitants of Kato Meria, who could expect to see an economic and touristic improvement of the area with the construction of the infrastructure necessary for the visitors and the creation of new jobs⁷².

Since the fortification wall of the city is preserved in excellent condition⁷³, among the monuments that need conservation and partial restoration are the two archaic temples, of Apollo and of Athena, the Propylon and Building D, and the theatre (fig. 16). This work would restore a third dimension to the monuments and the site would become comprehensible with many of the architectural members now lying scattered on the ground being incorporated in the restoration of a monument or else arranged in *lapidaria* (stones piles) in such a way as to be instructive. The site would thus become more attractive and understandable to the visitor, who

69. From my personal experience, having stayed in the island over long periods of time, I can verify that the restriction of Zone A, complete protection, which the Ministry of Culture has quite rightly legalized, is a constant demand of the inhabitants and the officials of Kea. This request has been made repeatedly at popular meetings. It has been stated and in written form has been called to the attention of various political factors, and in some cases has even been a point in pre-election promises.

70. Similar cases of this negative stance on the part of the local community occurred also in Naxos, specifically in the case of the antiquities in Metropolis, see Lambrinoudakis 2000, 367-368.

71. *Ibidem*, 367. Our experience in Kea was similar. The reserved, even hostile way in which many of the inhabitants of the island initially confronted the members of our research team, considering us accountable for "their difficulties from Archaeology", was overcome when we began at regular intervals to present the results of our research in special meetings held at the Chora school. This was especially notable when, in 1994, we organised in Kea the International Symposium on Kea and Kythnos. The entire organisation, on which we worked closely with the officials of the Local Administration and the Association of Keians, the presence of so many specialists from all over the world, the possibility we gave the local people to follow the Symposium and to associate with the Greek and foreign guests, had positive results. The local people understood the importance of their culture and its material aspects, they were proud of their land and their cultural heritage. See Mendoni - Mazarakis-Ainian (eds) 1999, 15-16.

72. Comparable experience has been gained in Naxos, Lambrinoudakis 2000, 370.

73. Mendoni 1989, 154-157, with relevant bibliography.

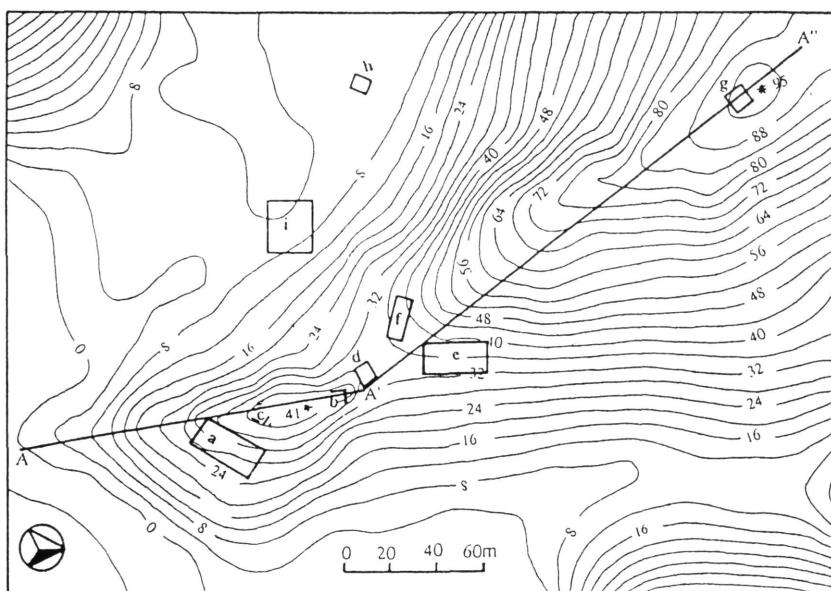


Fig. 16. Topographic map of the study area. a. Apollo Temple b. Ruins of a building of the late antiquity c. Walls belonging in the geometric period d. Propylon e. Athena Temple f. The Hellenistic building D g. Rests of a temple (?) h. Ruins of a early Christian church i. Theater.



Fig. 17. The ruins of Apollo Temple.

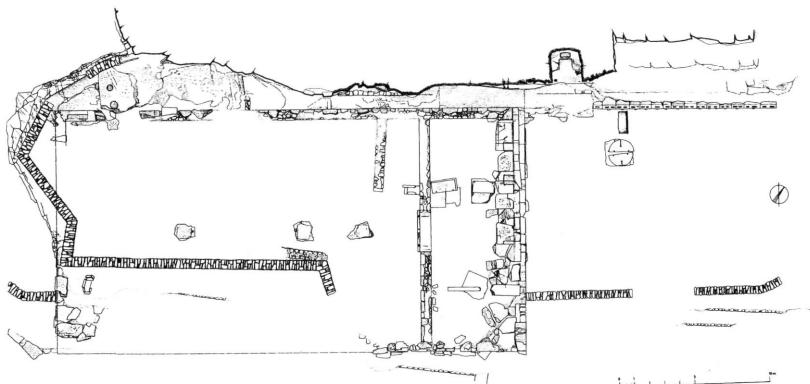


Fig. 18. The ground plan of Apollo Temple (made by A. Papanikolaou, 1999a, fig. 8).

would be able to perceive and comprehend the size and level reached by the city from archaic to Hellenistic times.

As already noted the morphology of the area before the archaic period was quite different, since in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., terraces were formed to hold in succession the two temples, of Apollo and of Athena⁷⁴. In the case of the temple of Apollo, it is clear that this large construction (measuring 16,029x31,134 m) did not just take up the entire artificially formed space, but it had to be “reduced” in order to be built, around 530 B.C. in that precise spot⁷⁵ (fig. 17). Today a large part of the supporting terrace together with the corresponding section of the temple building is no longer preserved⁷⁶, so that the size of the temple cannot be understood by the visitor to the site, nor can the ancient landscape be comprehended⁷⁷ (fig. 18).

In the framework of presentation the site, we might consider the possibility of marking the original dimensions of the temple on the ground. This presupposes the conservation of the stones of the supporting terrace and the construction of a terrace and protective wall below the temple. This would protect the remaining part of the building by reinforcing the

74. Kollaiti - Mendoni 1992; Mendoni - Kollaiti 1993; Papanikolaou 1999a.

75. Papanikolaou 1999a, 556- 558.

76. The time it took for this destruction cannot at present be determined. It will have happened in any case after the use of the place as a cemetery, since in the part preserved there are tombs that are preserved in part, the other part having fallen to destruction along with the supporting terrace.

77. The supporting wall of this terrace, traces of which are preserved on the slope above the rocks, must have been constructed with particular care and have impressed those who saw it from the sea while sailing the straits between Kea and Kythnos or approaching the harbour of Karthaia, since Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* VII.368 mentions that wall and the supporting wall of the terrace where the temple of Athena stood.

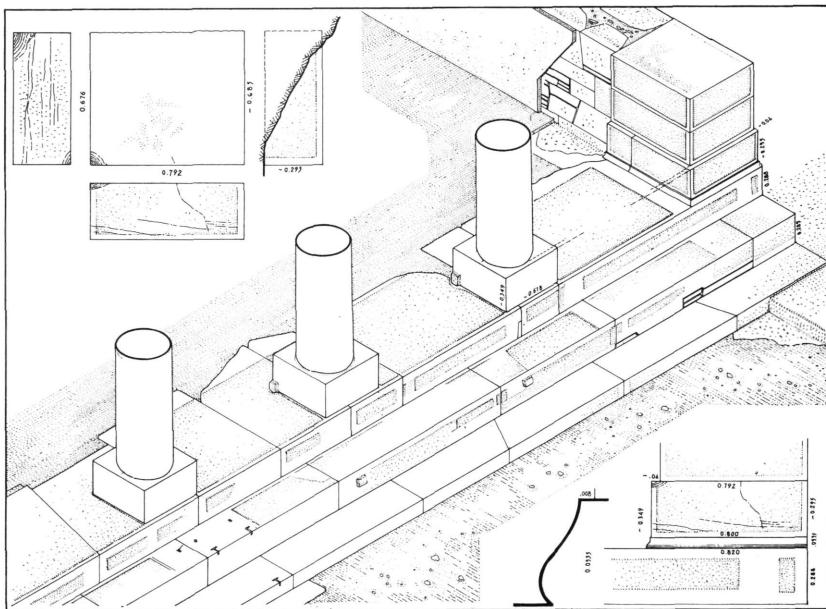


Fig. 19. Apollo Temple, representation of the stylobate and of the pronaos wall (made by A. Papanikolaou, 1999a, fig. 13).

foundations, it would restore the measurements of the building whether in fact or by marking, and it would create a place for making a safe pathway connecting the two bays of Mikres and Megales Poles.

Included together with this project and this terrace, is the temple. To make it comprehensible, the architectural members and dedications should be placed in the area in front of the temple. An exploratory excavation in the same place would probably reveal the position of the altar. The interior of the temple itself has suffered great damage through use of the place for a whole series of Christian graves. Since these graves represent some of the diachronic use of the temple site and are an inherent part of the history of Karthaia, once they have been excavated they should be conserved as part of the proposal for display of the temple. It should be noted that the architectural fragments of the temple found to date are in such condition as to make any proposal for restoration of the monument problematical⁷⁸. Thus, aside from the conservation of the walls of the temple, any proposal

78. On the basis of the architectural members preserved, whether fragmentary or whole, we cannot determine with certainty that the temple had a colonnade. Despite exhaustive surface survey and clearing of the area and on the slopes below the terrace, nothing was found to provide evidence pro or con. In his proposal for restoration of the temple, Papanikolaou 1999a, 557, restores columns set on square plinths (fig. 19).

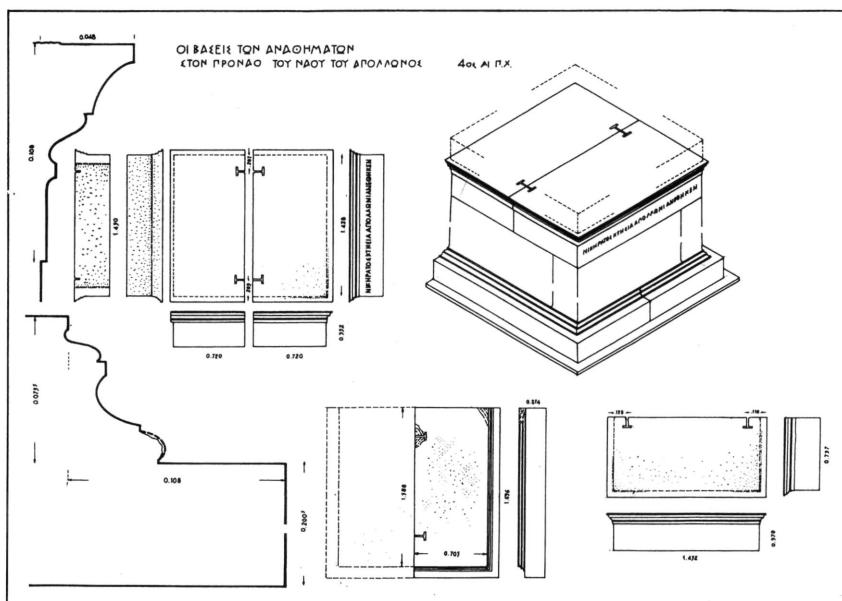


Fig. 20. Bases of dedications to Apollo setting from both sides of the cella door (made by A. Papanikolaou, 1999a, fig. 17).

made could include the rearrangement and re-setting of the disturbed blocks of the euthyneria and stylobate, and the re-setting of some of the blocks of the west and the door wall (figs 19-20).

According to the first topographical plan of Karthaia in 1812⁷⁹, a stepped road connected the lower terrace and the temple of Apollo with the terrace where the temple of Athena began to be built around 500 B.C., and later, shortly before the middle of the 5th century B.C., the Propylon and, at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., Building D⁸⁰ (figs 21-22). Visible today is only the westernmost part of that road, the part that is nearest to the east wall of the terrace of the Athena temple; it preserves steps cut into the rock. No doubt future excavation cleaning will reveal much more of the same road level. The same roadway is in use today by visitors to the site. In any case this particular roadway can be included in a proposal for display. To make it fully usable and to include it in the network of paths in the site, the roadway needs only minor reinforcing of the earthen slopes, slight grading and the addition of a few wooden steps for the convenience of visitors.

Unlike the situation with the temple of Apollo, many members of the

79. Bröndsted 1827, pls. VI, VII.

80. Papanikolaou 1999a, 558- 560.



Fig. 21. The upper terrace with the Temple of Athena (a), the Propylion (b) and the hellenistic building D (c).



Fig. 22. The Temple of Athena.

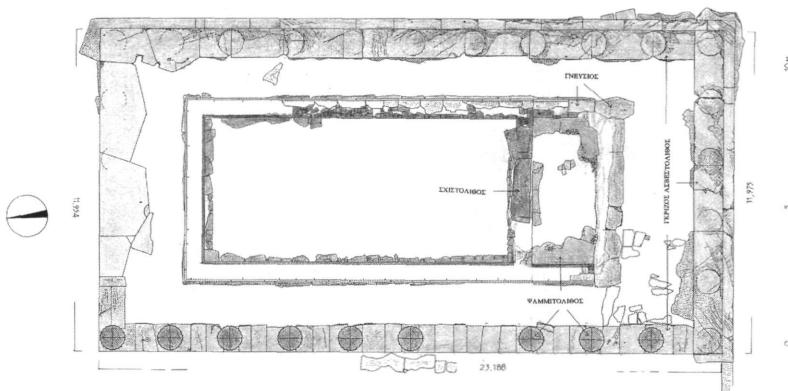


Fig. 23. The ground plan of Athena Temple (made by A. Papanikolaou, 1999a, fig. 24).

superstructures of the three buildings of the upper terrace, the temple of Athena, the Propylon and Building D, have survived (fig. 21). The surface survey showed that a significant number of recognizable architectural members of all three buildings had been incorporated in later constructions⁸¹ or lay in stone piles on the ground. The number is almost certain to increase with excavation of the area. The temple of Athena is the only building of Karthaia preserving *in situ* the lower column drums, and in some cases also the second drum (fig. 22). The evidence preserved by the only existing column capital permits its full restoration. Preserved also are pieces of the marble roof that permit at least a restoration drawing⁸².

The above evidence shows that a virtual or partial restoration of the temple of Athena would be quite possible (figs 23-24). At least one of the columns could be filled in with new material so as to be completely restored. Moreover, restoration of the original level of the cella floor, re-setting of the preserved wall blocks in the cella walls and the replacement of missing blocks in new material where considered necessary, and conservation of the plaster of the pronaos floor, would render the building more comprehensible. These interventions themselves would preserve and protect the monument. The technical details are of great interest: traces of the square and the callipers are preserved on the surfaces of the beds of the poros column drums. These are in danger of disappearing with the passage of time. By placing a new drum on the ancient piece, the ancient bedding surface would be preserved.

81. A good example is the oven of the farmhouse belonging to N. Lepouras at the place known as “αλώνι του Ζευλίτη” (threshing floor of Zeulitis), in Vathypotamos valley. It was constructed of wall blocks from the cella of the Athena temple.

82. Papanikolaou 1999b, 583- 608, with earlier bibliography.

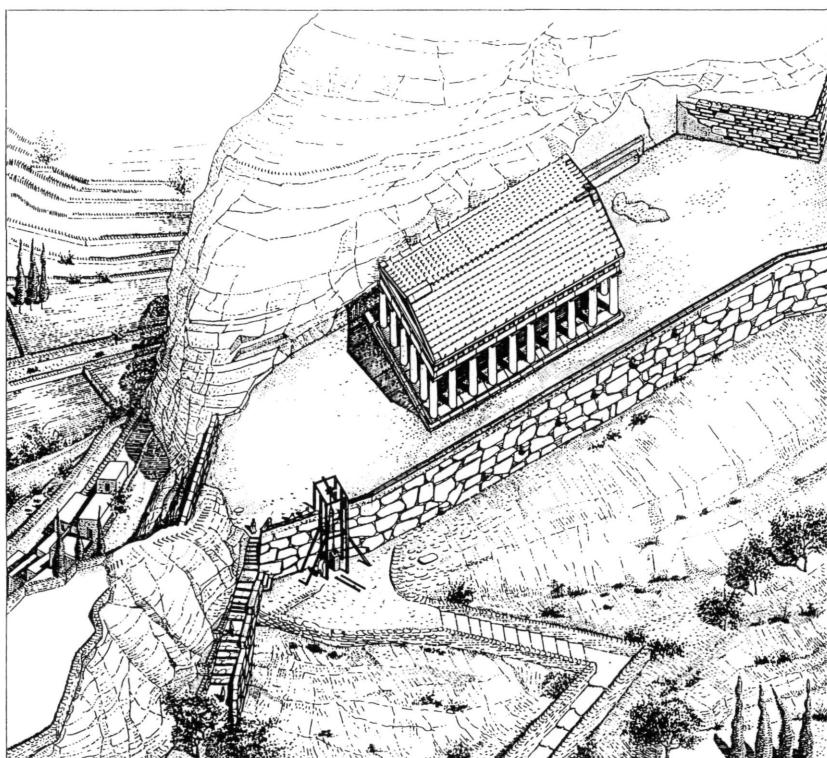


Fig. 24. Representation of the upper terrace with the Athena Temple The ground plan of Apollo Temple (made by A. Papanikolaou, 1999a, fig. 26).

with all the evidence it bears. The same result, conservation, is to be had by re-setting the wall blocks and filling in the walls of the cella, where both time and rain remove and wash out the mortar so that the stones collapse and are displaced.

Surface clearing has made it evident that we have the ground plans of the two smaller buildings, the Propylon and Building D⁸³. Here too the material at hand makes a proposal for a partial restoration possible. The material that to be incorporated in the restoration would free valuable space both on the terrace and below, for arranging the remaining architectural members of the building in *lapidaria*. This sort of intervention would restore the terrace to something like its original appearance.

Both the theatre and the Roman/Late Roman complex at the foot of Aspri Vigla in the Vathypotamos valley could make important contributions

83. Kanellopoulos 1990 and 1996.



Fig. 25. A part of the ancient theater.

to a presentation of the site (fig. 25). Recent research has shown that most of the theatre has been preserved beneath the alluvial fill of Vathypotamos and the fill from Aspri Vigla⁸⁴. Some of the stone seats of the auditorium have been incorporated in the dry-masonry walls of nearby buildings, others were used as building material in the little church of the Dormition of the Virgin.

As noted above, Karthaia is approached today either from Chartsidio, following the old stone-paved path and going through the Vathypotamos valley to come out on the beach of Mikres Poles, or from Hellenika, Aghios Symeon and Kato Meria, again following the old paths going through a larger or smaller part of the Kalamitsis valley and emerging at the shore of Megales Poles, or from Atzeritis following the goat track along the slope of Aspri Vigla to reach the ancient city from the western part of the fortification wall.

It is evident that any proposal for a path network within the archaeological site must take into account the three possible routes for reaching the site. A network of paths, stone-paved or earthen, within the walled part of the city would facilitate the visitor, because of the differences in the levels, and it would lead him to the various ruins of the ancient buildings. The piles of unidentified stones lying on the slopes and the

84. Mendoni 1989, 170- 171 with earlier bibliography.

arrangement of the *lapidaria* would also have to be considered.

In connection with the display of the site, there is the problem of the various buildings, old or recent that exist today in the immediate vicinity of Karthaia. It would be advisable to expropriate the buildings that are privately owned and to use them as needed in the overall plan. The Kazazis house should be demolished, the Mykonias house could either be demolished or repaired for use as a guard house and refreshment shop with facilities for visitors or even as a storage place for material or for large architectural members that need to be removed from the site for protection.

Some 150 m. from the sea, in the valley of Vathypotamos at a place called "Aloni tou Zeulitis", is an abandoned farmhouse belonging to N. Lepouras, comprising three room spaces and a courtyard. It has all the traditional elements of keian architecture. If it is repaired, arranged to cope with the lack of electricity, it could serve as a house for a guard (or for a guard with family). Without the continuous presence of guard-personnel at Karthaia, no attempt to presentation and promote the site can succeed.

The stables on the beach at Mikres Poles, if repaired, could be transformed into a small exhibition and educational headquarters with models, photographs, plans, reproductions. Together with the information plaques that to be displayed on the site, these would give the visitor a better understanding of the site. Finally, the festival addition and guest room of the church of the Panaghia Myrtidiotissa needs aesthetic improvement so as to fit in with the area. Part of it could be turned into bathrooms for the visitors.

What must be examined in a complete study for presentation of the site is the possibility of constructing a small building in traditional local style, in a discrete and as far as possible hidden spot, which would serve as a site museum. Here architectural members and inscriptions that should not remain exposed to the elements could be exhibited for educational purposes⁸⁵. Such a construction, however, would require great care so as not to overload or interfere with the landscape in any way.

The exceedingly difficult question of a road that would be connected to the island system and would lead to the coast is raised continuously as a request by the local community. It would serve masses of tourists and it could only have catastrophic results. Opening such a road would seriously damage the antiquities, directly and indirectly, not only because the changes

85. Something comparable to that created at the archaeological site of Gyroula at Sagri in Naxos, Lambrinoudakis - Simantoni-Bournia 1997, 25- 26. A special exhibition about the site of Karthaia is planned for the Museum of Ioulis, in which will be shown mainly the pedimental sculpture of the temple of Athena. The exhibition of this sort of visual material and the creation of a museum collection on the site itself is certain to attract the interest of more visitors, who will thus be able to take away a fuller picture of the site. Information available to the Archaeological Receipts Fund of the Ministry of Culture and the National Statistical Service shows that the archaeological sites have a much greater number of visitors than the museums, in fact to a proportion of 1 to 3.

to the landscape would be irreversible, but because of the fatal effect it would have on the fauna and flora of the geomorphological basin of Karthaia. An automobile road of this sort could only reduce the value and quality of the archaeological site, the land and marine environment and the cultural environment.

A proposal that needs careful study for its application, is to unite the site with the farm road of Atzeriti. Proposed in fact is a flat, paved or earthen pathway, that would allow for the circulation of certain specific vehicles, and which would be part of the archaeological site. Yet even this specially prescribed roadway would have to stop at a distance from the western section of the fortification walls of 500-600 m.⁸⁶, at a flattened space that is indicated by the very lie of the land. Here vehicles could turn around.

With the promotion of the archaeological site of Karthaia, Kea would acquire its first and exceedingly important organised archaeological site, part of a wider area of cultural and environmental value. In essence Kea would acquire an important archaeological park, a new focus for visitors of quality and purpose. Blessed with such an important and prominent archaeological site, the island can change course and ask for new and far better kinds of tourism. An example is walking or cultural tourism⁸⁷, in which the network of old roads and paths throughout the island can play a part⁸⁸. Kea is ideal for the development of such forms of non-destructive tourism, which would strengthen the local economy and lengthen the touristic period without changing the “ecological and social capacity”⁸⁹.

The geographical position of the island, moreover, makes it relatively easy for it to be part of an even wider network of cultural tourism that could comprise the industrial park of Lavrion, the historical site of Makronisos and the archaeological park of Karthaia. Indeed it is generally recognised today that the development of this non-destructive, qualitative form of tourism can have truly beneficial results not only for local economies, but also for the protection and conservation of the cultural heritage⁹⁰, which is the essence of our being.

86. Some of the ideas about using existing buildings in the running of the site and about the approach to Karthaia by road have been described by the undersigned as member of the team that wrote the “Study for the Protection-Organisation of Settlements in the Island of Kea”, carried out by the Ministry of the Environment, Regional Planning and Public Works in 1996. In 1999, when the present work and the entire volume was already in press, the University of Athens charged the architects Themis Bilis and Maria Magnesali with a preliminary study entitled “Project of display of the Archaeological Site of Karthaia”. In the framework of our collaboration with the two architects, I was able to offer them my experience through many years of work at the site, but it was not possible to include the results of their study in the present paper.

87. Avgerinou-Kolonia, 1995a and 1995b.

88. See for example the pathways being studied by Kazamiakis - Pikoulas 1999, 177- 185.

89. Beriatos 1993, 179- 181.

90. Lindberg - Holstad - Hawkins - Jamienson 1999, *passim*.

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KOSTAS PAPAGIANNOPoulos

TEACHING LOCAL HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREEK SCHOOLS

A part of the criticism on the content of school education concerns the teaching of history¹, which is based on the pedagogic theories of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Discussions occurred on the definition of the aims², the choice of the appropriate syllabus³ and the way that this material is presented at school⁴.

It is known that no historical interpretation can be wholly objective⁵. The explanation of the historical events and the presentation of historic persons was often biased by the political situation and tendencies at the time⁶. However, writing school books which will aim at a simple transmission of historical knowledge, avoiding judgements and interpretations, is not feasible nor acceptable⁷. Some scholars⁸ studied the possibility and the limits at the realisation of the expressed purposes at all stages of education. It is essential the study of the past touches the conscience of the child⁹. But it is remarked¹⁰ that teaching history at schools has a reproductive character as the children are restricted in the acceptance of a ready-made material.

Furthermore the choice of syllabus content became a subject for debate¹¹. New ideas tend to prefer the world history, the history of recent years and the history of civilisation¹². None of them could play an important role

1. Ballard (ed.) 1970, *passim*.

2. Markianos 1984; Giannopoulos 1988.

3. Lanaris 1984; Markianos 1985.

4. Bandoros 1984; Lanaris 1984, 167-169; Papakostou-Gianara 1984; Rigou 1988.

5. Meyerhoff 1959, 23; Carr 1969, 20-21; Walch 1982.

6. *Ibidem* 154-166; Voros 1985.

7. Becker 1959, 122.

8. Vourveris 1970; Hallam 1970, 167; Babounis 1988.

9. Markianos 1984, 20-22; *idem* 1985, 85-87.

10. Litt 1925, 220; Vourveris 1970, 66-68.

11. Xanthakou-Nika 1984; Lazarou 1984; Lanaris 1984, 166; Skoulatos 1984, 163, 166-167; Markianos 1985, 88-90.

12. Vourveris 1970, 102; Dottrens et alii 1974, 435; Lanaris 1984, 164-165; Markianos 1985, 88-89; Ventoura - Koulouri 1994.

within the curriculum of different countries. In Greece, school children are been taught mainly the National History at all levels obligatorily. They start at nine in the Primary School to learn about the first men and their progress through time, the life in Minoan and Mycenaean Greece, the religion of the Greeks and the achievements of great heroes. Then, in the last three grades, they learn elements of ancient Greek history, the history of Byzantine times and modern Greek history. It is mainly the description of great events and big cities. These stories are attractive to school children but soon they lose their interest because they have to memorise more and more details which become too many, and meaningless. This situation becomes very complex in the secondary school¹³ where the historical circle, from prehistoric to modern times, begins all over again for a second and a third time¹⁴! In the last year it emphasises modern Greek history for the preparation of those students who intend to sit for the University Entrance Exams.

The school books¹⁵, even for juniors, are written in the same way as an encyclopaedia. They do not offer so many occasions for interactivity and extra-mural exercises, except for the first two in the Primary school. Many of them are not updated¹⁶. Some scholars¹⁷ tend to reject the use of a book and underline the return to the study from the sources¹⁸ with the aid of a well equipped teacher. To this direction school or local libraries¹⁹ and well prepared seminars²⁰ are indispensable elements. Others²¹ notice that the content of the syllabus must respond to the needs and interests of the children and disagree to the traditional way of teaching history chronologically, especially in the junior school where the "patch" method seems more preferable²². More recently it is proposed the application of a regressive method in teaching of history, from the present down to the past times²³.

Indeed, it is more natural for the children to begin with their familiar things first, which they can easily observe, trace, conquer for themselves²⁴. On the other hand, nobody tells them anything about their own place as it never came into being²⁵. The teaching of local history seems more realistic,

13. Palla 1994; cf. Papastamatiou 1984.

14. Voros 1977; Skoulatos 1984, 160-161; Markianos, 1988.

15. Bollas 1994.

16. Touliatos 1988.

17. Skiadaresi 1995.

18. Hug 1977, 147-150; Papachristos, 1983, 19-30.

19. Oikonomopoulou 1991, 69-75.

20. Kondis 1984, 30-37.

21. *Supra* n. 8. See also, Sturt - Oakden 1922, 309-336; Jahoda 1963, 97; Thompson 1972, 29.

22. Dyer 1983, 11.

23. Lanaris 1984, 164; Petropoulos 1978, 57.

24. Dottrens et alii 1974, 422-423, 438; Doulas, 1988.

25. *Ibidem*, 92-94.

closer to nature and the interests of the children and it also contributes to their socialisation, as this is the best way to touch the world and communicate with it²⁶.

In other European countries there is much discussion on this subject. In some countries, as England²⁷, political conditions allowed the creation of local archives, libraries and museums. Gradually schools have found a place for local history within the curriculum. It is not rare to find even archaeology on the timetable of a school, as well.

In Greece, there is not much place in the curriculum for local history. Since last year the guidelines for the teaching of history at the high schools encourage the occupation with local history in the classroom for two to four hours within the whole school year²⁸! A committee was set up in Achaia in order to write a book of local history for children, but this work has not come to light yet. However, in some schools the optional addition of two hours in the timetable for Environmental Education allows the application of local history projects. Much work has been done with schools at the big museums and places, like the Acropolis²⁹, but it is limited to Athens and is left outside the normal school activities.

We started our work from school projects within the Environmental Education syllabus. At Elis, in 1993, we set up a project with our fifteen-year-old students. We chose with them the historical monastery of St. Eleousa. At the beginning we gave them a questionnaire to find out their knowledge about the area of study. Half of them had visited the monastery at least once before and knew some stories from their parents and the locals. At a second stage the students with a brief questionnaire checked up the knowledge and the experiences of the old people of the area nearby. Then we prepared three visits to the monastery. At the first visit, the children were free to go round the architectural remains and the surroundings. They were guided by the nuns, asked them about the traditions and tried to comprehend their life. Then they discussed with us some general or special subjects such as the choice of the site, the architectural style, the use of the buildings, the construction material, the way of construction, the defence, the new additions etc. Before the second visit, they collected all the bibliography, were divided into seven groups to study the history, the architecture, the iconography, the life and the economy in the monastery, the local customs and the ecology of the area and made some first remarks. So when they returned to the monastery, they made a plan with the aid of a tape and a compass, divided the buildings into old and new ones and carried out a mini surface survey in order to record the architectural and ceramic remains, the

26. *Ibidem*, 98; R. Dottrens et alii 1974, 422-423.

27. Hoskins 1966, 22.

28. Voros 1990.

29. See Hatziaslani et alii, 1994.

vegetation, the animals etc. Some of them used their cameras to take pictures from whatever they like and was useful for our study. At the last visit, by applying what they had learnt, some of them were disguised as monks and pirates and dramatised a hypothetical siege of the monastery. Finally they presented the results of their work to the local community and a book was published.

The next year we tried to improve the methodology in the school I was transferred to in Achaia. There we have worked at two projects. The first subject was the study of *the local traditional ways of cultivation*. After I had introduced the children to the crucial points in the history of agriculture, I gave them some books to read and comment on, such as the Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* copies of some byzantine manuscripts etc. Some others visited the local communities and took information on the land use and the agricultural products of recent years. In order to understand the ancient land use, we found maps of the area and asked them to mark the field boundaries while others had to study the settlement pattern of the area from the results of a surface survey. Then we visited the museum of folk art and the children had the opportunity to be guided by somebody there. After that, several exercises were given which the children enjoyed very much, such as to dig using stone picks, to make a model of a mycenaean tablet, to make a wooden model of Hesiod's plough, to cut corn by hand using a metal sickle, to collect old agricultural tools etc.

The second project had to do with the history of the local communities round the school area. The title was: *Understanding national history through the knowledge of the history of our villages*. Firstly we have asked the children to write on a piece of paper whatever they know about the history of their villages (name, location, description, activities of the locals, history, population, economy, customs, tradition, superstitions etc.). Later, we have done a lesson about the importance of the project. Those who did want to participate, were asked to write down their family tree. Their works weren't very exciting but they are interesting in that they depict their understanding of the historical process and who are the persons and which the things and situations, that are important for this process. Most of the expeditions to the villages were organised by the children. The concept was to interview their co-villagers using the same questionnaire we have given them, collecting old photographs, studying the bibliography and the archives about every village, visiting excavations taken place nearby and the local museums, taking pictures or designing old and new buildings and the traditional work of the inhabitants. All these were realised by the children with great seriousness and satisfaction. In the last lesson we tried to link the local history with the national and international history, evaluating their progress by repeating the questionnaire we have given them at the beginning and emphasising the significance of the whole project. Finally the children presented the results

and exhibited their work to the local community.

The same year I had another occasion to work for a day with a group of children belonging to a local scout system. They have visited the village of as the *archaeologist's land*. Firstly, we have shown them around the village for a while. They had to find whatever they believed that constitutes a historical object.

Only some of them have written down some houses as old (some of them are new actually!) but they didn't pay any attention to small objects or the parts of these houses (walls, tiles etc.). They were understanding the old as worn out, rotten, ruined. But they have also written down, as old, features of the natural environment. Then we have presented to them our experience in three stages:

a) Tour in the village. Remarking, recording and drawing old and new buildings. Interviewing the peasants.

They understood the way that we judge the chronology of a building and have started to distinguish the old buildings from the new ones by paying attention to the structure of a building and the materials such as stones, bricks, tiles.

b) Trying to find more information about the history of the village using intensive survey techniques. Analysing the results.

We have explained to them in simple words what follows after the collapse of buildings and how traces may remain on the surface. A part of the material can be reused for new buildings at the area. The rest is buried gradually and later some parts may be exposed during ploughing. Afterwards, they participated at a mini intensive survey. At this stage they understood which material is important for the archaeological work and how we can manipulate it.

c) They washed the collected sherds, classified and recorded them. They also used plastecine to make models of whole vases.

Early last year some of my students approached me and told me that they had already formed a team to study the archaeology of the area. We named our project *Landscape archaeology of the Kato Achaia area*. I gave them a questionnaire not only to find out their knowledge about the area of study but also to trace their attitudes and wishes. It included questions like:

- *Is the history of my family a part of Greek history?*
- *Has my village as important history as Athens, Sparta and Macedonia?*
- *Where can I get information about the history of my place?*



Fig. 1. Interviewing the locals

- *Did any historical or archaeological projects take part in my area?*
- *What will I do if I find an object of historical value?*
- *How will the society be more sensitive? and so on.*

I gave them the same questionnaire at the end of the project to evaluate their progress. The children who worked on the bibliography had to extract all the historical information about the area which is certified by archaeological research. Others worked on the archaeological techniques even the new ones, watching a video and participating in a survey, working as well as any experienced students. Another group prepared a visit to the museum of Patras and guided their schoolmates. They enjoyed this visit because I had the opportunity to enrich it with several games. Some other studied the old houses writing down a detailed description, taking pictures and investigating information even from the local archives. The last group found a local ancient myth about Hercules and the Centaurs and tried to dramatise it. With the same enthusiasm was set up the presentation of their work to the public. All the works became part of a play. The scenario was: an object with archaeological value gives reason for discussion in a class where the children present their work. With the aid of their teacher they are initiated to the archaeological method and starting from the present transferred through the time and enter the sphere of myth.

It is obvious that in these projects several methods were tested and the performance of the students was examined. Indeed, they enjoyed all the activities which did not remind them of the usual pressure at school. The inclination of every child defined the method followed and was decisive for the final success. Their attempts are not despicable. In fact a great part of their work can be valuable for enlightening the history of their communities and it is not a game for educational purposes.

Lastly, in Achaia we set up a project aimed to cover the whole of the province and based on our previous experience. There is a regular contact with the teachers and the schools who wish to deal with local history and archaeology. They can also borrow a portfolio which contains instructions, information, bibliography, museum projects etc., to begin with. We believe that a careful method must be followed to introduce the student to this new approach. The idea is: The children start the research from their family. Then the research expands to their villages. They learn to use the methods of a historian to collect the bibliography, take interviews from the locals and extract the truth. Sometimes they are lucky enough to participate in an archaeological survey and can touch the same things as a person at the same area in the past. Gradually the whole local community is involved in the activities of the children. At the end of the school year they present their work to the public.

It is too early to comment on the results of these activities. It will take some years to overcome some weak points. First of all the school teachers

and the philologists who usually teach History at High Schools need to be persuaded that it is worth while. Until more specialised staff take over the subject of History, either national or local at schools, such projects will depend on the good will and the qualifications with which individual teachers are equipped. In Achaia we are preparing a series of meetings with the teachers to discuss on what has been done so far and how we could benefit from new ideas. To this direction the local authorities could play an essential role. Recently they have been very actively involved to the recording of their historical resources and are willing to provide us with funds in order to conduct a research and write books on their local history.

However, beyond the environment of the school, it is very important for a young student to understand past times in a more vivid way. This leads us to one of the most useful and exciting aspects of teaching history: the experimental approach³⁰. But this requires an extensive planning which may include the creation of a Local History Centre.

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HARRY COCCOSSIS - APOSTOLOS PARPAÍRIS

**ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM ISSUES.
LOCAL IDENTITY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT**

INTRODUCTION

The continuing growth of international tourism expected to become even stronger in the next decade suggests increasing pressures on tourism destination areas. Furthermore, important changes in the structure of tourist supply and demand lead to the emergence of a new profile, in which tourism is intricately interdependent with environmental quality. This approach assumes that resource scarcity and environmental sensitivity are major constituents of local identity.

In this respect it is very important to develop methods and tools which take into consideration the interrelationships of tourist activity with the environment. This intricate relationship becomes more pronounced in the case of ecological, vulnerable art cities and cultural areas due to the sensitivity and particularity of such environmental systems.

This paper underlines a growing concern about environmental quality, draws attention to some of the special issues, faced in areas rich in natural and cultural resources, in regard to the development of tourism and presents a methodological framework for this assessment introducing a new approach to tourism planning and management.

Recent studies¹ have established that the majority of tourists not only value environmental quality in holiday areas, but they become increasingly critical of environmental conditions in tourist resorts. This is not surprising when one considers the significant pressures of tourism on the natural, man-made, social, economic and the cultural environment. The attraction of a place for tourists depends to a great extent on the natural, man-made, and cultural environment as tourists increasingly seek places with a wide diversity of attractions. Furthermore, people, in their leisure, search for places which help them "escape" from their living environment. In this

1. Pearce 1990.

respect, the local identity of a place is its major asset in regard to tourism and leisure attraction. Yet, it is exactly this local identity which is very often threatened by uncontrolled tourism development. These issues are already emerging in many popular Greek tourist destinations and become more pronounced in small islands, and coastal ecosystems.

In this respect, an attempt is made for the examination of the direct and indirect effects of tourist development on the island of Mykonos as threats on the identity of the island with particular emphasis on developments in the last decades (from early traditional "pretourist" stage of tourist development to the recent stage of maturity in tourist development and possibly saturation). A secondary objective of this paper is to explore the issue of sustainable development as a potential strategy for preserving in the long-term the local identity, and the concept of carrying capacity and its potential role towards the identification of an optimal use-level of an area, as a key tool in growth management².

TOURISM TRENDS AND DYNAMICS

Since the Second World War one of the most rapidly developing sector of the world economy at an impressive rate, is that of tourism, a phenomenon which has taken the form of mass character and has expanded to such a scale that the negative effects already exceed in many case certain levels of disturbance at sensitive environments such as those of cultural areas and coastal areas³. Various studies carried out recently noted major changes in such sensitive eco- systems as the result of considerable pressures of human activities and particularly tourism, mainly because of its mass, seasonal and geographical distribution pattern character⁴.

It is now generally agreed that uncontrolled growth in tourism in less than a century of existence, involves substantial risks leading often not only to environmental deterioration of the host areas but also to a long-term decline as tourist centers⁵. Furthermore, it seems that such deterioration is pervading with alarming consistency in other facets of the environment - in the broader sense. Fortunately there are already signs that this process is now changing direction. In the new model particular attention is paid to the diversification of the tourist product, from the dominant post-war "mass and package model" to energetic selective and identity oriented tourism⁶.

This new tourist profile is undoubtedly the result of many socio-economic and environmental factors influencing shifts in preferences

2. Coccossis- Parpaïris 1996.

3. Coccossis - Parpaïris 1995.

4. Miossec 1977; Pearce 1989; Nijkamp 1991; Coccossis - Parpaïris 1996.

5. Michaud 1983; Parpaïris 1993.

6. Parpaïris 1995.

towards placing value on the natural, social, economic, cultural, political, man-made resources. So far there has been a considerable increase in the interest on natural and cultural environmental issues and growing realization of the importance of the environment as a tourist resource, especially in areas which have experienced quick growth and situation of saturation. This concern may reflect the fact that the impacts of tourist activity on the natural and cultural environment are often easily seen and specific impacts more easily measured. It may also reflect the greater awareness of modern society on the vulnerability of the natural and cultural environment and the need to conserve and protect it.

Environmental awareness is becoming rapidly widespread regardless of the different political economic systems, ways of life, development and planning policies or architectural heritage. This is because resources-landscape, traditional settlements, historic/cultural and art resources, ecological systems etc.- are proving incapable of resisting the overwhelming attack of mass development, modern life, social behavior, technology and consumption patterns as expressed by modern tourist development.

These changes in tourist preferences and the corresponding demand for specific tourist products and destinations, seem to push tourist industry to adopt a new "profile" in which both quality and quantity factors are relevant in the balance of demand and supply, reorienting the whole industry towards a long-term sustainable use of environmental resources. It is also well known that one of the main problems related to tourism in vulnerable ecosystems, is the effectiveness of existing administrative, legal and management frameworks that have evolved to control or regulate activities in sensitive zones (islands, coastal areas etc.). These concerns have been articulated by many interest groups, by local, national and international governments (the case of E.U. is important) as well as other responsible bodies such as marine conservation societies, wildlife and environmental organizations. In this respect, planning and management is a policy area of great interest, in the sense of examining evidence of the nature of existing environmental problems, the effectiveness of available planning tools to manage sensitive environments (planning instruments, regulations, guidance, policy statements etc.).

However, planners and managers are faced with the challenge of reconciling a number of conflicting and often incompatible demands, like economic development, tourism and recreation, urban expansion, agricultural development as protecting areas of scenic or ecological importance and vulnerable communities against the effects of erosion or flooding. Islands, cultural and art areas, coastal eco-systems face pressing dilemmas such as: can such pressure for growth and development like tourism and leisure, be permitted to destroy the very characteristics which make the areas under consideration, attractive?

Solutions to this question have tended to address specific issues, such as sustainability of the environment of resources, carrying capacity concept, conservation measures, planning and managing schemes, policy instrument to absorb pressure for growth etc. Among the above issues, the concept of sustainability and of carrying capacity are attracting considerable attention among researchers, especially for issues related to island environments⁷.

Since integrated approaches to the analysis of tourist-environment interactions have long been proposed in literature and applied in several circumstances, the proposed framework for analysis and evaluation of the environmental impacts of tourism in sensitive areas, the concept of carrying capacity, sustainable development and the so-called life cycle of a tourist product belongs to this strand of approaches and, consequently, possesses several of their advantages and drawbacks. Despite these problems, however, it is believed that a valid assessment of the development in vulnerable, cultural and ecological areas requires application of the framework proposed in this paper which its ultimate usefulness will be proven only after it is applied to a variety, cultural, tourist areas and sensitive ecosystems.

MYKONOS CASE STUDY

Tourism has already attracted considerable attention in issues related to an island environment and particularly regarding the development of small islands, like Mykonos. The growing demand for tourism opens new opportunities even for small and isolated places, contributing to income and employment for island inhabitants, but at the same time with direct effects on their sensitive and unique environmental and cultural resources⁸. This situation has already influenced local awareness of environmental issues especially in those cases where the expansion of tourism has become rapid and intensive. The development of tourism gravitates to the island's natural features - landscape, plant and animal life - complemented by cultural and social attractions. Although these features and attractions should be protected, tourist development unfortunately is sharply in conflict with the protection of uniqueness, since it implies modernisation, change in culture and local identity, urbanisation and extensive exploitation of resources, from boom-bust agricultural and fishery activity to the monopoly of tourism where landscapes, cultural resources and coastlines are being visibly affected by widespread urbanisation and the intrusive impacts of hotel, marina, airport and road construction.

However the potential effects of environmental degradation due to

7. Parpaïris 1993.

8. Coccossis - Parpaïris 1993.

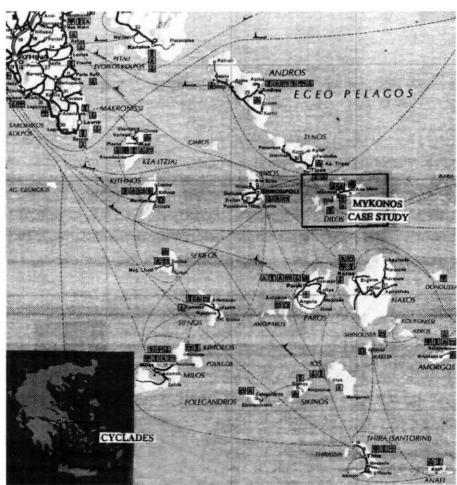


Fig. 1. Cyclades region and the Mykonos case study.

an natural and cultural environment of high quality which has experienced rapid tourist development during the last 30 years. It offers a good case for the examination of tourism impacts on the island's environment and the accompanying dangers in the adoption of inappropriate tourism policies during the different stages of tourist development subject to little or no control.

Geographically, Mykonos is part of the Cyclades archipelago and belongs to a sub-group composed by three islands (Mykonos, Delos and Rinia) with total surface area of 103,5 km² and 81,5 kilometres seashore, with an interesting mountainous topology and still largely undisturbed marine environment. The natural environment of the island, typical of the Cyclades, is characterised by low vegetation due to the dry climate, lack of fresh water and poor soil conditions, while the terrestrial environment is very diverse in vegetation types and rich in flora and fauna. Rural activities have been adapted over the centuries to the low capacity of the terrestrial ecosystem to provide few agricultural products. The marine environment is of unique beauty and still largely undisturbed. The stronger attraction of the island, though, is its unique historical, cultural and architectural heritage of the built environment. However, the rapid tourist development and its expansion at a scale which can be considered large in relation to the size and population of the island, threatens not only its rich built-environment heritage and the natural environment but also the socio-economic structure and local culture.

This situation, common to many other islands in Greece as well as in other parts of the world, where tourism is rapidly developing, leads to the

uncontrolled and intensive tourist development, inevitably affect tourism itself and the sensitive island ecosystem on which tourism is based. There seems to be wide agreement to put special emphasis on the management of at least some key island resources (coasts, cultural and historical areas, freshwater, agricultural land, marine resources), in an attempt to highlight the interdependence of socio-economic phenomena and environmental processes.

The above remarks are close related to the case study of Mykonos, an internationally well-known tourist island, with

question of whether the present scale of development in this island is sustainable. However Mykonos is part of the Greek island economy and of Cyclades region in particular, from which it reaps the fruits of various spillover effects. Because of its size and the traditional activities developed, this small island never became a commercial, administrative or political centre nor reached a state of economic influence as happened with the nearest island of Syros or other Aegean islands like Rhodes, Samos, Lesvos and Chios, rather it became a universal cultural centre mainly because of its art, historical and cultural resources. For this reason Mykonos is strongly dependent on its indigenous natural and man-made resources⁹.

Traditionally the economic activity of the island was based on agriculture, fishing and sea-trade but during the last 30 years it has changed dramatically to the visitor industry (tourist and service sectors. Today tourism is regarded as the major export industry in the island although there is still some agricultural orientation but production is limited because of harsh weather conditions, employment restructuring and scarce water largely absorbed by tourism. The economic activities of Mykonos can be grouped into four sectors in hierarchy: Tourism, marine resources, construction and land resources. Although tourism is a major industry of the island with great

Table 1. Development of Tourist supply (Composition Indicator).

a/a	TYPE OF ACCOMODATION	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	PARTI- CIPATION %	AVERAGE CHANGE	CHANGE 5			
									61/71	71/81	81/91	61/91
1	HOTELS	-	2	11	40	121	6,9	14,9	450	263,6	202,5	5950
		-	54	384	895	2492	31,2	1129,6	611	133	311,4	4519
		-	98	720	1934	4724	29,8	1180	634,7	168,6	144,3	4720
2	ROOMS (N.T.O.)	-	-	-	-	460	26,2	-	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-	1861	23,3	-	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-	4026	24,8	-	-	-	-	-
3	CAMPING	U	-	-	-	1	2	0,2	100	-	-	100
		R	-	-	-	56	168	2,1	200	-	-	200
		B	-	-	-	168	504	3,1	200	-	-	200
4	VILLAGES	U	-	-	-	100	172	9,8	72	-	-	72
		R	-	-	-	200	480	6	60	-	-	60
		B	-	-	-	800	960	5,9	20	-	-	20
5	SUMMER HOUSES	U	-	-	-	-	1000	56,9	-	-	-	-
		R	-	-	-	-	3000	37,4	-	-	-	-
		B	-	-	-	-	6000	37,1	-	-	-	-
6	TOTAL	U	-	2	11	141	1755	100	29233	450	263,6	1145
		R	-	54	384	1251	8003	100	4906,7	611	133	593,7
		B	-	98	720	2902	16214	100	5481,6	634,7	168,6	558,7

9. Coccossis - Parpaíris 1993.

potential, the one - sided orientation towards tourism in the last 20 years makes the island economy vulnerable to regional competition for tourism and the ups and downs of the world tourist industry. Furthermore such "monoculture" is at odds with ecological sustainability¹⁰.

The first tourist phase of the island started during the 60's with the creation of the first hotel (Xenia) - a series of hotels developed throughout the country especially in places with strong historic/cultural image like Mykonos, by NTOG (National Tourist Organisation of Greece) in an early pilot program of 91 beds to introduce tourism and to accommodate the increasing flow of tourist arrivals to the island. This pioneer effort quickly stimulated the development of new hotels and other types of accommodation of the private sector. Accommodation capacity jumped from 98 hotel beds in 1961 to 680 in 1971 and more than 1796 in 1981. During the last decade, however, more hotel beds have been added to the island's capacity surpassing the level of 4700 beds. It is estimated that in 1991 there are 4800 beds, more than 6000 beds of the type of rooms (provided mainly in houses), another 2000 beds, in single houses, villas and apartments in the island. In this capacity must be added two organised tourist villages of 120 apartments for tourist and summer holiday makers, about 3000 single units of summer houses and one camping site with 168 places. The total accommodation capacity for the visitor industry, estimated to be over 25,000 beds of all types in the island, is believed to be conservative figure and based on information from local residents and tour-operators¹¹. The number of arrivals only in

Table 2. Development of the population of the island of Mykonos 1940 - 1991 (Indicator of Growth).

a/a	RESIDENTIAL UNITS	1940	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	CHANGE %				
								40/51	51/61	61/71	71/81	81/91
1	HORA MYKONOS (MUNICIPALITY)	1949	2535	2797	3009	4469		30	10,4	7,6	48,5	
2	ANO MERA (COMMUNITY)	547	256	836	225	680		-53,2	226,6	24,8	8,1	
3	SETTLEMENTS OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF MYKONOS	54	155	85	3863	381		187	-45,2	164,7	69,3	
4	TOTAL OF MYKONOS ISLAND	2150	3546	3718	3863	5530	8500*	64,9	4,9	3,9	43,2	53,7

10. OECD 1980; Mc Elroy 1990.

11. Parpáris 1993.

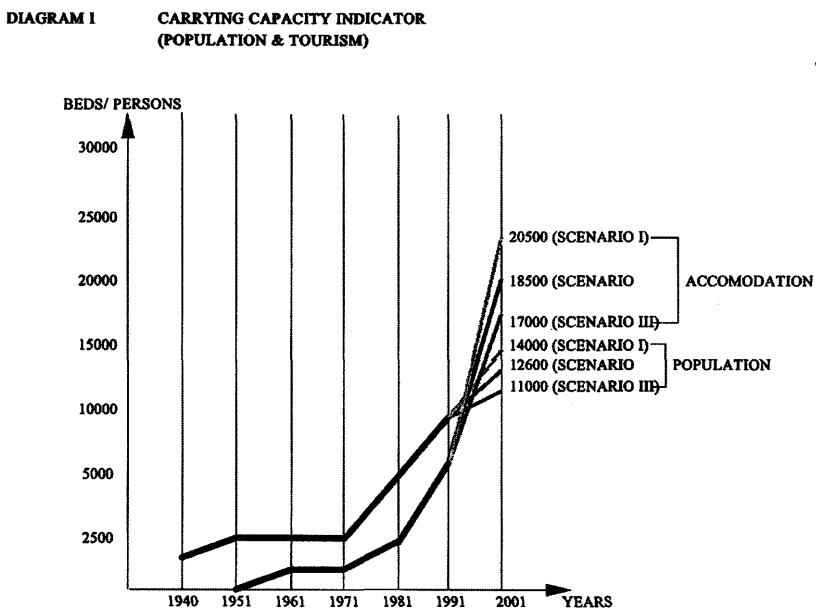


Diagram 1. Carrying Capacity indicator (Population and Tourism).

hotel beds also jumped from 5150 in 1965, to 22,294 in 1970 and from 36,150 in 1980 to more than 60,000 in 1990. Similarly, bednights only in hotel beds increased from 34,350 in 1965 to 82,650 in 1971 and from 206,299 in 1980 to more than 922,000 in 1990.

Parallel to the expansion of tourist industry there is also an increase in the island's population size. In 1951 there were only 2690 inhabitants, 2872 in 1961 and 3234 in 1971. During the last two decades - in which tourism developed more rapidly - the island's population increased even more rapidly to reach 4850 in 1981 and over 6500 in 1991 (according to preliminary unofficial estimates). Meanwhile Mykonos like other small other islands, continues to rely on resource - based activities (tourism, agriculture, fishing and construction) to provide employment opportunities and to generate income. In the tourism sector it is estimated¹² that more than 6000 persons are directly or indirectly involved, a ratio of one employee for every five beds. Growing population and aspirations dictate that the productivity of these activities increase but, in the long-run, small-scale diversified and closely managed forms of resource-based enterprises owned by local residents, may provide more benefits to the island population than

12. Parpaïris 1993.



Fig. 2. The changing face of Mykonos landscape as a result of the uncontrolled and rapid tourism development.

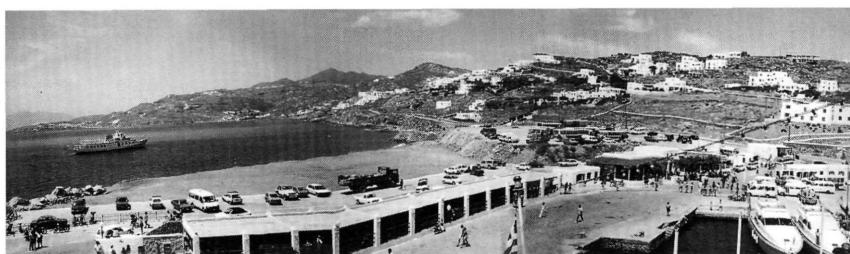


Fig. 3. Summer houses, tourism infrastructure and empty land for future speculation impact on the islands agricultural land.

those promised by mass tourism organisations¹³. In the case of Mykonos one can observe already such a trend in the structure of the tourist sector.

However the island presents already some evidence of saturation and emerging undesirable effects on the island's sensitive environments (natural, historical, cultural and social), including congestion, safety, pollution of water and soil, especially during the peak summer season. Evidence indicates that the natural resource of the island is severely limited to cope with the competitive demands placed on these resources by uncontrolled tourism development and the present and future needs of the island's resident population. The increasing population (residents and tourism) is expected to utilise such an amount of water that more investment in expensive desalination plants transporting water or building water-reservoirs may become necessary.

The island's extremely limited land areas has been absorbed, either by intensive housing construction, tourism development and the accompanying infrastructure or left unused for future speculation with the result of widespread alienation / alteration of the islands agricultural land. Tourism and land speculation are causative factors relative to stress on agricultural land and on the land reserves.

13. Mc Elroy 1990.



Fig. 4. Tourist infrastructure facilities and their impact on the sensitive environment of the coastal ecosystem.

The existing two traditional settlements of the island, Hora and Ano Mera, as well as the other newly developed villages throughout the island on which tourist industry was based mainly during the pioneer phase of development (first phase, tourist phase), have been already transformed in scale, volume of built-up areas, character, environmental quality conditions (natural and man made) as a result of the uncontrolled and rapid development sector of tourism. In this case effective conservation measures were absent at the peak of tourist development during the last decade. Such measures are required to be urgently adopted and based on land development monitoring, enforcement mechanisms, environmental education and public participation. Realistic identification of community needs, careful resource and technology assessment and option analyses may indicate multiple benefits for locals and tourism. In priority all measures should be directed to increase the island cultural tourism (by means of appropriate guidance, incentives and training) and to escape from the production-consumption cycle and the model of mass tourism development. Emphasis should be made on the distribution of tourism, demand and supply in space and time, on the preservation policies of natural, cultural and social environment and on effective planning and management of growth of both local and visitor population.

This case study is a good example for the issues such as sustainable development and carrying capacity in islands, coastal areas and for other ecologically vulnerable areas. In this context the achievement of ecologically sustainable economic development require not only strategic research on a variety of environmental research problems¹⁴ such as multi-functionality, users' conflicts, carrying capacity, sustainable economic yield, risk analysis etc., but also the adoption of effective environmental management strategies as part at a broader-based development policy. Indeed the evidence of Mykonos suggests that there is a definite relationship between the substantial increases in tourists and the gradual conflicts over the island scarce resources

14. Nijkamp - Giaoutzi 1991.

productive land, underground water reservoir, marine resources, cultural and infrastructure resources etc.

However the principal implication of the above case study is that certain indicators, including ratio of tourist to local population, ratio of residential buildings to tourist buildings, ratio of historical village's stock to build up development areas, changes in buildings use and in land use through time etc. as well as results of perceptual studies providing useful information regarding level of satisfaction, level of attractiveness of the area under consideration and level of possible observed environmental degradation, have to be introduced in segmented approach regarding the concept of carrying capacity.

The above suggest certain public policy implications for tourism planning and management. In the case of Mykonos the crucial stage of tourism development has already appeared in which the evaluation of carrying capacity can be valuable in providing general guidelines which can be refined in time and space through trial and error. Local authorities should carefully formulate more detailed policies oriented to development control through planning and management with the aim of achieving the optimum capacity, but without saturation. Such policies should define the possible maximum social and natural environment capacity, the extra capacity (increasing capacity) by overcoming bottlenecks and restraints (development corridors, transport centres, distribution in time and space etc.) and reducing demand in sites where capacity restraints cannot be overcome. A comprehensive plan for tourist development must provide infrastructure and superstructure facilities at acceptable standards and norms, appropriate incentives and disincentives, a more coherent framework for the private sector, and measures to increase the attractiveness of the island while at the same time securing the financial means to support the island's system. Finally, in order to protect the island's environment, now approaching the stage where Mykonos face a risk in the interests of its tourist long term success, future research should address the need for a more holistic and systematic approach to the identification of critical areas and assessment of potential environmental impacts from the restructuring of the tourist product and from the expansion of summer holiday houses, a trend which in the long run will cause unforeseen and unacceptable environmental degradation.

SUSTAINABLE TOURIST DEVELOPMENT AND CARRYING CAPACITY

This part of the paper presents briefly the main negative impacts of tourism on the various aspects of the environment which constitute its identity in the island environment of a place. The negative effects also imply that the basic assets can be changed in character or perhaps destroyed with the increase of personal movements (tourists, locals and visitors) throughout the area under

consideration. There is already a clear sign/danger of saturation being reached which threatens the quality of the island's environment due to poorly managed tourism developments. Following the classification of the environment it would be possible to defiance the island's effects from the development of tourism over each type/category of the environment (natural, man-made, or build).

At this stage, it is obvious that there is a fundamental problem of Mykonos which can be explained as following:

(a) Mykonos is an island that has already been developed considerably and seems to have reach the phase of "mature" or "touristization"¹⁵ or the "beginning of hierarchy and specialization"¹⁶ and has shown clear signs of saturation.

(b) The case study has proved that Mykonos has yet potential for further development under the control of a sustainable planning framework.

(c) The trends for more development of tourism and population now witnessed on Mykonos are of such a nature that they could create a serious risk to the well-being of the locals/tourists and to the ecological balance of the island in the long run if left unchecked.

The question that this evidence raises is whether Mykonos should be allowed to develop further, to what degree, and under what conditions. Therefore, the concepts of sustainability, eco-development and carrying capacity should be developed as a basic aim in order to design a planning framework which will be expressed as the optimization between development of the island's resources and the preservation of the island's identity and its sensitive environment. Consequently this implies the construction of an integrated operational unique model capable of directing the future development without the risk of further environmental deterioration. The use of island's scarce resources at a certain level that the renewable resource stock can be maintained in the long run (sustainable resource use) should be defined and measured by the concept of carrying capacity. This dynamic concept will provide a proper and flexible management of the islands sensitive environment overtime and a framework for alternative development strategies.

The case study has concentrated on trying to clarify the concept in a way that would be helpful to all tourists "across" involve at different stages of tourist development. In this context two broad categories of criteria controlling the concept of carrying capacity were used, those affecting the indigenous environment and those affecting the tourist product image. These criteria include: physical (acceptable level of visual impact, point at which ecological damage occurs, conservation of wildlife and marine life);

15. Young 1991.

16. Miossec 1977.

economic (the volume of tourism providing optimum economic benefits, level of employment suited to the local community etc.); cultural (the level of tourism that will help maintain monuments and cultural traditions without detrimental effects); and resource availability (public utilities, community facilities, technical/social infrastructure etc.).

The above criteria inevitably vary between those that are measurable statistically (accommodation, beach capacity, water supply, etc.), to those where accurate measurement is not practicable (ecological and psychological).

To approach the quantification of the concept, one part of the methodological framework of the study was based on: the findings of a public's perceptions study of tourism; personal interviews of the main "actors" involved in tourism; interpretations of sequential photography at varying scales; the comparison of social impacts of tourism using various models such as density index, resort density, tourist capacity, tourist function index where the size of local population is tested in relation to capacity of accommodation; the comparison of available basic resources and services of the needs of tourists and local people (water supply, beach capacity, sewage disposal capacity) using common standards.

The above suggest certain public policy implications for tourism planning and management. In the case of island environment and coastal eco-systems, the evaluation of carrying capacity can be valuable in providing general guidelines which can be refined in time and space through trial and error. Local authorities should carefully formulate more detailed policies oriented to development control, through planning and management with the aim to achieve the optimum capacity and without saturation. Such policies should define the possible maximum social, cultural, economic and natural environment capacity, the extra capacity (increasing capacity) by overcoming bottlenecks and restraints (development corridors, transport centres, distribution in time and space etc.) and reducing demand in sites, such as coastal areas, where capacity restraints cannot be overcome.

The necessary comprehensive plan for tourist development must provide infrastructure and superstructure at acceptable standards and norms, incentives and disincentives and a more coherent framework for the private sector and measures to increase the attractiveness of the island identity and that of the coastal areas and at the same time to secure the financial means to support the island system whose basic principles can be summarised as economic growth, social equity and environmental conservation. Finally, in order to protect the coastal environment in the interests of its touristic long term success, future research should address the need for a more holistic and systematic approach to the identification of critical elements of the islands identity and assessment of potential environmental complex impacts from the restructuring of the tourist product and from the expansion of summer

holiday houses, a trend which in the long run will cause unforeseen and unacceptable environmental degradation in coastal ecosystems.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The evidence of the case study of Mykonos suggests the need for a new perspective on tourism planning taking into account sustainable development strategies. This approach requires a reevaluation of planning for the island with emphasis on the preservation of local identity and the management of growth of tourism. Key assumption in this approach is that resource scarcity and environmental sensitivity are major constituents of local identity. This new approach to tourism planning requires: a change in view and behavior pattern of all parties involved in planning and management of the tourist industry; knowledge and insight in the actual impact as a basis for developing policies; a set of policy instruments which is capable of sustaining the environment and the tourism product of the island.

More specifically, to achieve sustainable tourist development or eco-development, environmental planning must be adopted based on the capacity of the environment to accept and support it including the induced development, as for example the necessary infrastructure. Tourist planning, obviously, cannot be carried out in isolation but must be integrated into a comprehensive resource analysis and development planning for the area with possible conflicts resolved at an early stage.

Tourist development strategies must also reflect environmental as well as socioeconomic objectives. In the evaluation of alternative types of development strategies consideration should be given to new forms and types of tourism some much less environmentally disruptive than the conventional types of mass tourism. Strategy implementation could include:

- a. The development of strategic plans (environmental characteristics, analysis and assessment of the area's carrying capacity);
- b. The adoption of innovative planning guidance systems encouraging coordination among the "actors" involving at various spatial and organization levels (regional, local, sublocal etc.);
- c. Development and promotion of codes of practice;
- d. Development of improved information and support systems to assist demand activities and the needs of people taking part and
- e. Finally improvement in education of all "actors" in management techniques, and information exchange patterns.

The above strategy of a sustainable development leads to an emphasis on the inter-relationship among different variables and "actors" in tourism in which the protection and improvements of cultural and natural resources represent not only a crucial objective but also a positive attitude towards the role of tourism in sustaining the historical heritage of the area under consideration.

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PANAGIOTIS N. DOUKELLIS

FROM THE TERRITORY TO THE LANDSCAPE
AND BACK AGAIN

For several years in the historiography of the ancient Mediterranean world, the term *territory* would often recur as one of the basic notional and methodological tools in the hands of historians and archaeologists¹. The target of a synthetic approach of an organised society in antiquity -for which, be it explicitly or not, we accept its being based on the principles of self-reliance- almost automatically encountered the need for a geographical delimitation of the object. The territorial delimitation of the space, where the varying activities of the social group under examination took place, constituted the rule to the extent of course to which the relevant line of questioning was posed and the available historical sources allowed it².

Yet in the last fifteen or twenty years historiography has kept distancing itself from the use of this tool. Territory seems to be replaced by another methodological instrument during the study of the historicity of cultural spaces, meaning the term *landscape*. Spatial delimitation is no longer based on criteria considered to be predefined, often unclear, which even more often constituted a prerequisite of work and at the same time an object of verification in the course of research³. From the criteria that involved a political dimension (the geographical boundaries of a political pattern) are adopted criteria considered as neutral, criteria that conform to either categories of positive sciences (for example, geomorphologic, geological and so on) or to others, of which it is explicitly stated that they constitute a conscious, arbitrary subjective choice of the reader⁴. In essence, research tends not to approach issues of perceiving and managing space through the eyes of the past's organised societies, these being the societies that simultaneously constitute the object of research. On the contrary, research

1. Chevallier 1975, 649 *sqq.* and mainly Leveau 1984, 85 *sqq.*

2. Cf. Labrousse 1968; Clavel 1970.

3. Cf. Helly 1999, 99 and 123.

4. Cf. The introductory pages in Davis 1998.

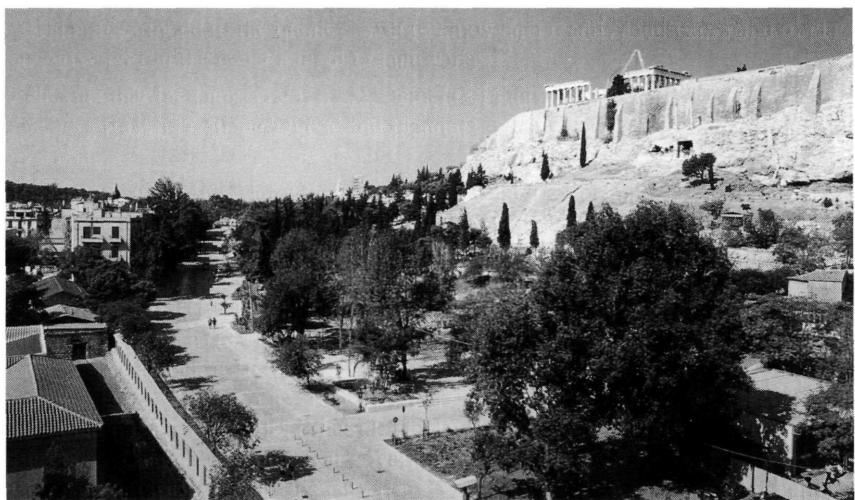


Fig. 1. A bird's eye view of Dionyssiou Areopagitou Street after its most recent renovation, which was part of the programme of the Unification of the Archaeological Sites in Athens (Photo Vas. Vretos - UASA SA).

displays its preference of methodological principles that arise from the development of the relevant line of questioning of the last years. A major feature of these principles is the systematic incorporation of the natural parameters in the whole discussion on the cultural landscapes.

The comparative reading of the data related to either term, namely *territory* and *landscape*, leads to some thoughts directly connected with current beliefs about the historicity of the surrounding space. If the term *territory* is related to the political segmentation of the land, it involves political dimensions and is the bearer of special collective memories, the term *landscape* seems to move within the sphere of cultural dimensions and appears as having multiple possible delimitations. Both terms form objects of research for historians and geographers. In the subsequent paragraphs there will be made an attempt to synoptically present the points of contact and divergence of the two methodological tools.

THE LANDSCAPE

The stand regarding the dual content of the term is known. Landscape is both a place and a representation of a place⁵. The boundaries between the actual landscape and its representation seem to be clear, since it is a matter of artistic representations which either in part or in whole reproduce a

5. Berger 1972 *passim*; Mitchell 1994, 1.

landscape, be it to a scale or not, on a surface or even three-dimensional. The same does not apply when we have structured human interventions in the shaping of space, whether this is urban or even rural.

In the first picture of this article we have a photograph of the known Dionyssiou Aeropagitou Street on the west of the Acropolis of Athens hill, seeing this street as it had been modelled at the beginning of 2001. This street had always catered for the needs of the Athenians, as well as the visitors of the city in this rich in monuments part of Athens. What is of interest to us is the political decision of reshaping this vehicular axis and its being turned into a pedestrian thoroughfare. This decision created a rift in the history of the street by imposing new, special usages and mainly by shaping the relevant prerequisites at the level of material culture (pedestrian street, design and material of the street's surface, green areas and so on) so that the sight and senses of today's visitors and strollers are facilitated as to the reception of certain stimuli. What is the target of reshaping this road, which used to run around the slopes of the Acropolis and in a way functioned as a small boulevard useful for relieving traffic but also for the immediate access of pedestrians and drivers to the important sights of the area? The answer apparently directs to the more general strategy employed by the modern cities regarding the improvement of the residents' quality of life, but mainly the projection of their cultural identity through a highly competitive environment⁶, as far as it concerns the attraction of tourists and grand international events. The urban landscape as a picture constitutes a major advantage for the cities that can set it off⁷.

More particularly on the reshaping of Dionisiou Areopagitou Street, which is part of the Athenian stroll, one may support that the city now acquires a new access of monumental type to the Acropolis and also to the New Museum of the Acropolis which is under construction. Through the choice of suitable paving materials, the planting of trees, the ability to visit major and minor adjacent archaeological sites, this access creates in the heart of the city centre an oasis where Athenians can escape. Beyond its actual function as a street heading towards the most emblematic monument of the city, it acquires an additional significance: this of a landscape that as an image introduces us to the major components of the city's cultural identity. Banning the circulation of any sort of vehicles and the isolation from sounds and stimuli that connote the city's current state is heading towards this direction, namely the creation of prerequisites of escaping from today and contemplating the remains of the city's glorious past. Where there used to be a noisy street with dozens of tourist buses transporting the visitors to the entrance of the Theatre of Herod Atticus and the beginning of the street that

6. Cf. the texts published in Kearns - Philo 1993.

7. Leontidou 1996.

led to the Acropolis, to Areios Pagos or to Pnyx, a pedestrian street has been formed, and it functions as the intermediary zone between scenes of everyday reality of the adjacent streets and the dense instructive content place of the Acropolis of Athens, the extensive archaeological site of the western slopes, as well as the adjacent hills of Philopappos and Pnyx. The function of the pedestrian street may be related with escape from reality⁸, yet it does not necessarily introduce the visitor to the substantial content of the archaeological sites, whose understanding demands particular mental labour, education and interest⁹. Thus the archaeological sites become a selected setting of a pleasant stroll.

What makes this work pleasant? The answer lies apparently in the experiential enjoyment of the place, which is identified with the birth of the modern western civilisation and especially for the Greek visitors with national identity, with the sense of membership in a particular national or cultural body of people. It is indicative that the pedestrian Dionyssiou Areopagitou Street is no ground for conflictual behaviours, as is true for public places in general. On the contrary, this pedestrian street is also included in the category of the *lieux de mémoire*, that require the due respect¹⁰. The coupling with the monuments of the past creates and imposes a social *concordia*. This quasi holiness of the pedestrian street reinforces the pleasure of the strollers for an additional reason: it presents added guarantees of insurance and limits to the minimum the presence of socially undesired individuals, who are capable of arousing unpleasant feelings or even unsettling situations¹¹. Proof of the opposite are the in situ mobilisations of the employees' Union, who may possibly be labelled by a share of public opinion even as sacrilegious, since they proceed with instantaneous appropriation of the particular public venue with the special symbolic connotations.

8. De Certeau 1984: "Travel, like walking, is a substitute for the legends that used to open up space of the deserted places of my 'memory', the return to nearby exoticism by way of a detour through distant places, and the 'discovery' of relics and legends: 'fleeting visions of the French countryside', 'fragments of music and poetry', in short, something like an 'uprooting in one's origins' (Heidegger?). What this walking exile produces is precisely the body of legends that is currently lacking in one's own vicinity; it is a fiction, which moreover has the double characteristic, like dreams or pedestrian rhetoric, of being the effect of displacements and condensations".

9. In this sense the landscape regulations, such as turning a motor road into a pedestrian street on the limits of a major archaeological site form an expression of creating prerequisites for the spreading of cultural goods and education to wider social strata. Cf. McGuigan 1992 *passim* regarding the phenomenon he names "cultural populism".

10. Peet 1996, 23.

11. In contrast to whatever transpires in any other public place, Crilley 1993, 153. Cf. also Lefebvre 1991, 189: "The power of a landscape does not derive from the fact that it offers itself as a spectacle, but rather from the fact that, as mirror and mirage, it presents any susceptible viewer with an image at once true and false of a creative capacity which the subject (or Ego) is able, during a moment of marvelous self-deception, to claim as its own. A landscape also has the seductive power of all pictures, and this is especially true of an urban landscape ...".

The reshaping of a landscape combines the improvements of everyday life with the promotion of special characteristics of the material culture. In this particular case, as historians, what is of interest to us is the bounty of elements related to the past. It is a fact that memory and even more so collective memory is selective. Therefore, what is legitimised is the question of based on what thinking one element of the past is rewarded over another or others for the projection of a landscape. This segmentation of historical memory, which is indissolubly connected with the dominant discourse of each period, is distinguished in most cases of a systematic arrangement of urban and not only landscapes.

Of the most known landscape regulations is perhaps the arrangement of the so-called Delphic landscape in the plain of Phokis, already since the mid 1960s with the imposition of the single-crop farming of olive trees. The eyes of the visitor to Delphi, who gazes at the landscape towards the side of the coasts of the Corinthian gulf, are lost in a strictly one-coloured sea of the olive grove that spreads before him. No building, no other cultivation is allowed to intervene with the dominant colour of the olive tree. This choice stresses the uniqueness of the archaeological site, is apparently connected with the chromatic aesthetics of the theory of classicism and utterly forgets the historical reality of antiquity during which the sanctuary of Delphi operated. It is difficult to imagine that the plain of Phokis in antiquity presented today's picture. On the contrary, it was a matter of a theatre of conflict between bordering city-states that laid claim to a share of the plain, while the basic for practically the total of the Mediterranean world system of multiple-crop farming must have offered the eyes of the locals, the visitors and the pilgrims a wider variety of colours. The case of the Delphic landscape is of the most eloquent as far as it concerns the state's intervention for such arrangements. What was adopted as a rule, perhaps easily, was the idealised reading of the Greek antiquity by classicism and despite the new views and our additional historical knowledge, the particular regulation remains in force, having now acquired its own surplus value, through the passing of the years. It revels in the same respect as the archaeological site itself, arousing different emotions in visitors and in locals; the latter facing the consequences of the regulations that govern their land.

One may find countless examples of monumentalising regulations. These are regulations that are not related only to the management of fixed assets, but mostly with the management of collective memory. Among the most complex cases are the talks, the conflicts and finally the choices in the erection of the basilica of Sacré Coeur on Monmarte in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century¹². Built on the top of a hill, it dominates virtually the whole of the Parisian urban web "as a symbol of perpetual

12. Harvey 1979, 363.

remembrance". Of which remembrance, though? Of the conservative Catholics who sought the erection of the church as a vow during the Prussian occupation of the city in 1870, or the revolutionaries of the Paris Commune, or even the connection of the privileged worship of the Sacré-Coeur of Jesus with the *Ancien Régime*?

The selection in shaping a landscape is not random. Especially in cultural landscapes, which as palimpsests bear any various traces of the past, whatever choices made express the dominant views and ideas of the period that shapes the landscape. The landscape that surrounds us is an open book and the leaders of each time do not forget their role as potential writers of this book and their desire to turn the readers of it towards the direction they aim at. It is now an established view that interest in the landscape and landscape art has been born in Europe since the time of the Renaissance¹³ and onwards while it acquires a special dimension from the fundamental changes that occurred at most levels during the modern period¹⁴.

"If the landscape is a text, then it is a very powerful one indeed. And if it is a theater or stage, then it is one in which the director is power itself"¹⁵. Certainly, as Donald Mitchell himself accepts, everyday reality is much more powerful than theatre or a text, and so the two previous metaphors are practically unnecessary. The landscape that surrounds us is not a mere setting. Yet as a setting it inspires and moulds social relations, perceptions of the world and identities¹⁶. It can be characterised as a *force tranquille* through which social behaviours and collective identities are imposed, adjusted and mainly reproduced. A *force tranquille* because it acts, it emits messages on a daily basis, messages that are rendered self-understood and natural like all our basic everyday actions. In the cases where the landscape, perceived either as a setting or as a text, alludes to the glorious past, then a most complex mental process might be required for its conscious acceptance or rejection¹⁷.

As it was already stated in the beginning of this text, the landscape constitutes a tool for the study of societies that create it and use it. It is a tool that is certainly related to the material dimension of the place where people

13. The expression of political or other ideas through the structured arrangements and reshaping of urban and rural spaces is not an invention of modern times. The leaderships of each time stamped their seal on the place they governed. Cf. the Roman experiences, Nicolet 1988, 41; Rykwert 1988 *passim*. The substantial differentiation in relation to the societies of the modern era lies in the mechanisms of receiving messages or the perceptions regarding landscape and not in the political decision of utilizing public space for the expression of political ideas. Cf. Berque 1995, 39.

14. Clark 1949, 33; Cosgrove - Daniels 1998, 6.

15. Mitchell 2000, 140.

16. *Ibidem* 144.

17. The same message may be perceived and give rise to mixed feelings and different reactions from different people. Cf. Lowenthal 1993, 36 *sqq*.

live and work, but also a tool for the intangible dimension of this same place. Returning to the pedestrian street of Dionyssiou Areopagitou, the arrangement of a pedestrian street certainly has to do with the daily needs of the residents and the locals, it has to do with their free time and the time they work. However the choices in implementation include special meanings and ideas. The planting of trees in public places is directly related to the cleaning of the atmosphere. It is included in the state's obligations to its citizens. Yet the choice of the particular flora includes an added message, since it consists of plants endemic to Attica, emblematic of the Greek landscape (olive trees, cypresses and bay trees, among others). These plants frame (or are framed by) the ruins of the past¹⁸. At this point one may mention many things as to the connection between the protection of antiquities and sustainable development. Many of the articles in the current volume refer to the accordance, the inclusion of projects and programmes related to the protection of natural and cultural features of an area, of a landscape. Taking a further step in the analysis of this prevailing opinion, one could be able to touch upon ideas of likening the endemic and indigenous nature of the plants with the indigenous nature of the residents of a city, of a country. And this indigenous nature gives rise to more rights and privileges but also obligations to the natives, who are those continuing an age-old civilisation over other, non-native, foreigners. "Landscapes, whether focusing on single monuments or framing stretches of scenery, provide visible shape; they picture the nation"¹⁹. The possibility of welcoming new and pioneering intellectual or artistic performances in public places with strong elements of historical remembrance constitutes a gauge of acceptance of the otherness.

THE TERRITORY

We supported above that in the historiography of the ancient world at least, the course of the line of questioning was from the territory to the landscape. The anecdotal stories related to the conquest of new lands by settlers, of the Far West, for example, let it be understood that in practice the course was reverse. These stories say that the settler would establish rights of demesne or proprietorship over the lands he would cover with his eyesight. The private territory therefore arose from the landscape, if we are to accept that landscape is a place as it is seen by an observer.

We could say that the process of this transition from the landscape to the territory of a state is illustrated in the known painting by Theodoros Vryzakis, *The Encampment of Karaiskakis*. Painted in 1855 by a famous artist of the period who specialized in depicting scenes from the struggle for

18. Oikonomides 1972; Stroczeck 1998, 56; Malouchou-Tufano 1998, 61 and 64.

19. Daniels 1993, 5.



Fig. 2. Th. Vryzakas, *The Encampment of Karaiskakis* (1855). National Gallery and Alexandros Soutsos Museum, Athens (Cat. N. 493).

Independence and was also the son of a victim of war, this painting has many things to relate with regard to the relationship between the landscape and his intention of appropriating and creating a territory. The painting is rich in symbolisms and references to values and ideals that characterize heroes and heroic acts and legitimize war operations as well as granting content to the need for creating a new, independent state. The painting does not depict scenes of violence and polemic conflicts. In contrast to this, it shows a company of male warriors right before a war operation and in an absolute hierarchy as to its placement on the canvass: the officers and the general on a highest level appear to be discussing and planning the next moves, while on a lower level the warriors, either in groups or individually, are depicted in a relaxed, idle state. One could say many things about the symbolic dimension of the secondary elements with which these scenes of idleness and anticipation for the next move, that will be ordered by the commander, are embellished: the architectural members of ancient buildings, the presence of a priest who is either blessing or teaching, the scene of feast with the lamb on the spit, the young warrior who is filling his cup with wine, the vivid conversation and others²⁰. Nevertheless the point at which I wish to stop is the second level of the painting. This is the depiction of the horizon as it develops in the distant background, which is also the subject of conversation and planning between the General Karaiskakis and his staff. Before their feet spreads the area between Faliron and the slopes of Mount Hymettus. In the

20. Cf. the presentation of this painting in Peckham 2001, 27.

middle the Acropolis of Athens with the Parthenon are clearly visible. The general's gesture of pointing towards this direction while planning his next military moves is not random. The landscape that unravels before the eyes of the soldiers must be included in the national territory. Vryzakis, who has studied in Germany, legitimises the Greek revolution and the construction of a Greek state by placing before our eyes the two objects that in the immediately following decades of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries will form the main composing elements of the nation-state: territory and people or in other words geography and folklore²¹.

Let us leave folklore aside, it is unravelled for us by Vryzakis' pencil with the scenes that connote the occupations of a company of men and let us confine ourselves to the other grand component of the nation-state, the space not as an abstract sense but in its particular dimension where the particular people live and express themselves²². In this particular case General Karaïskakis is not the visitor of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street. He is not *in* the landscape. From a position of superiority he is planning the way through which he will place this landscape under his control, under the control of the Greeks. Landscape, after all, is a window open to the territory of people²³. The landscape lies there still, passive. It does not dictate messages to its viewers. It is almost empty, almost in its natural state. Almost. Since what is distinguished is its cultural mark, the Acropolis of Athens as a symbol that presents this landscape in the flesh and that legitimises its liberation. The reference to the monuments of material goods penetrates the whole of the painting. The Parthenon is discernible at the back of the horizon while architectural members of ancient buildings embellish the scenes of the first level. The relationship between the warriors and the finally unique elements of the landscape created by man is a two-way one. The antiquities signify the identity of the warriors. The latter are Greek because they were born on the land that bears this evidence of the past. The study of their social behaviours (as well as of their language and so on) comes to prove this. Finally, on their part, because they are Greek, and therefore those to continue what these monuments created, are obliged to liberate them and include them within the limits of their own state- nation, within the limits of the national territory.

What would be of interest is the study of the parallel course of the two terms, *territory* and *landscape*. Independently of the whole discussion on societies with or without landscape²⁴, the perceptions regarding space, place and landscape can possibly be detected in various expressions of the

21. *Ibidem* 72.

22. "Geographical experience begins in places, reaches out to others through spaces, and creates landscapes or regions for human existence", Tilley 1994, 15.

23. Béringuier 1991

24. Berque 1995, 39. Cf. also Roger 2001, 52.

everyday life of various and different social and cultural societies. When these perceptions are combined with issues regarding the exercising of power then they take on added interest. The sphere of the myth is often preferred for the projection of these beliefs. Romulus traces the limits of Rome with his head covered but having been guided by the gods. On the contrary, the Japanese emperor climbs on the high mountain and from there turns his eyes to the four points of the horizon to assert his dominance²⁵. However, within the frameworks of this Symposium, the question is not posed at the level of global history. Returning to our own cultural realities, we find that the appearance of interest in landscape in Western Europe at least coincides with the reinforcement of the absolutist monarchies, whose basic target was to dispel the power of the feudal lords and the creation of a territorially unified nation. With the completion of this process the old seigniorial *territoria* are absorbed and create a new concentrated state. In the whole process of connecting the new state with the bourgeoisie, as well as in the process of shaping the national ideology, the reinforcement of the central bureaucracy, the enactment of uniform taxes and duties, the territory was one of the basic pillars of the existence of the state, while at the same time being object and subject of this state²⁶.

Parallel to precisely this increasingly institutional support of the territory multiply the various artistic, scientific or of a different kind references to the landscape. The development of technology and the promotion of research favoured the segmentation of the area's wholeness. And these pieces, these landscapes acquire an increasingly growing hyper value, to the point where they substitute for the territory. A general view of Montmartre signifies Paris. Another, that of the Acropolis, signifies Athens or even the whole of the Greek world and so on. Emblematic elements of a territory are turned into pictures.

Against the spatial unities that were created by force, like the state territories, appear the spatial fragments that arise in the basis of scientific, artistic or some other subjective criteria, the centre of which is the observer himself, his experiences and his aspirations: the landscapes. Indeed, the most national states were created after polemic conflict or it was necessary to protect themselves by resorting to weapons. In words and acts, a territory involves the concept of violence and subduing, whether these are related to external factors or they pertain to internal social reasons. The territory is intertwined with the frontiers, it is an enclosed space. It is related to the state, the high ranks of politics, the passing of laws and the relations between states.

Contrarily, the landscape as a methodological tool touches upon the

25. Berque 1995, 42.

26. Alliès 1980 *passim*.

everyday reality of the people, their great and small moments, the organisation of their daily needs. It revolves around its observer and cannot exist without him. It touches his inmost thoughts. It touches the perception of the space, of places where he lives, of territories he is a part of and accepts. When talking about landscape we cross to the limits of phenomenology. How the surrounding space seems, how we perceive it and how we perceive our own selves. The landscape emits messages on a daily basis, becomes one with us and is therefore possible for it to become a devious tool for spreading ideas and perceptions, in the hands of whoever wants to exploit it.

However we see that international, political patterns proceed with the enactment of rules regarding the landscape. The Council of Europe is trying to institute the protection of the landscape in the tangible and the intangible dimension. Yet what is noteworthy is that the enactment of rules is not the responsibility of the member-states of the Council but of the local societies. The recommended policy about the landscape goes above the proper officials of the national states by replacing them with the officials of the local societies. This kind of supranational arrangements for the landscape express the doubted balance of power between international patterns and the national states. If from the landscape arose the vision for the formation of a national territory, though the landscape we proceed with actions that involve elements which go against the reinforcement of the national states.

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MICHAEL DOWER

THE APPRAISAL AND PROTECTION OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES: THE PROPOSED EUROPEAN LANDSCAPE CONVENTION

My role is to describe the initiative that has been taken by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe to prepare an inter-governmental Convention related to Europe's landscapes. The purpose of this Convention would be to raise the awareness of Member States and their people about the importance of landscapes; and to encourage action at national and international level to appraise, protect and manage these landscapes.

THE VARIETY OF LANDSCAPES

Before I describe the proposed Convention, let me remind you of the great variety of landscapes in Europe and say why their protection and management is important.

I am talking about all landscapes, the whole territory of Europe, including the cultivated or natural rural areas, and the urban or peri-urban landscapes. This broad view is justified because urban and rural landscapes interlock in complex ways; because most Europeans live in towns and cities, the quality of whose landscapes greatly affect their lives; and because rural landscapes occupy an important place in the European consciousness.

The land surface of Europe has been so long and so intensely settled or worked by mankind that only very limited parts of it can be seen as wholly "natural". Over most of the continent, the landscapes contain a mixture of nature and of human culture. They gain their character and their interest from the long-established and evolving relationship between people and the land. This relationship is fascinating, and highly varied from one area to another, because of the two-way influences, the impact of the land on people, and that of people upon the land.

When people first strove to gain food, clothing and shelter from the land, they had to accept the resources and constraints which the land offered. Their buildings were made of local materials - stone, wood, thatch, clay, whatever was available. Their crops and livestock were those which could flourish in

that place, with that climate. Their culture and customs grew out of the link to the land; and the land, in turn, was shaped by their choices, by their systems of tenure, their particular pattern of settlement and fields and woods. From each such land-people liaison, a landscape arose, unique to that place.

In some rare places, mainly on the geographic fringes of Europe, landscapes of such early types survive. But over much of the continent, the flux of human activity over long centuries has caused changes in the land-people liaison, with consequent changes in the landscape. Factors such as war, trade and the spread of new culture have brought new elements into the liaison, and thus into the landscape. Modern technology and imported building materials have reduced the constraints which the place earlier imposed upon the people. Building styles, land tenure systems, customs, crops, livestock and much else have come into areas where they previously were not.

The result of this great human saga, extending over centuries and even millennia, is an immense variety of types of landscape. Staffan Helmfrid (1992) outlined the broad zones of agrarian landscapes in Europe:

1. the Mediterranean zone with its latifundia, its defensive hilltop settlements olive trees, oranges, grapes, urban-like villages and mule transport to distant fields...
2. the Alpine zone, with its characteristic vertical organisation of farm production and farm life...
3. the vast region of transalpine Europe with a great variety of landscapes, characterised by the village system based on a symbiosis of cropping and animal husbandry.

Staffan Helmfrid went on to describe the broad distinction, within the transalpine zone, between the Atlantic rim, with its Celtic landscapes and areas of bocage; the lands west of the Elbe; and the lands east of that line, affected by the immense wave of German colonisation between the 12th and 16th centuries. He emphasised that the land tenure and land-use patterns have changed over centuries, according to shifts in the rural economy and in political systems; that the patterns of earlier culture sometimes have to be discerned beneath the modern outlines of fields or even of towns or cities; but that, in many areas, the landscape still reflects long-established farming or other culture.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LANDSCAPES

Why are landscapes important? I would cite four main reasons. First, they enrich the quality of human life and culture, and the diversity of nature. Just as we value the rich variety of ecosystems and species in the natural world, so we gain from the rich variety of human culture as expressed (among other ways) in landscapes.

Second, landscapes can provide, for those who live within them, a sense of continuity, of human "roots" in a place and in a tradition; and also of local distinctiveness. Continuity and distinctiveness are of growing value to people, in a world which suffers from rapid change, homogenised culture and standardised products. In such a world, people value what is local, special and familiar.

Third, landscapes embrace ways of life, and links with the land, which have proved viable in the past and may be viable in the future. Trial and error, over long generations, have shown what animals, what crops or trees, will flourish in a place; what seasonal practices are necessary in that climate; and the most practical shapes and materials for building. At a time when we are reacting against the adverse impact on the environment caused by (for example) some modern farming practices, we are placing fresh value on what we can learn from the past.

Fourth, landscapes are a rich source of evidence about past and present human inter-actions with the land. They are a palimpsest, a living library of information, which one can learn to read. They have high value to the geographer, the archaeologist, the historian, the anthropologist, the ethnographer, the ecologist and other scientists; and to those decision-makers who strive to protect such landscapes as a key part of their local, national or European Heritage.

Moreover, some such landscapes have such outstanding and universal qualities that they have value at the European scale. Examples might include the Puszta of the Hungarian plains, the hills of Umbria and Tuscany in the northern Apennines, the valleys of the Lot, Tarn and Dordogne of southwest France, the waterway vistas of the Netherlands, and the Lake District of northern England. Such areas have inspired writers and artists, drawn travellers and achieved fame far beyond the immediate locality. If the conservation of Venice, Granada or Prague is in a sense a European concern, so too should be that of such important landscapes.

THE CHALLENGE OF PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT

The issue before us is not the preservation, or "freezing", of landscapes at some particular point in their long evolution. Landscapes have always changed, both through natural processes and through human action. The aim rather should be to manage future change in a way that recognizes the great diversity and the quality of the landscapes that we inherit; and that sustains and even enriches that diversity and quality, rather than allowing it to diminish.

The quality and diversity of Europe's landscapes are, however, now at risk. The threats include the intensification of agriculture; ill-planned urban expansion; the abandonment of some rural areas; standardisation of

materials and designs; some excessive development of infrastructure, especially roads; some of the more massive forms of tourism development; and wide-ranging environmental degradation, for example from air pollution. The pace of damaging change has been rapid in many parts of the European Union. Eastern and Central Europe are experiencing changes in agriculture and tourism which could damage many of the landscapes which survived the earlier impacts of collectivisation.

This vital heritage of landscapes, and the threats to them, pose a three-fold challenge to scientists, policy-makers and practitioners.

First, we need to identify, to record and to understand the landscapes that we inherit. This is a field for scientists, supported by the worlds of learning, of publishing and of government. There has been a welcome growth in interest among scientists and researchers in the cultural landscapes of Europe. In some countries, such as Sweden and the Netherlands, nationwide work has been done to survey and record cultural landscapes. Elsewhere, the research has been more localised, but has contributed to the growing body of knowledge. There have been calls from some historical geographers for the production of a *European Atlas of Cultural Landscapes* (e.g. Unwin 1992). This would be of very great value if it could be achieved.

Second, we need to protect landscapes from inappropriate or damaging change. Such action lies largely with national and local governments. In many parts of Europe, these authorities have adopted planning policies which protect large areas of countryside from urban development; have given special measures of protection to areas with a high quality of landscape; or have helped to bring such areas under the protective ownership of public or non-profit-making bodies, such as the *National Trusts* in the United Kingdom or the Italian *Fondo per l'Ambiente*. But, even in these areas, unnecessary damage to landscapes is still occurring; and elsewhere in Europe, for example on significant stretches of the Mediterranean coastline, catastrophic damage to landscapes is still being caused through the absence of effective governmental protection.

Third, we need in many areas to promote the survival of those cultures which have created our landscapes. Vineyards quickly fall derelict if they are no longer tended. Terraces collapse if they are not maintained: the same happens to dry-stone walls, windpumps, water-power systems, buildings, even whole villages or small towns. Of course, one can sustain a sample of such features in a museum manner. But the landscapes that we treasure are far too extensive to be sustained as museums. Moreover, their vitality is in the way of life that created them; and they embrace the homes and the livelihoods of those who live there. The challenge is to enable the way of life to continue, not with pain or hardship but at a viable standard of living. People in such areas should be able to share in their nation's prosperity. But change should not be so rapid or insensitive that the quality and diversity of

landscapes is put at risk.

Governments need to guide the process of change as it affects landscapes. To do this, they require an understanding of the diversity of their landscapes. They should use this knowledge in their planning policies. They must be able to control development schemes which would damage the landscapes. They should encourage forms of development and land management which are in harmony with the landscape: this may be easier if governments devolve power to local communities and integrate sectoral policies at the local level. These requirements relate to landscapes generally, but they have special force in landscapes of European significance.

THE PROPOSED CONVENTION

These issues were in the mind of the National Trust when, in 1990, it organised at York a seminal international conference *Europe Preserved for Europe*, which brought together people throughout Europe concerned with protection of rural landscape.

Immediately after that conference, a group of us came together to discuss a pan-European initiative; and Adrian Phillips, then Director General of the Countryside Commission in England, took the lead in shaping the idea of a Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Europe's Rural Landscapes. Several bodies, the Countryside Commission, the Federation of Nature and National Parks of Europe, ECOVAST (the European Council for the Village and Small Town), and the Landscape Research Group, committed themselves to pursuit of the idea.

Proposals for the Convention were first presented to a professional audience at the conference *Landscapes in a new Europe : Unity in Diversity*, organised by the Landscape Research Group (UK) and Paysage et Aménagement (France) in Blois in October 1992 (Phillips 1992). Subsequent discussions with the Council of Europe and others contributed to the climate of thinking which prompted the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE), which is a formal organ of the Council of Europe, to set up in 1994 a Working Group to prepare a Charter or a Convention for the Landscapes of Europe.

From the beginning of its work, the Working Group decided to embrace all the landscapes of Europe, not only the rural ones, for the reasons which I stated at the beginning of this paper. The Group also decided to prepare a Convention, which is a formal treaty between member states, rather than a Charter which has a less formal status. Their reason for this is that no existing international legal instrument deals directly, specifically or comprehensively with European landscapes, despite the immense cultural and natural value of these landscapes and the many factors threatening them.

The Group asked two of its expert advisers - Yves Luginbuhl, of the

University of Paris, and myself - to prepare a draft "non-legal" text for the Convention. This was widely circulated; and was the subject of a formal two-day Hearing, held in Strasbourg in November 1995 and attended by a large number of non-government bodies and experts concerned with landscape. The draft was then amended in the light of comments received at and after the Hearing; and was finally approved by the Working Group and published in August 1996 (CLRAE 1996).

Now in hand is the preparation, by Professor Michel Prieur of the University of Paris, of a legal draft of the Convention, which will be improved through consultation during 1997. The aim is to have the draft Convention complete, for submission to the CLRAE and then to the Council of Ministers, in early 1998. If all goes well, the Convention may come into force during the following year.

The general purpose of the convention, as stated in the non-legal text, is to *enjoin public authorities to take measures at local, regional and national levels for the purpose of protecting, managing and planning landscapes throughout Europe so as to improve their quality and to secure the recognition of populations, institutions and local and regional authorities for landscape values and interests.*

The Convention is therefore expected to provide that those Member States who choose to sign up to it shall commit themselves to a series of actions related to the landscapes of the whole of their territories. These actions include:

- programmes to educate, and raise the awareness, of the public about the character and importance of landscapes, and the need for care in making changes to them;
- action by local authorities and others to study, identify and evaluate landscapes;
- definition of objectives for the protection, management and planning of landscapes, conceived in such a way that they will gain public support;
- the framing of strategic principles which can reconcile these landscape objectives with the aspirations of local people, and which can foster those changes to landscapes which will assist sustainable development;
- programmes of protection, management or planning of landscapes, and closer attention to landscape in town and country planning programmes;
- use of financial and fiscal incentives and of land-ownership policies to pursue landscape objectives and
- assignment of special status to those landscapes which are of outstanding value and which need special measure of protection.

The Convention is expected to encourage international cooperation in the protection, management and planning of landscapes. To this end, the non-legal draft proposes the setting up of a *European Landscapes Committee*, composed of representatives of member states, the CLRAE and

international bodies concerned with landscape. This Committee would implement the Convention, by (for example) monitoring its application, advising on techniques for appraisal of landscapes, and encouraging exchange of information, research and training in the landscape field. It would draw up a list of landscapes of European significance, based on criteria which the Committee would develop and proposals put forward by member states. It would have the power to award a *Council of Europe Landscape Quality Seal* to mark those landscapes which have had especially high standards of upkeep and maintenance by local or regional bodies.

In preparing the draft Convention, the Working Group has taken close account of what is already being done by governments and others in the field of landscape. The Group commissioned from Professor Michel Prieur, and has received, a survey of the legal provisions related to landscape in many of the member states of the Council of Europe. This survey showed wide variation in the legal provisions. Some countries mention landscape in their actual written constitutions. Statutory provisions related to landscape fall variably within the law on environment, on culture or on other main areas of public policy. Policies for protection and management of landscapes vary greatly, between countries, in their scope and effectiveness.

Nevertheless, there is in most countries an acceptance of the importance of the subject, and at least a legal framework for public action. The proposed Convention can therefore be seen as a means of reinforcing and encouraging approaches which are already being taken in member states.

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MONIQUE CLAVEL-LEVEQUE

CONCLUSION

Les paysages culturels sont apparus au cours de ces jours comme un produit multiforme, matériel et immatériel, difficile à apprécier et identifiable dans une diversité d'approches et de terminologie.

On a parlé de paradoxes, et ce colloque a effectivement fonctionné en plein paradoxe.

Le paradoxe de la perception et de la conception réside d'abord en ce que les archéologues et les historiens de l'Antiquité, appartenant à ces "disciplines académiques hautement spécialisées", pour reprendre les termes de Frederick Aalen, ont été les initiateurs de cette rencontre et ont produit ici les travaux les plus nombreux, de l'Atlantique à la Mer Noire.

On peut noter aussi que l'expression *paysage culturel* n'est apparue qu'une fois dans les titres des communications, et seulement dans l'approche institutionnelle de Michael Dower.

Enfin la diversité des formulations m'a semblé significative des difficultés à cerner l'objet de notre réflexion, ce *paysage culturel*, situé à l'articulation entre le *naturel*, si peu naturel! et l'*anthropique*. D'autant que son approche convoque une pluralité de disciplines et de savoirs qui n'étaient pas représentés ici et qui ne pouvaient pas l'être. Dès lors, il me semble révélateur de constater que si la perception a été relativement peu abordée en tant que telle, la valorisation l'a été davantage, majoritairement sous l'aspect archéologique, parcs compris, avec une attention réelle, mais plutôt théorique, à la dimension "gestion".

En revanche les modalités de lecture de cet "objet à identifier" ont été abordés avec les problèmes posés par les superpositions que caractérisent le palimpseste paysager, leurs implications matérielles et idéologiques, par la mobilité des paysages. Mobilité qui a été saisie à tous les sens du terme: transferts de population, migrations, colonisation, dégradation, désertification, qui ont rythmé l'histoire des paysages européens et font partie de leur héritage culturel. D'où la place qui est revenue, dans les communications et les discussions, aux "paysages historiques" et aux rapports avec l'histoire locale, le patrimoine / héritage, paysages qui sont

très souvent historiquement datés et situés.

De ce point de vue, il est significatif que l'éducation au paysage culturel passe, dans le projet présenté par Kostas Papagiannopoulos comme dans nos pratiques, par la valeur initiatique du paysage local, familier, avec son efficacité et ses dangers.

A partir de là, une dernière constatation m'a paru éclairer nos questionnements. Plusieurs communications ont évoqué directement la ville (Dorchester, Nicopolis, Tipasa), deux seulement ont posé les problèmes du paysage en liaison avec un territoire, c'est-à-dire d'une structure spatiale ordonnée, aménagée et organisée, d'un point de vue institutionnel.

L'aménagement du territoire, dans ces variations historiques, à des échelles diverses, n'est pas seulement une réalité contemporaine. En témoignent les textes des aménageurs antiques ou médiévaux, qui n'étaient pas seulement arpenteurs et mesureurs de champs, tels les agrimensores romains et les arpenteurs byzantins.

Il faut ajouter qu'une des difficultés, d'ordre culturel, est clairement perceptible dans l'écart conceptuel et sémantique qu'exprime l'écart terminologique évident entre *paysage/paisaje/paesaggio*, qui supposent une approche globale, vécue du dedans, une approche territoriale du *pays/pagus* et, d'autre part *landscape/landschaft*, qui privilégient la vision et l'approche extérieure de la terre.

Cet écart induit une sensibilité différente aux problèmes paysagers et aussi, m'a-t-il semblé, des approches différentes, approches méthodologiques et approches conceptuelles. Ces constats rendent d'autant plus indispensable de faire le point sur les expériences existantes ou en cours.

Surtout à un moment stratégique, où cette mémoire singulière et originale du territoire et des terroirs, qu'est le paysage, est aujourd'hui un chef-d'œuvre en péril, lieu de toutes les contradictions.

Le paysage rural s'est difficilement imposé comme "bien culturel", comme partie intégrante du patrimoine de l'humanité, dans toutes ses dimensions, culturelles, écologiques, émotionnelles, symboliques. De fait, cette matrice d'identité locale, régionale et même nationale n'est guère protégée, même actuellement, par les diverses recommandations de sauvegarde de la beauté, en dépit d'améliorations récentes dans la prise de conscience de la rapidité des destructions engagées. Le tourisme, pour être parfois le plus voyant ou provocateur, n'est pas le seul danger et peut-être pas le pire. Les techniques culturales, les politiques agricoles qui conduisent à la désertification par la déprise agricole ou par la surexploitation des nappes phréatiques, au réenvahissement des forêts, s'ajoutent à la croissance mal maîtrisée des agglomérations et aux "grands projets", emblèmes du développement, pour effacer des siècles de patientes constructions paysagères et de riches équilibres écologiques, où s'étaient investis les savoir-faire de générations de paysans et d'éleveurs. La vivacité du débat sur

Mykonos a révélé les préoccupations et les exigences de contrôle du développement qui se posent partout à l'époque post-moderne, même si on ne peut les ignorer pour l'époque pré-touristique. Et, sans verser dans un conservatisme systématique et inadapté, force est de constater qu'il n'y guère de suspense dans la course-poursuite engagée entre la désertification, la destruction, le retour à la friche, qui participent d'une dynamique générale, et les efforts de protection et de valorisation, qui restent sectoriels et sélectifs, selon des critères encore trop souvent conjoncturels, sinon empiriques et arbitraires.

Bien sûr un interêt nouveau du public et des collectivités émerge depuis quelques années. Cette demande sociale de culture a correspondu à un élargissement de la conception du "paysage culturel" qui englobe, dans la diachronie, les terroirs, les "pays" et les ressources, l'architecture vernaculaire, les techniques et les savoir-faire, la faune et la flore au sein d'un puzzle paysager où coexistent des éléments fossiles, archéologiques, et des éléments vivants, où prennent toute leur place les traditions, les parlers et les fêtes. Cela exige une autre connaissance, une autre perception pour concevoir une autre valorisation.

Pour cela un recensement et un bilan critique des expériences réalisées, dans leur diversité, sont indispensables et cette rencontre a bien montré l'efficacité de la confrontation. Divers types d'inventaires, de cartes archéologiques, d'Atlas des paysages sont en cours d'élaboration en Europe et ailleurs, nombre de parcs arcéologiques ou naturels, d'Ecomusées ont été mis en oeuvre, avec plus ou moins de succès, en tentant souvent de concilier des impératifs de préservation du milieu naturel, du paysage et du patrimoine culturel et ceux du développement économique local. Plusieurs réalisations répondent à des mesures dites de "revitalisation" de paysages ruraux, visant essentiellement à un rééquilibrage par un soutien des "produits du terroir" où les préoccupations culturelles ne sont évidemment pas premières. Au reste ces actions portent encore, le plus souvent, sur le bâti et sont orientées vers la promotion d'un tourisme "autre" dans le cadre de l'aménagement du territoire.

Dans une autre perspective et pour une politique raisonnée de valorisation des paysages culturels et de gestion du patrimoine les équipes européennes réunies dans l'Action de coopération *COST G2 Paysages Anciens et Structures Rurales: Techniques et Archéoenvironnement* se proposent de concevoir des "parcs culturels", à partir de cas ciblés sur des types de paysages, tel le paysage minier de Las Medulas, présenté ici même par l'équipe du CSIC de Madrid. Divers traits caractéristiques d'un paysage peuvent être privilégiés: terrasses, réseaux de canaux, fossés de drainage, murs de pierre, haies correspondant à des modalités d'usage et d'occupation de sols. La réflexion engagée autour du concept de "parc culturel" affiche la double volonté de conserver pour le futur et de promouvoir une structure

vivante, à vocation éducative, diversifiée, avec des parcours interactifs sur des bases scientifiques et thématiques attentives à une architecture paysagère spécifique, à la logique paysagère, à l'histoire totale du paysage. C'est assurément un défi, à la fois sur le plan politique et sur le plan scientifique, qui exige de mettre en oeuvre une interdisciplinarité efficace pour construire, avec le "parc culturel", un mode nouveau d'accès à la connaissance. Les discussions ici ont montré la nécessité d'articuler les besoins d'une culture de masse et une mise en oeuvre scientifique qui puisse bénéficier d'une rentabilité sociale et économique. Mais paysages réels ou paysages virtuels, tels que John Bintliff les a évoqués? C'est encore la question. Question à reprendre peut-être dans un prochain colloque ionien.

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