
Chapter 3

Prehistoric Sites in Regional Context: Management of the Setting and Cultural Landscapes

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The cultural landscape

The American geographer Carl Sauer in his seminal article of 1925 coined the term cultural landscape:

the works of man express themselves in the cultural landscape. There may be a succession of these landscapes with a succession of cultures. They are derived in each case from the natural landscape, man expressing his place in nature as a distinct agent of modification ... (Sauer 1925, 37)

and added the following definition that:

... the cultural landscape is fashioned out of the natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Sauer 1925, 47)

Sauer further believed that the introduction of new cultures to a natural area, or 'sequent occupance', rejuvenated the cultural landscape.

In December 1940, Sauer gave the Presidential address before the Association of American Geographers at Baton Rouge Louisiana and defined an 'area' as evolving from its natural roots. Even this supposedly concrete definition is problematic due to the fact that landforms, geological history, climates or biotic habitats are likely to be divergent. Using a multifaceted definition of the natural area allows each facet to be assigned a layer. The use of layering is a helpful approach for decision making and management and can be discussed using sieve theories, which allow weighting and prioritization for each of the layers, giving a site-specific evaluation for the determination of the natural areas.

What are the factors governing the definition of natural and cultural areas? The definition of the cultural area might be deemed as the area of the interdependence of living. In earlier societies this might be considered as a single physical element, while the evolving complex, multi-nodal urban societies that developed after the collapse of feudal systems afford

the same potential for layering that was indicated in the definitions of the natural areas.

To define the cultural landscape, the synthesis of nature and culture, the accepted definitions of 'natural area' have to be integrated with the definition of a 'cultural area'. This needs to relate not just to the fields of living but to the other qualities of culture, including the intangible, the ceremonial, and the ritual, including the arts or music. This is the mutual influence of the cultural group and the historical narrative by which we can identify the group. The cultural characteristic originates in a specific place and time, it gains acceptance, is learned and then disseminated till refuted once again, by time and place. The cultural area may grow and decline, become universal or disappear.

Because a certain amount of historiography is involved, the process is open to interpretation, thus demanding a stringent methodology (Fig. 3.1).

The Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies at Harvard has used the term 'cultural landscape' not as a special type but as a way of seeing landscape that emphasizes the interaction between humans and nature over time. The definition of 'special' varies over time, through different cultures — a landscape that comes to be perceived by one group can become invisible to another.

For about a half a century after Sauer's initial definition of the concept of 'cultural landscapes', geographers together with members of other disciplines, from anthropology to zoology, developed these concepts into a dynamic and well-documented discipline. However, the concept of cultural landscape moved from the realm of geography to the realm of heritage only in 1992 (Rossler 2000, 27), when it was formally recognized in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Today, landscapes are recognized as heritage entities within themselves, containing features and processes which must be protected, conserved and managed.

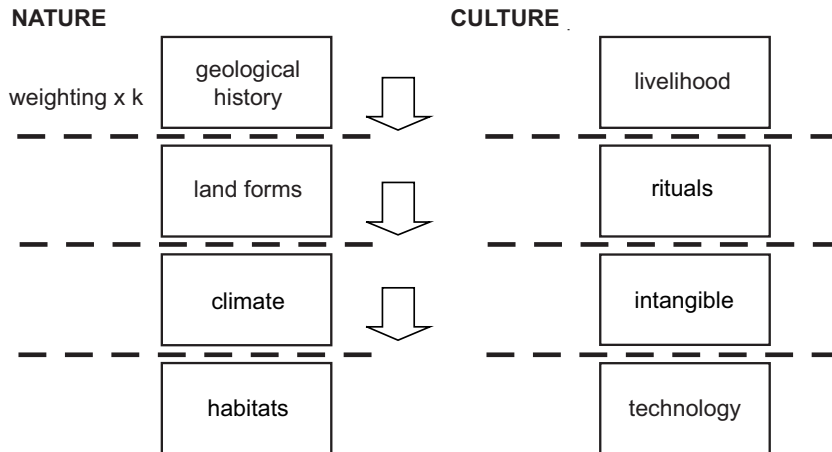


Figure 3.1 Evaluation for the determination of the area of cultural landscapes.

The context of the World Heritage Convention

In December 1992, at its sixteenth session, the World Heritage Committee modified the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention to include cultural landscapes. Thus, the World Heritage Convention became the first international instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscapes. This marked an important landmark in the development of a more holistic approach to the concept of heritage, an approach that takes account of the continuing interactions between people and their natural environment. According to the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention:

cultural landscapes represent the 'combined works of nature and of man' designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

The term 'cultural landscape' embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.

Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of sustainable land-use and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world. The protection of traditional cultural landscapes is therefore helpful in maintaining biological diversity.

Cultural landscapes fall into three main categories, namely:

- i. The most easily identified is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.
- ii. The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with, and in response to, its

natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:

- a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form;
 - a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.
- iii. The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent. (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 9–10.)

Over the past few years and with over 20 sites inscribed on the list, the World Heritage Convention has continued to evaluate the concept of cultural landscapes and has considered revisions to the guidelines for implementation in order to respond to new challenges. Thus, for example, at the meeting on 'Cultural Landscapes: Concept and Implementation', which was held in March 2000, the Italian delegation called for a greater emphasis on the linkage between heritage and socio-economic progress, from the point of view of sustainable development. The meeting recommended that, in light of recent developments, the terms by which cultural landscapes are defined should be re-evaluated by the groups who were re-

vising the criteria for natural and cultural sites. Additional recommendations related to the development of thematic and regional studies of cultural landscapes within different geo-cultural areas and to the development of cooperative networks between State Parties in each region and the World Heritage Centre and its advisory bodies.

In 2002, an international workshop — ‘World Heritage 2002: Shared Legacy, Common Responsibility’ — was convened in Ferrara, Italy, to mark 10 years of Cultural Landscapes and 30 years of the Convention. While participants generally agreed that the three basic cultural landscape categories adopted in 1992 were excellent tools for identification, management, and protection, they identified a number of challenges that should be addressed in the coming years. These included: insufficient cooperation between countries; regional imbalances in inscriptions; lack of capacity to bring forward credible nominations of cultural landscapes; restricted resources and weak institutions for effective management; together with the need to strengthen linkages between the cultural landscape concept and other designation systems, notably IUCN (World Conservation Union) Category V (protected landscapes/seascapes) and the UNESCO Biosphere Reserve network.

Since many cultural landscapes continue to evolve, the challenge of management is to guide this process of change so that the essential qualities of the area survive. The participants concluded that the vision for the next 10 years lies, along with other modifications, in the following elements:

- i. providing a framework for future nominations through thoroughly prepared thematic studies in areas identified as gaps, such as landscapes which represent the world’s cultures, agricultural landscapes, sacred mountains, and the relationship between water and civilization;
- ii. supporting social structures, traditional knowledge, and indigenous practices which are vital for the survival of cultural landscapes, and recognizing the crucial role of intangible and spiritual values;
- iii. extending the concept of cultural landscapes from its present rural focus to include other landscapes, including cityscapes, seascapes, and industrial landscapes; demonstrating how the recognition of cultural landscapes can generate economic development and sustainable livelihoods within the site and beyond; and
- iv. using the World Heritage processes for training and capacity building and promoting better communication and public awareness about cultural landscapes.

Over the years, the World Heritage Centre has developed a series of regional expert meetings to consolidate aspects of cultural landscape in various parts of the world. An Action Plan for the Future within the Global Strategy, which was adopted by the World Heritage Committee in December 1993 (report of the seventeenth session, pp 2–4), recommended that regional expert meetings be held to assist with comparative studies of cultural landscapes, and that thematic frameworks be developed for the evaluation of cultural landscapes to assist the World Heritage Committee in its decision making concerning cultural landscapes. Regional and thematic expert meetings were held on cultural landscapes and related issues, including: routes as part of the cultural heritage; associative cultural landscapes; the Asian rice culture and its terraced landscapes; and on cultural landscapes in different parts of the world including Europe, the Andean Region, Africa, Eastern Europe and Central America.

Toward a more inclusive approach to landscape protection and management

Since the concept of cultural landscape was formally recognized by the World Heritage Convention in 1992, growing awareness of the need to preserve and manage landscapes led to further initiatives, which took a more inclusive approach to protected areas. In 1994, the IUCN (World Conservation Union) included protected landscape/seascape as the fifth category in its list of six categories of protected areas. The IUCN Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories define Category V, Protected Landscape/Seascape as

an area of land, with coast or sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area. (Philips 2002, 111)

Another important development was the preparation of the European Landscape Convention, which was adopted by the Council of Europe in July 2000. This Convention recognizes that all landscapes possess heritage values, that these values should be defined, and that European countries should develop provisions for the protection and management of these values. The Convention encourages public authorities to adopt policies and measures at local, regional, national, and international level for protecting, managing, and planning landscapes throughout Europe. In parallel, it encourages the public, institutions, and local

and regional authorities to recognize the value and importance of landscape and to take part in related public decisions.

The European Landscape Convention defines landscape as:

an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors.

The preamble to the convention states 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.

Furthermore:

landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human wellbeing and consolidation of the European identity. (Council of Europe European Landscape Convention, Florence 2000, 1–2)

These and other conventions have set the scene for a new inclusive approach to protected areas, which focuses on the interaction of people and nature, and complements the more traditional approach toward protected natural areas. They seek to guide human processes so that the landscape area and its resources are protected, managed, and capable of evolving in a sustainable manner. Such landscapes may reflect techniques of land use that sustain biological diversity or may be associated with a spiritual relationship between people and nature.

Worldwide organizations and cultural heritage

In order to promote better management of protected landscapes, several organizations, in addition to UNESCO, IUCN and the Council of Europe, have dedicated themselves to the conservation and management of cultural heritage. On the international level, they include:

- ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), an international non-governmental organization of professionals, which advises the World Heritage Committee and UNESCO on the nomination of new sites to the World Heritage List. It also helps to establish international standards for the preservation, restoration, and management of the cultural environment, some of which have been promulgated as Charters. One such charter is the ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter which presents principles and guidelines for managing tourism at places of cultural and heritage significance.

- ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), an intergovernmental organization with a worldwide mandate to promote the conservation of both movable and immovable heritage in all its forms.
- ICPL (International Centre for Protected Landscapes), which offers training for protected area professionals and provides advisory services to governments and non-governmental organisations worldwide.
- International Centre for Mediterranean Cultural Landscapes, which seeks to build the capacity for cultural landscape management in the Mediterranean region.

Developing methodologies: identification and management

In addition to the important work undertaken by international organizations, several countries have launched and implemented charters for heritage and cultural sites. One notable example is Australia, which launched the Burra Charter in 1990 (The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, was published in 1999) and in 1996, the Australian Heritage Commission initiated the Australian Natural Heritage Charter (The Australian Natural Heritage Charter for the Conservation of Places of Natural Heritage Significance 2002). The former provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance (cultural heritage sites) and relates to conservation principles, processes, and practice; the latter relates to natural heritage together with indigenous, and historic cultural heritage, and presents a ten-step process for natural heritage conservation.

In 1998, the Australian Committee for IUCN published the Natural Heritage Places Handbook (Natural Heritage Places Handbook, Applying the Australian Natural Heritage Charter to Conserve Places of Natural Significance 1998), which provides practical advice, along with examples and explanations, on processes for conserving natural heritage places. The 10 steps toward conservation of the natural heritage are:

- i. obtain and study evidence about the place;
- ii. identify and contact people with an interest;
- iii. determine the natural significance;
- iv. assess the physical condition and management realities;
- v. develop a conservation policy;
- vi. determine the conservation policy;
- vii. decide who has responsibilities for decisions, approvals and actions;
- viii. prepare the conservation plan;

- ix. implement the conservation plan; and
- x. monitor the results and review the plan.

The third step in the process, namely determining and assessing the significance of the site, is fundamental to the process of heritage conservation. The significance criteria which have been identified by Australia for both cultural and natural sites encompass some of the following characteristics: cultural phases and the evolution of ecosystems; rarity; representativeness; aesthetics; technical, creative or design innovation; and social, cultural, or spiritual associations.

The Burra Charter defines cultural significance as possessing:

aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social value for past, present, or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places, and related objects.

According to the charter, places of cultural significance:

enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experience' (ICOMOS 1999, 1-2).

Guidelines to the Burra Charter recommend a methodical procedure for the establishment of cultural significance, for the development of conservation policy and strategy for implementation of that policy, and for the preparation of professional studies and reports. The Charter, which was developed by ICOMOS Australia, is being adopted worldwide due to its clarity and universality, along with the Natural Heritage Places Handbook, which presents a logical process for managing natural heritage places to achieve conservation goals, and provides an example to other countries of the conservation and management of cultural sites and cultural landscape.

Finally, Australia has also made important contributions in the area of conservation and management of indigenous cultural landscapes. In 1995, the Australian Heritage Commission sponsored a workshop on the subject of Indigenous Cultural Landscapes and World Heritage Listing. The workshop led to a greater understanding of issues relating to the inclusion of associative cultural landscapes in the World Heritage List. It included discussions of such subjects as aboriginal perceptions of landscape and wilderness and storied landscapes. It may be noted in this regard that in 1997, the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts of Australia subsequently published the Draft Guidelines for the Protection, Management and Use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Places.

Cultural landscape in the context of prehistory

The evolution of the studies of cultural landscapes within the discipline of human geography tended to concern itself with historical contexts, or at the most, those circumstances with associative characteristics within the last 4000 years. For understandable reasons, less has been considered in the times of prehistory, either because there are less than minimal physical remains or our scientific or anthropological knowledge is skimpy. This is the very essence of the TEMPER Project which will be described later in the article.

The development of the concept of archaeological landscape is still in its infancy as the archaeologist moves from the understanding of site to settlement. It is complementary to the traditional forms of archaeological research and evolved during the last years of the 1980s. Whereas the archaeological landscape became identifiable with regional-scale research, it was with the catalytic help of associated disciplines, geography, planning and landscape architecture, that the term gained significance, but once again with associations to the historic environment.

One of the first attempts at the interpretation of prehistory was the example of the Changing Neolithic Landscapes at Brzecs Kujawski in Poland. This was presented by Peter Bogucki from Princeton University in a paper given in 1991. He draws attention to the belts or margins between different geo-morphological phenomena described by Verboom as the lines or zones of weakness (Verboom 1977). Since then, landscape archaeology has become an accepted term also adopted by planners to ensure a better control over unrestrained developments, thus achieving regional sustainable management. At a conference in Bournemouth, UK^{1 2} in 1997, Danny Hind and Graeme Warren discussed the hunter-gatherer landscapes of the Mesolithic and early Neolithic communities (Hind & Warren 1997). They proposed an interface between two bodies of thought; anthropologically informed landscape archaeology and the recent developments in the theories of technology. In September 2000 a conference held in Stockholm³ on Mesolithic Europe attracted a number of papers looking at past and contemporary approaches to the Mesolithic landscapes. The attitude towards the hunter-gatherer landscapes was stressed through the complexity of a more pluralistic approach recognizing the multiple or layered landscapes. An unpublished paper presented by Karl-Johan Lindholm from the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, was especially relevant because it highlighted the fact that

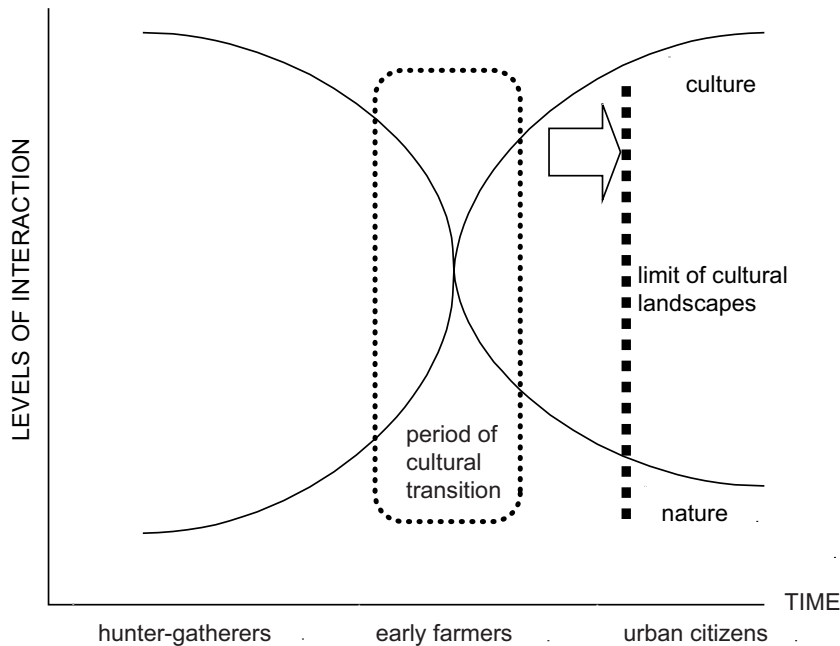


Figure 3.2. *The powers of alteration and the limits of cultural landscapes.*

the landscapes are often conceptualised as layer cakes and can represent interaction between the social and natural environment.

It is during prehistory that culture began to take over nature. The first manifestations of culture prior to and including the hunter gatherers were gentle, and maintained a symbiosis with the natural and geomorphologic structure of the prehistoric environment. It was, essentially, a fossil landscape in which the evolutionary process came to an end or possibly went on towards a continuing or evolving landscape. The first hominin sites were to be found connected to water and food sources usually on the 'lines or zones of weakness'. Often there would evolve a special relationship with an associative feature within the landscape, often to be identified much later than the original settlement.

The relationship between nature and culture in prehistory may be demonstrated by a graph (Figure 3.2) in which nature is placed at the origins of time on the left side and culture (including up to the present) is placed on the right side. Time occurs along the horizontal axis. Initially, nature was a powerful force and the cultural impact of humans remained very gentle. With time, however, culture became stronger and began to overcome nature to a point where the relationship was no longer sustainable. The gap between nature and culture has been continuously widened over time.

The earlier we go back in prehistory, the more cultural landscapes relate to the natural geomorpho-

logic environment. However, culture began to overpower nature with the transition from hunter-gatherers to early farmers and the setting up of permanent civilizations and urban communities. The shift to food production rather than foraging brought in its wake fundamental changes in the human use of the environment. While hunter gatherers hardly changed the landscape, the early farmers began to impact on nature. System equilibrium was replaced by system disequilibrium as culture began to overtake nature.

Prehistory and commensualism

The concept of 'commensualism' as borrowed from zoology, and defined by Chris Gosden, may provide a key to determining the setting of the prehistoric site in its regional con-

text. Commensualism denotes the 'process of living together in mutual support and dependency' (Gosden 2003, 64–5). As an example, the use of particular animals or plants as food encouraged special forms of material culture for cooking and consumption. Living together with plants and animals involved the creation of new landscapes, each with its own pattern of fields and woods, wadis, and lakes. Commensualism, then, is a process whereby people create a world for themselves with special structures of community, landscapes and artefacts, as well as their own histories.

While landscapes can be created through local development, they can also be formed through the movement and interactions of populations over time. As Jared Diamond points out, it is easier to form links across the same latitude of a land mass, due to similarities in vegetation, temperature, day length and seasonality, than it is to make longitudinal links. These physical similarities promoted travel, contact, and the movement of plants, animals, and trade products along the grain of the continent.

Landscape in prehistory often possessed cosmological significance. This encompassed the processes of the creation of both sacred and profane landscapes, including habitation sites, field systems, and hunting, and fishing areas that evolved over the ages. The ritual system regulated not just landscapes but human relations. The human imprint assigns to culture the domestication of landscapes, plants, animals and artefacts.

Fossil hominin sites

The cultural landscape represents the evidence of the combined efforts of geomorphology, climate and humankind through the ages. The context of the cultural landscape can provide the mental tools to comprehend the lives of our prehistoric ancestors.

Among the more than 750 cultural and natural sites that have been inscribed in the World Heritage List are included some geological, palaeontological and hominin sites. Geological and palaeontological sites provide an understanding of the evolution of our planet while the hominin sites provide a glimpse of the evolution of humankind itself. It is therefore imperative that efforts be undertaken to redress the imbalance and to make sure that future generations can inherit the treasures of the prehistoric past.

Since human origin is a subject of global interest, a comparative study was conducted by ICOMOS in 1997 of Potential Fossil Hominin Sites for Inscription on the World Heritage List. The study, conducted by Clive Gamble and Chris Stringer, divides the course of human evolution into four periods and presents the salient discoveries for each period:

1. 5,000,000 years to 1,000,000 years ago;
2. 1,000,000 to 300,000 years ago;
3. 300,000 to 30,000 years ago;
4. 150,000–10,000 years ago (Gamble & Stringer 1997).

The study also identifies six criteria for selecting hominin sites for inscription:

1. Good chronologies based on well-dated material which allow taxonomists to sort out phylogenetic relationships and rates of evolutionary change;
2. Numbers of fossils from a single locality or within an identifiable geological unit;
3. Antiquity of finds (which is also dependent upon good dating);
4. Potential for further finds;
5. Groups of closely related sites and even landscapes providing contexts which preserve environmental and archaeological evidence as well as hominin fossils. This is necessary in order to interpret the hominins' lifestyles and capabilities;
6. Fossils which have an important historical and even iconic position in the discovery and demonstration of human evolution. (Gamble & Stringer 1997, 2–3)

Based on these six criteria, the editors drew up a provisional list of hominin sites which should be considered for inscription in the World Heritage List. The fifth criterion is of foremost importance since it emphasises the importance of context and the potential that a cultural landscape can provide. The interpretation

of the site is based on the capability of the observer to comprehend not only the time scale but also lifestyles that are far removed from those of the present, or the recent historic past. The connections to other evidence will assist in the reading of the prehistoric text.

Artefacts, site, and context

Three components are being proposed for the prehistoric cultural landscape. These are from the micro to the macro: the artefacts; the site; and their context. The use of these components and their comprehension by the visitor will facilitate the interpretation and even indicate possible options for management policies, including on- or off-site activities. What is found, where it is found, why it was left there and how it came to be preserved, become the formula for site presentation. The connection of these components demonstrates that archaeologists date and study the distribution of ancient cultures across the world by studying the context of archaeological finds, whether sites, food remains, or artefacts, in time and space. The artefacts found in a specific site, such as stone tools or clay pot fragments, reflect the culture that created them. Bill Finlayson comments that the most prolific data are often stone tools, and by looking at their dispersion in the landscape, we can understand the actions of people rather than assume a behavioural pattern read into the landscape (Finlayson 1997). By combining the study of changes in artefact forms with observations of their contexts in stratified layers of archaeological sites, prehistorians can develop a time scale for artefacts, sites, and cultures and these, in turn, can be presented within the landscape.

Prehistory and the Mediterranean

The Mediterranean region, more than any other region in the world, has been recognized as an important centre of societal development and has a cultural heritage of outstanding universal significance. People have lived in the Mediterranean region for millennia, interacting with nature and leaving their mark on the landscape through food production, cultivation, trade, and construction.

Several recent writers have deliberated upon the role of the environment in the development of the Mediterranean. For example, Fernand Braudel, in his book *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, focuses on peninsulas, mountains, plateaus, plains, seas and coasts when discussing the history of the Mediterranean (Braudel 1949). His definitions of the Mediterranean encompass height above sea level, natural boundaries of flora and fauna,

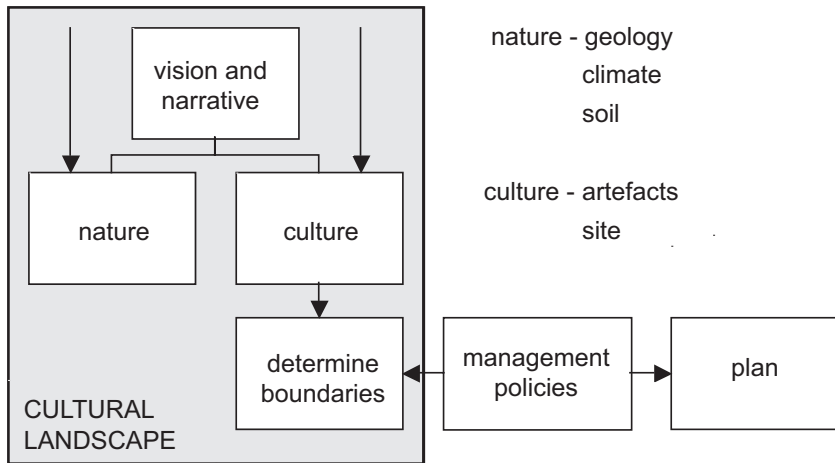


Figure 3.3. *The cultural landscape in the management process.*

climatic/temperature means and the meeting of geological plates. In fact, the multi-layering that Braudel uses incorporates mountain terrain, the borders of palm groves, the 10° January isotherm and the limits of vines and olives, to conclusively define the natural landscapes to be joined together in determining the cultural significance of the Mediterranean.

Predrag Matvejevic, in his recent book *Mediterranean: a Cultural Landscape*, considers the seas, soils and land patterns which allow the connection between various cultures and peoples (Matvejevic 1999). Although both these books relate to history, rather than prehistory, it may be safe to assume that certain patterns have continued from prehistoric times, especially natural patterns, despite the major changes in climate, fauna, sea levels and terrain. The foundation of history — and prehistory — may well lie in geography, climate, flora and fauna and other natural and environmental factors.

The TEMPER Project

The need for co-operation among state bodies was one of the recommendations of the international workshop, 'World Heritage 2002: Shared Legacy, Common Responsibility', which marked 10 years to the introduction of cultural landscapes to the World Heritage Convention. The TEMPER project seeks to do just that.

The five sites involved in TEMPER (the project is introduced in Chapter 1) span a vast period of prehistory and illustrate some of the most significant events in the archaeological record, such as the migration of hominins out of Africa and the development of agriculture. The physical remains range from early stone tools to figurines and decorated pottery; from bones of extinct mammalian species to paved streets and temples.

In its wider sense the cultural landscape will be relevant, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the sites. The five sites represent the exemplars of prehistoric sites in the Mediterranean, and therefore provide an example of interventions and interpretation. The cultural landscapes of 'Ubeidiya and Çatalhöyük will have a typical meaning, relating to the landscape areas, the natural features, water sources and previous lakes. Paliambela and Sha'ar Hagolan demonstrate the patterns of livelihood of the early farmers and relate to the evolving agricultural forms in the landscape.

Kordin, in its more urban context, has been overcome by development, but can still provide a landscape and context that should be used in the interpretation of the site (Fig. 3.3).

The process for integrating the cultural landscape in each case has a shared format. Within the framework of the management plan it is based on a series of steps:

1. Formation of vision, themes, and narratives;
2. Definitions of the natural and cultural components. These can be developed by a weighted matrix taking into account the knowledge and attitudes of professionals and stakeholders;
3. Determination of the boundaries and thus, the significance of the cultural landscape;
4. Development of alternative management policies regarding the landscape and the site and the presentation of the artefacts.;
5. Finally, the integration within the management plan.

It should be emphasized that these actions can be developed in parallel and need to be discussed through consultation with the stakeholders, generating and evaluating options at each stage.

Çatalhöyük offers a unique opportunity to understand the place in a wider social landscape. The historical context connects the hunter-gatherer camps, herding and the tradition of social farming within the alluvial fan area of the Konya Plain. The relationship between the region and the community determines to a large extent the number, size, density and setting of the village patterns. Douglas Baird appreciates that these settlement characteristics change and that we have to think about the mobility of people as they moved through the landscape. In considering extensive time spans there is a need to evaluate the geomorphological changes and their effect on the social structure of the region (Baird forthcoming). The

cultural landscape approach can help translate the geomorphological scale into human dimensions by focusing on the areas that have been identified by the geologists and archaeologists as the loci of settlement (Fig. 3.4).

The main focus of Çatalhöyük is on the late Pleistocene and early Holocene environments identified by faunal and charcoal evidence. The question of representation is raised by Baird. The present landscape in the area is the product of historical alluviation and so the ability of the archaeologist to 'see' the Neolithic landscape is very much curtailed. Cultural actions on nature have here obscured the ancient landscape to a large degree, and it is difficult to assess to what extent those sites that are found are representative of ancient cultural landscapes.

Interpretation of prehistory in the context of prehistoric sites in Israel – the case of 'Ubeidiya and Sha'ar Hagolan

One of the aims of the TEMPER project in Israel is to prepare a structure for the management plans of prehistoric sites while considering the complexities of interpretation. The medium of the cultural landscape might bring together the elements of prehistory by looking at artefacts, sites and their context. The two locations which are examined as part of the project are 'Ubeidiya on the western bank of the Jordan River and Sha'ar Hagolan on the eastern bank, both in the Central Jordan Valley – only five kilometres apart in physical distance but divided by a time span of a probable 1,400,000 years.

The first step in developing a structure for a management plan for prehistoric sites in Israel required the formulation of a vision for each site. The concept of beginning, 'genesis' was discussed and ways were sought to develop this theme in order to bring the sites within a chronological context. This concept links two distinct themes – the ex-Africa migratory site at 'Ubeidiya and the first organized village forms at Sha'ar Hagolan. In later periods the same intensive space represents the beginnings of wild wheat, the beginnings of Christianity, the Crusader Tell at the crossroads from the Via Maris to the Fertile Crescent, and the beginnings of the modern movement in Israel, including the first hydro-electric power station in the Near East. The concept of beginning in 'Ubeidiya is



Figure 3.4. Aerial view of Çatalhöyük.

associated with it being one of the earliest camps and stations of the 'ex-Africa' movement marking migratory patterns as well as its unique geomorphological position. The concept of beginning in Sha'ar Hagolan is associated with it being the earliest urban form emerging from the evolving farm settlements. The organized village form, representing the foundations of urbanism, together with its unique rituals, documented by the figurines, makes Sha'ar Hagolan a truly exceptional site.

As mentioned above, cultural landscapes in prehistory often possessed cosmological significance. Such significance may be discovered through the artefacts found at sites, through continuing traditions, or as a result of what modern man reads into it. The significance itself can also be an added value. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Tractate Eruvim), the area south of 'Ubeidiya and Sha'ar Hagolan was considered to be the location of one of the four gates to the Garden of Eden. As a region, it is also considered to be one of the world's richest areas in progenitors and relatives of domesticated species, especially wild wheat. The continuity of cultural evidence is an important factor in the possible interpretation of the prehistoric landscape by giving the region a deep-time perspective. Due to its climate and fertile soil, this area, which is now recognized as the origin of the progenitors of wild wheat, once produced food which was good and sweet. It is no wonder, then, that in its earliest forms, it took on the aspects of the Garden of Eden.

What were the exact conditions in prehistory? We cannot be sure of the details, but there might be a common denominator that linked Malta, Greece, Turkey and Israel, the four eastern Mediterranean



Figure 3.5. Prehistoric sites are a legacy of the past, often wedged between present day agricultural activities, yet retaining some of the basic characteristics of their location considering water sources and topography. These landscapes can be enhanced to allow the visitor an understanding of the geo-morphology of the site in its context. **a)** View overlooking the Jordan Valley and the Sea of Galilee — the view shows the present Rift. The Lake 'Ubeidiya was some 50 m higher than the current sea of Galilee with 'Ubeidiya at its shores. **b)** View towards 'Ubeidiya — at the current edge between the natural hillside and the agricultural lands. The line of the primordial Lake 'Ubeidiya, could be identified through plantings emphasizing the historic form of the area.

countries that participated in the TEMPER project. This brings us back to the headings of Braudel and Matvejevic. The Central Jordan Valley as a part of the Great Rift Valley represents a critical meeting point between the Fertile Crescent to the east and Europe to the west. The Great Rift Valley and its prehistoric sites present a clear pattern, a point where early farmers congregated.

As for nature, both sites are situated in the Great Rift Valley, a still-evolving geological formation, encompassing in some 22 countries, over 7200 km of world-wide significance. The many sites are strung along the Great Rift Valley like pearls on a necklace. In its natural form, this rift represents the very essence of the movement of cultures, people, and birds from Africa into Europe and Asia.

In looking at these sites, an organically evolved landscape may be discerned which developed its present cultural form by association with and in response to its natural environment. This progressive process may still be continuing in the present. Thus, the cultural landscapes of prehistory may be considered to be evolving landscapes. We thus, define the residual landscape evidence of the prehistory (Fig. 3.5).

Undoubtedly, water is to be seen as a source of life. It is important for us to look at the primordial Lake 'Ubeidiya and to relate to changing landscapes in the area over the past 6000 years (from the time of Sha'ar Hagolan), including the dramatic shifting of the Jordan River as a meandering river. If we were to identify the location of the early lakes and water sources, we would be able to understand the historical relationship of the sites as critical points of human activities, starting with the hunter gatherers and then human settlements of the first farmers. A look at the Great Rift Valley and the prehistoric lakes helps us to understand how the area has changed from prehistory to the view we see today.

At the same time the current changes in the Dead Sea, Hula Valley and Sea of Galilee demonstrate that this area is still undergoing dramatic change due to human intervention.

After defining the boundaries of the natural and cultural landscape independently, the two separate themes of the narrative were developed, the prehistorical geo-morphological and hunter-gatherer site of 'Ubeidiya to the west and the cultivated agricultural

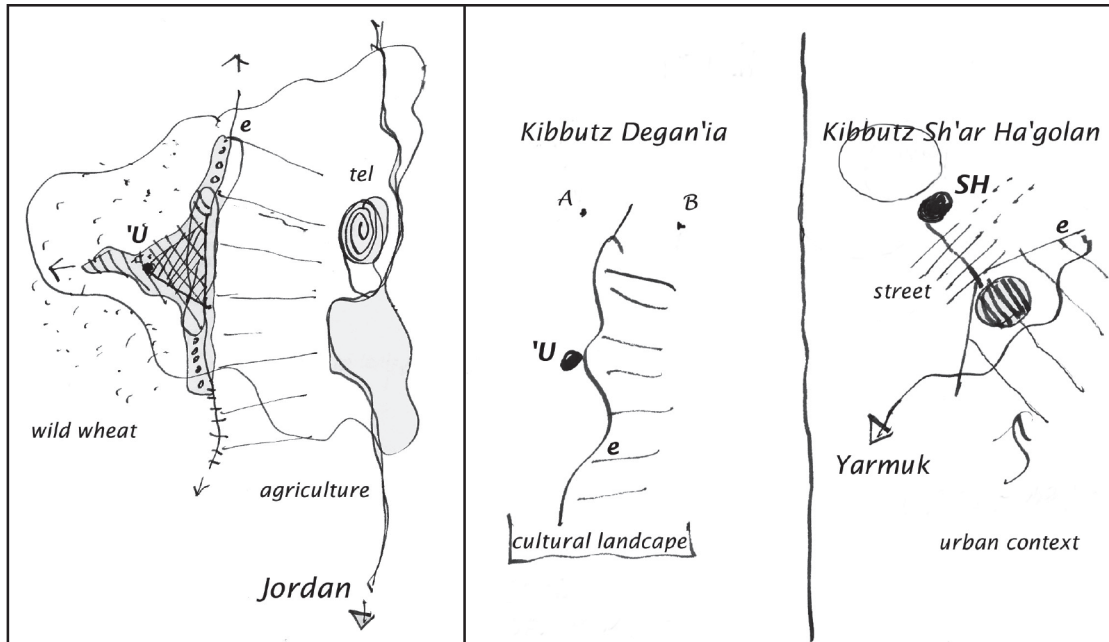


Figure 3.6. Conceptual design for the landscape at 'Ubeidiya and Sha'ar Ha'golan.

site of Sha'ar Hagolan to the east. The primordial lake was identified by looking at a cliff edge where the shore of the water body was once situated. The line of weakness is clearly visible in the landscape. Since 'Ubeidiya is situated at just this point, we can say that it was located in a delta of a prehistoric river. Now we might attempt to revive those hints which would allow visitors to understand the historical circumstances. This can be done by two means:

1. By putting back certain agricultural forms, whether grazing or fallow land, especially with relationship to wild grains or;
2. Through present-day intervention encouraging the planting of trees and indigenous plants by which the visitor and viewer of the landscape will be allowed to comprehend the historical form.

The question arose as to how to go from 'Ubeidiya to Sha'ar Hagolan, not just physically but also chronologically. Is there a continuity of time and place in the presentation of the history of man? This inevitably will depend on the narrative and interpretation. The present and past need to be brought together.

Cultural landscape also reflects the natural history and later changes including the water sources — from a lake to river with bridges, dams, water mills, and canals. Therefore, the proposed approach was to add the settlement patterns of later generations to the landscape and allow the visitor to reflect on the prehistory with the perspective of his own generation. The existence of a modern 'tell' or a kibbutz at the sites

where prehistoric Sha'ar Hagolan and 'Ubeidiya were situated attests to the existence of certain evolving patterns. It is our duty to study the prehistoric landscape and to look for the threads of continuity rather than looking at a fossil landscape which is finished. We want to see prehistory as that evolving prehistoric landscape. Prehistory continues toward our time. We should be looking at the points that brought people together — climate, food, nature, land. All of these components characterized the Mediterranean and provided the impetus for hominins to move, and subsequently stay, in these areas (Fig. 3.6).

The geomorphological forms of the sites indicate their possible context and narration. The 'lines of weakness' being the edges of the lakes and rivers from different periods. This diachronic cultural landscape and its management emphasises the value of 'Ubeidiya for hunter gatherers between the landscapes of wild wheat and agriculture and the value of Sha'ar Hagolan for the early farmers between the streets and river culture of the Yarmuk.

'Ubeidiya is a prehistoric landscape with little evidence of human activity and therefore few relics. It has been dated to the Middle Pleistocene based on four criteria: tectonics; stratigraphy; fauna and prehistory assemblage. In 1972, O. Bar-Yosef and E. Tchernov analyzed the site of 'Ubeidiya on the basis of palaeo-ecological history, palaeo-geography and palaeo-culture (Bar-Yosef & Tchernov 1972). In developing a conservation and management plan for

'Ubeidiya, emphasis should be placed on its cultural landscape and its significance in terms of migration, birds, agriculture and people.

Sha'ar Hagolan is a sophisticated human settlement within an evolving landscape. It relates to settlement and urbanism and should be viewed in terms of its cultural urban context. The challenge of Sha'ar Hagolan with regard to the cultural landscape relates more to its evolution and to a consideration of the current situation of the kibbutz in the area. The conservation and management plan should therefore refer to its location alongside the Yarmuk River and to the ritual which is hinted at by the unique artefacts that were found in the area which relate to previous sites and their context (Garfinkel 1999).

Based on the findings at each site, different policies of intervention will be developed which reflect the analysis and cultural definition of each of the sites. At the same time, issues of economic sustainability will be discussed.

Conclusion

In developing a conservation and management plan for prehistoric sites in Israel, we have considered values, threats and processes. Values include the concept of beginning in terms of chronos and topos, time and place, social values including urbanization and changes of the life patterns of people, and technological values such as the introduction of ceramics which reflects on the use of tools as well. At the same time, note should be taken of both natural and human threats such as land use, infrastructure development, degradation and ignorance. Finally, special attention should be placed on the conservation process through education, dissemination of information to planners, decision makers and the local community, and exposure. Throughout the process, consideration should be given to the identification of cultural landscapes, including the effects of buffer zones, and to means of interpretation that could take place in visitor centers or open air *in situ* museums to make the landscape readable. The TEMPER project has opened up a window to prehistory and has encouraged local, professional and academic participation that has raised the awareness and put the prehistoric sites in Israel on the agenda.

Notes

1. Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference, December 16–18, 1997. University of Bournemouth: UK.
2. Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference, December 16–18, 1997. University of Bournemouth: UK.
3. A Commentary on Past and Contemporary Approaches

to the Mesolithic Landscapes, Sixth International Conference on The Mesolithic, 4–8 September 2000. Stockholm: Sweden.

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Further reading

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