# Chapter 3

## People and Communities:
## Social Landscapes

### Landscape and interaction

The previous chapter explored the European landscape in terms of people's interaction with the natural world – the human response to the physical landscape. This chapter moves on to consider people's interaction with each other and to discuss the social processes that shaped the creation and development of our cultural landscape. Its stories will show some of the ways in which our predecessors have interacted with one another and how these social relationships and actions remain visible today in the environment, as raw material for the construction of our mental Landscapes.

There is a very wide range of ways in which social processes can be seen in the landscape. This short chapter can only be very selective, and we have chosen to look mainly at just five general themes, which are agriculture, ritual and religion, power and status, industry and trade. The results of such activities – food production, industry, and trade, some of which date back thousands of years – are recognisable throughout the European landscape and, in apparent contradiction, point at one and the same time both to past cultural diversity and to current shared cultural landscape.

### Sustenance and nourishment

The production of food is a basic human requirement and, consequently, agricultural landscapes (as opposed to industrial, ritual or recreational landscapes) often form the working backdrop for daily life in the countryside. This background can seem so basic and necessary, so natural, that it is not always appreciated how it depends on cultural traditions that extend back over many millennia.

Just as there is no single European landscape as a whole, so there is no single European agricultural landscape. The diversity of ways in which people have worked the land is encapsulated within our European Pathways to the Cultural landscape (EPCL) network, each way leading to particular patterns of landscape. This diversity ranges from the reclamation of land from the sea in Albersdorf to the upland pastoral systems of Bowland and Paneveggio; from the Estonian forests and the long-established farmland of Prácheňsko to the clearance of fields in Untamala and the woodland management and industry of the Spessart; from the draining of the Irish midlands to fertilising the soils with seaweed in Bjäre.

Since ancient times, people living on the Bjäre peninsula have earned their main income from stock-farming combined with coastal activities. Cultivation was also part of making a living, of course, but only on a small scale because the soil on the peninsula is poor. However, the tradition of using seaweed to fertilise the meagre soil became established and although nobody really knows when or how it started, there are stories told about it.

*'Once upon a time, quite some time ago, a young man went down to the shore to get rid of all the seaweed that had been washed up by the waves in the early spring storms. The seaweed was covering his boat as well as the shore. He didn't know where to put it all at first, but then he decided to heap it up in a small field close by. The crops didn't grow very well in this field in any case, so it couldn't do any harm. When the growing season began the man went out to inspect his crops, and as he came to the little field by the shore he was amazed to find that they stood higher here than even in his good fields. This field had always produced a meagre return, and the sight he was confronted with now seemed almost magical. How had this happened he thought to himself, and suddenly he remembered the seaweed that he had put there in early springtime. Of course, the seaweed must have fertilised the earth somehow. Soon people living in the nearby farmsteads came to see the wonder as the tale of the nourishing seaweed spread all over the peninsula, and beyond'.*

*An old cattle road leading down to the sea, Bjäre*

*The coast, Bjäre*

*Antennaria Diocica and Viola Canina, two typical species in managed grassland, Bjäre*

*Whatever the origins of this custom, it made seaweed very valuable. Quarrels soon arose between farmsteads and villages all around the peninsula about who had the right to harvest it. In the end, rules and laws were made to regulate the use of seaweed. The rules were very strict and if you broke them punishment was hard. For example, besides being heavily fined, you could also be forced to sit in the front row at Sunday Mass with a bundle of seaweed in your hands. No wonder then, that people were quite obedient in following the regulations.*

*These regulations about using seaweed have left quite an impact on the cultural landscape of the Bjäre coastal zone. Most farmers in the area owned their own piece of land, and in fact the aristocracy and the Crown had very little interest in the peninsula. But people also shared the village's common land for seaweed gathering as well as summer grazing. In today's landscape, traces can be seen of these arrangements through the many small roads leading from the villages towards the sea. Many of them are surviving relicts of old cattle-roads that have stayed in use, and today they often lead to areas with summerhouses. The coastline is shared between villages, and there is a pattern on the peninsula of land associated with each village extending down to the shoreline.*

*As the sea provided seaweed and other treasures (mainly shipwrecks – about which there is also a set of regulations) the common land along the coastline was well protected through historical times. This was even the case through the Agricultural Shifts, which dramatically changed the overall land-owning system, moving farms out of villages and allocating them their own fields, which is the pattern that persists today. The villages still own much of the coastal zone, common-land used mainly for grazing, and it is still possible to see farmers harvesting seaweed in the spring, although artificial pesticides are more commonly used. For several decades, large parts of the coastal zone of the Bjäre peninsula have been classified as a protected nature area because of the abundance of herbs and plants growing there. This vegetation is in fact typical for grassland managed by grazing, which makes it a cultural landscape with roots that perhaps stretch back even into the prehistoric period.*

*In Sweden there is a law preventing development and exploitation close to all water bodies: the sea, rivers and lakes. The main reason is said to be democratic – you can't own water or a beach, and everyone has a right to use these areas. The law may even have roots in the old common-land system. However, this law has not been strictly adhered to and the coastline of the Bjäre peninsula is actually one of the longest stretches of accessible continuously protected coastlines in Sweden. We therefore have to thank the poor farmers of Bjäre and their use of seaweed for their part in the shaping and conservation of today's coastal landscape.*

This Swedish story shows the important part played by communities and their regulations in sharing the use of land and of important but scarce resources. Such sets of rules can be difficult to change, and the landscape management that they support may thus be very long-lived, lasting centuries if not thousands of years.

In the European context, it is possible to point to many agricultural landscapes that have been in use for thousands of years. In parts of the Forest of Bowland and Lune Valley, for example, disused Iron Age field systems on the upland moors can be traced down the hillsides where they meet the improved agricultural land and continue in the line of more recent boundaries. Here is

a landscape where the boundaries and subdivisions established by the area's prehistoric inhabitants still find a use today (or at least successive generations have not felt the need to remove them). This picture of the persistence of ancient agricultural systems is repeated across Europe: in our network alone we can see the survival and continued use of prehistoric fields in Ireland, of medieval land reclamation and flood protection banks in Dithmarschen, or long-established high alpine hay meadows in Paneveggio, or the intricate shared meadow irrigation systems of valleys in the Spessart.

More often than not, however, what survives is not complete ancient landscapes in their entirety, but fragments of systems contained within later layers of the landscape. These fragments can be difficult to recognise, or they may only be present as part of the general framework – the long-lasting 'skeleton' of the landscape, things such as ancient tracks and roads, major administrative and territorial divisions, or protective banks and dykes.

All the EPCL project areas contain evidence for such historic or prehistoric layers – or 'time depth', the visible and recognisable traces of past activity that remain in the landscape. Visible aspects usually extend back at least as far as the medieval period, and occasionally earlier. Such time depth in the countryside may arise from historic features that are still being used, perhaps in modified ways, or from those which no longer have a use, but which have been preserved as 'relict' features. Amongst these may number individual monuments, such as the Iron Age hillforts of Southern Bohemia, or extensive relict field systems that have gone out of use and been replaced by upland gazing, for example, or managed woodland.

The woodlands of the Hallandsåsen in Sweden, for example, contain the remains of prehistoric fields that appear to have been made at a time of land shortage but which were abandoned as falling sea levels created better farmland on the plains. The higher land therefore reverted to woodland and wood pasture for cattle. Southern Sweden has many such examples of prehistoric fields within ancient woods. Examples can also be seen in our second Swedish project in Bjäre. Perhaps these originated when felling and burning opened gaps in the woods that could be farmed for a while, benefiting from the fertilising effect of the clearance. The 19th-century forests of the Spessart in southern Germany were also planted over earlier fields, whose cultivation terraces can be found in areas where trees have been felled.

Whilst the long time depth of many landscapes is a defining European characteristic, so too is an underlying dynamic of change. The variable speed of landscape transformation across Europe, resulting from climatic, technological or social change, is a further characteristic. It is possible to point to different periods and areas that witnessed significant rates of change, and to others where human actions have remained largely unchanged and have become expressed in 'stable' landscapes.

For example, between the 16th and 18th centuries the Spessart was considered an affluent region, largely through the wealth brought to the area by glassmaking. This industry, and the trade routes which crossed the region, supported buildings and other expressions of wealth that remain visible in the modern landscape. Today, however, the image of the Spessart, and by implication its past, is one of marginal land and poverty. A principal reason for this lies in the move away from a woodland and forest economy brought about by the changes in industry and transport during the 19th century.

The Historic Landscape Characterisation study of Lancashire (see Chapter 5) provides a further graphic illustration of the temporal and spatial variations of landscape change. Here, mapping can be created which shows the shifting focus of landscape change reflected in the 16th to early 19th-centuries, with the clearance of regenerated woodland, the improvement of upland moor and some lowland moss, and of agricultural improvements and further mossland reclamation from the late 19th century to the present day.

The impact of mechanisation, industrialisation and population change on agricultural landscapes during the 19th and 20th centuries is a consistent theme in nearly every one of the EPCL areas. It is a theme brought about not just by the fact that these are the centuries of our most recent past, but also by the speed of change and the scale of impact involved. Here we offer two stories from within our project that illustrate the temporal and spatial variations resulting from human actions in the cultural landscape: first from Vakka-Suomi region in Finland, and then from North Wales.

*Cairn surrounded by a field, Untamala*

*The landscape of Vakka-Suomi in Finland holds up a mirror to agricultural change, illuminating the processes of agricultural production and their physical expression. By around 200 BC, and after several thousand years of light, non-intensive use of woodlands for gathering plants and firewood, changes were taking place that would eventually lead to the substantial alteration of that woodland environment. The most prominent factors were the arrival of more settled communities and the impact of agriculture, particularly pastoral farming.*

*Agricultural production was at first minor and small–scale, farming only supplementing a living largely made through hunting and fishing. But small pastures for cattle were cleared of trees, and cultivation began to take hold. The link between animal husbandry and the growing of produce was strong. Cattle produced fertiliser for the fields, and settlements were sited so that they had easy access to all the types of land required, especially woodland, grazing land and arable fields. The first two at least were often shared with other communities, which affected the location of farmsteads and villages, territorial boundaries and trackway systems.*

*The earliest cultivation techniques witnessed in the area are typically those associated with slash-and-burn agriculture, but there are also structures that are interpreted as field walls of the early Roman Iron Age (1st to 3rd centuries AD). By the beginning of the Viking Iron Age (9th – 11th centuries AD) the mixed pastoral system had been fully adopted as the principal source of livelihood throughout the area. The patchy mixture of small, stony arable and pastoral fields and woodland gave the landscape a highly distinctive appearance and a certain kind of rhythm.*

*The areas of cultivation and settlement remained the same throughout the Iron Age, and many fields, once cleared, remained in use for almost two thousand years. Population growth began to increase during the medieval period (12th – 16th centuries), leading to a notable expansion of settlement into previously marginal areas. At this time, a highly conservative cadastral system was in use in the Vakka-Suomi region. This differed significantly from that practised in other areas of Finland, where land was often owned in common by a community, each family farming a number of small parcels, or allocations, shared out by agreement, and often not separately enclosed but left 'open'. In the Vakka-Suomi area, however, the land was divided into several landowning units, and this system of ownership in 'severalty' meant that each landowner had his own land, usually separately fenced into small fields. The landowners argued against later government pressure to adopt the system used elsewhere in the country, saying that the fields in the area were too small and stony for division.*

*During the 16th century, the detrimental effects of a climatic downturn (the so-called 'little Ice Age'), exacerbated by war against Russia, caused several years of crop failure. The resulting decline left permanent marks on the landscape of the area: the population fell, old farmsteads were abandoned and the area of cultivated land decreased enormously, only again reaching its former medieval extent in the 19th century.*

*Before then, however, in the 18th century there had been a general redistribution of land to increase efficiency. This had a significant impact upon our landscape. The changes were not fast, but from a structural point of view they were remarkable. Amongst the main changes was the dispersal of settlement so that new farms were built close to their fields, not at a distance in village or hamlet groups as had been the case since the Iron Age. The time of villages and hamlets with houses lying in close proximity to each other had passed by.*

*The population grew throughout the 19th century, but Finland's Great Hunger of 1866-68 left fifteen percent of the country's citizens dead. Although largely due to bad weather, the crops failure was blamed on old-fashioned agricultural practices. These were still dependent on fertiliser produced by cattle, and therefore large areas of land needed to be kept as pasture or meadow. After the Hunger, there was a drive to increase the area of land under cultivation,*

*which included the draining of lakes and swamps. By the end of the 19th century, therefore, the landscape was much more open than it is today, with the whole area being used as intensively as possible for example, if land was unsuitable for cultivation then cattle would graze it. The result was a landscape without any wilderness in the vicinity of settled areas.*

*By 1900 the availability of cheap, industrially produced animal feed caused a dramatic decrease in the area of traditional meadows. Many of the small stony fields were cleared of stones and the previously uncultivated 'field islands' were ploughed. The small, intimate features of the landscape started to disappear and the development towards a landscape of few features began, a process still continuing. This was aided by modern intensive cultivation techniques, and the great population movement from the countryside to the towns that Finland experienced in the late 20th century. Now, the cattle are kept inside, the old meadows and pastures are wastelands and signs of human activity in the Vakka-Suomi region are diminishing. Thus the last hundred years have seen greater changes to the cultural landscape than the thousands of years since the revolution brought about when the prehistoric hunter-gatherer society changed into one based on agriculture.*

The great change in the landscape of the 18th to 20th centuries can be seen elsewhere in Europe. For example, land was re-organised throughout Sweden, as in Bjäre where whole villages were shifted in the 19th century to create a dispersed settlement pattern. Similarly, in 18th and 19th century England, Acts of Parliament were necessary to break the complex sets of rules regarding rights and ownership that could not be changed by any other means. These Acts allowed the large open fields shared by all the farmers to be divided into separate fields distributed amongst private landowners. The new fields have bequeathed to our landscape their neat patterns of stone walls and hedgerows, while in some areas the open fields beneath them have left us large areas of ridge and furrow (similar to the Danish 'high-backed long-acres' mentioned in Chapter 1) as testimony to the earlier ways of organising rural society.

Not all of the great recent changes concern farming. Our next story describes landscape history in North Wales, where the landscape was very distinctly shaped by the action of communities working together to exploit the land for both agricultural and industrial purposes. Some of these actions are very old, but others tell us stories about more recent changes in the 18th and 19th centuries, caused by tremendous economic and social pressures that still shape our present.

*Boulders that survived 20th century improvements, Untamala*

*The social activities of people over thousands of years, living in and exploiting the landscape, have given rise to a very diverse landscape in Arfon. The different size and shape of fields, the types of buildings and settlements, the spoil heaps left by quarrying and working slate, roads and railways together contribute significantly to the landscape's character and appearance. They tell us stories about how the landscape has evolved.*

*The area is particularly noteworthy for the demonstrably prehistoric origin of many of the distinctive fields on sea-facing slopes. Many fields still in use here were first cleared and improved more than two thousand years ago. Visible amongst them are remains of their farmers' settlements, marked by what archaeologists call hut circles and enclosures. Prehistoric settlement and associated field systems are perhaps most notable on the enclosed slopes below the hill of Mynydd Tryfan, often characterised by stone-built walls, usually circular, curvilinear or irregular in pattern. There are also enclosures of late prehistoric and Romano-British date, with fields radiating out from them. These well-preserved sites and walls can give a very good impression of how the landscape would have looked more than two thousand years ago.*

*In other places, however, the agricultural landscape that we see today is the product of a more recent period, from about 1775 to about 1850, mainly created as the result of improvement and enclosure of common land by large privately-owned estates, such as Vaynol and Glynllifon. This was generally carried out with the help of Acts of Parliament that legally dismantled individual farming rights to these lands and allowed a few large landowners to rationalise land use.*

*In Arfon, by the early 18th century, gangs of quarrymen were already starting to transform the landscape by exploiting deposits of slate. By the middle of the next century deep pits were being excavated, and slate quarrying led to a particularly characteristic industrial landscape of waste heaps, tramways and inclines, pumping houses and enormous retaining bastions. One distinctive form of settlement arising from this is the small cottage within a small regular enclosure or 'parc', either by itself or with neighbours. These reflect the opportunities for work and income created by the slate industry from the late 18th century onwards.*

*Some settlement patterns are believed to represent squatter encroachment from the 1760s onward, a result of encroachment on common land by clusters of landless men's houses (tai moel), such as those at Rhostryfan, Waunfawr and Carmel. In many instances the original vernacular dwellings of the late 18th and early 19th centuries survive, mixed in with later structures. In some cases, such as at Waunfawr, the disorderly settlement created at this early*

*Glynllifon private estate, Arfon*

*Prehistoric field systems, Arfon*

*Parc settlement, Arfon*

*date can still be seen like a ghost within the modern pattern of late 19th-century ribbon development. Houses in other areas, such as on Moel Tryfan, are later. Most of the present pattern of enclosure was established between the 1860s and 1888, as the tenants and smallholders were increasingly allowed to buy their land for nominal sums and as many smallholdings were sold as building lots. This created the present distinctive landscape of upland Arfon, in which vernacular cottages stand alongside terraces of small houses, clustered around the large Non-Conformist Protestant chapels that are typical of mining communities everywhere in Britain.*

Agricultural landscapes are seldom totally separated from landscapes of industry, ritual, recreation or authority. As we have already seen, the smallholdings of the Arfon in North Wales sit in a landscape of slate quarries, non-conformist chapels and aristocratic enclosure fields. We will see later that the fishponds of Southern Bohemia, created to satisfy Christian religious demands, also formed part of the defences of medieval castles and lie adjacent to the spoil heaps of a gold panning industry stretching back to the Iron Age. Seventeenth century gentry houses which had become the focus points of former 'vaccaries' still survive in Bowland in Lancashire in an area of former Royal hunting forest, dotted with 19th century limekilns. Tracts of agricultural land in the Spessart are adjacent to the castles of the aristocracy, with their associated hunting parks, but are also intermingled with the remains of 16th-century glass-making and charcoal-burning.

It is to these other themes that we now turn.

## Spiritual perceptions and manifestations

The links between landscape and religion are often instantly recognisable: the strong focal points provided by spiritual monuments, whether Bronze Age burial mounds in Bjäre or the spires and towers of medieval and Baroque churches in the Trentino, are enduring and central landmarks.

Along the Atlantic seaboard of Europe from Portugal to Scandinavia are numerous megalithic monuments that stand testament to the abilities of the communities that shaped the landscape between the 5th and 2nd millennia BC. The enigmatic passage and chambered graves, stone circles, standing stones and stone rows provide examples of time-depth in the modern landscape, directly linking the 21st century with prehistory. Many of these monuments survive in an anachronistic landscape, divorced from contemporary features, while others are in surroundings that seem to echo the past. A large proportion of the stone rows of Carnac, France, and the megalithic tombs in the Albersdorf area of Germany, for example, still survive, and in England numerous barrows that pay reference to Stonehenge are visible in the wider landscape along with the Avenue, the Stonehenge Cursus and nearby Woodhenge. The importance attached to such spiritual monuments of the past is reflected in the provision of legal protection or designation, such as World Heritage Sites. Value may also be expressed in other ways even through modern attempts to recreate such ritual monuments, this includes the construction of new stone circles, whilst in Strakonice, South Bohemia a replica Stonehenge trilithon was erected in the 1990s by Pavel Pavel, a Czech engineer and Town Clerk of Strakonice.

*Pavel Pavel's replica Stonehenge trilithon in Strakonice, South Bohemia*

Not all the connections between landscape and spirituality are necessarily so overt, especially to those living in a largely secular 21st century. Land owned by the Church, for example, may show very little differentiation from that held by the other major landholders of civic society. Of course secular and church government share considerable overlap and on occasion are one and the same, expressed for example through administrative boundaries from the scale of Tullamore township (Ireland) up to the principalities of the archbishops of Mainz and Würzburg. It follows that the presence of boundaries and units of ecclesiastical administration serves both to create and to perpetuate frameworks for the organisation of society (civic and secular) that may be

reflected in landscape terms. To what degree, for example, does the English parish reflect a level of self-sufficiency in which the unit was anticipated to fulfil the local population's woodland, agricultural land and other resource needs?

The villages of Bischbrunn and Rodenbach in the Spessart illustrate just some of the influence that the Christian Church has had upon the landscape – both in terms of the Church as a major landowner and of the influence of non-secular boundaries.

*Bischbrunn was founded as a 'Jagdhelferort' village, meaning its inhabitants had to work for the noble hunting parties as assistants and beaters. It was, however, not only hunting that promoted the establishment of the village, but also the position of a strategically important crossing of several long-distance roads. The border between the principalities of the archbishoprics of Mainz and Würzburg also passed the site, and close to Bischbrunn a gate that served as the customs and escort office on the old country roads marks the border. From here, riders of the Archbishop of Mainz accompanied travelling merchants on their long way to the Frankfurt trade fairs, to protect the convoys with their valuable goods, on their passage through the Spessart.*

*The two clerical Lords of Mainz and Würzburg were not always on good terms with one another. Since the bishops were not only clerics but also worldly sovereigns, they were intent on upholding and extending their influence and wealth. So the Archbishop of Würzburg founded a second village, Rodenbach, just a stone's throw from Bischbrunn. Because the border was disputed for so long, a no-man's-land developed, either side of the 'Trieb' drove-road, and many villagers built their homes and stables along this path in order to escape taxation from either bishop. A settlement between the bishops in the 18th century established a border commission that surveyed every inch of the boundary and ended the tax haven. Soon after the Napoleonic Wars, the clerical principalities were abolished and both villages came under the rule of the Bavarian king. Now, the two villages are merged into one community.*

*A wayside shrine at Neustadt, Spessart*

The direct control of land by the Church and its spiritual antecedents forms one influence on cultural landscapes. Another is the indirect control that religion and spiritual belief may have on ideas. Take, for example, the fishponds of Southern Bohemia – here is a human-made landscape created in part by Christian requirements for fish at certain times of the year, but prompted also by the aristocratic urge to display status through conspicuous expenditure and consumption.

*Tracts of water, such as that at Švarcenberk in the Třeboň basin, were used for occasional seasonal hunting throughout prehistory. But in the 14th century AD, a new and now typical element of the South Bohemian landscape made an appearance. This was the fishpond, an artificial lake supported by ingenious dykes, races, overflows and outlets. The ponds were required for adherence to the Church's requirement to eat only fish during Lent, introduced to the area by a military order of German monks. These monastic knights brought to Bohemia the practice of breeding fresh-water fish, mainly carp, in artificial ponds. The practice quickly spread becoming fully established by the second half of the century, and by the 15th and 16th centuries hundreds of large new reservoirs had been created under lordly patronage. Many of these stretches of water were constructed on the sites of former lakes, pools and wetlands, which had been in use since the prehistoric period, and many of*

*which continue in use in the present day.*

*This long historical tradition is particularly apparent in the Northern Prácheňsko region. Here, a splendid mosaic of fishponds characterises the landscape around the town of Blatná, where the oldest ponds were probably constructed around the medieval castle as part of its defensive moats. The establishment of the fishpond network is dated to the second half of the 15th century, when Zdeněk Lev of Rožmitál, the owner of medieval Blatná, agreed with other landholders to extensive ground changes, resulting in a complex piscatorial landscape.*

*The largest of many new fishponds in the area was the of 'Labut' (Swan) pond, which was constructed between 1492 and 1503 and extends over 109 hectares, holding 1.5 million cubic metres of water.*

*The pattern of ponds around Blatná still reflects the complex medieval system of carp production. There are small ponds for hatching fish, ponds for breeding, large reservoirs for adult carp of full trade weight, and special cellular ponds for over-wintering fish. The whole system is linked together by artificial and natural creeks, small rivers and regulating channels. The extent of water has decreased slightly since the medieval period, but the fishponds of the Blatná region remain a unique element of the Czech cultural landscape.*

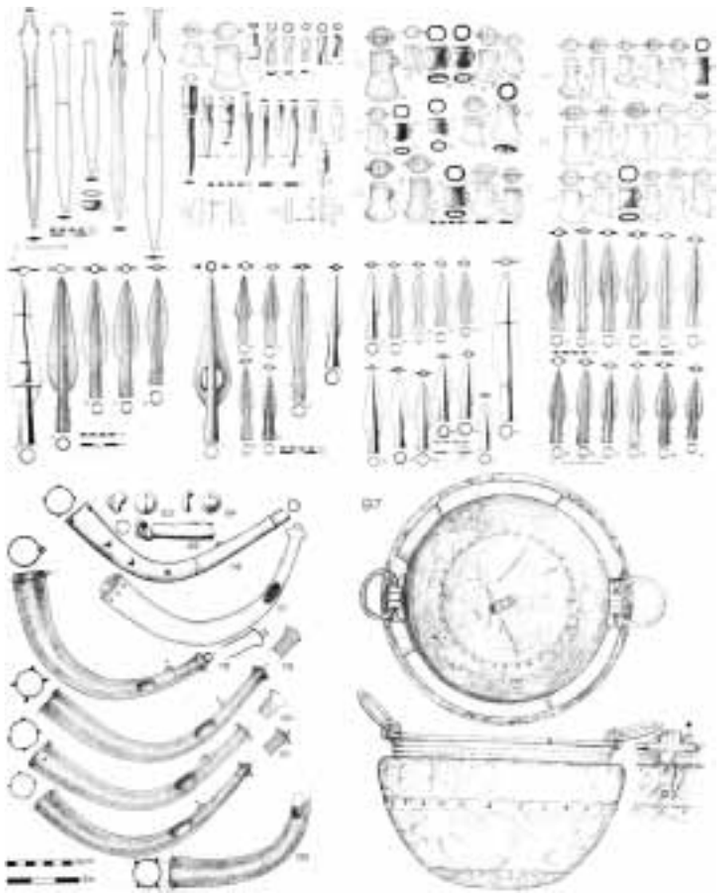
Occasionally the chronological distance between our modern world and that of our prehistoric predecessors is so great that we have little frame of reference for their religious beliefs, the traces of their ritual activities, and even whether something is the product of religion or not. In the case of the Irish midlands, for example, where the famous Dowris hoard of Bronze Age metalwork testifies to unknown beliefs and motivations, the landscape that we think was probably itself a fundamental feature of past worship has changed beyond all recognition.

*The Dowris hoard was discovered near Birr in the Irish south midlands, in low-lying, gently undulating terrain on the east side of the Shannon Basin and south of the River Brosna. This area has just two small villages and scattered farms and large estates dominate the modern settlement pattern. But in the Late Bronze Age (1000-800 BC) this was an area of extensive wetlands along the River Shannon, and peat formation was still only beginning to encroach on the margins of the enormous Lough Boora that had been the legacy of the retreating ice. The hoard was deposited at the edge of smaller lake (Greater Lough Coura). By the 19th century AD this lake had dried out or been drained, and only two small areas of open water survived (Paddock Lough and Lough Coura), but it was still open water when the first objects were deposited here in the Bronze Age.*

*The hoard is said to have been found in the summer of 1825, in an area now known locally as Dowris (or Durrus), by a certain Edward Hennessy, as he and a friend dug out potatoes in a place called 'Dereens' between Paddock Lough and Lough Coura. The land*

*Map of the Blatná area showing the extensive network of fishponds, Prácheňsko*

*A fishpond in Prácheňsko*



Tools and weapons from the Dowris hoard

The Dowris hoard

*had been reclaimed over the years from the Lough Boora bog complex, and in 1825 was being used as rather marginal agricultural land.*

*The objects, which eventually came to the National Museum of Ireland, date to c. 800 BC, towards the end of a phase of the Late Bronze Age to which archaeologists have given the name Dowris because of the defining character of the hoard itself. The hoard is the largest single collection of metalwork from the Irish Late Bronze Age, with over two hundred bronze artefacts. The Dowris hoard is exceptional not just for its size but also for the diversity of its contents. Tools, weapons and personal ornaments are mixed with ceremonial items such as musical instruments, buckets and a cauldron. A collection of this type may have been gathered over a considerable period, possibly containing material given as gifts for the occasion by a wide range of people as well as sacred heirlooms cherished by the whole community.*

*Our general understanding of the behaviour of people in the Late Bronze Age can suggest a reconstruction of the scene when the hoard was 'given' to the lake, and some of the events and procedures leading up to it. A social elite probably controlled prestigious metalwork such as the material wealth of the type represented at Dowris. This appears to have been a warrior aristocracy, whose insignia of status consisted of weapons (swords, spears, knives and shields) and special types of gold, bronze and amber personal ornaments. People from many levels of society probably made votive offerings, but it is certain that the aristocracy would have orchestrated great deposits such as the Dowris hoard.*

*Depositing metalwork in rivers and lakes, whether collections or single artefacts, seems to have been an important Late Bronze Age ritual in Ireland, throughout Britain and probably widely across Europe. The favoured locations for these deposits were wetlands such as lakes, river crossings or bogs; significant places in the landscape that must have been widely recognised as special and sacred. The deposits probably had a religious motivation, perhaps serving as votive offerings to placate or thank gods or spirits, with no intention that they would be recovered by mortals. It is likely that the offerings were made very publicly, with structured ceremonies that bestowed prestige on the participants, and in particular those organising and in charge of the ceremony. These would have been major community occasions imbued with social and political significance, perhaps, for example, marking the transfer of authority to a chieftain on the death of a predecessor.*

*Preparations for an offering on the scale of the Dowris hoard may have taken many months. The objects had to be gathered together, and in some cases made specially, the participants and spectators notified and organised, protocols and etiquette agreed, and the site prepared for the great day. The event may have included not just the local community but also wider kinship groups, allies, and people from a large region, further underlining the wealth and power of both the chiefs and the community they*

*ruled. This was also an occasion to emphasise authority, to reinforce social and political bonds and to ensure future harmony with divine and spirit worlds and with the ancestors, all of whom had so much influence over the uncertainties of life.*

*We can thus populate our prehistoric Dowris landscape with a great crowd of people approaching the waters edge on the day in question. Were they subdued or excited, on this great occasion when everyone dressed in their finest clothes, the most important wearing gold and bronze ornaments, the warrior caste carrying their weaponry? Vibrant music from great bronze horns, with chiming sounds from the crotals, perhaps accompanied by songs and dances, would have elevated the occasion further and accompanied the procession of offering – bearers to the lake edge. The objects would be cast into the lake, perhaps into a deep pool, with prayers and invocations answered and enhanced by the watching crowd.*

*The items may have been deposited one by one, each one displayed and perhaps its history or value extolled. Some of the smaller objects may have been placed into a cauldron. To deliberately destroy and discard such hard-won treasure could only emphasise the wealth of the community, the power of the leaders, the value of their faith and the strength of their gods.*

Great changes have taken place in this Irish landscape since the ritual deposition of the Dowris hoard. Peat filled the lake, shrinking it in size, and the peat itself has since been dug out for fuel or drained for agriculture, including the cultivation of potatoes that led to the hoard's rediscovery. We might think that as a result of all this change the special character and importance of the prehistoric wetland environment has been lost. Yet it survives in our imagination and in our archaeological records, connecting us to an earlier European culture, and reminding us of earlier social systems.

## Status and power

The same display of wealth that lies behind the ritual deposition of outrageously expensive items of gold and bronze in prehistory can be observed in the removal of land from agricultural or industrial production to create landscapes that are, strictly speaking, non-functional but which reflect status and power. Such, for example, are the hunting parks and designed gardens of the palaces and great houses of the medieval and later aristocracy. These are some of the most commonly – noticed features of landscape. They provide an invaluable barometer for social and economic change, as something that arose from a basic need for shelter became a means of advertising economic prosperity and social position.

One building type identified in most of the project countries is the castle or manor house of the ruling elite. Two examples of this are the stone castles that the English built in Wales in the 13th century as part of Edward I's invasion to assume the Welsh throne, and the Czech castles of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Wider European styles influenced the Welsh castles. They were designed and built by the influential architect Master James of St George, who worked on a number of great European castles including the fortress of St George d'Esperanche in Savoy, on the French/Italian border, from which he took his name. His Caernarfon Castle, at the edge of our Arfon project, deliberately evoked the classical walls of Constantinople (modern day Istanbul) as the English king sought to assume the distant authority of Roman Emperors.

The castle at Blatná in South Bohemia, already mentioned because of its association with fishponds, was built in the 13th century in the plain of the Blatenská Basin. It grew into a major chateau with a large picturesque park where, amongst the oaks and deer, survive large spoil heaps left over from prehistoric and medieval gold panning that are explored later in this chapter.

Castles are just one expression of social status and power in the landscape, albeit perhaps the most easily recognised. Others include hunting parks and, in England and Wales, Royal Forests.

*In the Middle Ages a large proportion of the English landscape comprised Royal Forest. By the early 13th century, there were at least 143 forests in England and together these covered about a fifth of the realm. But this did not mean that one fifth of the country was covered in trees, because Forests were not densely wooded as the term suggests, but comprised a mixture of land uses, including wood pasture, settlement (sometimes even towns) and cultivated areas alongside managed woodland. The concept of the Forest was institutionalised by the Normans, for whom it was 'a place set aside for deer, not a place of trees'. Forests were hunting reserves, set in areas close to royal*

*Wild deer grazing in the Forest of Bowland*

*Red grouse in the Forest of Bowland*

*and aristocratic estates and seats of power. They were also a prestigious medieval status symbol, initially royal but aspired to by the nobility who created their own seigneurial forests or chases.*

*Today, the Forest of Bowland is a name that has been given to a wider area, one of the UK's protected areas known as Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB). In the medieval period, just a small portion of the Bowland Fells was actually part of the designated Forest. There were three other Royal Forests within the modern boundaries of the AONB, all belonging to the earldom of Lancaster – Bleasdale to the west, which included the Forest of Bowland after 1311, Quernmore and Wyresdale. There was also a chase belonging to Hornby Castle, located in the Roeburn and Hyndburn valleys in the north.*

*A great deal of myth surrounds the Forests, in particular concerning the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the Royal Forests, which lay outside the jurisdiction of common law. The King could not visit all of his forests; professionals carried out most of the hunting, and favoured subjects were presented with carcasses for feasting occasions. In an average year, Henry III (AD 1216-1272) took 607 fallow, 159 red and 45 roe deer and 88 wild swine from his forests.*

*Forest law ensured the preservation of deer and wild boar, together with the lesser beasts of warren such as hares, foxes, rabbits, cats, martens, pheasants, partridges and eyries of hawks. Furthermore, it preserved underwood for the concealment and sustenance of deer and other beasts. In order to achieve this, harsh penalties were meted out to those who did not comply with Forest law, in particular poachers. However, by the late Middle Ages it seems that there was more of an interest in raising revenue than in brutal retribution. Those who stole the king's deer could expect to escape with a heavy fine rather than be imprisoned, a sort of taxation. As another example, dogs larger than a prescribed size could be 'expedited', that is, have a leg cut off in order to prevent them from chasing deer, but this too soon became a source of income and a negotiable asset rather than a punishment. A gauge that was used by the Bow Bearers, caretakers of the Forest of Bowland, to test the size of hunting dogs still survives at the Parker family home of Browsholme Hall near Clitheroe.*

*The designation of an area as Forest had a controlling impact upon the landscape, restricting development and prohibiting change. For those who lived within its jurisdiction, Forest Law was a great inconvenience. It prevented landowners from clearing and extending cultivated areas and it also stopped them from planting hedgerows to deter deer from eating crops. Settlement creation and expansion were therefore severely restricted under the regime, which helps to explain why these areas underwent such limited growth during the medieval period.*

*Forests were costly to administer and maintain and in the later medieval period a move towards enclosed deer parks began, these being smaller and more manageable. As with the Forest, deer parks were popular with the nobility and a great expansion in their number occurred in the 13th century reflecting the growth of agriculture, wealth and population. In Bowland the first portion of the forest to be enclosed was known as Radholme Park, and appears to have been in existence by the end of the 13th century; a second park, Leagram, to the east of Chipping, was enclosed by the mid-14th century. Both of these parks were administered by keepers who were appointed by lords of the chase of Bowland; the boundaries of the forest persisted – indeed, Forest Law was not officially relaxed until 1507. Deer parks have left their mark upon the modern landscape. In some areas the deep bank and ditch of the park pale that once surrounded a park survives, but more commonly place names including 'park' and 'laund' – meaning a clearing where deer grazed – indicate their former locations.*

*Hunting continues to have an impact upon the modern landscape of Bowland; the upland fells have long been a popular location for game shooting, especially grouse. Many farms are used for this, a major source of income. Habitats are strictly managed in order to provide the maximum results for visiting hunting parties who pay large sums*

*and travel long distances for a shoot. Bowland is home to the red grouse, a game bird that is only found in the British Isles. It breeds on the heather moors and numbers are carefully maintained by managed breeding. The controlled burning of heather provides a desirable habitat with young shoots for food, mature growth for shelter and clearings for the birds to sun themselves in.*

*The present moorland landscape, which many people mistakenly think is wild and natural, is therefore the product of intensive management, as it has been since the medieval period when the habitats of deer and other quarry were closely controlled and the activities of those who lived in the Forest severely restricted.*

Hunting was also a popular pursuit in the Spessart, where there were similar issues of social control as for Bowland, albeit a number of centuries later. However, the hunting park also had an important economic role for the region as traditional industry went into decline and jobs were scarce. The Spessart demonstrates the fascinating juxtaposition of a vulgar display of wealth against a landscape marred by poverty.

*The role of hunting in the Spessart, although sometimes exaggerated and glorified, was nevertheless significant. In reality the game parks mainly served the single purpose of supplying sufficient amounts of game to the kitchen of the most important residence of the archbishopric of Mainz, Schloss Johannisburg in Aschaffenburg. In the modern period, the hunt became a social event where nobles had the chance to shoot game, which was herded at a safe distance in front of the marksmen's muskets. During these events, the participants were entertained with music and comical shows such as apes riding greyhounds.*

*However, the park went into decline and it wasn't until the reign of Prinzregent Luitpold in 1886-1912 that the hunting tradition in the Spessart was taken up once again. He had a small hunting castle built in Rohrbrunn and refurbished the game park in Bischbrunn. Here he kept mainly deer and wild boar, for which the Spessart is still famous today.*

*Game parks were very important as they kept the wild animals in an enclosed area away from crops and managed forests where they would cause substantial damage. Poaching was a crime against authority, and was punished severely. At the same time, the exploitation of the forest through glassworks, charcoal production, mining of salt, copper and iron, forest grazing and forestry destroyed most suitable habitats for deer and wild boar outside the game reserves.*

*Prince Regent Luitpold hunting in the Spessart*

*In the 19th century the Spessart area had become increasingly poor. Many of the old sources of income were lost with the advent of more modern techniques, from which only few profited. The people of Bischbrunn lived either from agriculture or from the production of charcoal and the surnames of many citizens of Bischbrunn reflect this. While connection to the railway allowed cheap transport of charcoal out of the Spessart for some time, the development of the train and river barge system in Germany also enabled the higher quality coal industry to thrive.*

*The railway was also vital for transporting iron ore from the Spessart directly into the major industrial centres, where it was mixed with higher quality ore from other regions and processed further. Thus the shift from wood to coal saw the Spessart charcoal industry decline until it was little more than a myth. It became a visitor attraction and photographs from the early 20th century show groups of hikers who visited the charcoal burners or Sunday picnickers carrying their baskets to charcoal piles.*

*The life of a charcoal burner was difficult. Wood was collected, cut, chopped and piled into large heaps by hand. For days the heaps were burned slowly and had to be watched carefully the whole time. The resultant charcoal was cooled, packed into sacks and transported from the forests. For weeks the charcoal burners lived near the charcoal piles in the most modest of tents or simple branch-built huts. Since agriculture was also only marginally profitable, jobs in the game reserves brought welcome extra earnings. Thousands of posts had to be cut, furnished and set up for the fences, and repairs were constantly necessary. The*

*The many hunting assistants that were employed by the Prince Regent, Spessart*

*excitement brought about by Prinzregent Luitpold's yearly hunting outings can easily be imagined. Extra money could be earned by being a beater or hunting assistant, and the lord distributed gifts to his subjects: sausage rolls to the children and cigars among his helping hands. These cigars are still to be found in some Bischbrunn homes, kept in small glass showcases.*

*The hunt itself on the other hand held few, if any, romantic elements. Wild boars were fed throughout the year, with pre-boiled potatoes which were easily digested and kept in a specially built cellar. For the hunt, the animals were herded into special pens and driven through a narrow lane to be shot. They were driven through the pathway in order of size, the largest first for the sovereign to shoot the smallest at the end for the lesser nobles. If a shot missed its target the animal was passed through the lane as often as was necessary for the hunter to kill it. The lanes were ironically called 'bowling lanes' by the Bischbrunn people.*

This account of how unnatural hunting became is in itself a microcosm of a cultural landscape, showing a way in which people have made 'nature' almost completely artificial. Both the animals and their habitat, and the age-old hunting process, are here a long way removed from their origins.

*Charcoal-burning in the Spessart*

## Economy and exploitation

Castles, and their hunting parks are clear landscape reminders of status, functional but also symbols of power and authority. Further contributors to landscape character are trade and industry. A 16th century boom in the Spessart, for example, prompted by a burgeoning glass industry, saw the construction of many large half-timbered houses. Today many of these have been renovated and their latticework covered, frequently rendering them unrecognisable, but above the doorways it is often possible to see the year of construction engraved into the wood – 1543, 1554, 1583 and so on. In 17th and 18th century Lancashire a similar period of prosperity is reflected in the large number of houses that were rebuilt at this time. As in the Spessart, the year that the house was built or enlarged was often noted, in this case being carved onto a date stone inserted into the building's frontage. The date stone usually incorporates the initials of the owners, giving a brief personal glimpse of the past life of the property.

The prosperity of the Spessart was founded upon a number of glassworks that, in their prime, were producing hundreds of thousands of glasses year after year. Primarily manufactured for the Dutch market, for more than a century fashion dictated that glasses from the Spessart were a 'must have' for the European nobility. Indeed, Dutch still-lifes from the era often depict lobster red, lemon yellow and forest green glasses that were made in this area.

There are many surface traces of glass kilns surviving in the Spessart although to the casual observer their previous use is not immediately apparent. Back in the 15th century the Archbishop of Mainz encouraged the economic development of the farther reaches of the Spessart Mountains, particularly promoting industries which would utilise the extensive wood

*A Lancashire datestone, Bowland*

*A Spessart datestone*

reserves of the forests. Glassworks were therefore established, leading to a massive consumption of timber and charcoal. The secrets of glassmaking were jealously guarded, in the Spessart Ordnung of 1406; a clause stated that no one should teach glassmaking to anyone whose father was not already involved in the industry.

In Southern Bohemia it was the exploitation of gold that brought affluence to the region, through an industry that dates back to the Iron Age (in the middle of the first millennium BC). This activity has left behind a number of traces in a landscape that is thought to have been deserted for centuries if not millennia before the arrival of the first Iron Age colonists. Could it have been that the gold enticed them to the area in the first place?

*Gold was both desired and cursed in antiquity. In the 4th century BC the Greek new comedy dramatist Diphilus wrote 'I think, that there is nothing mightier than gold, everything is determined by it and everything abides by it'. A similar opinion was expressed by Christopher Columbus almost 2000 years later: 'Everything in the world can be provided by gold'.*

*Gold occurs on almost a sixth of the territory of Bohemia. It can be obtained by mining quartz or by panning the deposits of rivers that run through outcrops of gold bearing ores. Panning is the easier method and the South Bohemian gold bearing rivers, mainly the Otava and its tributaries Lomnice and Skalice, became the main sources of this ore in prehistory and in the Early Middle Ages. Gold panning was a serious endeavour, covering an area of at least 75 square kilometres at its peak.*

*The spoil heaps created by gold panning are a typical archaeological feature of the South Bohemian landscape. Up to several metres high, these are elongated mounds of stones and sand dredged from the rivers and streams. Usually there are depressions between them made by removing deposits above a gold-bearing layer. The gold-panners mainly worked Pleistocene alluvium, where more gold was deposited than in present-day river-beds. The oldest technique of gold panning was evidently the rinsing of alluvium in bowls, but by the Middle Ages the scale of panning had increased and gold panning weirs were used. Archaeological evidence of prehistoric gold panning is very rare, because waste heaps were often reworked time and time again, destroying traces of earlier panning.*

*In 1940, during the attempted extraction of gold near Modlešovice in Strakonice district, a preserved wooden gold panning weir was discovered; this was believed to date back to the Iron Age, but radiocarbon analysis has since shown it to be medieval (12th century). Also recovered were hemp fibre and pieces of sheep leather, which were evidently used as containers for gold dust.*

*Gold from panning is purer than mined gold, and as a result it is possible to determine which technique was used to produce particular objects. It was evidently in the Bronze Age that the gold-bearing deposits of the Otava yielded its first pieces to the gold panners. Two of the oldest gold*

*Spoil heaps created by gold panning in southern Bohemia, Prácheňsko*

*objects from South Bohemia – an earring from the tumulus grave in Hosty near Týn Vltavou and another from the middle Bronze Age hillfort near Vrcovice district, Písek, were made from domestic gold.*

Evidence of other extractive industries, particularly mining and quarrying, can be easily identified in the landscape. For example, in North Wales slate has been worked since Roman times, but in the 18th century quarrying became a mainstay of the Welsh economy, with a massive increase in the scale of exploitation. As a result, the landscape has been almost wholly shaped by the slate industry in places such as Moel Tryfan.

*Two objects made from Bohemian gold, Prácheňsko*

Earlier in this chapter, Moel Tryfan has already been mentioned for its enclosures and common land, but its landscape is also characterised by extensive and well-preserved remains of the slate industry. There are numerous quarries, and because these were worked by a large number of individuals rather than by single companies, the result is a highly distinctive cultural landscape. Slate mills were built to process the rough stone, along with barracks for workers. Both of course were constructed from slate as were the local villages and towns that emerged from this industrial boom. Slate was also shipped to Europe and America, and at its peak the industry supported 14,000 men and their families. Today just a handful of quarries continue to operate, but with entire hills exploited for their hidden wealth. The Welsh slate industry has left a landscape legacy of vast craters and mountainous spoil heaps that it is impossible to ignore.

In the Spessart, the fuel resource provided by the area's dense woodland cover encouraged the establishment of ore processing from the copper mines. Dating back to the 15th century copper, lead and possibly silver were mined from the clays of the Zechstein, and in 1737 operations were expanded to include iron and cobalt. The various mining industries blossomed until the mid-19th century when the use of local charcoal that had been so important to the

area's industrial development was superseded by coal, and with it followed the relocation of industries to other coal–rich areas.

Woodland also provided raw materials for other purposes, and not only for basic uses such as building or charcoal manufacture. In past centuries the Trentino area of northern Italy was a flourishing mining district with silver and iron mines distributed across the landscape, but the area was also exploited for its wealth of timber.

*The Forest of Paneveggio, an area covering 2700 hectares, is one of the largest wooded areas of the Alps. The tree cover is dominated by spruce trees (around 85%), and the most magnificent specimens can reach heights of over 40 metres.*

*The remoteness of the Forest of Paneveggio, at a rather high elevation of between 1500 and 1900 metres above sea level and being relatively far from human settlements, has preserved the wildness of this forest for centuries, but the richness of its timber has inevitably attracted people's attention. The first written documents mentioning the Forest of Paneveggio are dated 1315, at a time when its ownership was disputed between Primiero and Fiemme, but the exploitation of these woods is likely to have started much earlier.*

*Commercial harvesting of the Forest began in the 15th century. Timber was used to supply the needs of the mining industries, but it was also felled commercially. It had a special use for creating the finest quality musical instruments such as violins. We have no idea of the precise amount of timber felled in the woods of Primiero but at the beginning of the 17th century approximately 40,000 logs were floated every year down the Cismòn River to Venice. The valuable Paneveggio wood was in great demand among the engineers of the Serenissima shipyards, amongst others, for building the boats that held high the honour of Venice and the Doges.*

*The front line of the World War I battlefield ran straight through the forest of Paneveggio, causing the destruction of over 200,000 cubic metres of timber together with the sacrifice of the lives of countless men. In the 1920s, one and a half million saplings were planted to offset the devastating effects of the 'Great War'. Since 1967 the Forest of Paneveggio has been the heart of Nature Park Paneveggio, Pale di San Martino, and today it is also known as the 'Forest of Violins' – after four centuries it still supplies resonant wood to the lute-makers' workshops of Cremona.*

## Cultural connections

Modern Europe is covered by a network of communications – in a matter of a few hours it is possible to fly from one city to another. Our predecessors did not have the benefit of air travel, but it was still important that links were made with other peoples and this was achieved via sea, river and road. One of the main reasons for this of course was trade, which brought not only the

*The forest of Paneveggio*

*The lutemaker's shop, Paneveggio*

exchange of goods but also new cultural ideas.

The impact of this interaction between cultures and places can be traced in the land scape through the physical survival of routes and networks. In and around Bowland, for example, long sections of the Roman road that ran through the fells (connecting Manchester with Carlisle to the north) survive as earthworks or as tracks and hedgerow lines. This connectivity can also be identified in the social and economic impact that occurred; with the development of an extensive road network Roman culture was gradually introduced across much of Europe, bringing many new, shared ideas about politics and religion, as well as introducing foods, clothing, building styles, economic practices and social systems.

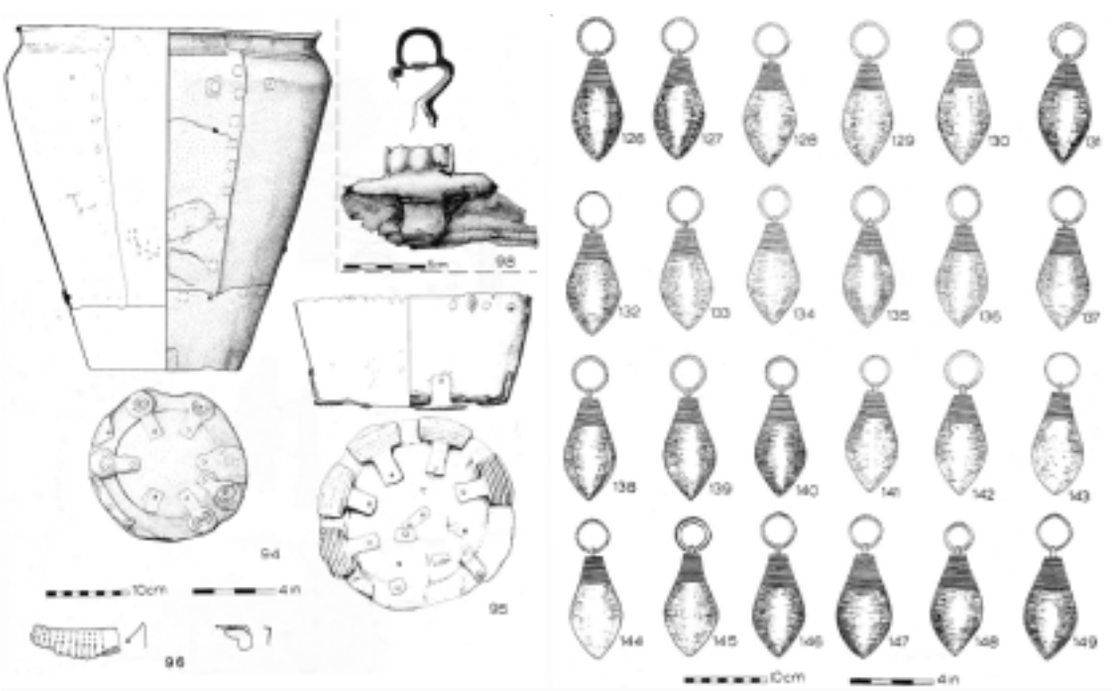
Finds made during archaeological excavation can also help us to understand where such links between communities existed in the past. In Hradiště u Písku, Bohemia, a tumulus grave was found to contain a large amount of gold objects, including earrings, hair coils and rings, and amongst this treasure was a bronze Etruscan wine jug with a beak-shaped mouth that had been imported all the way from central Italy.

The Dowris hoard provides a further example of the impact and extent of historic patterns of trade and communication. Among its two hundred objects, continental European influences can be clearly seen, and equally the Dowris phase of the Irish Late Bronze Age is known in its turn to have influenced developments across Europe.

*The Dowris hoard probably originally consisted of over two hundred pieces of bronze. Weapons and tools included five swords, similar in design to weapons used in the south of England at that time, forty four spear-heads and forty three axe-heads. Other tools include socketed gouges, which are virtually unknown outside this assemblage, chisels and knives, which would have been used in woodworking. The hoard also contained several whetstones for sharpening the tools and weapons.*

*Not all the finds were practical in function. There were also personal ornaments such as pins, and parts of horse harness, including rings and fittings. A bronze bucket, constructed of sheets of bronze riveted together, was also found, probably imported from central Europe. There were two other buckets in the hoard that appear to be Irish copies. These are rich objects, made with substantial amounts of bronze, and are unlikely to have been used for fetching water. There was also a cauldron made of riveted bronze sheets, and musical instruments – twenty four trumpets and forty four crotals, a kind of bell or chime instrument unique to Ireland.*

*Bucket and crotals from the Dowris hoard*



## Conclusion

We are celebrating in this book the great diversity of the European landscape, a diversity that is cherished and valued for providing interest and local distinctiveness, a diversity that leads to a sense of place, and most of all a diversity that is rooted in the past. We have also seen, however, that many common themes and linkages can be made across Europe in terms of economics, social systems, architecture, language, history and prehistory, each reflected in the landscape. Trade and exchange have played an important role in the fostering of alliances and networks, and establishing a common understanding between cultures – interaction that may have begun as an economic venture can unwittingly become a cultural link which encourages the translocation of customs and ideas. Through the EPCL project this exchange of ideas has continued, with partner projects sharing their experiences and understanding of the cultural landscape.

There is often a generalised perception that today's landscape is both unchanging and rooted in the present, but in truth it is a dynamic palimpsest that changes over time. An appreciation of how and why landscapes have changed in the past will allow judgments to be made about the direction and impact of future change. Without such recognition it is difficult to anticipate and plan for the inevitable changes that the future will bring. It is important to persuade people not necessarily to keep things as they are, but not to change the landscape without understanding it and its stories. How people appreciate the cultural dimension of the landscape is considered in our final two chapters of this book, firstly through myths and legends and secondly through modern techniques of research, interpretation, explanation and presentation. The two approaches give us rather different perceptions that together enrich our view of the cultural landscape. Myths turn our attention more firmly to the idea of the 'mental' landscape and how people have for centuries explained their environment, and formed their perceptions of the landscape. Such stories were common ways of explaining things in the past, but they should still form an important part of our appreciation of the cultural landscape today.