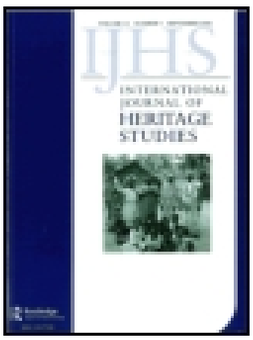

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World Heritage Cultural Landscapes

Graeme Aplin

The concept of cultural landscapes has a long and varied lineage, including antecedents in geography and ecomuseums, and can be applied at all scales. In the 1990s, the World Heritage Committee adopted cultural landscapes as an additional category of property as part of its strategy to broaden the scope of World Heritage listings. By July 2006, there were 53 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List and officially recognised as being cultural landscapes. Such recognition is an acknowledgement of the importance of human–environment interactions, especially those of a more traditional type. Not surprisingly, cultural landscapes have their own particular management issues, as well as sharing others with World Heritage properties in general. These properties, however, also present many opportunities to increase people's understanding of both cultural and environmental values important to the future of humankind on a global level.

Keywords: World Heritage; Cultural Landscapes; Human-environment Interactions; Management; Biodiversity; Intercultural Understanding

Introduction

> … it is impossible to select all existing representative landscapes so, in cherishing some landscapes we must endeavour to treat them not as the only ones worth conserving, but as tokens representative of the rich diversity of the entire globe. A sense of connection with all these people and storied places enriches and humanises life the world over. For just as all the peoples of the world depend for their physical survival on the shared management of the global environment, so does their spiritual well-being require responsible stewardship of landscapes everywhere.

David Lowenthal, writing for the World Heritage Centre website, emphasises the importance of recognising Cultural Landscapes as one type of site worthy of World Heritage status.[1] However, the concept of a *cultural landscape* first arose by name in the record of the World Heritage Committee (WHC) only in 1987, the Bureau (WHB)

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meeting earlier that year having referred to the same nominated site as a 'protected landscape' and as a 'rural landscape'.[2] However, there had been considerable debate over preceding years as to the interrelatedness of natural and cultural heritage, and the way in which the two are frequently inextricably linked. Even so, the concept has a much longer history than that again, including within the discipline of geography, as well as displaying close similarities with the currently popular concept of the ecomuseum.[3]

Cultural Landscapes in Geography

The concept of a *cultural landscape* had long been used by geographers, in particular, even though the terminology was not always the same; the French school of geography led by Vidal de la Blache wrote of *pays*, while German geographers led by Richthofen spoke of *Landschaften*. In his 1899 professorial inaugural address, Vidal de la Blache saw geography as studying small homogeneous areas, popularly recognised in France as *pays*.[4] In addition, while refuting environmental determinism, he formulated the concept of possibilism, arguing that within limits set by nature, humans act within the range of possibilities according to a traditional way of living, something the French have termed a *genre de vie*, and which is conceptually closely related to the anthropological concept of culture. The *genre de vie* of any group of people is basic in determining how that group lives within, and interacts with, a landscape; in other words, which possibilities they select. In addition, the French *pays* are normally characterised in large part by particular suites of natural and cultural attributes and processes that differentiate one *pays* from another. Such a holistic definition bears a remarkably close resemblance to the cultural landscape concept of the World Heritage regime described below. In Germany, von Richthofen, from 1883 onwards, was promoting the study of chorology, or regional studies, which started from the physical landscape but extended to human interaction with it.[5] One part of this endeavour was the study of *Landschaften*, or landscapes, which, when the human as well as the natural aspects were included, were by definition cultural landscapes. Ratzel later studied the ways in which human reactions to landscapes could differ as a result of cultural differences, while Hettner elaborated on the concept of chorology, particularly in a 1927 book. Hartshorne summarises Hettner's concept of chorology thus: 'The goal of the chorological point of view is to know the character of regions and places through comprehension of the existence together and interrelations among the different realms of reality and their varied manifestations …'.[6] This particularly refers to the interactions between natural and cultural aspects of an area, once again pointing clearly to the idea of cultural landscapes.

A little later, in the USA, another key inaugural lecture was delivered by Sauer at Berkeley in the early 1920s, and he explicitly used the term *cultural landscape* there and in subsequent published work. According to Sauer, 'man [*sic*], behaving in accordance with the norms of his culture, performs work on the physical and biotic features of his natural surroundings and transforms them into the cultural landscape'.[7] Sauer expressed this at greater length in his 1925 paper:

> Our naïvely given section of reality, the landscape, is undergoing manifold change. This contact of man with his changeful home, as expressed through the cultural

> landscape, is our field of work. We are concerned with the importance of site to man, and also with his transformation of the site. Altogether we deal with the interrelation of group, or culture, and site, as expressed in the various landscapes of the world.

Again, this is clearly a direct antecedent of the World Heritage concept, containing many of the nuances present in World Heritage deliberations and publications. Unfortunately, a study of cultural landscapes has gone out of fashion in geography in an era of postmodernism, cultural studies, and a fragmented discipline.

Ecomuseums

On the other hand, the *cultural landscape* has much in common with the *ecomuseum*, a concept that became popular in certain museology circles in the late 20th century, just as geographers were abandoning the former as an object of study and pedagogical value. Davis writes at length of the concept of *place*, which also has long had a central role in geography, of local distinctiveness, and of the interactions between culture and place to give that distinctiveness.[8] He also discusses the history of the concept of the ecomuseum as a means of celebrating a place, preserving its unique character, and presenting it to, and interpreting it for, a wider population, emphasising that, if all or even most existing ecomuseums are to be included, the concept needs to be interpreted more broadly than it was when it first arose in its French form of *écomusée* in 1971. Rivière was an early exponent of the approach, and his final 1980 definition stressed the importance of local identity, territory, landscape, community, history, and continuity. Together, these are central to the concept of cultural landscape as used by the World Heritage community. In an earlier work, Rivière defines the ecomuseum at length, stating, among other things:

> … it seeks an explanation of the territory … and of the populations … It is an expression of man [*sic*] and nature. It situates man in his natural environment. It portrays nature in its wilderness, but also as adapted by traditional and industrial society in their own image. It is an expression of time, when the explanations it offers reach back before the appearance of man, ascend the course of the prehistoric and historical times in which he lived and arrive finally at man's present … It is a laboratory, insofar as it contributes to the study of the past and present of the population concerned and of its total environment …[9]

While the reasons for listing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes have not always been couched in such holistic terms, they are all deemed worthy of preservation because of the human–environment interactions they demonstrate. Their essence thus has much in common with the essence of successful ecomuseums; World Heritage Cultural Landscapes could, indeed, operate in part as ecomuseums, or at least contain ecomuseums as part of the interpretation process.[10]

Cultural Landscapes as Heritage

Landscapes have long been seen as forming a key component of our heritage at many scales, recognised more locally as landscape conservation areas and the like. Such interest is largely fuelled by the fact that 'landscape itself is replaced ever sooner' and that

'beleaguered by loss and change, we keep our bearings only by clinging to remnants of stability'.[11] Recognisable and enduring landscapes give us our 'sense of place'. Almost anywhere in the world, these landscapes are inevitably cultural landscapes, as they are formed through the interactions between people, expressed through their cultural, economic, and spiritual systems, and nature, though the strength of the human imprint varies markedly. Nowhere, perhaps, is it stronger than in Europe, which is why considerable attention is paid to landscapes in Ashworth and Howard, who go as far as suggesting that 'landscape' may have originated as a peculiarly European concept.[12]

Landscapes are valued for both 'their aesthetic appeal and their cultural evidence',[13] the latter needing in-depth archaeological and historical studies to establish significance, understand content, and interpret meaning to the public. Many landscapes have, indeed, evolved over centuries or even millennia, and their present character is a palimpsest of elements from the past and present. Archaeology and history will be particularly important in the case of the category of 'fossil/relict landscapes', while ethnography and anthropology will be relatively more important when it comes to 'associative landscapes', and economics and studies of human activity patterns for 'continuing landscapes'. A full interpretation and understanding, however, also requires studies of the natural elements of the landscape and the impact of humans on it, thus potentially introducing a wide range of other disciplines, too. Indeed, it is suggested in a report to the WHC that 'historical and ecological understanding converge in the definition and recognition of cultural landscapes'.[14]

Adoption of the Concept by the World Heritage Committee

> There exist[s] a great variety of landscapes that are representative of the different regions of the world. Combined works of nature and humankind, they express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment. Certain sites reflect specific techniques that guarantee and sustain biological diversity. Others, associated in the minds of the communities with powerful beliefs and artistic and traditional customs, embody an exceptional spiritual relationship of people with nature. To reveal and sustain the great diversity of the interactions between humans and their environment, to protect living traditional cultures and preserve the traces of those which have disappeared, these sites, called cultural landscapes, have been inscribed on the World Heritage List.[15]

As noted above, the concept of cultural landscapes first arose by name in official World Heritage records in 1987. The WHC discussed mixed cultural–natural properties and rural landscapes at its 1984 meeting, and a Task Force was set up to examine the issue of inscribing such sites, including three specific identified problems: 'the identification of exceptionally harmonious, beautiful, man-made landscapes'; 'the evolution of such living landscapes'; and 'the integrity of such landscapes which are seldom protected by national legislation'.[16] However, the Committee had difficulties accepting the Task Force's report at the 1985 WHC meeting and the issue drifted for some years. One outcome, however, was the UK's proposal to prepare a draft nomination for a rural landscape nomination by the 1987 meeting.

The specific context in which the term 'cultural landscape' arose officially was consideration of a nomination of the Lake District National Park in the UK, a prime candidate for any Cultural Landscape designation, as the park contains a large resident population and a great deal of agricultural and other economic activity, not to mention large-scale tourism. When this deferred nomination was again considered by the Committee in 1990, it was noted that 'the lack of appropriate criteria for the examination of cultural landscapes had been a concern of the Committee for several years', even though the term had only been recorded in the official record on that one occasion in 1987.[17] At any rate, the Committee asked the Secretariat to develop a criterion or set of criteria to accommodate this 'new' category of nomination. The Secretariat presented its paper to the 1991 WHC meeting, provoking keen debate.[18] Proposed amendments to the criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List (WHL), based on discussions at the 1991 WHB session included:

> [Each property nominated should therefore] be an outstanding example of a cultural landscape resulting from associations of cultural and natural elements significant from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view and evidencing a harmonious balance between nature and human activity over a very long period of time which is rare and vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change … (Paragraph (a)(vi))
>
> [and] in the case of cultural landscapes, have the potential to maintain their integrity (the Committee stresses that there should be a sufficient representation of distinctive landforms, land-uses and patterns of traditional life-style which are necessary for the maintenance of its essential values) … (Paragraph (b)(ii))
>
> With respect to cultural landscapes, the Committee has adopted the following guidelines concerning their inclusion on the World Heritage List:
>
> (i) the existing balance between nature and human activity may only be modified in a way which ensures the continuation of this special relationship and will exclude any major alterations to the appearance and function of the area …;
> (ii) legislative protection must exist as well as practicable mechanisms for bringing the relevant institutions together to ensure the preservation of the significant harmonious balance between nature and human activity in an evolving context;
> (iii) the area nominated should be of such a size that these protective measures can seriously be expected to be effective.[19]

It should be noted that these suggested criteria and guidelines have two key implications, the second of which could be seen by some commentators as negative in its impact. Firstly, the wording virtually restricts inscription as Cultural Landscape sites to those with 'traditional' forms of land use and little change over many decades or, more often, centuries. This has the advantage, particularly in the context of this paper, of limiting the sites to those with a well-established balance between human activities and the biophysical landscape, implying a large degree of sustainability with potential lessons for people elsewhere. Secondly, that relationship is expected to remain largely unchanging into the future, something that may not be 'natural', but, rather, an artificial or bureaucratic restriction on cultural evolution and development, something that became particularly contentious in the case of the Philippine Rice Terraces (see

below). Furthermore, it may not be acceptable in that it is constraining the people involved to a way of life that may be one or more of arduous, economically precarious, and missing out on advantages of modern developments. Landscapes, like cultures and societies, do, after all, tend to evolve over time. As the geographer David Lowenthal expresses it:

> Heritage is held to fossilize, to preclude ambivalence, to tolerate no doubts. 'The true product of the heritage-industry is entropy; history is over, nothing more is to be done.' Robert Hewison echoes Nietzsche in warning that fevered nostalgia precludes present action. Turning a blind eye to past turmoil, leaching out past distress and bewilderment, heritage is blamed for stifling enterprise. The penchant for patrimony litters the world with legacies of outworn junk.[20]

While the effects of recognition of heritage values and active management to maintain those values need not be that extreme, the dangers are always present, especially if narrow and pedantic approaches are taken. On the other hand, some traditional peoples may appreciate protection of their culture and lifestyle, and be positive about the limitations on intrusion by the modern, 'Western' world.

In the event, such radical revisions of the *Operational Guidelines* were not undertaken. Following a meeting of an Expert Group on Cultural Landscapes in France in October 1992, the WHC decided that 'only slight changes of the six cultural criteria were needed to accommodate the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List'.[21] While that decision was obviously administratively neat, it did entail a loss of the statement of the essence of cultural landscapes given in the 1991 suggestions for change quoted above, although some of the essence of this is caught in later clauses. The most relevant criterion, after amendment, read 'be an outstanding example of traditional human settlement or land use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change'. This wording seems to clearly emphasise the cultural side of the cultural–natural partnership, downplaying the interdependence so evident in the 1991 formulation. This 1992 document does, though, introduce for the first time of which I am aware a categorisation of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes that would continue into the future; these categories, derived directly from the 1992 document, are included in the 1995 version of the *Operational Guidelines*, the key sections of which are reproduced in Table 1.[22] Following the adoption of means of including Cultural Landscapes on the WHL, a series of general and regional meetings took place to aid implementation, including ones in Germany (1993), Australia (1995), Austria (1996), Peru (1998), Poland (1999), Kenya (1999), Slovakia (1999), Italy (2000), Costa Rica (2000), and Hungary (2001).[23] A series of workshops in Ferrara, Italy, in 2002 focused, in particular, on the conservation of Cultural Landscapes.[24]

The 2005 version of the *Operational Guidelines* contains rather more than earlier versions when it comes to Cultural Landscapes.[25] According to paragraph 47, Cultural Landscapes '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

Table 1 Key sections of the WHC 1995 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*

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

38. 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.

39. Cultural landscapes fall into three main categories, namely:

(i) The most easily identifiable 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.

40. The extent of a cultural landscape for inclusion on the World Heritage List is relative to its functionality and intelligibility. In any case, the sample selected must be substantial enough to adequately represent the totality of the cultural landscape that it illustrates. The possibility of designating long linear areas which represent culturally significant transport and communication networks should not be excluded.

41. The general criteria for conservation and management … are equally applicable to cultural landscapes. It is important that due attention be paid to the full range of values represented in the landscape, both cultural and natural. The nominations should be prepared in collaboration with and with the full approval of local communities.

42. The existence of a category of 'cultural landscape', included on the World Heritage List on the basis of the criteria … does not exclude the possibility of sites of exceptional importance in relation to both cultural and natural criteria continuing to be included. In such cases, their outstanding universal significance must be justified under both sets of criteria.

external and internal'. As far as site integrity goes, paragraph 89 states that: the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition; the impact of deterioration processes should be controlled; a significant proportion of the elements necessary to show the totality of the value conveyed by the property should be included; and relationships and dynamic functions present in Cultural Landscapes should also be maintained.

By the end of 2005, the WHL included 51 Cultural Landscapes (see Table 2) and 24 mixed sites (see Table 3), with three sites common to the two groups. The latter category is included because they satisfy at least one each of the natural and cultural criteria and thus have a degree of similarity with Cultural Landscapes, although this varies between sites, as there is sometimes less obvious interaction between the culturally significant factors and the naturally significant ones. While all but four of the Cultural Landscapes are inscribed under cultural criteria alone, by their very nature they all highlight human–environment interactions. Fowler provides a detailed review of the process of nominating and listing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes up to 2002, along with a brief analysis of all such sites added to the WHL, and lists of possible future additions from sites already on the WHL (Annex C), or on national tentative lists (Annex E).[26]

Table 2 Cultural landscapes inscribed on the World Heritage List, July 2006

Afghanistan	2003	Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley
Andorra	2004	Madriu–Claror–Perafita Valley
Argentina	2003	Quebrada de Humahuaca
Australia	1987–1994	Uluṟu–Kata Tjuṯa National Park (M)
Austria	1997	Hallstatt–Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape
Austria	2000	Wachau Cultural Landscape
Austria/Hungary	2001	Fertö–Neusiedlersee Cultural Landscape
Cuba	1999	Viñales Valley
Cuba	2000	Archaeological Landscape of the First Coffee Plantations in the Southeast of Cuba
Czech Republic	1996	Lednice–Valtice Cultural Landscape
France	1999	Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion
France	2000	The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes
France/Spain	1997–1999	Pyrénées–Mont Perdu (M)
Germany	2000	Garden Kingdom of Dessau–Wörlitz
Germany	2002	Upper Middle Rhine Valley
Germany	2004	Dresden Elbe Valley
Germany/Poland	2004	Muskauer Park/Park Muzakowski
Hungary	1999	Hortobágy National Park—the *Puszta*
Hungary	2002	Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape
Iceland	2004	Þingvellir National Park
India	2003	Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka
Israel	2005	Incense Route—Desert Cities in the Negev
Italy	1997	Portovenere, Cinque Terre, and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino and Tinetto)
Italy	1997	Costiera Amalfitana
Italy	1998	Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park with the Archaeological Sites of Paestum and Velia, and the Certosa di Padula
Italy	2003	*Sacri Monti* of Piedmont and Lombardy

Table 2 *(Continued)*

Italy	2004	Val d'Orcia
Japan	2004	Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range
Kazakhstan	2004	Petroglyphs within the Archaeological Landscape of Tamgaly
Lao People's Dem. Rep.	2001	Vat Phou and Associated Ancient Settlements within the Champasak Cultural Landscape
Lebanon	1998	Ouadi Qadisha (the Holy Valley) and the Forest of the Cedars of God (Horsh Arz el-Rab)
Lithuania/Russian Fed.	2000	Curonian Spit
Madagascar	2001	Royal Hill of Ambohimanga
Mexico	2006	Agave Landscape and Ancient Industrial Facilities of Tequila
Mongolia	2004	Orkhon Valley Cultural Landscape
New Zealand	1990–1993	Tongariro National Park (M)
Nigeria	1999	Sukur Cultural Landscape
Nigeria	2005	Osun–Osogbo Sacred Grove
Norway	2004	Vegaøyan—the Vega Archipelago
Philippines	1995	Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras
Poland	1999	Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: the Mannerist Architectural and Park Landscape Complex and Pilgrimage Park
Portugal	1995	Cultural Landscape of Sintra
Portugal	2001	Alto Douro Wine Region
Portugal	2004	Landscape of the Pico Island Vineyard Culture
South Africa	2003	Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape
Spain	2001	Aranjuez Cultural Landscape
Sweden	2000	Agricultural Landscape of Southern Öland
Togo	2004	Koutammakou, the Land of the Batammariba
UK	2000	Blaenavon Industrial Landscape
UK	2003	Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew
UK	1986–2005	St Kilda
UK	2006	Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape
Zimbabwe	2003	Matobo Hills

Note: (M) = also a Mixed Site.
Source: http://whc.unesco.org/, various files.

World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, 2006

Existing World Heritage Cultural Landscape properties are varied in nature. While there are some groups with commonalities, other properties are different enough from any others to be termed unique.[27] Groupings discussed in this section are in no sense official ones, but are used purely for convenience.

A number of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes consist of traditional agricultural districts where there is a long-established and intimate relationship between

Table 3 Mixed sites inscribed on the World Heritage List for both cultural and natural significance, 2005

Algeria	1982	Tassili n'Ajjer
Australia	1981–1987–1992	Kakadu National Park
Australia	1981	Willandra Lakes Region
Australia	1982–1989	Tasmanian Wilderness
Australia	1987–1994	Uluru–Kata Tjuta National Park (CL)
China	1987	Mount Taishan
China	1990	Mount Huangshan
China	1996	Mount Emei Scenic Area, including Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area
China	1999	Mount Wuyi
France/Spain	1997–1999	Pyrénées–Mont Perdu (CL)
Greece	1988	Mount Athos
Greece	1988	Meteora
Guatemala	1979	Tikal National Park
Macedonia, FYR	1979–1980	Ohrid Region with its Cultural and Historical Aspect and its Natural Environment
Mali	1989	Cliff of Bandiagara (Land of the Dogons)
New Zealand	1990–1993	Tongariro National Park (CL)
Peru	1983	Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu
Peru	1990–1992	Río Abiseo National Park
South Africa	2000	uKhahlamba–Drakensberg Park
Spain	1999	Ibiza, Biodiversity and Culture
Sweden	1996	Laponian Area
Turkey	1985	Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia
Turkey	1988	Hierapolis–Pamukkale
UK	1986–2005	St Kilda (CL)

Note: (CL) = also a Cultural Landscape.
Source: http://whc.unesco.org/, various files.

human activities and artefacts on the one hand, and the natural landscape on the other. In fact, the landscape has been so comprehensively altered by human activities over long periods that the distinction between cultural and natural is largely meaningless. In particular, a number of European listings involve wine-producing districts, as wine production is the form of land use in more-developed nations that has proved most resistant to change, at least to change that produces a visible effect on the landscape.[28] The earliest Cultural Landscapes to be inscribed on the WHL included several of this type. Other basically agricultural sites involve tobacco and coffee (both in Cuba), rice (the Philippines), and pastoralism (Hungary), while there is also a Norwegian fishing-based Cultural Landscape inscribed. On the other hand, a number of sites, again predominantly European, involve distinctive architectural forms set in their landscape, which often also involves traditional forms of agriculture. Two Italian sites more specifically involve traditional urban forms set in spectacular coastal environments, while two in the Pyrenees highlight human adaptation

to mountain environments. Finally, in this broad grouping, are several more inscribed, at least in large part, as obviously intentionally created (indeed, landscaped) landscapes.

The remaining Cultural Landscapes inscribed on the WHL are much more varied, and hence much harder to categorise. In addition, a much higher proportion are located outside Europe, and many have been inscribed in recent years.[29] Four inscriptions relate to routes of cultural importance: an Incan route in Argentina, the Incense Route through the Negev Desert in Israel, the Cilento region of Italy, and pilgrimage routes in Japan. Non-European assemblages of various mixtures of architecture, sacred or religious sites, traditional land use, and spiritually important landscapes include: the Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan, inscribed rather hastily after the Taliban dynamited one of the giant statues of the Buddha), Bhimbetka (India), Tamgaly (Kazakhstan), Vat Phou (Laos), the Qadisha Valley (Lebanon), Ambohimanga (Madagascar), the Orkhon Valley (Mongolia), Sukur and Osun–Osogbo (both Nigeria), Mapungubwe (South Africa), Koutammakou (Togo), and the Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe). Almost all of these have been inscribed since 2000, an indication of a degree of success on the part of the WHC in applying its Global Strategy to redress imbalances in the WHL. Two other properties involve important cultural presences of Indigenous peoples in predominantly European nations—the Australian Aborigines in Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa, and the New Zealand Māori in Tongariro.

Three of the most recently inscribed sites (2000–2005) were, before the 2006 additions, unique, and illustrate the ever more inclusive compass of the World Heritage Cultural Landscape definition.[30] Iceland's Þingvellir National Park is the site where the nation's 'parliament', the Althing, met from 930 until 1798; this was one of the earliest democratic bodies in the world. Remains of about 50 booths built of turf and stone remain, while remains from the 10th century may be buried underground. The site also contains remains of agricultural use from the 18th and 19th centuries. The UK's Blaenavon district in South Wales was (before 2006) the only industrial Cultural Landscape, although certainly not the only industrial property on the WHL. This property contains the complete suite of elements involved in the 19th-century coal and iron industries. Also in the UK, the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew (London) were inscribed both because of their landscape design significance, and also because of their great importance in the history of botanical collecting and research. Most recently, in July 2006, two properties were added: a second, but very different, mining-industrial landscape in the UK, and a Mexican district historically associated with the production of tequila, rather than the more traditional vineyard landscape.[31]

Management Issues Arising

As with any group of World Heritage properties, the Cultural Landscapes have come to the attention of the WHB and WHC when management problems have occurred. Because of the complex nature of these properties, particular kinds of problems have been perceived and addressed.

Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras

In terms of ongoing management, the most controversial and troublesome World Heritage Cultural Landscape has undoubtedly been the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras. When inscribed in 1995, this property was said to contain outstanding examples of living cultural landscapes that 'illustrate traditional techniques and a remarkable harmony between humankind and the natural environment'.[32] However, by 1998 the WHB and WHC had begun to express concern over management problems with this property, with the WHC approving assistance from the World Heritage Fund to help with mapping and enhancing the management capabilities of the Philippine authorities. By 1999, ICOMOS was claiming that the property was 'fragile' and that, like many Cultural Landscapes, 'was extremely vulnerable to the changes in the socio-ecological system.' ICOMOS stated that the 'closely interlinking characteristics at the site are essential in maintaining the integrity of its World Heritage values'. The problems, reduced to the basics, revolved around desires of local people to change from rice farming to vegetable growing, as the latter was both physically easier and economically more advantageous, or to move out of the area, probably to the cities. Such changes, however, were having a dramatic effect on the Cultural Landscape, especially as many rice terraces were becoming derelict. The general question thus arose: should local people be kept in a traditional lifestyle that they did not necessarily wish to maintain so that the broader global community could benefit from protection of World Heritage values?[33] Concern was expressed over the impact of increasing tourism, but then tourism might be the saviour if visitors came to see the traditional rice terraces and contributed income to local communities. A comprehensive management plan, including a tourism development plan, was still being called for at the 2000 WHB and WHC meetings.

At the following year's Bureau meeting, the Philippines asked that the property be inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger (LWHD), and that international assistance be provided to assist in addressing the pressing conservation issues. Following a joint IUCN/ICOMOS monitoring mission, the Philippines government was addressing recommendations to: develop sustainable tourism; establish a permanent management authority; and involve all stakeholders in the site's management. The rice terraces were rapidly deteriorating, largely as a result of the continuing evolution of human–environment relationships in ways that made difficult conservation of the values for which the property was inscribed on the WHL. The WHB requested the World Heritage Centre and UNESCO's Bangkok Office to continue providing assistance, and did inscribe the property on the LWHD as requested by the State Party. These decisions were subsequently endorsed by the WHC. The Committee's reactions to progress in 2004 and 2005 were generally positive. However, a 2005 UNESCO monitoring mission recommended changes to recently constructed flood-control walls both to make them more robust and to mitigate negative impacts on the site; the WHC endorsed these recommendations. It also called for rapid implementation, with adequate resourcing, of the Master Plan for the property, and for a further joint World Heritage Centre, ICOMOS and IUCN monitoring mission to report to the 2006 WHC session. The property was retained on the LWHD.

Other Issues

In a number of cases, the WHC deferred inscription until greater guarantees of legal protection were forthcoming, and in others debated whether or not the Cultural Landscape designation was appropriate. In other cases, it was suggested that a State Party consider nominating (or renominating) a property as a Cultural Landscape when that had not been done initially. The most controversial nomination, however, was that of the Loire Valley by France. The WHB meeting in 1999 recommended it be so inscribed, but at the WHC meeting later that year it was pointed out that the property included a nuclear power station—not exactly in keeping with the historic nature of the site. After long debate and a vote (consensus decisions are far more common), the issue was deferred. In 2000, the Bureau expressed some concern about the potential negative impact of planned strengthening of 60 km of dikes along the riverbanks, even though they might be deemed essential for non-heritage reasons. This is another example of a conflict between heritage conservation and other values, and brings into question the extent to which cultural landscapes listed at any scale can be expected to be non-changing. The Bureau, ICOMOS and IUCN jointly recommended that the property be renominated with altered boundaries that excluded the nuclear power plant, a neat sidestep of a controversial situation. The property was inscribed, with the revised boundary, at the 2000 WHC meeting.

A serious spillage of cyanide and heavy metals from a mine site in Romania compromised the Cultural Landscape property of the Hortobágy National Park—the *Puszta* in neighbouring Hungary. Reaction to the emergency had been rapid, and Hungary was commended for this. Another property, the Curonian Spit, was felt to be endangered from natural forces impacting on its fragile sand-dune environment, and the 2000 Bureau meeting called for management cooperation between the two State Parties (Lithuania and the Russian Federation) to be strengthened. As this appears to have happened before the WHC meeting later in 2000, it is a very good example of the positive impact advice and recommendations from the WHB and/or WHC can have on the management and conservation not only of Cultural Landscapes but also of all World Heritage properties. Subsequently, however, oil exploration off the Spit rang alarm bells with the WHB in 2001, and an environmental impact assessment was asked to be carried out jointly by the two State Parties. Again, the outcome appears to have been positive. Finally, the Lao Democratic People's Republic was asked in 2003 to ensure that infrastructure works did not negatively impact on the values of the Vat Phou property, and to report back to the WHC. In this case, the results are again positive as the WHC, at its 2004 session, congratulated the State Party on its response, although also asking that the responsibilities of the various agencies be clarified.

Values of Cultural Landscape Listings

Cultural landscapes, including those listed as World Heritage Sites, 'represent a rich and almost infinitely varied part of human heritage'.[34] They illustrate the interactions between human activities and natural attributes and processes, while, purely from a

biodiversity conservation point of view, 'as large areas of undisturbed land become more scarce … the value of these places as repositories of biological richness seems bound to increase'.[35] Perhaps the most important lesson that can be learnt from cultural landscapes is that myriad aspects of any situation are interrelated, as the complexity and interdependent nature of our environment—including both social and biophysical aspects—is thrown into sharp relief. Passmore sees as an essential plank in any satisfactory philosophy of nature, recognition that:

> When men [*sic*] act on nature, they do not simply modify a particular quality of a particular substance. What they do, rather, is to interact with a system of interactions, setting in process new interactions. Just for that reason, there is always a risk that their actions will have consequences which they did not predict.[36]

Cultural landscapes can thus help reinforce understanding of the effects of humans on the biophysical environment, and highlight both successes and failures in environmental and landscape management.

In addition, 'cultural landscapes often reflect living models of sustainable use of land and natural resources', while 'Many forms of traditional resource management, often supported by customary law, have been recognised in cultural landscapes and found relevant for the management of other types of properties and other contexts', and they also mark 'a milestone for indigenous people' as they recognise 'the powerful religious and cultural connections between indigenous peoples and their natural environment'.[37] Head expresses one ultimate desired outcome of studies of cultural landscapes as being progress in 'the profound and difficult task' of 'rethink[ing] people into nature in such a way that we can better manage the Earth'.[38] In a more immediately practical sense, 'World Heritage cultural landscapes provide models of stewardship for landscapes as a whole'.[39]

Thirdly, cultural landscape studies can throw light on differences between cultures and the undeniable fact that no culture or religious or ethnic group has a monopoly on wisdom. In addition, and at least of equal importance in the contemporary world, we desperately need tolerance and understanding to avoid wars and civil strife, perhaps even to prevent major global catastrophe. Much of the uncertainty in the world, including threats of terrorism, can be largely traced back to a lack of understanding of each other's cultures and belief systems. Indeed, the Ferrara 2002 workshops concluded that their vision for the following 10 years lay in part in 'using cultural landscape conservation to promote new approaches in international co-operation among nations and peoples'.[40]

World Heritage Cultural Landscape sites may well prove to be a more positive face of globalisation, as contrasted with some of the other aspects that are rapidly homogenising cultures and belief systems (or at least attempting to do so), and frequently disadvantaging the poorer countries, groups and individuals. An increasing public awareness and appreciation of them might contribute in some small way to reversing the trend in many wealthy nations, notably Australia and the USA, of becoming more suspicious of differences. The sooner the positive face of globalisation—the acknowledgement that we are all part of the one human race, and that we have a moral

obligation to be tolerant and compassionate towards each other—comes to dominate over other aspects, the better for the future of humankind.

Conclusions

World Heritage Cultural Landscapes do not form a unique typological category, but are merely the highest rung on the 'scale-ladder', the global manifestation of a phenomenon that occurs at all scales in terms of heritage significance.[41] Whether or not recognised at the global level, many European national and regional parks are essentially cultural landscapes with long-established human occupance, often of a fairly traditional kind. Management usually includes measures to ensure that traditional approaches to, for example, agriculture are maintained, and that modern intrusions are minimised, the very same approach as taken in managing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes.[42] National parks in nations such as Australia and the USA that have been relatively recently settled by Europeans tend to have much lower levels of human occupance, but where there is significant Indigenous occupance with living cultures and traditional uses of the landscape, the parks are often administered as cultural landscapes. This is especially the case when Indigenous peoples are actively involved in those management processes.[43] At even more local levels, many heritage authorities, as well as non-governmental organisations such as the various National Trusts, also recognise the importance of landscapes that incorporate cultural as well as natural features. The terminology varies, but includes Landscape Conservation Areas, and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, among many others.[44] It can thus be seen that cultural landscapes that encapsulate the same values as World Heritage Cultural Landscapes can be, and have been, recognised as significant at many different scales.

The values of cultural landscapes, as outlined in the previous section, apply to varying degrees at all these scales. Apart from aesthetic and cultural-conservation values, cultural landscapes at all scales can hold lessons in environmental management. In particular, agricultural and resource management practices conserved in the traditional land-use patterns of a cultural landscape may have relevance for future improvements to less-sensitive, modern practices. Acquaintance with cultural landscapes can at times lead to increased majority public tolerance and understanding of Indigenous and other minority groups within a nation, as well as globally, as mentioned above. Cultural and natural phenomena frequently occur together in intimately bound and complex systems. While the commonly used categories of cultural heritage and natural heritage have value in bureaucratic, legislative and management contexts, that use is limited. It is crucial that all involved in heritage, including the public who define and consume it, recognise the common interdependence of cultural and natural aspects, evident above all in cultural landscapes.

Finally, inscription of a property as a Cultural Landscape on the WHL does send clear messages as to its perceived importance at the global level. State Parties to the World Heritage Convention do generally take such inscription of sites situated within their territories seriously, as the brief discussion of WHB and WHC concerns in relation to management issues shows. In the most serious circumstances, a property

can be added to the LWHD, thus increasing the availability of international assistance if appropriate. It is to be hoped that listing at other scales also similarly enhances protection of this valuable type of heritage site.

Notes

[1] Lowenthal, *Cultural Landscapes*.
[2] WHC (1987) and WHB (1987); the nominated site was the Lake District National Park in the UK.
[3] A brief discussion of the early uses of related concepts in geography follows, while a discussion of the concept of the ecomuseum comes after that.
[4] Martin, *All Possible Worlds*, 198, outlines the most relevant aspects of the French school of geography. See also Vidal de la Blache, 'Leçon d'ouverture du cours de géographie'. Buttimer, *Society and Milieu*, 52–57, discusses the matter of choice from possible human–environment interactions in the context of *genre de vie*.
[5] Martin, *All Possible Worlds*, 166–69, discusses the German school of geography in relation to this section.
[6] For chorology, see Hettner, *Die Geographie*. The quotation is from Hartshorne, *Perspective on the Nature of Geography*, 13.
[7] Martin, *All Possible Worlds*, 386. The Sauer quotation is from Sauer, 'The Morphology of Landscape', 53; see also *idem*, 'Recent Developments in Cultural Geography'. For a current view on the value of cultural landscape studies in education, see Aplin, 'Heritage as Exemplar'.
[8] For the ecomuseum concept, see Davis, 'Places, "Cultural Touchstones" and the Ecomuseum', and Rivière, 'L'écomusée, un modèle évolutif'.
[9] Rivière, 'The Ecomuseum', quoted in Davis, 'Places, "Cultural Touchstones" and the Ecomuseum', note 1, 375.
[10] Ashworth and Howard, *European Heritage*, 96–107.
[11] Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 6.
[12] Ashworth and Howard, *European Heritage*, 9. See also Howard, *Heritage Management, Interpretation, Identity*. The notion that 'landscape' is a strongly European concept is reinforced by the opening for signature in 2000 of the European Landscape Convention—see Council of Europe, *Landscape and Sustainable Development*.
[13] Ashworth and Howard, *European Heritage*, 12.
[14] The categories quoted have been used in much of the World Heritage Committee discussion of cultural landscapes; for example, in WHC (1993). The quotation is from Workshop 5, paragraph 2(b) of that document.
[15] WHC (2004); as all of the WHC and WHB reports and similar material have been accessed via the World Heritage Centre's website, it is not possible to give meaningful page numbers, but section or paragraph numbers are given where these are helpful.
[16] WHC (1991).
[17] WHC (1990).
[18] WHC (1991).
[19] Ibid., Annex.
[20] Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 88; the quotation is from Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*.
[21] WHC (1992, paragraph 5).
[22] WHC (1992, 1995a).
[23] For these documents, see, respectively: WHC (1993); Australia ICOMOS (1995); WHB (1996); WHC (1998, 1999a, 1999b); WHB (1999, 2000); WHC (2000, 2001).

[24] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Cultural Landscapes*.

[25] References and quotations in this paragraph relate to UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 2005*.

[26] Fowler, *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes 1992–2002*; the analysis of sites is at 27–39, the list of possible additions from sites on the WHL is Annex C, and the list of possible additions from national tentative lists is Annex E.

[27] Material for this section is derived from the short descriptions of properties given on the World Heritage Centre website (http://whc.unesco.org), augmented where necessary by reports of WHB and WHC meetings. Fowler (*World Heritage Cultural Landscapes 1992–2002*) also gives brief descriptions of all cultural landscapes inscribed to 2002, according to the year in which each was listed. It is not intended to include all 51 sites in this discussion, although almost all are mentioned. Where appropriate, reference is made in the notes that follow to material in the *World Heritage Review*, published from 1996 to mid-2006.

[28] (Some property names in this and the following note have been shortened; CL = Cultural Landscape. See Table 2 for more information on individual properties.) Wine-producing districts inscribed include: the Wachau CL (Austria), Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion (France, *WHR* **21**, 36–49), Upper Middle Rhine Valley (Germany), Tokaj Wine Region Historic CL (Hungary), Alto Duro Wine Region (Portugal), and Landscape of the Pico Island Vineyard Culture (Portugal, in the Azores). Some of these are, of course, inscribed for more than just the vineyard landscape. Vineyard-based cultural landscapes are discussed as a group in *WHR* **35**, 4–19. The other agricultural sites specifically mentioned are (in order): Viñales Valley (Cuba), Archaeological Landscape of the First Coffee Plantations in the Southeast of Cuba (Cuba), the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras (Philippines, *WHR* **2**, 34–36; **38**, 38–39; see also Phillips, 'Cultural Landscapes: IUCN's Changing Vision of Protected Areas', 43), Hortobágy National Park—the *Puszta* (Hungary), and Vegaøyan —the Vega Archipelago (Norway, *WHR* **39**, 49). More general rural landscapes inscribed for architectural values as much as land-use values include: the Hallstatt–Dachstein Salzkammergut CL (Austria), Fertö–Neusiedlersee CL (Austria and Hungary), Lednice–Valtice CL (Czech Republic, *WHR* **9**, 24–35), The Loire Valley … (France, *WHR* **26**, 52–65), Dresden Elbe Valley (Germany), and Val d'Orcia (Italy). The coastal sites are Portovenere, Cinque Terre and the Islands … (Italy, *WHR* **33**, 54–65), and Costiera Amalfitana (Italy), while the mountain sites mentioned are Pyrénées–Mont Perdu (France and Spain, *WHR* **20**, 30–43), and Madriu–Perafita–Claror Valley (Andorra). The sites demonstrating more purposefully created landscapes are: Garden Kingdom of Dessau–Wörlitz (Germany, *WHR* **25**, 68–79), Muskauer Park/Park Muzakowski (Germany/Poland), *Sacra Monti* of Piedmont and Lombardy (Italy), Kalwaria Zebrzydowska … (Poland), CL of Sintra (Portugal, *WHR* **8**, 46–49), and Aranjuez CL (Spain).

[29] Properties referred to in this paragraph are, in order of discussion: Quebrada de Humahuaca (Argentina, *WHR* **35**, 68–79; see also Mujica, 'Cultural Landscapes and the Challenges of Conservation in Latin America and the Caribbean', 85), Incense Route—Desert Cities in the Negev (Israel), Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park … (Italy, *WHR* **13**, 49), Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range (Japan, *WHR* **41**, 56–65), CL and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan, *WHR* **20**, 4–13), Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka (India), Petroglyphs … of Tamgaly (Kazakhstan), Vat Phou and Associated Ancient Settlements … (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Ouadi Qadisha Valley … and the Forest of the Cedars of God … (Lebanon, *WHR* **20**, 48–55), Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar, *WHR* **39**, 50–61), Orkhon Valley CL (Mongolia), Sukur CL (Nigeria, see Eboreime, 'Sukur Cultural Landscape in Nigeria'), Osun–Osogbo Sacred Grove (Nigeria), Mapungubwe CL (South Africa, *WHR* **40**, 22–29), Koutammakou, the Land of the Batammariba (Togo), Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe), Uluṟu–Kata Tjuṯa National Park (Australia, *WHR* **2**, 38–39; **13**, 42–43; **23**, 18–20; see also Calma and Liddle, 'Uluṟu–Kaṯa Tjuta National Park'), and Tongariro National Park (New Zealand, *WHR* **2**, 36–38; **11**, 68–79; **23**, 20–21; see also Phillips, 'Cultural Landscapes: IUCN's Changing Vision of Protected Areas', 44–45).

[30] The three sites are: Þingvellir National Park (Iceland, *WHR* **39**, 48), Blaenavon Industrial Landscape (UK, *WHR* **28**, 10–15), and Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (UK, *WHR* **34**, 54–65).

[31] At the WHC meeting in July 2006, the following new Cultural Landscapes were inscribed on the WHL: Agave Landscape and Ancient Industrial Facilities of Tequila (Mexico), and Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape (UK). The latter was referred back to the UK by the Bureau, but subsequently accepted by the Committee. Consideration of three further sites was deferred to seek further information from the relevant State Parties: the Causses and the Cévennes (France); Ecosystem and Relict Cultural Landscape of Lopé–Okanda (Gabon); and River Island of Maquti in Midstream Brahmaputra River in Assam (India).

[32] WHC (1995b). Subsequent WHB and WHC reports have been used in preparing this summary of concerns and actions, and all quotations are from these reports. The two key advisory bodies that assist the WHC in its deliberations are the World Conservation Union—IUCN (IUCN) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). See also Phillips, 'Cultural Landscapes: IUCN's Changing Vision of Protected Areas', 34.

[33] The earlier discussion of the 1991 criteria and guidelines and the subsequent quotation from Lowenthal (see also note 17) are relevant here.

[34] Phillips, 'Cultural Landscapes: an IUCN Perspective', 380.

[35] Phillips, 'Cultural Landscapes: an IUCN Perspective', 380.

[36] Passmore, 'Attitudes to Nature', 137.

[37] The three quotations are from: Phillips, 'Cultural Landscapes: an IUCN Perspective', 380.; UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Cultural Landscapes*, 160; Rössler and Cleere, 'Connecting Nature and Nature', 17.

[38] Head, *Cultural Landscapes and Environmental Change*, 156.

[39] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Cultural Landscapes*, 160.

[40] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Cultural Landscapes,* 162.

[41] See Aplin, *Heritage*, chap. 1, for a detailed discussion of scale and other heritage-related definitional issues.

[42] See Aplin, *Heritage*, 10–11, 246 and 259, for discussions of the Lake District and Yorkshire Dales National Parks, both in the UK, and the Parc naturel régional de Camargue, in France.

[43] In Australia, for example, Indigenous Traditional Owners are frequently involved in both day-to-day management and longer-term policy matters in national parks administered by federal agencies in the Northern Territory (Uluṟu–Kata Tjuṯa and Kakadu National Parks) and by the various state agencies. In many Australian reserves, the Traditional Owners have maintained an intimate and deeply spiritual relationship with the landscape, their 'country'. Both Uluṟu–Kata Tjuṯa and Kakadu are World Heritage properties, the former listed as a cultural landscape, and the latter possibly to be renominated as one in the future.

[44] Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty in the UK normally incorporate agricultural and residential land uses, among others, and the human occupance is more often than not an essential component in the 'outstanding beauty'. Intrusive modern developments, and even relatively minor alterations to buildings and other artefacts, are strictly controlled to maintain the values of what are in effect cultural landscapes.

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