Chapter 3
The Genesis of Social Landscapes and Their Physical Manifestations

Following Berger and Luckmann (1966), symbolic 'worlds of meaning', of which landscape is one can be viewed as social—and accordingly as historical—products. A consideration of the social meaning of landscape must, therefore, take account of the developing historical understanding of that term. Given the co-evolutionary bond between a social construct and its objective correlate, reference will at the same time be made to the development of the physical spaces we know as 'landscape'. This dual approach will first consider the German language area before turning to the development of the concept of landscape in other languages and culture (further insights into this topic are provided by Müller 1977; Piepmeier 1980; Eisel 1982; Kühne 2013, 2015b; and Kirchhoff and Trepel 2009).

3.1 The Genesis of Social Landscapes in Co-evolution with the Development of Physical Spaces in the German Language Area

3.1.1 Etymological Origins of the German Concept of Landschaft *('Landscape')*

The suffix '*-schaft'* in Germanic languages, common in words like *Landschaft* (landscape), is derived from the Gothic *skapjan* (cognate with the Old English verb *scieppan* and other related forms such as **skapi-*, **skapja-* **skafti-*), in the general sense of 'to make/shape/create'. Corresponding nouns were relatively constant, with the meaning of 'form/shape/quality/nature/condition/manner'. According to Müller (1977) the German variants can be divided into three groups:

(a) abstract designations: *Meisterschaft* (championship—literally 'mastership'), *Herrschaft* (lordship, dominance) etc.

O. Kühne, *Landscape and Power in Geographical Space as a Social-Aesthetic Construct*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72902-2_3

(b) collective designations for groups of persons: *Mannschaft* (team), *Genossenschaft* (cooperative society—literally 'comradeship') etc.
(c) spatial designations: *Grafschaft* (county), *Landschaft* (landscape) etc.

Common to all these terms is the sense of something that belongs together as a result of human activity. This is the sense of the modern German verbs *schaffen* and *schöpfen*, as well as of the English verb 'to shape', all of which mean 'to make/create/form' and can also include an aesthetic dimension (Haber 2007).

The Old High German word *Lantscaf* is first recorded in the early 9th century (Gruenter 1975 [1953]), when it designated "something that in almost every case possessed the quality of a largish area of settlement" (Müller 1977, p. 6). This was a time of continuous population growth (Fig. 3.1), in which "economic, governmental, and religious powers […] together aimed to make Central Europe a region of stable local settlement, for that alone presented a calculable basis for economic growth and effective rule" (Küster 1999, p. 172). Rather than possessing an immediate reference to physical space or its delimitation, the term retained its derivation from the collective word for persons and groups, and was used at that time in the sense of the social and behavioral norms of those who lived in a particular area. Only in the following centuries did the meaning shift from "the social norms in a stretch of land" to "the

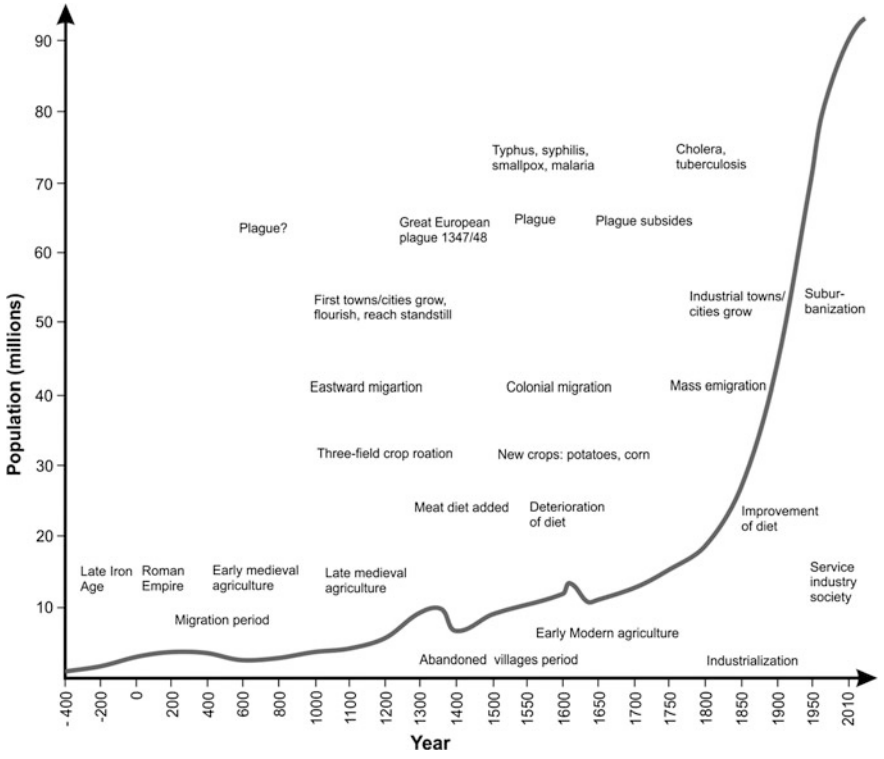

Fig. 3.1 Development of the Central European population (modern German language area) in its historical context (Schenk 2011, modified)

stretch of land harboring those norms" (Müller 1977, p. 7). In the course of the 12th century '*Landschaft*' gained a dual political connotation as a legally defined space constitutive of a larger political entity (Müller 1977) in which politically active elements (as opposed to peasants) were, as a group, considered the "representatives of the 'whole *Landschaft*'" (Hard 1977, p. 14).

In the High Middle Ages, the concept of *Landschaft* began to denote the area cultivated and governed by a town or city, as opposed to the virgin forest—in other words a space distinct from the untamed wilderness (Müller 1977; see also Haber 2007). This developed in the late medieval period into a precise term for a specific spatial entity governed by the institutions of law (Müller 1977; see also Olwig 1996). Thus, in the course of the Middle Ages, in addition to its earlier initially descriptive and then gradually normative reference to a social grouping within its settled locality, the German word *Landschaft* gained political connotations which went hand in hand with the development and delimitation of regional and local lordships.

3.1.2 Landscape Painting from the Renaissance to the German Romantics

The aesthetic vision of physical space found in antiquity (see esp. Appleton 1986; Büttner 2006) was abruptly discontinued in the Middle Ages, when "eyes turned to heaven rather than to earthly appearances" (Lehmann 1968, p. 9). In medieval painting the motifs of what would later be known as landscape withdrew into the background in favor of biblical scenes, legends of the saints and visualizations of doctrine; for in a Christian world "the function of art [was] to express the divine work" of salvation history (Büttner 2006, p. 36). Medieval painting "did not arise from the desire to present a colorful world in the wealth and diversity of its relationships, but to keep before people's eyes the history and symbols of their salvation" (Böheim 1930, p. 82).

Not until the Renaissance—and this also applied to Germany—was landscape painting seen as a discipline in its own right (Andrews 1989). A crucial step in this direction was the development of a centralized perspective (Piepmeier 1980; Eisel 1982; Cosgrove 1984, 1985). Another factor, whose roots also lay in the Renaissance, was the socially idealized vision of nature that "emerged in seventeenth century European painting and […] found its definitive expression in the work of Claude Lorrain" (Riedel 1989, p. 45; see also esp. Cosgrove 1993). Lorrain (1600–1682) and Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) were the major influences on German landscape painting of that period (Roters 1995).

The desire to reconnect with classical antiquity found expression in the 'Italian journey', which "became a stable component in the training of artists from north of the Alps" (Büttner 2006, p. 125), resulting in a repertoire of idealized, Arcadian images: "utopian landscape in which the human and natural worlds are imagined to co-exist harmoniously" (Howard 2003, p. 53). Far from seeking to represent

specific stretches of countryside, these compositions were, as Burckhardt (2006a [1998], p. 116) pointedly remarks, "pieced together in the studio in accordance with idealized patterns". Conversely, as Olwig (2008a) observes, the creative process was all the more evident: painters created a 'painted land', and it was this that passed into the expectations that conditioned social ways of seeing. In Herbert Lehmann's words (1968, p. 7) the fine arts served as "the pacemakers of our vision and experience of landscape"; and this vision—in Germany as in the neighboring countries of Central and Northern Europe—extended to the material spaces of 'real' countryside (Cosgrove 1993; Haber 2007; Czepczyński 2008; Schenk 2013; Kühne 2013). It was in this sense that Oppel (1884, p. 36) could define landscape as "terrestrial space presented to a specific viewpoint as a single whole". Attributed to Alexander von Humboldt, the designation of landscape as 'the total character of a terrestrial area' (Hard 1970) goes even further, postulating perception of an inherently cultural 'character' in a stretch of physical land: an act of cognition that clearly transcends the visual-aesthetic process.

Nevertheless, the habits of vision cultivated by the landscape artists of the day found no counterpart in the real physical spaces of Central and Northern Europe, where the pressure of growing populations (see Fig. 3.1) was changing the aspect not only of agrarian land but also of the native forests. The intrusion of pastures into sylvan areas, together with the clearance of the forest floor to garner bedding material for cattle, diminished the regenerative capacity of woodlands (see Radkau and Schäfer 1987; Urmersbach 2009), and the indirect use of solar energy in the form of charcoal, wind, and water power, as well as agricultural products, reached its pre-fossil limits (Fig. 3.2):

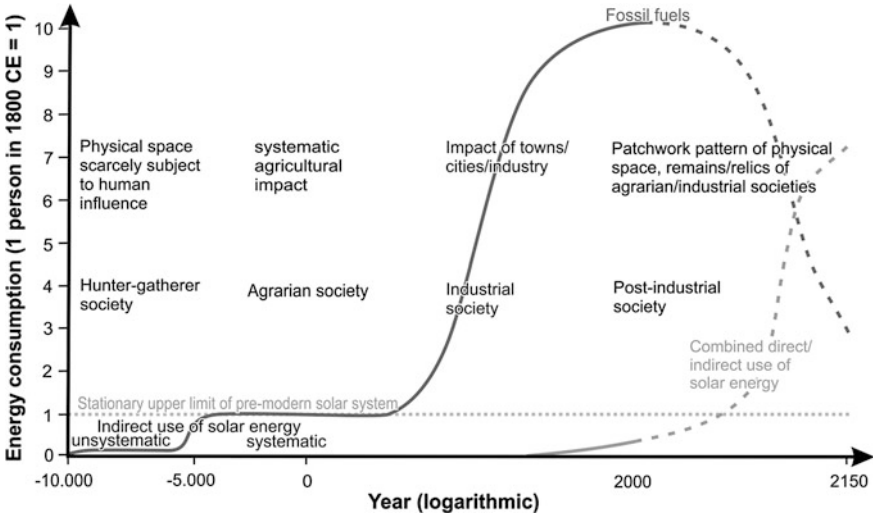

Fig. 3.2 Energy consumption and growth of Central and West European society (Schenk 2005, modified)

The landscape construct of German Romanticism and the Biedermeier period was both intense and persistent (Safranski 2007). In the classical era of 18th century Germany, landscape had either served as a background to the presentation of historical events or, infused with reason, was itself elevated to the status of an *objet d'art* (Hohl 1977). It was the Romantic movement of the early 19th century that finally "accorded it its highest valuation, widening the concept of landscape to embrace both historical and mythological aspects" (Hohl 1977, p. 45; see also Piepmeier 1980). For German Romantic artists—among whom Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840) holds a leading position—painting was no longer simply a matter of artistic practice: it extended to "the innermost moral and religious sentiments of its practitioners" (Büttner 2006, p. 262). Drawing consciously on medieval antecedents for its profound allegorical and symbolic force, Romantic art added a post-Reformation awareness of the modern individual as an isolated figure cut off from a paradisiacal nature (Zink 2006). In this sense Caspar David Friedrich's landscapes (Fig. 3.3; see also Fig. 3.6) are archetypical "landscapes of

Fig. 3.3 Caspar David Friedrich's The Lonely Tree projects a Romantic world view, with its central symbols of the German oak reaching from past to present, the shepherd leaning upon it in harmony with nature, and the village in the middle ground framed by the light from the heavens, which falls not only on its fields but is reflected in the still waters of its ponds as a metaphor of a fundamentally religious cosmic-historical order (Hannessen 1985). An ecologist would see the gnarled—"actually crippled" (Urmersbach 2009, p. 34)—oak as the victim of constant feeding by domestic animals. (bpk/Nationalgalerie, SMB /Jörg P. Anders)

the soul, […] saturated with spiritual and religious pathos" (Spanier 2006, p. 33). The aesthetic and emotional landscapes of the Romantics re-endowed physical space and its natural phenomena with the magic of which the Enlightenment had robbed them. In that sense Romanticism was the dark "reverse […] of the Enlightenment" (Illing 2006, p. 48), diametrically opposed to—but by the same token intimately dependent upon—its ideal of enlightened rationalism.

Throughout the 18th century rational measures had made crucial inroads on the agrarian sector where, for instance, erstwhile local differences had been erased by the systematic selection of seed types and methods of dunging, irrigation and drainage, the introduction and wide dissemination of new field crops (beets and turnips, clover, oilseed rape, potatoes), and the abolition of common land (see e.g. Beck 1996; Konold 1996; Häcker 1998; Job 1999; Gudermann 2005). Improvement measures of this sort had been taken not only in the interests of feeding a growing population and hence filling state coffers—for which reason they were ardently supported by the fiscal authorities (Abel 1967)—but also to facilitate the immediate exercise of power. Thus "the draining of marshland removed the last hideaways of deserters and provided unhindered passage for the well-drilled armies of the king [i.e. Frederick the Great (O.K.)] on their forward progress". The cartographic surveys undertaken at this time not only established "a basis for property tax" (Blackbourn 2007, p. 57), they were also an indispensable instrument of military strategy. Above all, perhaps, they were the expression of a rational, scientifically enlightened vision of the world that considered it "necessary to conscientiously survey both dwellings and fields and to prepare special maps with detailed descriptions of soil types" (Däumel 1963, p. 346). Executed with precision, the cartographic campaigns of the age provided an objective image of the state's territorial possessions, and as such were "a benchmark of political power" (Blackbourn 2007, p. 14).

The cultural divide between the Enlightenment and the Romantics is evident in the Romantic vision of a holistic science as a combined cognitive, moral, aesthetic, and intuitive understanding of the world (Eisel 2009; see Sect. 2.4 above)—an approach that has persisted to the present day in some essentialist perceptions of science. In the Biedermeier period, landscape took on a humanitarian symbolism as a counter-force to the omnipresent utilitarian belief in the 'civilizing' progress of science and technology and the correlative expansion of cities and industries into an increasingly threatened countryside (Kortländer 1977). The age-old bond between physical space and its economic use was being loosened: "With every technical advance, the connection with the land became more remote, the autonomous, self-glorifying status of technology grew, until the point came when landscape was thought of merely as a location to be selected for reasons of industrial expedience" (Freyer 1996 [1966], p. 81). The impact of the Romantic Movement on the social landscape in the German language area will be treated in greater detail in Sect. 4.2.1.1: 'Landscape as a class signifier in the wake of social modernization'.

3.1.3 The Sociocritical Dimension of 'Landscape'—Life Beyond the City Streets

As elsewhere in Europe, the aesthetic view of landscape was cultivated in Germany above all by the educated urban classes who enjoyed the necessary economic and social distance to the countryside in its physical reality (Ritter 1996 [1962]; Bourassa 1991; etc.), governed as this was by the labor of the agricultural year and the ever-present risk of failed harvests (Kühne 2013). The urban bourgeois were in a position to "see reality with the eye of the painter and nature with the eye of the landscape painter", and it was "under the influence of that vision that the term 'landscape' began, in educated circles, to be applied to external reality, viewed as an 'artistic segment of nature'" (Hard 1977, p. 14). Burckhardt (2006b [1994], p. 94) points up the reciprocal perspective operating in the construction of the city-country dichotomy: "The 'landscape' image is a product of the interface between city and country. The country is 'landscape' because of the Easter walks taken there by the city dwellers; city is city because of the astonished faces of the market women and hawkers of firewood." Against this background, landscape assumed a compensatory note: the everyday pressure of urban life enhanced the value of the immediate confrontation with what was thought of as unspoiled nature (Ritter 1996 [1962]; see also Trepl 2012).

The transition from an agrarian to an industrial society tore asunder rural society's age-old bond with nature. Instead of living by the rhythm of the seasons (marked by sowing and harvesting) and the days (marked by the hours of sunlight), the burgeoning city populations were ruled by the economy and logic of technology (shifts, manufacturing processes etc.; see Kühne 2013). For Bätzing (2000, p. 197) the concept of landscape was also conditioned by this changing context; for a world that was becoming more complex by the day, with its different work processes, functions, and professions, "was still available in the hours of Sunday leisure in the pristine integrity of a 'beautiful landscape'".

Increasing complexity also characterized the physical aspects of urban development (Krabbe 1989; Bertels 1997; Kühne 2011; Uekötter 2007; Winiwarter and Knoll 2007; Schott 2008), as the cities spread out along roads and railways into the local countryside. Animal power yielded to steam, electricity, and the internal combustion engine; the electric streetcar replaced the horse-drawn tram, the delivery van the horse and cart. Fresh water was collected in remote reservoirs, making the cities independent of their own ground-water supplies, and wastewater was disposed of in flushable sewers rather than allowed to flow down city streets.

With the growth of science and technology came a growing sense of mastery over nature (Körner 2005, 2006a, b), of which the city was the most visible manifestation. There rationality had triumphed, erasing the bond of nurture—and with it of dependence—on nature. Conversely, the non-urban environment—nature, countryside, landscape—began increasingly to symbolize freedom from the workaday city: "What drives the urban population out of doors and into the country is precisely that: to escape from the social and spatial constrictions of city streets"

(Kaufmann 2005, p. 59). This was a perfect reversal of the medieval view, in which breathing city air was a liberating experience. Against this background, the concept of 'landscape' took on aesthetic connotations as an "expression of the 'good life' in harmony with nature and a 'natural' social order: an anti-democratic perspective that led via Counter-Enlightenment and Romanticism to a conservative political program" (Körner and Eisel 2006, p. 46).

3.1.4 *Landscape as Cultural Heritage—the Concept of* Heimat *(Home Environment)*

A central component in the "semantic train" (Hard 1969) of what we today know as landscape is the concept of *Kulturlandschaft* (cultural landscape), a term derived from the conservative cultural anthropologist and social theorist Riehl (1854) that soon spread from the German language area into worldwide use. Based on the postulate of an indissoluble bond between a particular *Volk* (people) and 'their' landscape (Eisel 1982; Lekan and Zeller 2005; Körner and Eisel 2006), it suggested that "a locally specific; organic harmony of culture and nature was perceptible" (Körner 2006a, p. 6). Dependent "not on aesthetic impact […] but rather on the clarity with which contexts and patterns are perceived" (Gradmann 1924, p. 134), landscapes were classified as 'harmonious' to the extent that their historical development had been 'organic' (Eisel 2009; see also Hard 2002 [1987b]).

Ernst Rudorff (1994 [1897]) took up Riehl's concept of the union of nature and people in a cultural landscape and developed it into a modern critical principle of preservation of the *Heimat* (home environment) which, leaning heavily on the Romantic tradition, rejected the Enlightenment faith in abstract reason, the formally individualist beliefs of Liberalism ('everyone is equal before the law'), and the economic pragmatism underlying the industrial doctrine of ever greater efficiency. Rudorff sketched out a historical-political philosophy of "concretely functioning reason and qualitatively enhanced individuality" (Körner 2006a, p. 6) that incorporated the idea of 'monadic spaces'. What he meant by this was inherently integral landscapes embodying individual stretches of land and their 'native' cultures (see e.g. Eisel 2009; Körner 2006a; Zutz 2015). Specific to German-speaking landscape research of the late nineteenth and early 20th century, the understanding of landscape as a concrete physical space informed by a unique 'essence' deriving from its particular symbiosis of culture and nature had a sustained impact on scientific approaches to the subject (see Sect. 3.2—The genesis of social landscapes outside the German language area).

In the second half of the 19th century, the city—and especially the metropolis—had become for its inhabitants a symbol of their uprootedness from anything that could be called a 'cultural landscape'. A cauldron of social leveling, the city created "a jumble of humanity in which all trace of nature is lost" (Körner 2006a, p. 7; Rudorff 1994 [1897]). As an antidote to this process, Rudorff called on the one hand

for the preservation of the historical testimonies and artifacts of the *Heimat*, and on the other for an end to the use of machinery in agriculture. The anti-modernist, anti-urban tradition he founded—a typical product of bourgeois agrarian Romanticism (Knaut 1993)—has remained an indelible feature of much of the German nature conservation movement.

The *Heimatschutz* (home environment preservation) movement was not the only current critical of modernization that influenced late 19th and early 20th century German constructs of landscape. The art reform movement, with its aims of preserving 'authentic' culture by aesthetic education and the cultivation of good taste —especially among consumers and the common people—was another spearhead against the inroads of mass culture (Maase 2001; see Vicenzotti and Trepl 2009). Committed to 'regionally typical', original artworks, as opposed to mass produced prints and copies, art reform found in the home environment movement a kindred spirit which it could embrace and utilize as "a rich source of stimulus" (Pazaurek 2007 [1912], p. 119). In this context, it should be noted that "'regions' are based at times on collective social classifications/identifications, but more often on multiple practices in which the hegemonic narratives of a specific regional entity and identity are produced, become institutionalized and are then reproduced (and challenged) by social actors within a broader spatial division of labour" (Paasi 2002, p. 185), whereby the social construction of 'region' differs from the one of 'landscape' in which aestheticization is generally unavoidable (see also Chilla et al. 2016).

3.1.5 A Specifically German Tale—The 'Wild Woods'

Compared with other nations, Germans attach great cultural value to their forests. Woodland—more precisely German woodland—is regarded as contributing to German cultural identity (Lehmann 2001)—a cult that started with the Romantic mystique of the *Battle* of the Teutoburg Forest (9 CE), when the Cheruscan leader, Hermann (Arminius), inflicted a resounding defeat on the Roman legions, the tenor being that the Germans, or their tribal forebears, in spiritual union with the forests, were invincible. Above all the German oak was elevated into "a symbol of the eternity of the so-called autochthonous Germanic people" (Urmersbach 2009, p. 76). The beech also took on considerable symbolic force through its association with writing, the German words *Buch* (book) and *Buchstabe* (letter) deriving from the beech-wood panels on which the Germanic tribes scored their runes (*Buche* = beech). Some 1500 place names in Germany also derive from the beech tree.

The woods are still today associated on the one hand with a state of untarnished nature, on the other with traditional fairytale figures of poachers, robbers, witches, fairies, and other social deviants (Urmersbach 2009). (Michael Ende's popular fantasy novel *The Neverending Story* is a modern example of the same tradition—here the wood is the backdrop for a plot in which every aspect and every living

creature is a product of the human imagination, and is accordingly threatened by the Nothing that represents the abandonment of dreams and hopes). In the wake of 19th century German Romanticism, reinforced in the Biedermeier period, the woods took on the political and pedagogical undertone of a "force that could improve humanity and its world" (Urmersbach 2009, p. 85). Together with the *Heimatschutz* movement, the late 19th century back-to-nature youth organization of the *Wandervogel* (literally 'hiking birds', because of their habit of singing on their hikes) saw in the woods a counter-symbol to the industrialization, individualism and rationalism of the age. Ironically, however, these attempts to compensate for the loss of the old order inflicted by the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution enjoyed some of the effects of those changes, for the massive shift from regenerative to fossil energy sources—i.e. from wood and charcoal to coal and coke—made room for extensive programs of reforestation (albeit often in drab monocultures) and woodland conservation (Schenk 2006; Uekötter 2007; Winiwarter and Knoll 2007; Zutz 2015).

The National Socialists used the mythical connotations of the German woods to feed their fantasies of racial superiority (see immediately below and Körner 2006a, b, c). Post-war, the sentimental homeland films of the 1950s were on the whole successful in their attempt to counter Nazi propaganda by presenting the woods as nature in its wild and noble state, "simple, romantic, beautiful, and thoroughly non-political" (Urmersbach 2009, p. 105). Some decades later, the high social sensibility to the 'dying forest' syndrome can also be explained by the special relationship between the Germans and their woods. A result of pollution, the widespread impairment of the forest stock "brought about a cultural crisis that profoundly affected contemporary political awareness" (Lehmann 1996, p. 145). Today the woods remain an aesthetic symbol of harmonious coexistence—albeit more objectively as the coexistence of trees of different ages and species (Lehmann 2001). A final point, however, is that for all their traditional, emotional-aesthetic commitment to their woods, modern Germans have little real knowledge about either trees or forests (Lehmann 2001; Kühne 2014; Schönwald 2015).

3.1.6 *The Rejection of Romantic Concepts of Cultural Landscape and Home Environment Under the National Socialists, and the Post-war Rise of a Scientific Approach to Landscape*

The National Socialists subjected not only the native woods to their ideological program. Their absorption of social Darwinist principles led to the transformation of the concept of cultural landscape—itself derived from the *Heimatschutz* movement—into an offensive weapon. The conservative tradition of the 'unity of land and people' was infused with the ideals of the 'blood and soil' theory to create—along with racism and a euphoria for technology—a powerful engine of territorial

expansion. The German cultural landscape became an apotheosis of the 'superiority of the Nordic race' (Trepl 2012; Eissing and Franke 2015), and dichotomies circulated between 'Germany's fruitful landscapes' and the 'desolate wilderness' of Slavic regions (Blackbourn 2007)—a state of affairs that manifestly resulted "from the neglect by the Polish regime of landscapes formed by German hands" (Fehn 2007, p. 44). The eastern territories became known as the Wild East—a play on the Wild West stereotypes of Karl May's popular adventure stories—and were as such the playground of fantasies for colonially minded landscape and political planners: German technological expertise would turn these expanses once again into 'blossoming landscapes' (Blackbourn 2007; Fehn 2007; Trepl 2012; Eissing and Franke 2015). Apart from such excesses, there were other "undeniable affinities" (Blackbourn 2007, p. 341) between National Socialism and the *Heimatschutz* movement. Both shared "an antipathy to the 'cold' materialism of big cities, and saw untrammeled liberal capitalism as responsible for the threat to the natural beauty of the landscape. Moreover they were at one in a whole series of spontaneous aversions: to concrete as an un-German material, to advertisement hoardings as a disfigurement of the landscape, and to the encroachment of alien flora in the form of 'non-native' trees and bushes" (Blackbourn 2007, p. 341; see also Zutz 2015).

Conservative views persisted into the post-war nature conservation and *Heimatschutz* movements (see e.g. Böhm 1955), which were now directed against the inroads of Communism and what was thought of as an American lifestyle. But in the 1950s—and increasingly in the 1960s—the understanding of landscape, in particular of nature conservation, became gradually informed by the ecological sciences (Engels 2003; Körner 2006c; Blackbourn 2007; Berr 2014), and the concept of *Heimatschutz* duly gave way to that of the preservation of natural species, ecosystems, and biocenoses.

The ecological approach to landscape is fundamentally positivist: as an ecosystem, landscape is a physical entity whose structures and functions are independent of the observer and can be investigated with empirical methods and defined in a neutral and value-free way (see Chilla 2007). Positivist landscape research is accordingly based on the observation of individual phenomena and subsequent "inductive abstraction of the collected evidence to form a general picture" (Eisel 2009, p. 18). The original rationale for this approach, however, was strategic rather than scientific, for "democracy has a systematic bias toward objectively convincing argumentation" (Körner 2006c, p. 137; Berr 2014); and—given that many people are neither scientifically nor politically minded—beneath the transition to more rational views the values associated with local cultural landscapes persisted (Körner 2005, p. 112). Thus the regional specificity of flora and fauna—and, frequently derived from this, a sense of its unique aesthetic value—"continued to play a central role in the evaluation of biotopes". The duality underlying the burgeoning ecological awareness of the later 20th century issued in open contradiction when, for example, the construction of landscape as a natural resource was "set up as a counter-model to a scientifically and hence rationally accessible nature" (Weber 2007, p. 22).

Heimatschutz-oriented and ecological nature conservation share an opposition to the physical and spatial manifestations of Fordist modernity, whose essence lay in a "radical transformation of efficiency standards and patterns of consumption" (Ipsen 2006, p. 81; and see Hirsch and Roth 1986; Moulaert and Swyngedouw 1989; Lipietz 1991; Ipsen 2000; Eissing and Franke 2015). The modernist architectonic principles of exploiting on the one hand advantages of scale and on the other the separation of functions (in line, for example, with the Athens Charter) were extended from the planning of individual buildings to that of larger spatial complexes. Residential areas were separated from working (i.e. commercial and industrial) areas, inner city shopping and service areas from leisure and recreation facilities. The resulting spatial patchwork of monostructures, interconnected by mass means of initially public and then private transportation, gave rise between the wars to a rapid expansion of settled areas.

Fordist modernization entailed an increasing dependence of country areas on the city, both as a producer of foodstuffs and other raw materials and for the disposal of waste, with processing facilities like dairies and slaughterhouses sited close to the city and refuse dumps further away. There was, however, also a rural market for factory products: not only ready-made consumer goods but also agricultural machinery and other means of production that could no longer be hand-made by local craftspeople but were manufactured on the assembly lines of the major industrial centers (see Ipsen 2006)—for agriculture, too, was subjected to the same laws of scale and function. Field sizes were being maximized, cattle barns enlarged, and mechanization was increasing all round.

The ensuing physical changes in the landscape had an aesthetic dimension, inasmuch as they were "embedded in a specific developmental model of spatial organization and bound up with a belief in the purpose and utility of this model" (Ipsen 1997, p. 70; see also Nassauer and Wascher 2008). However, the Fordist model often had unintended side effects that radically changed the life of its rural practitioners, assimilating their daily round to that of the city dweller. As Lucius Burckhardt (2006c [1977], p. 29) remarks, "what the farm itself cannot produce, the farmer's wife, like her urban counterpart, buys in the shop".

3.1.7 Post-industrial Landscapes and the Contemporary Understanding of Landscape in Germany

Since the mid 1960s, the limitations of the Fordist economic model have become ever clearer. The developing affluence of the societies of East and South-East Asia, Australasia, Europe, and North America have created a demand for individualized articles that Fordist industrial structures, with their standardized product range, could no longer satisfy. The gap has been filled by specialist enterprises with small, flexible production runs based on a combination of computer-aided manufacturing processes, widely networked supply chains, just-in-time delivery, and low

manufacturing input of their own. Against this background, range diversification combined with shorter product cycles has boosted the role of market research, and the demand for individuality that of the designer. Here as elsewhere in the economy, knowledge has become the central resource of the active economic player—and knowledge must be constantly renewed if it is to remain functional (Rifkin 2007).

The side effects of the Fordist conglomerate included serious ecological impacts on biodiversity, pollution, and waste. This led in the later 20th century to intense social discussion, which in turn stimulated an economic turn away from major centralized production facilities to decentralized structures (Hirsch and Roth 1986; Moulaert and Swyngedouw 1989; Soja 1989; Lipietz 1991; Zukin et al. 1992; Zukin 1993; Ipsen 2000; Kühne 2012). At the same time the approach to history changed: "While Modernism in every respect sought liberation from history" (Klotz 1985, p. 423), postmodern architecture and landscape architecture is concerned to integrate regional, ethnic and historical aspects in its work (Graham et al. 2000). The transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society has brought with it a new romanticism in the form of industrial archaeology. Former industrial sites, factory buildings, and production plants have taken on a symbolic value as witnesses to the "hard, simple life of the workers" (Vicenzotti 2005, p. 231)—a mirror image of the Romantic ideal of the 'hard, simple, life of the rural laborer' that accompanied the earlier transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. This interest in the relics of what has become known as the Second Industrial Age can be seen both as a reaction to the de-standardization and fragmentation of contemporary post-industrial society (Kühne 2008), and as a way of recalling the aesthetic interpretive patterns of an earlier period. Derelict urban industrial landscapes "with their decaying blast furnaces and towering ruins convey associations of the Baroque and the picturesque gardens of the 18th century" (Hauser 2004, p. 154). The cult of ruins, both modern and Romantic, expresses a deep skepticism in the value of progress. Fordism has been replaced by the new pragmatism of leisure, and in this context the industrial facilities of a bygone age—as Chilla (2005, p. 184) observes of the North Duisburg Landscape Park on the western edge of the Ruhr Area—have become the classical parks of our own day, where "intensive planting and other aspects of the traditional park combine to hold at arm's length the industrial heritage and simultaneously to endow it with new visual and recreational values" (see also Kühne 2007).

The underlying aesthetic of industrial archaeology is closely related to an extension of the concept of landscape to include urban structures (see Apolinarski et al. 2006)—a change of focus that has brought landscape research in the German language area into line with the broader international interest in vernacular as well as cultural landscapes. Theoretical discussion, too, has taken a lead from research in English, increasingly adopting constructivist perspectives whose fundamental insight is that landscape is neither an object of empirical analysis external to human perceptions (the positivist position), nor an organism with an essence of its own (the essentialist position), but a socially generated and mediated construct (see e.g. Kühne 2008, 2012, 2013; Wojtkiewicz and Heiland 2012; Kost 2013; Schönwald

2013; Gailing 2015; Kühne and Schönwald 2015). This construct, as it appears within the German language area, is the result of the process of development described in this chapter, and it governs the question (to be discussed later in greater detail) as to who, in what setting, and in what terms is entitled to speak of landscape (see Kühne 2008).

Current developments in the understanding of landscape are largely concerned with expert interpretations of the construct (see Kühne 2008, 2013; Weber 2015). Among non-experts, traditional interpretations of a rural idyll still dominate (see Fig. 3.4), where wind farms, cities, and highways play no (or at least no significant) role. Such views reflect to a great extent the image of landscape in the media. Given the Internet's function as a central medium of expertise (Münker 2009), Internet 'hits' are an important source for determining the social understanding of specific concepts. Figure 3.5 shows in tabular form the relative incidence of stereotypical elements in the first 120 pictorial images found in a Google search triggered by the

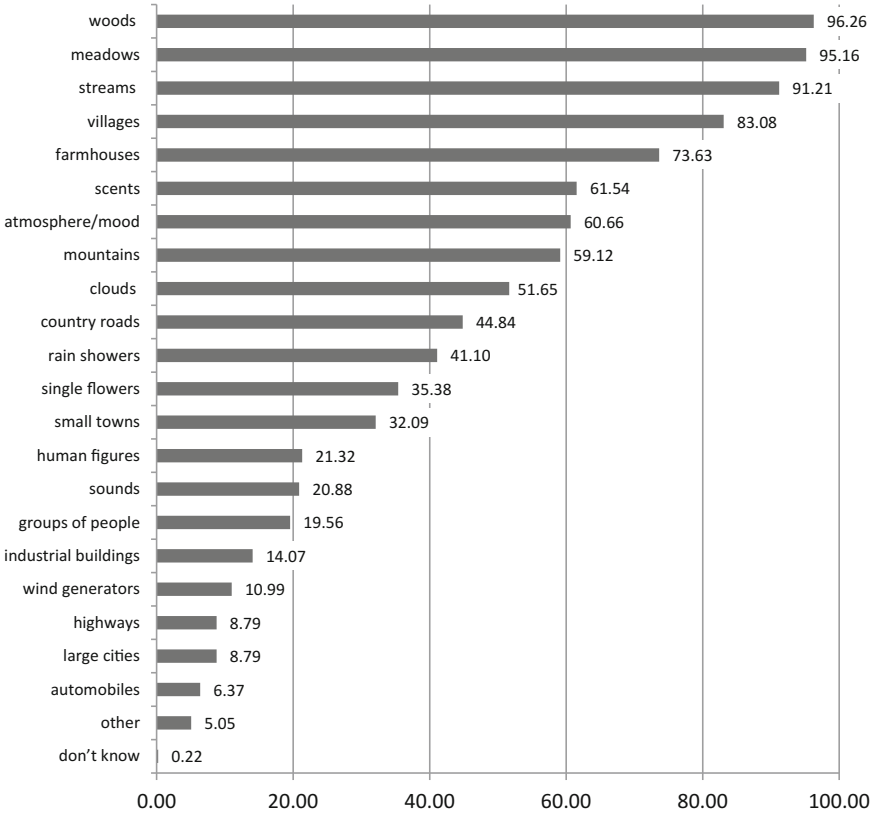

Fig. 3.4 Elements of appropriated physical landscape in response to the question: 'what do you associate with landscape?' (n = 455; results in %; survey conducted in Saarland, Germany; adapted from Kühne 2006)

word *Landschaft* (Kühne 2015a). Especially notable is the near ubiquity of countryside and sky, giving these something like 'minimum feature' status in the current German understanding of landscape. Third place is taken by clouds, and meadows

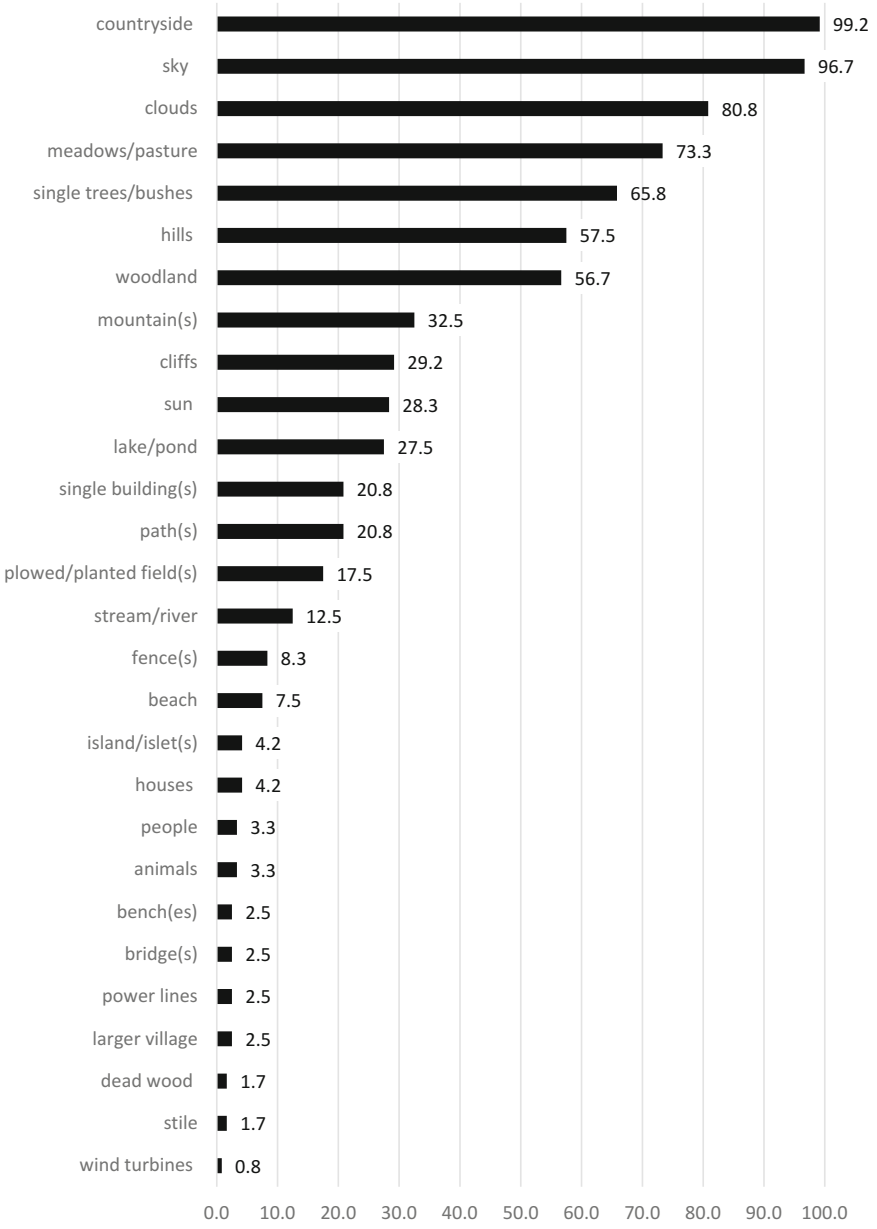

Fig. 3.5 Google pictorial images for keyword 'landscape' (n = 120; results in %; survey date July 7, 2014)

and pastures—interestingly enough not the plowed fields indicative of more intense cultivation—as well as individual trees and bushes; on a larger scale, hills and woodland also occur in many of the Google images. Considerably less frequent are ponds and lakes, and even less so streams and rivers.

3.2 The Genesis of Social Landscapes Outside the German Language Area

The different perspectives and values observed in the social construction of landscape within the German language area become magnified once one takes other cultural contexts into consideration. A cultural studies approach—following Hall (2002)—sees a culture as the sum of its classification systems and discursive formations, which give rise to, and are in turn influenced by, specific social practices. Hence, whenever a segment of physical space is called 'landscape', this enacts and at the same time confirms a socially defined system of classification.

The following remarks on culture prescind altogether from the essentialist construction of what Hall (1994, p. 199) calls "cultural identities", with their stereotypical distinctions (*the* Americans, *the* Japanese, *the* Turks etc.). On the contrary, the approach taken here, with its comparative focus on the perspectives and values evident in the social construction of physical space, may simultaneously reveal distinctive paths of development in the descriptions of self and other that underlie the concept of culture. It is in this sense that cultural specificity enters the present analysis of the construct known in German as *Landschaft*. Although recent years have seen an increasing number of (frequently comparative) studies on culturally differentiated concepts of landscape (e.g. Wypijewski 1999; Makhzoumi 2002; Olwig 2002; Tolia-Kelly 2004; Gehring 2006; Drexler 2009, 2010, 2013; Küchler and Wang 2009; Taylor 2009; Ueda 2010, 2013; Özgüner 2011; Bruns 2013; Kost 2013; Kühne 2013, 2015b; Mels 2013; Zhang et al. 2013; Kühne 2015c), these allow as yet only general statements to be made about the development of that concept, and above all about the interface and influence of its cultural variants (see also Corner 1999).

In JoAnn Wypijewski's *Painting by Numbers* (1999)—a comparative questionnaire-based survey of pictorial landscapes illustrated by the pop artists Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid—the author-editor determines the landscape styles and motifs preferred in various countries and cultures worldwide. According to her, Americans prefer muted colors and realistic (frequently autumnal) images of lakes, rivers or oceans, as well as animals in their natural habitat, and groups of appropriately appareled people. The French, in contrast, prefer agrarian motifs with clear signs of human activity, which may well be "similar in many respects to the paintings of Lorrain" (Spanier 2008, p. 284). Russian preferences are for heavily wooded landscapes with hermits; in Finland the preferred motifs are forest workers and fauna; in Iceland landscapes in strong blue and green colors are popular, while

Turks prefer pastel tones, and motifs of children playing. In Ukraine a landscape should show half-open countryside with traditional rural buildings, while Danes prefer a stormy twilight with human figures and a (naturally Danish) flag. Finally, in China popular landscapes feature mountains towering behind a plain with rice paddies and water buffaloes and, in the foreground, historical figures (Wypijewski 1999; Spanier 2008; Kühne 2013). Across all these culturally specific images, despite their contextual differences, there is a discernible preference for idyllic rural scenes near water.

Parallel to these visual-pictorial preferences, semantic analyses have demonstrated the existence of a range of cultural differences in the aesthetically unified conception of spatial objects we know as landscape. In numerous publications Drexler (e.g. 2009, 2010, 2013) has investigated the denotations and connotations of 'landscape' (English), *paysage* (French), *Landschaft* (German) and *táj* (Hungarian) in their "different conceptions of the world around and within us" (Drexler 2009, p. 120). *Landschaft* and *táj* connect objective and aesthetic references that are absent from 'landscape' and *paysage*: in English the meaning of 'land' and 'country' differs from that of 'landscape' just as in French *pays* and *campagne* differ from *paysage*; in both languages 'country'/*pays* has the additional meaning of 'state'. The objective references of the German and Hungarian terms go back to the Middle Ages (see Sect. 3.1 for the history of *Landschaft*), whereas 'landscape' and *paysage* only came into use at the end of the 16th century. During the 19th century, *Landschaft* and *táj* took on the emotional associations of *Heimat* in the Romantic sense of 'home environment' (Drexler 2009, 2010, 2013; see also Rodewald 2001). In 17th century France and England 'landscape' and *paysage* were used of physical spaces formed by human hand to meet the aesthetic criteria of their noble landowners, a usage found in Germany (and even more so in the Netherlands) only in court circles. Here "the old conception of a naturally 'mature' landscape" (Drexler 2009, p. 127; see also Olwig 2002, 2008a; Howard 2011) remained dominant until the 19th century, and has persisted in scientific discourse in the conceptual form of the 'appropriated physical landscape' until the present day.

The conflicting interests of court and county in 17th century England gave the concept of landscape a peculiar significance (Olwig 1996; Drexler 2010; Trepl 2012). The county party, consisting largely of landed gentry, was concerned to maintain the old Anglo-Saxon/Celtic systems of customary (or 'common') law which guaranteed its own standing and influence; the court party, on the other hand, led by the king and nobles at court, sought to establish a centralized absolutist state and consequently insisted on the hegemony of Roman law, with its basis in pragmatic reason. Paintings and stage scenery became an important instrument in this dispute, and it was in this context that the term 'landscape' first made its appearance—only later was it applied to the physical countryside. The county party favored Dutch representations of the daily life of men and women in their traditional environment—an environment shaped by customary law. To this the court party opposed Italian and Spanish landscapes "depicting formally beautiful, cultivated scenes with architectural motifs, whose symbolism referred not to the

traditional life of the country but to its rational molding—something that demanded central planning and direction" (Trepl 2012, p. 164).

In mid-18th century Hungary the notion of *táj* was informed with a similarly powerful political component: here the normative symbolism of a traditional way of life in autochthonous class structures was evoked in opposition to the absolutist ambitions of the Habsburg state and its concept of a landscape that reflected the formal qualities of the French *paysage*. Toward the end of the 18th century the symbolic force of "enlightened aristocratic, bourgeois liberal, and democratic social ideas" (Drexler 2009, pp. 128–129) was added to this mixture.

The development of the American concept of landscape demonstrates the impact on the English language of new dimensions of experience, in this case the confrontation with physical spaces virtually untouched by human influence, which could, therefore, be freely subjected to the appropriative notions of rural space brought with them by the European settlers, who saw landscape in contrast not so much with the city as with the native wilderness—a contrast of the fruitfully cultivated and socialized with the wild, awesome, and untamed (see Tuan 1979a; Cronon 1996a; Keck 2006). Accordingly, landscape was initially conceived as a "picturesque spectacle" of land use and settlement (Clarke 1993, p. 9; see also Cosgrove 1985; Olwig 2008b; Hirsch 2003), an aesthetic perspective largely confined in the 16th and 17th centuries to the Virginia and New England colonies, where it also served to mark off the territories of the English crown from those of the French and Spanish colonists (Clarke 1993; Mills 1997a, b). From about the time of the Civil War (1861–1865), the "carefully manicured" (Hugill 1995, p. 157) English garden landscape established itself as the ideal form for the molding of rural space (Hayden 2004) Simultaneously with this classicizing tendency a romantic movement arose, especially in connection with the Hudson River School, whose work "combined detailed depictions of landscape with moral themes" (Campbell 2000, p. 63), presenting America as a Garden of Eden (Campbell 2000; see also Mills 1997a, b; Mitchell 2009). The ideas informing this movement differed, however, from those of European (especially German) Romanticism, the defining (conservative) construct of *Heimat* being replaced in America by that of a sublime wilderness that embraced not only the forests, swamps, mountains and coasts but also the deserts and semi-deserts, steppes and volcanoes (Clarke 1993; see also Osborne 1988; Schein 1993; Zapatka 1995; Kotkin 2006; Kühne 2008; Mitchell 2009; Megerle 2015) as positively charged symbols of "the idealized American values of independence, self-reliance and undaunted honesty" (Pregill and Volkman 1999, p. 436; Cronon 1996b; Kirchhoff and Trepel 2009). Belief in the special destiny of the American people was cultivated in images of vast and awesome "natural beauty, from the giant redwood to the canyon" (Spanier 2008, p. 278; see also Kühne 2012). From the 1920s onward, some of the positivist and even essentialist aspects of the contemporary German understanding of landscape were introduced into the American university tradition by the German–American geographer Carl O. Sauer, who taught at Berkeley. Sauer (1963 [1926]) understood landscape as an object that "was to be studied by the chorological method and its results transmitted descriptively in prose and above all by the map" (Cosgrove

1985, p. 57; see also Mitchell 2008; Kühne 2013; Winchester et al. 2003; Antrop 2015) and "celebrated the idea of historical and geographical particularism and the unique qualities of diverse regions" (Heffernan 2003, p. 17). Figure 3.6 shows, in contrast, the endurance of a Romantic vision in a postmodern Western cityscape.

Chinese and Japanese constructs of landscape developed for many centuries without the polarizing influence of Western thought: indeed, according to Küchler and Wang (2009), the aesthetic perception of space began in China some 1000 years earlier than in Europe. Notable points of difference from the West are on the one hand the lack of the typically European distinction between the beautiful and the sublime (Ueda 2013), and on the other the non-dichotomous relation of human life with nature: "Man and nature are not opposite poles: man is integrated in the *ch'i* that is common to all beings, the life-force that penetrates all" (Lehmann 1968, p. 15). The range of Chinese vocabulary concerned with what we call landscape is correspondingly broad and differentiated, containing the following terms (Bianca 2009; Küchler and Wang 2009; Bruns 2013; Zhang et al. 2013):

Fig. 3.6 A postmodern play (or 'playgiarism') on texts and places—here Caspar David Friedrich's Wanderer above a Sea of Fog (1818) and San Francisco city center. The mountain peaks of an idealized German landscape have been replaced with Californian skyscrapers, the traditional German walking coat with leisure apparel, the contemplative gaze into physical space with critical scrutiny of a smart-phone picture. Yet almost two centuries later (especially in Germany), the underlying Romantic perspective of Friedrich's painting still defines the socio-visual construction of space. (Photo Olaf Kühne; on Caspar David Friedrich and his impact see also Hofmann 2013)

- *shan shui* is used of the genre of landscape painting, generally in ink, sometimes complemented with colored woodcuts; this embraces natural elements, frequently accompanied with (male) figures; the perspective is neither centralized nor as clearly focused as in European landscape painting (see also Lehmann 1968);
- *tian yuan* describes landscape as a metaphor for freedom from compulsion represented in an "idyllic, harmonious rural scene created by human hand" (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 205);
- *fen jing* is used of a place that "reflects the aesthetic ideals of *shan shui*" (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 206)—i.e. a balanced arrangement of physical space that meets Chinese social criteria of beautiful scenery (Zhang et al. 2013);
- *jing se* is a combination of the words *jing* (scene) and *se* (color) and is used of "a (beautiful) overall impression of a stretch of land" (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 206);
- *yuan lin* is used of the shaping of confined physical space (e.g. a garden) in accordance with the prescriptions of *shan shui* painting;
- feng shui (=wind and water) is an evaluative procedure for the "quality of the relationships informing a specific place or landscape with regard to the success of human activity" (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 207); especially important is "the orientation of a planned object within its detailed topographical and cosmic setting (ibid.);
- shui tu (=water and earth) traditionally describes the physical geographical conditions of a situation and is used today in environmental regulations concerning water and soil quality;
- feng tu (=wind and earth) is used (as a complement to shui tu) of "the close interrelations between land and people in a specific location" (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 207–208);
- jing guan is used of Western concepts of landscape imported into China—first, in the early 20th century, "as a Japanese translation of the German Landschaft, which Japanese writers had learned from their reading of German literature" (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 215), and then (in the 1930s) via Japanese literature; today jing guan is used of beautiful natural landscape, an individual landscape, landscape as type, and instances of the art of the garden; in recent decades jing guan has become a key concept for social/scientific landscape construction in China, largely replacing the traditional, aesthetically charged yuan lin in planning contexts, and used in other contexts to denote social distinctions, where its "slightly elitist aura" is discernible (Küchler and Wang 2009, p. 216).

The shaping of physical space in China was unmistakably connected with power: "Ever since the founding of the imperial state, intrusions into the natural landscape were regarded as a metaphor for the exercise of political authority" (Bianca 2009, p. 55).

Other regions outside the Western cultural discourse which have developed their own differentiated social aesthetic of landscape include Turkey (Türer-Baskaya

2012) and the Arab world (Makhzoumi 2002), as well as Japan (Karatani 1993; Gehring and Kohsaka 2007; Ueda 2013), although from the turn of the 20th century onward Western constructs have also gained gradual dominance in these regions—at least in academic circles—sometimes even resulting in direct loan words like the Turkish peyzaj (Türer-Baskaya 2012). This has created a stumbling block for communication between experts and lay people that can severely impede cooperation in participatory spatial planning projects (see Ueda 2010 for Japan; see also Taylor 2009). Given the divergence of indigenous cultural constructs from modern Western notions of appropriated space, it is not to be expected that a layperson from a non-Western culture (or for that matter even from a Western one) will immediately understand what an expert means by 'landscape'—it may, indeed, be unclear among the experts themselves what colleagues from different disciplines actually mean when they use that term (Kühne 2008).

Especially in view of today's increasing international migration, an intensive examination of different cultural interfaces with (and hence conceptions of) what we call landscape seems more than ever necessary. Özgüner (2011), for example, cites the different cultural appropriation of urban parks in the West, where they are thought of primarily as places for activities like jogging, walking, or playing games, and in Turkey, where passive concepts like resting and picnicking predominate. Research of this kind can be of practical use to planners faced with the need to coordinate different cultural conceptions and aesthetic requirements in the use of physical space—a situation that may involve acute problems when international projects are concerned. As an example of a transnational clash of conservationist philosophies, Rothfuss and Winterer (2008, p. 151) cite the Bavarian Forest National Park in south-east Germany and the neighboring Šumava National Park in the Czech Republic: "The major challenge in achieving a management consensus is the divergent cultural construction of nature and its protection."

Looked at globally, the culture-specific concept of landscape has, then, developed in unique and different ways, but these have been subject to interference from the assimilated Western construct (see e.g. Bunn 2002), which has had an ongoing impact on physical space (see e.g. Frohn and Rosebrock 2008). The process has not, for the most part, been a question of peaceful cultural symbiosis, but of the establishment of a discursive hegemony that bypasses—and by the same token leaves largely intact—native cultural contexts. From a critical point of view, this may well be seen as an instance of cultural colonization, both conceptually and on the ground. Mitchell (2002, p. 9) castigates the concept of landscape in this sense as "imperialist dream-work". After all, the discursive process as a matter of course has conceptual winners and losers, and traditional hierarchies (e.g. the subordination of *yuan lin* to *jing guan* in China) are regularly supplanted by new subjections, mostly to Western notions of 'landscape' or *paysage*. English, French and German concepts, on the other hand, are at most only marginally touched by Turkish, Chinese, or Japanese aesthetic spatial ideas.

Resistance among cultural—and indeed subcultural—groups (e.g. especially among landscape experts) is often all the greater when a longstanding concept of landscape, seemingly invulnerable to alien aesthetic impact, is challenged by new and

potentially broadening ideas. A case in point is the current discussion about the appropriated physical landscape in its everyday form (in Germany known as the 'Landscape 3' debate). And we have already seen how a different kind of resistance—namely philosophical and political—arose in 18th century Hungary and Germany when the aristocracy sought to establish French and English social constructs of paysage and 'landscape' against the opposition of their more traditionally minded compatriots.

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