

William Bainbridge

Cultural Landscapes in Context: Lessons from Lake District Heritage

The landscape of the Lake District, known simply as the Lakes, is dominated by nature. When in 2017 the English Lake District was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, however, the chosen criteria – (ii), (v), and (vi) – were only cultural;¹ no natural selection criteria were offered up for consideration in its nomination documentation.² Although readily and popularly characterized by nature, the landscape of the Lakes is a remarkable example of a so-called ‘cultural landscape’ – one that is broadly defined by UNESCO as being able to express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment – the recognition of the importance of human-environment interactions.³

This essay shall discuss various elements of this cultural landscape, some of which are taken up explicitly by the UK Government and the Lake District National Park Partnership in the Lakes’ nomination files.⁴ Pondering on these elements might provide interesting methodological approaches and new pedagogical considerations for the city of Schwerin and the Permanent Delegation of Germany to UNESCO as they prepare the ‘Residence Ensemble Schwerin – Cultural Landscape of Romantic Historicism’, as it labelled its submission to UNESCO in 2015, for further movement along the World Heritage Site selection pathway from its current position on the ‘Tentative List’. This movement remains somewhat slow, as at the time of writing, directly concurrent with the 42nd session of the World Heritage Committee in Manama, Bahrain (June–July 2018), the Residence Ensemble Schwerin remains upon that Tentative List – for now.

Debates around cultural landscape and heritage persist, and while sometimes fierce and emotive, they are as pertinent as ever.⁵ Despite the pervasiveness of the term ‘cultural landscape’, its conceptualization sometimes remains elusive. It is generally considered as a socially constructed phrase, through which artefacts, monuments, sites, and cultural practices are endowed with meaning and symbolism.⁶

The cultural landscape of the Lake District usefully offers up some exploratory avenues for Schwerin to explore. By dividing the paper into three parts, I shall discuss some of the literary and artistic dimensions of the Lakes’ cultural landscape; provide specific examples of how these landscape elements have been constructed as sites of heritage generation in the Lakes, through John Ruskin’s gardening pursuits at Brantwood; and, finally, suggest how the culture-nature binary in the Lakes compares to some heritage formulations operating within the landscape milieu of Schwerin.

Literary and artistic landscape

The Lakes constitute an area of outstanding natural beauty of mountains and fells, valleys and lakes, offering numerous recreational opportunities and stirring vistas. Situated in the northwest corner of England, the self-contained site broadly corresponds to what is now known as the county of Cumbria, although historically it spanned several counties that are now defunct, such as Westmorland and Cumberland. The region is marked by many literary and artistic associations, and its scenery has been widely celebrated in poetry and painting over the course of the last two centuries.⁷ The rich natural and symbolic landscape that emerges out of these heterogeneous elements forms the basis of a vibrant cultural and tourist economy.⁸ For most of its history, however, the Lake District remained remarkably isolated from the main sweep of events affecting the rest of England, allowing for an idiosyncratic regional culture to take root, dominated by sheep farming and some marginal mineral extraction.⁹

Since 1951 the region has been designated as a national park. This designation has been crucial not only for the emergence of the heritage industry found in the Lakes, but also for the formation of the National Trust and the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England, and for spurring national and even international debates around what cultural landscape might mean.¹⁰ It is not my purpose to dwell here extensively on the history of the negotiation and renegotiation of the phrase cultural landscape. It is generally acknowledged, however, that the Lakes truly represent the “combined works of nature and of man”, defined by Article 1 of the Convention.¹¹ Suffice it here to say that there has been a marked debate over the course of the past two centuries as to the interconnectedness of natural and cultural heritage based on disciplinary and geographic allegiances. In the discipline of geography, for example, several debates have arisen around the use of that terminology, and these debates continue to shape the way we use the term today.¹²

Moving from Vidal de la Blache’s *pays* and Richthofen’s *Landschaft*, which acquired special ascendancy in the 19th century, cultural landscape, according to Carl Sauer in 1925, was about human agency: “Man, 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”.¹³ In our case, this implies an evaluation of how man and woman ‘performed’ upon the natural surroundings of the Lakes transforming them into a cultural landscape. In the mid-20th century, W. G. Hoskins would frame it as a restoring subgenre of historical writing:

“Landscape history emerges as a practice and mode of writing seeking form and meaning in a modern world deemed to lack either”.¹⁴ Within this epistemology, the so-called cultural turn in human geography reignited these concerns from the 1980s, based on the disentanglement of historically formed symbolic landscapes which emerged and came to prominence in the writing of Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, for example.¹⁵

Over the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, a series of highly influential travel books and guides were published in England, in which the Lakes were romantically portrayed as an archetype of sublime and picturesque scenery. Influential among them were Thomas Gray’s *Journal in the Lakes* (1769), Thomas West’s *A Guide to the Lakes* (1788), and William Gilpin’s *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty in the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786). William Wordsworth’s widely circulated and often reprinted *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes in the North of England*, first appearing in 1810, did much to consolidate the reputation of the region as a supreme exemplar of the picturesque and to boost yet

further the influx of fashionable visitors (Fig. 1).¹⁶ With the integration of the region into the British railway system after 1847, much to Wordsworth’s dismay, the influx of visitors continued to expand, and the region’s character as a privileged tourist destination was thus assured.¹⁷ It is the “Topographical Description” section of Wordsworth’s *Guide*, however, that most revealingly deals with the artificial changes that were being imposed upon the scenery of the Lakes, establishing a manifesto outlining concerns and worries about the nature and pace of change in the Lakes.¹⁸ In the 1835 edition of the guide, “Topographical Description” would be subtitled “Changes, and Rules of Taste for Preventing Their Bad Effects”, suggesting how Wordsworth sought to warn against the negative consequences which affluent and sophisticated “new proprietors” were already introducing. A disciple of the picturesque oeuvre, he disparages formal gardens, plantations of commercial or even ornamental tree species, and the construction of Mediterranean-style villas and lofty mansions, which conflicted, in his eyes, with the natural landforms and modest native cottage architecture of Cumberland and Westmorland. Indifference towards these ‘incongruities’,



Fig. 1: After Joseph Wilkinson, View on the Ambleside road, near Bridge foot, with part of St. John’s Vale, one of the sketches that accompanied the rare first edition of Wordsworth’s *Guide*, 1810, London, engraved by W. F. Fells, printed by R. Ackermann

or a wilful cultivation of them motivated by ostentation and the “craving for prospect”, resulted in the “disfigurement” of the Lakes by “persons who may have built, demolished, and planted, with full confidence, that every change and addition was or would become an improvement”. Wordsworth proposed correctives to what he thought was a disturbing trend, long before any National Trusts, UNESCOs, or World Heritage Committees, in the hope of preserving the region “as a sort of national property [...] in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy”.¹⁹ In his rallying cry, Wordsworth evokes an encounter with Joshua Reynolds: “He used to say, [...] if you fix upon the best colour for your house, turn up a stone, or pluck up a handful of grass by the roots, and we see what is the colour of the soil where the house is to stand, and let that be your choice”.²⁰ Landscape, or the Lakeland landscape was supposed to have remained connected to a certain type of rootedness to the natural composition of the earth itself and remain essentially unadulterated. Certainly, Wordsworth contributed more aesthetic ideas to the so-called ‘Lake School’ through his poetry, but his guide serves as an illustrative heritage case in point.²¹

A generation later, the Edwardian children’s writer Beatrix Potter (1866–1943), famous for her creation of the Peter Rabbit books, first visited the Lakes in 1882 and later settled Hill Top Farm. Now owned by the National Trust, Hill Top Farm is preserved as a museum to her life and work. Inte-



Fig. 2: J. M. W. Turner, *Morning amongst the Coniston Fells, Cumberland*, exhibited 1798, Tate, London

restingly, the site has become something of a tourist mecca, particularly with tourists from Japan where her illustrated tales of Peter Rabbit, Mrs Tiggy-Winkle, and Jemima Puddle-Duck (all published from the early 20th century onwards) find a wide audience.²² Potter might not be part of a typical childhood tradition in Japan, but the interest in her and her work continues to prosper “partly because of widespread fascination for rural England and the possibility of experiencing first-hand that way of life”.²³ Potter, as well as Wordsworth, being just two of the many writers to settle and write in (or about) the Lakes, helped establish the region as a ‘literary place’, one which is symbolically charged with through associations with the biographies of the writers themselves or the settings of their works. Tourists and literary pilgrims, through their dedication in visiting birth-places or sites linked somehow to a writer, acquire a degree of emotional or intellectual satisfaction.²⁴

The Lakes have been forged not only as a literary place, but they have also been rendered as an artistic one as well, through the work of romantic painters like John Constable and J.M.W. Turner. These artists initiated the custom of leaving striking pictorial records of their visits that endures to this day. Turner’s exhibition piece, *Morning Among the Coniston Fells* (1798; Fig. 2), for example, has been called “a concatenation of poetry, painting, nation, nature and the Lake District Landscape”.²⁵ Turner’s Lake District views in his *Picturesque Views of England and Wales*, published between 1826 and 1838, also allowed the middle classes a way to ‘own’ England in visual terms through the purchase and possession of its accompanying engravings (Fig. 3). Possession of such images, images of places increasingly regarded as national landscapes, encouraged claims of a belonging to the nation, expressions of Englishness, or “membership of the meaningful national community”.²⁶

The scenic backdrop of the mountains and lakes is omnipresent in the Lake District and is the source of the physical and intellectual satisfactions that all visitors from the 18th century, onwards sought out, whether on the page, the canvas, or upon the very earth itself. Most tourists today engage in walking and sightseeing, enfolded themselves with the biography and work of literary or artistic figures. Others focus on the corporeal engagement with the landscape itself through mountaineering, rock climbing, walking, and sailing. Such physical embodiment of the Lakes’ landscape complements their artistic and literary interpretations, although these different versions of landscape understanding are not necessarily wrought simultaneously. Wordsworth himself, however, provides one pertinent example of one who did combine different inculcations of landscape perception: he “sealed his devotion to the country by walking incalculable miles in the Lake District. [...] Affirming his allegiance to place, step by step, verse by verse to the local and rural character of England’s true life.”²⁷ Alfred Wainwright (1907–1991), arguably Britain’s best-known guidebook writer, also contributed much to the discovery and wider symbolic elaboration of the Lakes through his articulated and ritualistic re-enactment of the fells. His million-selling seven-volume set of pen-and-ink *Pictorial Guides* to the English Lake District written for fell-walkers in the 1950s and 60s are still ever popular.²⁸



Fig. 3: After J. M. W. Turner, Keswick Lake, Cumberland, engraved by W. Radclyffe, 1837; part of Turner's Picturesque Views in England and Wales, Tate, London

These quirky guides provide readers with an aesthetic machinery that encourages them to engage with the landscape itself. In these activities some have identified a non-representational theory of landscape, implying a phenomenological experience of the world in which landscape is not just a pictorial representation of a given terrain, as in Turner, or a poetic, as in Wordsworth, but something to be experienced directly in that terrain through bodily movement.²⁹ As John Wylie explains, “landscape comes to occupy the folding inflection between immanent topographies and particular cultural and historical genres of visual aesthetics, performance, and modes of perception”,³⁰ expressive of an embodiment within the ‘depths’ and ‘folds’ of landscape perception, against landscape’s apparent and persistent ocular centrism.³¹

Whether we subscribe to Wylie’s version of landscape, or follow Dr Johnson, who defined landscape in 1755 as either a region, the prospect of a country, or as in a picture, representing an extent of place with the various subjects in it, the garden, as one designed landscape form, characterizes par excellence the notion of a spatially framed and enclosed assemblage of objects while also being representative of other things at the same time.³² The example of garden design in the Lake District helps both encapsulate Sauer’s definition of cultural landscape as well as displaying various elements of literary, artistic, and phenomenological tropes in situ, that have thus far hinted at being powerful in the creation of a holistic landscape idea attached to notions of Englishness. The Lake District is not to be only understood simply on

some huge geographic or panoramic scale, nor in the transcendentalism of rousing pictures or poetry alone, but also in the miniaturized form provided by the garden.

Garden design

A great deal of critical discussion has focused on England’s bucolic countryside as a symbol of Englishness.³³ Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin reminded us in 1926 that after all “England is the country, and the country is England”.³⁴ The symbolic power of rural landscapes has been elided with that power generated by some gardens and the philosophy behind their careful design. As Christopher Neve has helpfully suggested, “when society is functioning correctly, the garden stands for order, reconciliation and harmony. Outside is a place where the world teems, where nothing may be controlled except by the imagination. When a man has part of the world under his hand, to re-order it as something according to his own nature, it becomes like a painting or a poem. [...] The gardener, like the painter, selects, discards and rearranges, revisiting as he goes. Enclosing part of the landscape, he makes of it his own”.³⁵ Garden historian John Dixon Hunt similarly claims that the idea of the garden can encompass a palpable gradation between culture and nature, from regular, highly organized garden spaces to more natural, schematic groves.³⁶ In the garden designs found in the Lakes one can observe the implementation of the more romantically inspired, schematic grove-type to which Hunt refers.

Wordsworth's own design legacy at both his Lakeland homes, Dove Cottage on the shores of Grasmere, and his final home at Rydal Mount in Ambleside, are examples of a vernacular English style of gardening. Wordsworth developed Rydal Mount partly under the influence of a great progenitor of picturesque theory, Uvedale Price, and his seminal *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794).³⁷ In comparison, art and social critic John Ruskin's enterprise at Brantwood reveals a methodology of gardening whereby aesthetic theory is directly implemented as practice (Fig. 4). Brantwood and its garden, where Ruskin made his home from 1872 until his death in 1900, expressed his yearning for a return to Eden. Such a desire to regain paradise is a constant theme of both garden studies and a certain type of Victorian social commentary operated against industrialization.³⁸ Allusions to childhood memories were seen as key to the restoration of an earthly paradise. Such innocence re-enacted imitated the human condition before the Fall.

The Eden-like Brantwood, on Coniston Water, was, according to Ruskin, to be bought as "the cottage [...] near the lake-beach on which I used to play when I was seven years old".³⁹ Here Ruskin clearly bestows value on the association, both at the personal and mythical levels, in the aes-

thetic response to gardens. This, however, does not mean that Brantwood is necessarily picturesque or conforms to some higher aesthetic ideal. More evidence of this downward movement from idea to practice, is evident, nevertheless, in various picturesque motifs of Ruskin's garden design: decentralized building, heterogeneous tree planting, naturalistic ground grading, curving paths, irregularly shaped bodies of water, naturally-seeming waterfalls and cataracts, bridges and crossings to appear as 'typical' points for viewing, the abandonment of elaborate flower beds for naturalistic layering, and so on. Ruskin's sense of the natural potential of rock and water in the so-called wild garden within the woods above Brantwood is similarly evident in contemporary descriptions. By no means was Ruskin the author of such a paradigmatic design, however, as is explained by John Illingworth quoting garden historian Brent Elliot: "Some pioneer rock gardeners of the first half of the nineteenth century had constructed rock works by moving choice specimens of rock found lying at least partially exposed on the surface and they were placed in 'position already clothed with lichen and moss'"⁴⁰

In 1882, the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, with its magnificent new rock garden, accepted the principle of pictu-

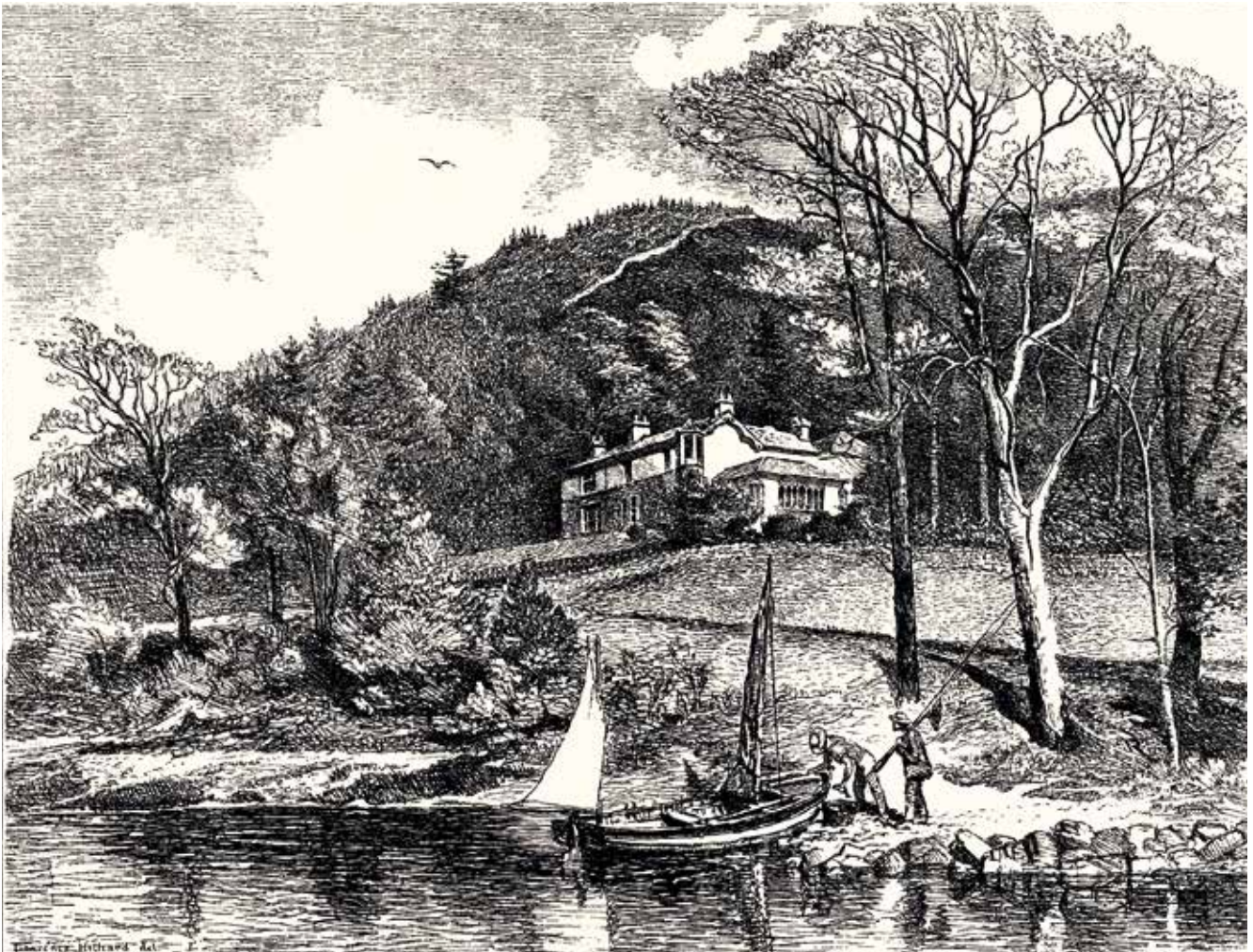


Fig. 4: After L. J. Hilliard, Mr. Ruskin's house, Brantwood, published in the *Art Journal*, December 1881; *The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library, New York*

resque stratification and modification including the imitation of a streambed, “giving prominence to the idea of the rock garden as an excavation instead of a raised construction”.⁴¹ Following the picturesque tradition of lending Mother Nature a hand, “Ruskin was said to enjoy startling his visitors by sending someone to turn the water on, producing a roaring cascade among the laurels opposite the front door”, after the installation of sluices and water gates, which would control water flows while imitating nature.⁴² The zigzagging of pathways to hidden areas and clearings gives a further sense of Ruskin’s approach to his Brantwood garden as being part of the mainstream of the picturesque tradition.

Going back to Dr Johnson’s definition of ‘landscape’, Ruskin also devised his garden to appear ‘as in a picture’, but Ruskin’s picture was borrowed from the Italian Renaissance. Ruskin’s biographer, W. G. Collingwood suggests that “the reason that Ruskin would not have his coppice cut, and allowed it to spindle up ‘to great tall stems, slender and sinuous’, was to make his coppice as in a picture by Botticelli”.⁴³ The landscape of Brantwood, and the Lake District itself, also allowed Ruskin to recapture and re-imagine his beloved Alps of Switzerland and Chamonix, which were so important to the development of his philosophy.⁴⁴ Ruskin’s garden of plants, rock, and water was meant to look as a picture, but it was also emotionally and technically linked to literature, especially to that of the medieval and classical periods. The zigzagging pathways on the slopes behind Brantwood were said to represent a “maze of paths to a paradise of terraces like the top of the purgatorial mount in Dante”,⁴⁵ as well as allowing Ruskin to “abstract the numerous ascents of his previous years that brought him in physical proximity to the mountain landscape”.⁴⁶ Although the garden at Brantwood was not classically Claudian, Ruskin writes of the importance for landscape of a “perpetual impression of antiquity”.⁴⁷ Arcadian classicism in Ruskin’s botanical publication *Proserpina, Studies of Wayside Flowers* (1875–1886) further highlights this insight into the cycle of renewal inspired by the Ovidian myth where a laurel springing from Daphne saves her from the amorous pursuit of Apollo. Of the “contrasted aspects in leaves”, Ruskin writes, “their mythic importance is very great, and your careful observance of it will help you completely to understand the beautiful Greek fable”.⁴⁸

Like Ruskin’s chameleon-like writing, Brantwood’s garden design embodies multiple perspectives, mobilizing not only aesthetic concerns like the sublime, the beautiful, or the picturesque, but also declarations on geology, mineralogy, and botany. He used his writing and his Brantwood garden to interrogate natural and man-made scenes (as well as their material relatedness) for what they could tell him of social, moral, and political forces that shaped their formation. The poor workman’s cottage could be both picturesque and pathetic. *Modern Painters* (1843–1860) expressed varying levels of disinterest, disgust, pathos, and sympathy, according to Ruskin’s varying moral and aesthetic prerogatives. His worry came from what he perceived as relish and sensation in the way poverty had been normalized and naturalized in art.

Of Ruskin’s writing on the picturesque, John Macarthur argues, “the picturesque is a starting point, one that is unclear he ever surpasses. It is the received aesthetic of the age, which he believes can be given a cause and origin (lack

of sympathy) and then surpassed into a more complete aesthetic project for which the picturesque had given us taste. The picturesque is ‘heartless’; nevertheless, it can lead us to nobility”.⁴⁹ Ruskin clearly critiques the picturesque through a questioning of how national character might be reflected in national architectural styles or the prevailing climatic environment in *The Poetry of Architecture* (1837–1838, under the *nom de plume* “Kata Pushin”). He begins by contrasting English and French cottages. The garden of the Italian mountain villa is unsuited for translation to the English equivalent because of climatic differences. His prognosis on the cottage found in the “Woody, or green, Country”, at the same time, is particularly revealing for understanding Ruskin’s approach not only to gardening but also to what contemporary scholars might call heritage:

But a very old forest tree is a thing subject to the same laws of nature as ourselves: it is an energetic being, liable to an approaching death; its age is written on every spray; and, because we see it is susceptible of life and annihilation, like our own, we imagine it must be capable of the same feelings, and possess the same faculties, and, above all others, memory: it is always telling us about the past, never pointing to the future; we appeal to it, as to a thing which has seen and felt during a life similar to our own, though of ten times its duration, and therefore receive from it a perpetual impression of antiquity. So, again, a ruined tower gives us an impression of antiquity; the stones of which it is built, none; for their age is not written upon them.⁵⁰

In this passage, physiognomic features and human attributes observed in trees, when equated to our own understanding of the past, prompts a nostalgia for ancient times (“impression of antiquity”), which can be nourished by the material form and culture (“ruins”) rather than by the material composition of a given landscape. It is the emotion attached and exuded by the material, not the material itself, which is central to the generation of a type of “memory” of the past.

In this way a landscape, or a humble tree found in a garden, can have memory and express feelings, of “life” and “annihilation”. As Simon Schama helpfully puts it, “landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock [...] once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery”.⁵¹ Brantwood for Ruskin allowed for experimentation around the theoretical and practical implications of aesthetic notions such as the picturesque and the Arcadian. In his descriptions of wooded landscapes, in *The Poetry of Architecture*, trees are not simply trees, but come to create the feeling of a temple and a sacred place:

[...] it is evident that the chief feeling induced by woody country is one of reverence for its antiquity. There is a quiet melancholy about the decay of the patriarchal trunks, which is enhanced by the green and elastic vigour of the young saplings; the noble form of the forest aisles, and the subdued light which penetrates their entangled boughs, com-



Fig. 5: John Ruskin, Study of a Sprig of a Myrtle Tree, 1870s, watercolour over pencil, heightened with pen and brown ink and white, study for Proserpina: Studies of Wayside Flowers, While the Air was Yet Pure Among the Alps, and in the Scotland and England which My Father Knew, 1875–1886, sold at Sotheby's, New York, 25 January 2017, formerly at The Berger Collection Educational Trust, Denver

bine to add to the impression; and the whole character of the scene is calculated to excite conservative feeling. The man who could remain a radical in a wood country is a disgrace to his species.⁵²

At Brantwood, Ruskin was able to extract multiple perspectives from aesthetic concepts, such as the picturesque, itself first elaborated on the broader stage of the Lake District. Ruskin further distilled these ideas into a miniaturized form operated at the scale of the garden. Ruskin completed this project also while operating multiple perspectives within his own criticism. What is usefully disclosed, however, in the foregoing discussion, is the readiness of landscape to become representative of identity, individual or national, to acquire symbolic meaning, and to become a transferable marker of important moments in intellectual history. That generates, particularly in the case of the English Lake District, what we might call heritage. Originating in the Lake District and inspired by its landscape, these ideas inter-

weave culture and nature and have had a lasting and significant impact on the understanding of romantic art, literature, and philosophy at a global level, as is aptly outlined by the Lakes' UNESCO nomination documentation.

Picturesque staging

Picturesque staging around Schwerin's surrounding landscape and lakes – its residence ensemble and castle, and formal parks, partly set to designs by landscape planner Peter Joseph Lenné in the 19th century – is undeniable. Although, whether this staging is based on an 18th-century romantic landscape idea emanating from England, fraught as it is with its own competing influences, or whether it finds resonances with later sentimental or Victorian garden tropes, or anglo-chinois, the 'Lustgarten', the French garden, the Italian garden, the picturesque, the sublime, and so on, is a moot point.⁵³ Such conceptual labels tend not to be helpful in comparative analyses, although

UNESCO, of course, benefits from comparing sites when making decisions about a site's elevation to the World Heritage List. Germany's Schwerin documentation rightly makes reference to similar sites already listed as World Heritage Sites, such as the romantic 'Gartenlandschaft' of the UNESCO listed 'Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin'.⁵⁴

While the natural landscape of the English Lake District is at first glance much more mountainous than that of the undulating Mecklenburg scenery, memorable for its vast skies, some obvious similarities can be observed. The city of Schwerin is dominated, like the Lake District (although the Lakes function on a much larger geographic and imaginative scale), by bodies of water, including lakes such as the vast Schweriner See, but also the Burgsee, Pfaffenteich, and Ziegelsee, which are smaller and influenced by their proximity to the city, historical damming, and other human interventions. Less obvious, however, is evidence of historical picturesque staging and the creation of views to and from the castle at various points around the Schweriner See that create vistas, panoramas, and the prospect of a country, as in a picture. More applicable ideas can be drawn from the construction of both sites as symbolic landscapes, not least as both Schwerin and the Lakes configure a liminal space between human intervention and natural forces: forces which influence each other in varying intensities across time and space.

Schwerin's setting is one premeditated by architects, landscape designers and gardeners; but it is also a setting which is prefigured by its natural environment, allowing the site to fit deftly into the UNESCO definition of cultural landscape – an example of the combined works of man and of nature. As Backhaus has argued, there is a divide between the symbolic and non-symbolic, which is reflected in a distinction between intellectualism and empiricism, and might be further recognized here as the symbiotic duality between the works of man and the works of nature.⁵⁵ For this reason, Schwerin might find the consideration of criterion (v) pertinent in its nomination aspirations, which considers a World Heritage Site "to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment", in addition to its reliance on criteria (iii) and (iv).

Schwerin, like the Lakes, is a symbolic landscape for its very clear expression and embodiment of the connotations of cultural landscape itself. Schwerin and its castle are not separated from the materiality of the landscape they are placed in; instead they are fully intertwined with a physiognomy potentially communicative of existential life, exemplifying a "human interaction with the environment". Schwerin might well find global heritage potential in notions of historicism or romanticism: they remain powerful ideas activated in Schwerin in response to the proximity between the city and its surrounding lakes. Ruskin's Brantwood, the art of Turner or of Wordsworth, or the phenomenological meanderings of Wainwright, similarly express such power in the ability of the material landscape of the Lake District to influence a conceptual framework of aesthetics, poetry, and national identity.

Kulturlandschaften im Kontext: vom Kulturerbe des Lake District lernen

Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den herausragenden Naturmerkmalen des englischen Lake District und der wasserreichen Umgebung Schwerins sind kaum zu übersehen. Die Kulturlandschaften der beiden Standorte weisen jedoch eine Reihe historischer und geografischer Unterschiede auf, die sich auch in der Diskussion um ihre jeweiligen UNESCO-Nominierungsdossiers niederschlagen. Der Lake District, der im Juli 2017 nach mehreren umstrittenen Versuchen vom Welterbekomitee auf seiner 41. Sitzung in Krakau nach den Kriterien (ii), (v) und (vi) eingetragen wurde, stellt für Schwerin eine interessante Fallstudie in der aktuellen Diskussion um die mögliche Eintragung des Residenzensembles zum Welterbe dar.

In diesem Beitrag, der sich hauptsächlich auf die historische Geografie konzentriert, wird die Entwicklung dargestellt, durch die sich der Lake District im Laufe der Jahre von einer symbolischen Landschaft von nationalem Wert zu einer Kulturlandschaft von globaler Bedeutung gewandelt hat.

Meine vergleichende Analyse konzentriert sich auf drei Themenbereiche: (1) Gartengeschichte, (2) romantisches Empfinden und (3) symbolische Bedeutung. Diese Themen sind stark verwoben mit dem sehr gepflegten Erscheinungsbild der „natürlichen“ Landschaft des Lake District und der kulturellen Neubewertung während der Romantik. Sei es durch die Feder von William Wordsworth, den Pinsel von J.M.W. Turner oder die Schriften von John Ruskin, der Lake District verfügt über eine so einzigartige und kraftvolle Symbolik, dass er modellhaft für den „Garten Englands“ steht und irgendwie die Quintessenz der „Englishness“ verkörpert. Ähnlich wie die landschaftsgestaltenden Muster in Schwerins historischer Landschaft hat die literarische und künstlerische „Ahnentafel“ der Lakes weitreichende kulturelle Implikationen.

Bibliography:

- James ACKERMAN, The Photographic Picturesque, in: *Artibus et Historiae*, 2005, 24 (48), pp. 73–94.
- Joseph AMATO, *On Foot, A History of Walking*, New York 2004.
- Graeme APLIN, World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, in: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2007, 13 (6), pp. 427–46.
- Gary BACKHAUS, The Problematic of Grounding the Significance of Symbolic Landscapes, in: *Symbolic Landscapes*, Gary BACKHAUS, John MURUNGI (eds.), Dordrecht 2009, pp. 3–31.
- Janet BLAKE, On Defining the Cultural Heritage, in: *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, 2000, 49 (01), pp. 61–85.
- Catherine BRACE, Gardenesque Imagery in the Representation of Regional and National Identity: The Cotswold Garden of Stone, in: *Journal of Rural Studies*, 1999, 15 (4), pp. 365–76.
- James BUZARD, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918*, Oxford 1993.
- Ann COLLEY, John Ruskin, Climbing and the Vulnerable Eye,

- in: *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 2009, 37 (1), pp. 43–66.
- Ann COLLEY, *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime*, Burlington, VT 2010.
- Denis COSGROVE, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London 1984.
- Stephen DANIELS, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*, Cambridge 1993.
- Wendy JOY DARBY, *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England*, Oxford/New York 2000.
- Susan DENYER, *The Lake District Landscape: Cultural or Natural?*, in: *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750–2010*, John WALTON, Jason WOOD (eds.), Burlington, VT 2013, pp. 3–29.
- Aurélie Elisa GFELLER, *Negotiating the Meaning of Global Heritage: ‘Cultural Landscapes’ in the Unesco World Heritage Convention, 1972–92*, in: *Journal of Global History*, 2013, 8 (3), pp. 483–503.
- David HERBERT, *Literary Places, Tourism and the Heritage Experience*, in: *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2001, 28 (2), pp. 312–33.
- Peter HOWARD, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London/New York 2003.
- John ILLINGWORTH, *Ruskin and Gardening*, in: *Garden History*, 1994, 22 (2), pp. 218–33.
- Krishan KUMAR, *The Making of English National Identity*, Cambridge 2003.
- David LOWENTHAL, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge 1998.
- John MACARTHUR, *The Heartlessness of the Picturesque: Sympathy and Disgust in Ruskin’s Aesthetics*, in: *Assemblage*, 1997, 32, pp. 127–41.
- Hannah MACPHERSON, *Landscape’s Ocular-Centrism: and Beyond?*, in: *From Landscape Research to Landscape Planning: Aspects of Integration, Education and Application*, Bärbel TRESS, Gunther TRESS, Gary FRY, Paul OPDAM (eds.), Dordrecht 2006, pp. 95–104.
- Hannah MACPHERSON, *Non-Representational Approaches to Body-Landscape Relations*, in: *Geography Compass*, 2010, 4 (1), pp. 1–13.
- David MATLESS, *Landscape and Englishness*, London 1998.
- David MATLESS, *Writing English Landscape History*, in: *Anglia – Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 2008, 126 (2), pp. 295–311.
- Joseph MOLDENHAUER, *‘Walden’ and Wordsworth’s Guide to the English Lake District*, in: *Studies in the American Renaissance*, 1990, pp. 261–92.
- Kenneth OLWIG, *Has ‘Geography’ Always Been Modern?: Choros, (Non)Representation, Performance, and the Landscape*, in: *Environment and Planning A*, 2008, 40 (8), pp. 1843–61.
- Clare PALMER, Emily BRADY, *Landscape and Value in the Work of Alfred Wainwright (1907–1991)*, in: *Landscape Research*, 2007, 32 (4), pp. 397–421.
- John PHIBBS, *The Englishness of Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown*, in: *Garden History*, 2003, 31 (2), pp. 122–40.
- Ronald REES, *John Constable and the Art of Geography*, in: *Geographical Review*, 1976, 66 (1), pp. 59–72.
- Mechtild RÖSSLER, *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A UNESCO Flagship Programme 1992–2006*, in: *Landscape Research*, 2006, 31 (4), pp. 333–53.
- John RUSKIN, *The Library Edition of The Works of John Ruskin*, E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds.), London 1903.
- Simon SCHAMA, *Landscape and Memory*, New York 1996.
- Allen SCOTT, *The Cultural Economy of Landscape and Prospects for Peripheral Development in the Twenty-First Century: The Case of the English Lake District*, in: *European Planning Studies*, 2010, 18 (10), pp. 1567–89.
- Shelagh SQUIRE, *Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism*, in: *Area*, 1993, 25 (1), pp. 5–10.
- Shelagh SQUIRE, *The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism*, in: *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1994, 21 (1), pp. 103–20.
- Urte STOBBE, *Landscape Garden or Lustgarten: Reinterpreting Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe in Garden History*, in: *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 2012, 32 (2), pp. 84–98.
- Geoffrey TAYLOR, *Some Nineteenth Century Gardeners*, London 1951.
- Divya TOLIA-KELLY, *Fear in Paradise: The Affective Registers of the English Lake District Landscape Re-Visited*, in: *The Senses and Society*, 2007, 2 (3), pp. 329–51.
- John WALTON, Jason WOOD (eds.), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750–2010*, Burlington, VT 2013.
- Ian WHYTE, *William Wordsworth’s ‘Guide to the Lakes’ and the Geographical Tradition*, in: *Area*, 2000, 32 (1), pp. 101–6.
- Ian WHYTE, *Landscape and History Since 1500*, London 2002.
- John WYLIE, *A Single Day’s Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path*, in: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2005, 30 (2), pp. 234–47.
- John WYLIE, *Depths and Folds: On Landscape and the Gazing Subject*, in: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2006, 24 (4), pp. 519–35.
- John WYLIE, *Landscape*, London/New York 2007.
- Saeko YOSHIKAWA, *William Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism, 1820–1900*, London 2016.

¹ The ten UNESCO ‘Criteria for Selection’ are available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria>.

² Until the end of 2004, World Heritage Sites were selected on the basis of six cultural and four natural criteria. With the adoption of the revised Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, only one set of ten criteria exists. Selected sites, however, are still considered cultural, natural, or mixed.

³ GFELLER, *Global Heritage*, 2013. The category ‘cultural landscapes’ was introduced in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1992.

⁴ The English Lake District’s nomination text, as well as other technical information is available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/422/documents>.

⁵ HOWARD, *Heritage*, 2003, p. 17; LOWENTHAL, *Heritage Crusade*, 1998.

⁶ GFELLER, *Global Heritage*, 2013, p. 484.

⁷ BUZARD, *Beaten Track*, 1993; YOSHIKAWA, *William Wordsworth*, 2016.

⁸ WALTON, WOOD (eds.), *Cultural Landscape*, 2013.

⁹ SCOTT, *Cultural Economy*, 2010, p. 1569; WHYTE, *Landscape*, 2002, p. 87.

- ¹⁰ DENYER, *Lake District Landscape*, 2013, pp. 17ff.
- ¹¹ BLAKE, *Heritage*, 2000, pp. 65ff. Article 1 appears in the "Definition of World Heritage" within the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (II.A.45, p. 13, available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>).
- ¹² WYLIE, *Landscape*, 2007, pp. 17f.
- ¹³ APLIN, *World Heritage*, 2007, p. 428. See also RÖSSLER, *World Heritage*, 2006, p. 338.
- ¹⁴ MATLESS, *Writing English Landscape*, 2008, p. 297.
- ¹⁵ COSGROVE, *Social Formation*, 1984; DANIELS, *Fields of Vision*, 1993.
- ¹⁶ BUZARD, *Beaten Track*, 2003, p. 20.
- ¹⁷ WHYTE, *William Wordsworth*, 2000, p. 101. Though Wordsworth's *Guide* encouraged the very tourism that he felt was damaging to the authenticity and integrity of the Lakes. In the late poem, *The Prelude*, Wordsworth reflected on his engagement with the picturesque and regretted his acceptance of the superficiality of its focus on pictorial composition (see ACKERMAN, *Photographic Picturesque*, 2003, p. 78).
- ¹⁸ MOLDENHAUER, *Walden*, 1990, p. 265.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*
- ²⁰ *ibid.*
- ²¹ Lake District visitors Coleridge and Southey also wrote seminal poetry that resonated with the images and emotions of the Lakes' landscape. Byron, Hazlitt, Keats, and Shelley joined De Quincey, of opium-eating fame, who had gone to live in the region in 1809. Harriet Martineau, the writer and philosopher, lived in Ambleside from 1846 until her death in 1876.
- ²² SQUIRE, *Valuing Countryside*, 1993, p. 5.
- ²³ SQUIRE, *Cultural Values*, 1994, p. 112.
- ²⁴ HERBERT, *Literary Places*, 2001.
- ²⁵ DARBY, *Landscape and Identity*, 2000, p. 89.
- ²⁶ WHYTE, *Landscape and History*, 2002, p. 132. See also REES, *John Constable*, 1976, pp. 64f.
- ²⁷ AMATO, *On Foot*, 2004, pp. 104f. See also WYLIE, *Single Day's Walking*, 2005.
- ²⁸ PALMER, BRADY, *Landscape and Value*, 2007.
- ²⁹ MACPHERSON, *Non-Representational Approaches*, 2010.
- ³⁰ WYLIE, *Depths and Folds*, 2006, p. 532.
- ³¹ MACPHERSON, *Landscape's Ocular-Centrism*, in TRESS et al., *Landscape Research*, 2006.
- ³² For a discussion around Dr Johnson's 1755 dictionary definition of 'landscape' see OLWIG, *Has 'Geography' always been Modern?*, 2008, p. 1847.
- ³³ DANIELS, *Fields of Vision*, 1993; DARBY, *Landscape and Identity*, 2000; MATLESS, *Landscape and Englishness*, 1998.
- ³⁴ KUMAR, *English National Identity*, 2003, p. 230.
- ³⁵ BRACE, *Gardenesque Imagery*, 1999, p. 365.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 368.
- ³⁷ ILLINGWORTH, *Ruskin and Gardening*, 1994, p. 222. Though Wordsworth himself was central to the picturesque programme.
- ³⁸ PHIBBS, 'Capability' Brown, 2003, pp. 122f.
- ³⁹ ILLINGWORTH, *Ruskin and Gardening*, 1994, p. 218.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 225. See also TAYLOR, *Nineteenth Century Gardeners*, 1951.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.*
- ⁴² *ibid.*
- ⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 229.
- ⁴⁴ COLLEY, *John Ruskin*, 2009.
- ⁴⁵ ILLINGWORTH, *Ruskin and Gardening*, 1994, p. 229.
- ⁴⁶ COLLEY, *Victorians*, 2010, p. 150.
- ⁴⁷ COOK, WEDDERBURN (eds.), *Works*, 1903, v. 1, p. 69.
- ⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 242.
- ⁴⁹ MACARTHUR, *Heartlessness*, 1997, p. 128. See also TOLIA-KELLY, *Fear in Paradise*, 2007.
- ⁵⁰ COOK, WEDDERBURN (eds.), *Works*, 1903, v. 1, pp. 68f.
- ⁵¹ SCHAMA, *Landscape and Memory*, 1996, p. 61.
- ⁵² COOK and WEDDERBURN (eds.), *Works*, 1903, v. 1, p. 69.
- ⁵³ STOBBE, *Lustgarten*, 2012, p. 87.
- ⁵⁴ Some of Schwerin's Tentative List submission information is available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5976>.
- ⁵⁵ BACKHAUS, *Symbolic Landscapes*, 2009, p. 25. See also COSGROVE, *Social Formation*, 1984.