

Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*: Aesthetic Education and Infrastructure

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Abstract

This paper examines Paul Schultze-Naumburg's nine –volume series, *Kulturarbeiten*, published between 1900 and 1917. Schultze-Naumburg was an architect and the first chairman of the *Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz*. His pre-war work provides an interesting perspective on the aesthetics of developing of public works, and in construction as a social and moral responsibility both within the text and in the external landscape. I show how the *Kulturarbeiten* series documents an expanding understanding of the environment in the beginning of the twentieth century. First, Schultze-Naumburg addresses his work to a large audience comprised of all levels of society. By extending “aesthetic citizenship” to the German public, he enrolls them in his program of making them responsible stewards of the German landscape. Second, the *Kulturarbeiten* show the transition from an understanding the environment and the need to protect it motivated by aesthetic value (as was characteristic during the nineteenth century) to an impetus rooted in health and natural resource management concerns. Such an understanding of the environment was underpinned by developments in technology and the economy, which demanded intelligent planning of future incursions of human activity in the landscape. Schultze-Naumburg's reflections also point to a widespread understanding of natural resources as threatened by human activity in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Paul Schultze-Naumburg's nine-volume series *Kulturarbeiten*, published between 1900 and 1917, provides an exhaustive exploration of the architect and chairman of the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz's aesthetic values. Viewed as part of architectural history, the *Kulturarbeiten* provided the foundation of the Heimatstil, a style of building that celebrated the German golden age around 1800.¹ When viewed as part of the body of literature produced by the DBH, the progressive value of the *Kulturarbeiten* is underestimated. Scholars have often taken the view that Schultze-Naumburg espoused a Romantic, anti-modern ideal of architecture and an overarching concern with the preservation of the landscape, when in fact, taken in its entirety, the *Kulturarbeiten* present a forward-looking attempt to incorporate a wide range of sites, new and old, into a discussion of contemporary culture.

Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten* explores the connective tissue of modern Germany. This is accomplished in two moves. First, the series addressed a large public that cut across traditional regional and class lines. The series extended what I will refer to as "aesthetic citizenship" to its readers. The pedagogical function of the series should not be overlooked. As a work that was available for cheap purchase and printed en masse, the *Kulturarbeiten* made inroads among populations that possessed little previous knowledge, or interest in architecture or landscape design. Instead of appealing to a narrow group of specialists, the *Kulturarbeiten* addresses aesthetic and cultural criticisms to a larger public. A corollary to this is that by raising a sort of aesthetic literacy, Schultze-Naumburg could then expect the public to make more informed decisions moving forward, shaped by his own views. By opening the conversation

¹ For more on the architectural aspects of the *Kulturarbeiten*, see Kai K. Gutschow, "Schultze-Naumburg's Heimatstil: A Nationalist Conflict of Tradition and Modernity," in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements: Working Papers* 36, no. 1 (1992): 1-36.

about contemporary culture and architecture to a larger audience, he involved them in the project and invited them to take an active role in cultural critique.

Secondly, through Schultze-Naumburg's use of the term "Kultur des Sichtbaren,"² to include elements on different scales, Schultze-Naumburg accomplishes a textual dilation, tracking from the individual experience to a panoramic picture of German landscape. The progression from the first volume devoted to individual houses, to the second dealing with gardens, the third with villages and the fourth with urban planning, into the final three volumes devoted to the human intervention in nature, or cultural landscape, are a testament to this. Schultze-Naumburg promoted a cumulative view of the landscape in which all levels of activity and construction were interconnected. The "Kultur des Sichtbaren" was not simply the landscape as a set devoid of human activity, but also the human activity staged there. It encompassed houses, monuments, bridges and streets, but also clothing, forests, machines and livestock.³ It was a means of overcoming a longstanding dichotomy between nature and culture that aggravated the conflict between industrialists and preservationists during the nineteenth century. By taking the position that human activity was an inextricable part of the landscape, the *Kulturarbeiten* provided a blueprint for industrial progress without declaring war on the natural environment.

Though hardly a technocrat, Schultze-Naumburg attempted to reconcile traditional values and Bürgerlich taste with industrialization. In the final three volumes of the *Kulturarbeiten*, entitled *Der Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Mensch*, the term "Kulturlandschaft," or cultural landscape, appears with increasing frequency. This term denotes a holistic view of

² "Kultur des Sichtbaren" can be loosely translated as visual culture. A more accurate but cumbersome translation would be "culture of the visible."

³ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, vol. 1, *Kulturarbeiten* (Munich: Kastner & Callwey, 1912),

landscape in Germany that was understood not as pristine nature, but landscape as transformed by human activity and technology. Here it helpful to adopt Sara Pritchard's term "enviro-technical" landscape. In Pritchard's study of the Rhône River in post-1945 France, she makes the case that technological projects of the state constitute the non-imagined side of the national community neglected by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.⁴ Similarly, other projects of infrastructure, such as the creation and leveling of roads, canal construction and the extension of the power grid can foster feelings of citizenship, albeit in communities of different scale, within Germans at the turn of the century.

The latter part of this paper addresses Schultze-Naumburg's incorporation of infrastructure projects into the landscape as a means of reinforcing local and national identity. These networks created valences of citizenship, between the local, regional, and national that informed a sense of belonging. While the *Kulturarbeiten* series does not represent an official state program as in Pritchard's study, the same principle of reinforcing citizenship through infrastructure is at work. Fin-de-siècle Germany's expanding network of roads, canals and power suppliers played an integral part in affirming membership in communities at varying scales.

We should not be misled by Schultze-Naumburg's role as a founding member of the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz and its first chairman and take care to separate the man from the organization. Too close an association with the DBH is problematic for three reasons: first, the DBH was one organization among many to which Schultze-Naumburg belonged-- he was also a member of the Dürerbund, the Deutscher Werkbund, and the Munich, then subsequently Berlin Secession movements. All of these groups addressed aesthetic reform, yet they were interested in

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006).

different projects.⁵ Thus, just as it would be wrong to ascribe Schultze-Naumburg's personal views to the whole of any one of these organizations, it would be equally incorrect to mistake any one of their programs for his own views. This is especially true in the case of the DBH, where his personal views were often contested by other members.⁶

Secondly, thinking of Schultze-Naumburg as synonymous with Heimat may pose a barrier to understanding. In light of the flood of recent scholarship on Heimat, the longstanding identification between Heimat and conservatism and anti modernism has been broken down. Celia Applegate's *A Nation of Provincials* showed that although the Heimatschutz movement in the Pfalz superficially rejected city-life, it was in fact a way of adjusting to life in industrialized communities.⁷ Jennifer Jenkins confronted the purported incompatibility of Heimat with city life in her study of fin-de-siècle Hamburg, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg*. Jenkins examines liberal articulations of Heimat in citizenship and culture in Germany's second largest city.⁸ These local studies provide valuable insight into the workings of regional variants of the Heimat movement. Yet, we are forced to wonder how these local or "provincial" modernities fit into the larger, national picture without losing their distinctiveness.

⁵ The Dürerbund was a leading cultural organization that promoted aesthetic education; the Werkbund was concerned with modern architecture and industrial design alongside the quality of German products; the two Secession movements had their idiosyncrasies can be said broadly to share their rejection of the state-run art academies.

⁶ Norbert Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg, 1869-1949. Maler-Publizist-Architekt: Vom Kulturreformer der Jahrhundertwende zum Kulturpolitiker im Dritten Reich*, (Essen: Vlg Richard Bacht, 1989), 63.

⁷ Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁸ Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2003).

This is the great advantage of the *Kulturarbeiten*. The series is not addressed to any particular region, nor does it efface regional distinctiveness. Instead, Schultze-Naumburg marshals examples from across the Reich, from Colmar to Prague, and sets them in a relation to one another. It is worth noting that the Kultur des Sichtbaren is coextensive with the Reich, and what it lacks in overt nationalistic rhetoric, it makes up for in the sly substitution of the Reich for the entire visible world. The pedagogical goals of aesthetic citizenship, and the attention to infrastructure projects reveal the attempt to place local identities into a network with shared values and sensitivity to change elsewhere.

Applegate and Jenkins pay special attention to cultural institutions and practices, marshaling evidence from music, museums, education and literature. And this is appropriate if we see Heimat as a strictly cultural movement. But I suspect at least for some members of the Heimatschutz, Schultze-Naumburg included, that much more was at stake. Indeed, if their multiple memberships in associations are revealing, many of these men had other concerns. If we wish to examine how Heimat fit into the rapidly changing world of the fin-de-siècle, and we now accept that it was not patently hostile to urban life and technology, it behooves us to examine the interplay of figures in the Heimatschutz movement with novel forms of social organization and technology, such as urban communities, transportation and electrical networks. Put one way, if historians continue to look in the same places, should we not expect to find the same answers? The *Kulturarbeiten* offer one direct response to the pressures of technological change that does not shirk away from modernization, but engages directly with it. The cultural mission of the

series can be read as the aestheticization of social reform and a refuge from political associations in Wilhelmine Germany.⁹

The second, larger problem looming over the direct association of Schultze-Naumburg and the DBH is the latter's involvement in the Third Reich. His complicity facilitates the conflation of Heimat and Nazism that scholars have labored to counteract. Though his early writings exhibit none of vitriol towards urban life or racism of earlier Blut und Boden authors such as Wilhelm Riehl, whose 1857 publication of *Land und Leute* was written in the anti-modern vein, his writings took this turn following the First World War.

Schultze-Naumburg became a member of the NSDAP in 1930 and rose in its ranks to become the leader of the Kampfbund(es) deutscher Architekten und Ingenieure within the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur. His later publications, such as the 1928 appearance of *Kunst und Rasse*, displayed a strand of virulent anti-Semitism. But, such racially based attacks are absent from much of his earlier writing, including the whole *Kulturarbeiten* published between 1900 and 1917.¹⁰ The question as to whether or not these pathologies can be read in reverse is not within the scope of this paper, although it certainly merits acknowledgement and inquiry.

Life and formation

Paul Schultze-Naumburg was born on June 10, 1869 to portrait artist Gustav Adolf Schultze in Almrich, a small village near Naumburg. At an early age, he began to sketch the surrounding hills and homes.¹¹ He encountered architecture first through his older brother, Richard, who studied in Berlin, for whom he furnished sketches. His interest in sketching was

⁹ Kevin Repp *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890-1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 217.

¹⁰ Borrman places Schultze-Naumburg's turn towards anti-Semitism and the National Socialists in the wake of his fall from favor and alienation from the group of more radical architects, such as Gropius and Behrens, during the 1920s. Borrman, 141-145.

¹¹ Borrman, 15.

complemented by interests in sciences and literature. He pursued his artistic education at the Karlsruher Kunstschule then the Kunstakademie, also spending time at the Technische Hochschule to study architecture.

Schultze-Naumburg exhibited as a painter with the newly formed Munich Secession exhibition of 1893. Five years later he moved to Berlin, where he joined the Secession movement there. Schultze-Naumburg was not only trained in fine arts and architecture, but also spent some time as medical student before returning to architecture. In Berlin he undertook four semesters of medical study in an anatomy course with Hans Virchow (son of Rudolf Virchow). This experience, though short-lived, stayed with him throughout his life. He would later write an indictment of contemporary women's fashion (specifically the corset) rooted in its violation of hygienic, aesthetic and ethical qualities of the human body.¹² The concern with modern dress represented the smallest scale of the *Kultur des Sichtbaren*, the individual's appearance. From this, Schultze-Naumburg would scale up. The human body was the first site of reform. As an architect, Schultze-Naumburg was well acquainted with the experiential dimension of interacting with space and buildings that allowed him to move from the individual, to his/her immediate surroundings, then the community, and then the regional picture towards a harmonious whole.

Schultze-Naumburg's professional life was marked by membership in several associations. Through membership in the Munich, then Berlin Secessionist movements, he brushed shoulders with other leading artists and Life Reformers. The cross-pollination of ideas through associative life, which lies at the heart of Kevin Repp's account of *Wilhelmine anti-politics Reformers, Critics and the Paths of German Modernity*, also extended to aesthetic reform. Schultze-Naumburg appeared in many of the overlapping circles and movements of

¹² Borrmann, 18.

“anti-politics” as Repp’s cast of reformers. These men, Schultze-Naumburg among them, attended lectures about an extraordinary range of subjects and the intellectual climate of Germany’s largest cities offered a “matrix of shared issues” which competed for the attention of forward thinking citizens. Repp writes,

In one way or another, each member of the milieu interacted with this matrix, which included concerns for the impact of capitalism and industrialization, the purposive application of modern science and technology, the need for social order and efficiency, the creation of an integral national community, the maintenance of humanistic values, and a predilection for organicist models of development and synthesis.”¹³

These concerns were deeply intertwined and often mutually informing. The *Kulturarbeiten* address many of the above-mentioned issues under the guise of an aesthetic project, producing a totalizing vision of the Kultur des Sichtbaren.

Kulturarbeiten as instrument of pedagogy

Schultze-Naumburg published the first essay of what would later become *Die Kulturarbeiten* in *Der Kunstwart*, a bimonthly magazine of literature and art published in Munich by Ferdinand Avenarius in 1899. The collection of essays from *Der Kunstwart* appeared beginning in 1900 as volumes published by Callwey, also in Munich. They reached not only an audience of architects and city planners, but to a larger public interested in visual culture.¹⁴ The books were sold at a low cost, as Schultze-Naumburg hoped to appeal to a broader public.¹⁵ While the essays generally prescribed traditional German upper middle class, or bürgerlich, tastes from the Biedermeier period, Schultze-Naumburg wrote in the foreword to the first volume

¹³ Issues of social reform appeared in many permutations in the programs of in “anti-political” groups. Repp, 227.

¹⁴ In this way, Schultze-Naumburg’s effort parallels that of Alfred Lichtwark’s project of establishing cultural institutions to produce cultivated consumers in Hamburg. See Jenkins, 115-145.

¹⁵ The third edition of the first volume printed by Callwey was advertised at 3.50 marks, 4.50 for a hardback copy. Depending on the number of photographs, volumes ranged between 3 and 5.50. See advertisements printed in rear of Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen*, vol. 7, *Kulturarbeiten*, (Munich: Kastner & Callwey, 1912).

that his ideal audience transcended class lines. Nor was the publication targeted at scholars, but at the greater Volk-- the small Bürgers, farmers, and workers. In fact, Schultze-Naumburg was adamant that these books should reach members of the working class who were most immediately responsible for projects of construction and improvement.

One distinctive feature of the *Kulturarbeiten* was the inclusion of thousands of photographs, the majority of them taken by the author himself. The tactic of juxtaposing photographic examples and counterexamples was a pedagogical tool designed to communicate with a large, and perhaps uninformed, audience.

The *Kulturarbeiten* were to speak across regional differences to an elevated style of German architecture. Schultze-Naumburg writes that the permanence and practical function of architecture make it a serious matter—whereas a painting can be unhung and bad statues can be smashed or shattered, a house will stand for generations.¹⁶ As someone attempting to beautify the quotidian existence and determine a style that embodied the demands and achievements of modern industrial technologies and the quiet, unassuming traditional style of the past, Schultze-Naumburg provides an interesting case study in the development of public works, and in construction as a social, indeed moral, responsibility.

Reaching the mass public was clearly part of the agenda. The successful cultivation of aesthetic citizenship rested on its accessibility. Schultze-Naumburg achieved this level of accessibility in two ways. First, through clear, uncomplicated prose, Schultze-Naumburg hoped to reach beyond the Wilhelmine reform milieu of educated Germans and out to those who were normally excluded from questions about the future of the nation, especially the working classes. Instead of adopting a humorless or technical expository style, the tone is conversational.

¹⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, 1:23.

Engaging with an imaginary interlocutor in his foreword, Schultze-Naumburg wrote, “Someone will say: they [the working classes] don’t read any books. I counter: we must try to bring such books to the people that they can read them. The statistics of our Volksbibliotheken speak for us.”¹⁷ This is an oft-used tactic in the *Kulturarbeiten*, inventing an imaginary reader’s objections and knocking them down in a dialogue. But more to the point, in the earlier example, Schultze-Naumburg was correct about his working class readers. Reports from 1906 revealed that, “Volksbibliotheken in forty large cities accounted among them 1.4 million readers borrowing 5.4 million books. Around 400,00 readers were workers borrowing some 1.6 million books.”¹⁸ The popularity of the *Kulturarbeiten* was rooted in the relatively high literacy rates that Wilhelmine Germany enjoyed even among the laboring classes.

The second, and perhaps more innovative approach on Schultze-Naumburg’s behalf, was his use of the object lesson as a means of communicating ideas that might otherwise have come across as lofty. The pictorial confrontation of “good” and “bad” creates momentum for readers. By viewing and internalizing snapshots of “good” values, readers could feel they had participated in both a project of improving both the self and the nation. The examples provide affirmation of taste to those who were distanced, or perhaps were never privileged to, a formal education.

His tactic of juxtaposing photographic examples and counterexamples is a reflection of the object lesson as a nineteenth-century pedagogical tool for school age children. The goal was that through *Anschauung*, or learning based on observation and experience of a material thing,

¹⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, 1:iii.

¹⁸ Dieter Langewiesche and Klaus Schönhaven, “Arbeiterbibliotheken und Arbeiterlektüre im Wilhelminischen Deutschland,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 16 (1976), 135-204, cited in John Phillip Short, “Everyman’s Colonial Library: Imperialism and Working-Class Readers in Leipzig, 1890-194,” *German History* 21, no.4 (2003), 454.

learning occurred naturally. By moving from objects to words, rather than from words to things, instruction became more deeply rooted and naturally acquired. According to this theory, one could learn through inductive reasoning greater behavioral lessons.¹⁹

Similarly, the *Kulturarbeiten* adopted as a premise that one could develop an understanding of goodness and beauty by training the eye. Each volume of the *Kulturarbeiten* works to widen the circle of the Kultur des Sichtbaren. Moving outward from the first volume's focus on home construction, the nine volumes progress from private, to public to a total picture of German landscape. The effect of the *Kulturarbeiten* was centripetal, bringing all of these seemingly disparate elements together and examining their interaction. Keeping in mind his initial involvement in the debate over women's clothing, it becomes clear that Schultze-Naumburg made his career out of extrapolating outward from small to large and presenting a unified vision of German culture. The message was powerful precisely because it was visual and grounded in real examples. It did not rely upon erudition, just the ability to see could guarantee membership into this community of taste. The barrier to entry was low, but it held out great promise.

Schultze-Naumburg treated his readers as "children" of modernity—and they were, in the sense that they inhabited a world in the throes of radical changes that would, increasingly throughout the early twentieth century, look unidentifiable to a visitor from a half-century earlier. By using sites that were familiar, Schultze-Naumburg effectively communicated his message without alienating readers.

¹⁹ The object lesson was developed by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss education reformer whose conviction that social and political reform was grounded in education was embraced by many Wilhelmine reformers. For an overview of Pestalozzi's teaching, see Lucille M. Schultz, "Pestalozzi's Mark on Nineteenth-Century Compositions Instruction: Ideas Not in Words, but in Things," *Rhetoric Review* 12, no. 1 (Autumn, 1995), 23-43.

Existing aesthetic education, he writes, had failed Germans and perpetuated the degradation of visual culture. Schultze-Naumburg inveighs against the schoolmaster, who, emptying beauty of all its meaning, perpetuated the problem of the degradation of German Kultur des Sichtbaren. He criticizes the tendency to associate beauty with embellishment (Verschönerung) and suggests that building only what serves a good goal and the expression of this goal in the simplest, most perfect manner possible is preferable.²⁰ “Schultze-Naumburg condemned their message, but not their method of delivering it.

He reached out to a variety of readers in an attempt to train their eyes to the aesthetically pleasing, or “schön.” Schultze-Naumburg’s “schön” is set against the decadent historicism of nineteenth-century architecture, and as one might expect, includes a moral dimension. This concept closes the divide between “practically useful and not useful” and “morally good and bad.”²¹ At its root, “schönheit” reaches into ethics and makes the good visible, teaching mankind to love the good and shun the bad.²² The stakes were much higher than a simply aesthetic, architectural agenda.

Making peace with modernity

²⁰ “Ich glaube, all unser menschenwerk wäre schön, wenn nie ein Schulmeister die Forderung gestellt hätte, man müsse etwas schön machen, wenn überhaupt von verschönern nie die Rede gewesen wäre; wenn als oberstes Arbeitsgesetz immer allein gegolten hätte: nur das zu bilden, was einem guten Zweck dient, dabei aber diesen Zweck stets auf die einfachste und vollkommenste Weise in seiner Erscheinung auszudrücken.” PSN, “Hausbau”, v.1, 25.

²¹ “Aber der zweck der veröffentlichung ist, denen die Augen zu öffnen, die noch ganz fernab stehen, denen noch nichts von der Erkenntnis dämmert, dass das Urteil unseres bewussten anschauens nicht allein "schön und hässlich" lautet, sonder "gut und schlecht" in beiderlei sinn, nämlich "praktisch brauchbar und unbrauchbar" und "moralisch gut and schlecht" und dass das Auge sein Urteil nicht vom sprachdenken zu beziehen braucht, in dem wir das einzig "logische" Denken zu erblicken gewöhnt sind. Auch das Auge vermag logische Schlüsse zu ziehen.” Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, 1:16.

²² Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, 1:25-6.

Having secured a large readership, Schultze-Naumburg wielded the power to shape attitudes towards the unfolding changes in German society. In the *Kulturarbeiten*, Schultze-Naumburg repeatedly refers to the present moment as one of rupture with the past and without precedent. The process of modernization was marked by the transition to industrialized society, in which communities experienced a loss of economic independence and self-sufficiency.²³ Consumer culture developed in tandem with production and Germans saw demand for products that had not existed decades before grow exponentially. The nature of these changes, and the rapid rate at which they transformed the country, were generally met with enthusiasm.²⁴ While many Germans were optimistic about the economic progress, others were skeptical and focused instead on its casualties—women, the poor, factor workers, and, for members of the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz, which Schultze-Naumburg helped to found in 1904, the environment.

If we accept Tom Lekan's assertion that early nature preservationist's concern for the environment was primarily aesthetic, we can see Schultze-Naumburg as a pivotal figure between the old, aesthetic concerns and new anxieties about the landscape as related to health and resource management.²⁵ While not abandoning aesthetic concerns as a powerful tool in motivating preservation, Schultze-Naumburg's totalizing vision of landscape linked localities and represented a move towards understanding the environment as an ecological system in which damage in one area had repercussions in another. In his discussion of environmental consequences of industrial activity, he registers the damage in two ways. The first criticisms are,

²³ Rolf Peter Sieferle, *Fortschrittsfeinde: Opposition gegen Technik und Industrie von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984), 19.

²⁴ For an informative account of the damages wrought by modernity, see Andreas Killen, *Berlin Electropolis: Shock, Nerves, and German Modernity* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006).

²⁵ Thomas Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

as might be expected, aesthetic in nature, while the second relate to a widening understanding of the environment. In a section dedicated to coal pits and peat bogs, Schultze-Naumburg writes of sites of peat-cutting as “harmless,” and the moorlands were a constitutive part of the local character of certain areas of Germany and did no harm to the landscape. Of coal pits, he writes that the extraction of coal damages the landscapes, as it transforms idyllic villages into industrial areas. Nonetheless, the resistance to coal mining was not that the coal pits were ugly themselves (in fact, Schultze-Naumburg marveled at their magnitude), but the problem lie in the detrimental effects of pits located in the plains, to groundwater levels in the surrounding areas, making it more difficult for water catchment and for vegetation to flourish.

Understanding the far-reaching consequences of action in the environment also reveals the overemphasis on the local, isolated histories of Heimat. Examining regional Heimat associations in isolation does not help to make sense of the larger picture, in both national and ecological terms. The *Kulturarbeiten* reveal a phase of the place making process in which localities were strung together, to create their own system.

Place making required a respect of a collective unit greater than the individual. Much of the moral critique leveraged against modern technology is concerned with overexploitation and selfishness. Fore example, Schultze-Naumburg offers an injunction against the unscrupulous application of newly acquired technical process to exploit the earth. The technologies of extraction should be used to make the earth more habitable, to enrich the lives of men without environmental destruction.

Nur hat alles seine Grenzen und es tut dringend Not, dass diese Grenzen und der Wert der ursprünglichen Erdoberfläche erkannt werden. Der unbedenkliche Bereicherungsdrang gewissenloser und gefühlsarmer Spekulanten im Verein mit den neuerworbenen

technischen Machtmitteln darf uns diese Erde nicht unbewohnbar machen, während uns vergetäuscht wird, dass alles nur geschähe, um sie uns wohnlich einzurichten.²⁶

The “unthinking urge to enrich one’s self” (unbedenkliche Bereicherungsdrang) must be kept in check in order to ensure the overall health of the landscape. Just as man’s intervention in the primordial landscape can enhance it, it can also mutilate it. In this way, individual desires were suppressed for the collective benefit. A deepening awareness of the consequences of an individual intervening at one point on another encouraged readers to think of another layer of community well beyond their immediate surroundings.

Despite anxieties about the degraded quality of modern life and specifically the landscape from voices within the DBH, Schultze-Naumburg accepted modernization and the benefits it conferred. The *Kulturarbeiten* prescribe conscientious construction efforts and management. Instead of bemoaning the present state of affairs, Schultze-Naumburg advised his readers to take care to make sure new constructions were adapted to suit their surroundings.²⁷ In this view, industrial growth was not antithetical to the landscape, but could be intelligently used to reinforce a sense of place that countered the feelings of deracination expressed by many contemporaries.

The embrace of technology was essential to this endeavor. From the very first volume of the *Kulturarbeiten*, Schultze-Naumburg’s unequivocal approval of the train is clear. He writes,

Gibt es einen stärkeren Ausdruck der durch die Menschheit gebändigten Naturkräfte, als einen Eisenbahnzug? Wenn das Ungeheuer mit seinen glühenden Augen daherkommt, wie es in der grossen Kurve dort auf dem Boden dahingeschiesst, dann auf dem Bahnhof laut keuchend und pustend kaum zu Atem kommt und nun mit tiefem Aufstöhnen von

²⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 8:97.

²⁷ “dass alles Neue sich dem Bilde der Umgebung einfügt und anpasst...” Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 9:47.

neuem die Last aufnimmt? –Natürlich, das ist Vermenschlichung: reden wir so, so wird für unser Gefühlsleben die Lokomotive „schön“.²⁸

Thus, beauty was not restricted to qualities in pristine nature, but could be found in subdual of nature by machine. Schultze-Naumburg's anthropomorphic description of the train is also extended to the city, which is alternately referred to as Stadt and Stadtorganismus, connoting a living system and conferring to the city as a whole a biological quality. Naturalizing technology through prose reflects the way in which Schultze-Naumburg wished to naturalize it within the layout of the modern German city.

Die Grossstadt and infrastructure

Schultze-Naumburg's upbringing in the countryside in a single-family home conditioned his adult preferences. Yet, in the volume dedicated to urban planning, he concedes that this was simply not the way of life for the majority of urban dwellers. Sensitive to these demands, his traditionalism was tempered with recognition that conditions had fundamentally changed and it was necessary to accept new living arrangements and technologies in order to better coordinate their expansion. Urban planning, wrote Schultze-Naumburg, was a challenge of the highest order because of the mass of dissonant elements found in proximity to one another. To wrestle with the knotty problems of the social order, land politics and technical forces in a small area was no easy task.²⁹ By enrolling vastly different spheres of activity into the network of the *Kultur des Sichtbaren*, he attempted to bring a sense of cohesion to modern life.

While the structure of the *Kulturarbeiten* reveals the goal of bringing seemingly incongruous elements together to create an overall effect of harmony, urban areas provided a

²⁸ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, 1:5.

²⁹ “Kein Bauproblem erfordert zahlreichere Gesichtspunkte als der Städtebau. Soziale, bodenpolitische und technische Mächte ringen da miteinander” Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtebau*, vol.4, *Kulturarbeiten*, (Munich: Kastner & Callwey, 1909), ii.

microcosm of this project. They served as a crucible for such integration, bringing people and buildings together in an unprecedented density. Citizenship took on new meaning in such close proximity. Matters of dress and upkeep became part of an elaborately choreographed urban performance in which citizens transitioned seamlessly from performer to spectator. The importance of the *Kultur des Sichtbaren* was readily apparent in cities.

Dynamism was the distinguishing feature of turn of the century metropolises. Whereas monuments and monumental architecture had once been the “crystallization points of cities,”³⁰ proud, but static representatives of the city’s heritage, they were now situated at the center of crossroads and public squares, which merited greater attention. Still important, and certainly worth preserving, monuments represented traces of the old guard amid the hustle and bustle of the new and rapidly growing metropolis. Schultze-Naumburg’s preference for the banal architecture of the everyday and functional infrastructure reveals that monuments to monarchs and old wealth no longer constituted points of interest. Instead he focused his analysis on the connective tissue of roads, canals, and railroads where masses of ordinary people passed.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the population of Germany had more than doubled. A marked preference for city living developed as these centers beckoned with financial reward. The paths of millions from their homes in the countryside led them to urban centers, where they sought out new types of work and required new living arrangements. Given the choice, Schultze-Naumburg wrote, today’s man would opt to live in a large city (*die Grossstadt*).³¹ Recognizing the inevitability of sustained urban growth, new areas of the city would be settled, in fact new cities would be stamped on the Earth. Schultze-Naumburg warns

³⁰ Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtebau*, 4:150.

³¹ Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtebau*, 4:7.

that this drive to the big city is no reason to make bad investments.³² Instead of terrifying sprawl and destruction, Schultze-Naumburg proposed the creation of suburbs, compact residential areas connected to the commercial districts by commuter rails.

In order to accommodate the growing population, Schultze-Naumburg suggests new living arrangements. He envisions a future in which the preponderance of single-family homes will fade, and multiple occupancy buildings (*Zusammenschlüsse*) will emerge as a more practical solution. The shifting economy of space had repercussions for feeling of community. The city was a combination of its territorial, economic, political and strategic position, as well as its climate and the racial peculiarities of its inhabitants. Schultze-Naumburg conceived of a plan for managing all of these factors in a spatial arrangement that would encourage harmony.³³

The spatial arrangement of urban areas was to change with the demands of labor. Schultze-Naumburg wrote that the city of the future must be divided into two main sections: the inner, commercial city and then the outer belt of garden cities that serve as residential areas, clustered around the center. This arrangement draws on the program of the Garden City movement. Although Schultze-Naumburg had no part in these communities, the influence is clear, and he likely encountered its proponents during his days in Munich or Berlin.³⁴ Again, the overlapping and interconnected nature of the reform movements informed the ambitious scope of the *Kulturarbeiten*.

Part of this urban planning project entailed creating new spaces. The separation of business and home life, while not alien to previous generations, was to be newly structured and enforced by geographic separation. The failure of historicist design was traced back to its

³² Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtebau*, 4:6.

³³ Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtebau*, 4:6.

³⁴ Borrmann, 25.

acceptance as a precondition an older form of social organization. Using the example of the medieval town of the German Romantic past, Schultze-Naumburg builds the case that this type of settlement was poorly suited to modern life. Surrounded by towers and walls to enclose and protect the city, these protective measures influenced the city's development. For defense purposes, the city could not be very large and thus its growth was inhibited. Furthermore, the average middle-class citizen (Bürger) had radically different needs. Schultze-Naumburg locates the analogue of the contemporary Bürger in the medieval craftsmen (Handwerksmeister), who both worked and lived in the same space that was half shop, half living room.³⁵ He traveled by foot through the narrow city streets, and thus his movements were narrowly circumscribed. In place of narrow streets and tight plazas, modern man needed space for street transportation: roadbeds for rushing wagon trains (Wagenzüge) that harried masses scurry between. Schultze-Naumburg concludes that each epoch must understand the conditions of transportation.

It is helpful to view the transportation concerns as the guiding principle of the "Staedtebau" volume. The volume is organized into sections presenting solutions to extending and regularizing streets in old, cramped quarters of the city. The correction of roads (Begradigungsbestrebungen und Freilegungen) and leveling of the ground (Niveauunterschiede) to provide uniform surface with a gradual slope both receive entire chapters.³⁶ Transportation was of course integral to this project. To surmount this divide, Schultze-Naumburg proposed the extension of extant railways and a proliferation of commuter lines. This could only be achieved through the relatively recent extension of electrical networks, which became a defining characteristic of the city.

Electrical networks

³⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtbeau*, 4:35.

³⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, *Staedtebau*, 4:184.

At the turn of the century, the project of state electrification remained incomplete. Industrialization and urbanization, the two phenomena that characterized “modernity” in opposition to the past, hinged upon the growing per capita consumption of energy and raw materials. The availability of power and new technologies to distribute it were both preconditions for and visible markers of this process. These new networks contributed to the changing character of the German landscape and were as much a part of place making as the protection of monuments and scenic views.

In Thomas Hughes’ influential study *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930*, he argued that power systems were both causes and effects of social change with their own internal dynamic. Hughes questions studies of technology as an independent force, instead examining interaction between technical innovation, the economy, public policy and geography.³⁷ The *Kulturarbeiten* wrestle with what is perhaps the most striking and novel feature of life at the turn of the century, electrification.

In the *Kulturarbeiten*, Schultze-Naumburg treats power plants, dams and mills as features of the landscape much like any other. Particularly in regard to the management of water, Schultze-Naumburg is emphatic that from the source to estuary, structures of control have been erected to create dams, reservoirs, to correct rivers to protect the land from storm flooding.³⁸ To use Sara Pritchard’s term, these features constituted part of an “enviro-technical” landscape.

The production of electricity intervened deeply in the landscape.³⁹ The process of place making was not merely a descriptive art, but one accomplished through manipulating the physical world. Following his above statement, Schultze-Naumburg asks, “Is not three-fourths of

³⁷ Thomas Hughes, *Networks of Power: electrification in Western society, 1880-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 2.

³⁸ Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 8:104.

³⁹ Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 9:39.

the whole poetry of water intertwined with human activity?”⁴⁰ The dam and the mill represented special nodes of human activity, created by the combined effects of human ingenuity and natural features.

Hydropower was of great importance to early electrical plants. Mills were particularly useful as the source of early stages of development. In Württemberg, where hydropower prevailed as a result of its geography and lack of mineral wealth, mills that had previously been used for producing paper, timber and grain were outfitted for small-scale power production during the 1880s.⁴¹ In the *Kulturarbeiten*, mills are appreciated for their aesthetic qualities in the landscape. Still, Schultze-Naumburg wrote that one should not take the view that mills are Romantic relics, but instead they are dams and power machines useful for commercial business.⁴² Their beauty lies not only in their aesthetic value, but in their utility. Schultze-Naumburg also sung the praises of the Machnower Schleuse on the Teltowkanal just outside of Berlin.⁴³ It is pictured as a testament to the possible place for technology in aesthetic beauty.

Germany’s power networks did not develop uniformly across the country. As might be expected, the use of electricity was initially restricted to small operations and factories, producing and using their own output. The story of the expanding electrical grid was a process of incorporation into the system, by bringing the environment under system control.⁴⁴ The slow expansion of networks coupled with the growth of demand progressed from the intimately local,

⁴⁰ Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 8:104.

⁴¹ Werner Kleider, *Die Entwicklung der Energieversorgung in Württembergisch-Franken, 1862-1919* (St Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1987), 4.

⁴² “Wir dürfen hier nicht den Standpunkt einnehmen, als ob unsere alten Wassermühlen romantische Reliquien wären, die heute nicht mehr zum Thema gehörten. Denn eine jede solche Mühle ist durchaus eine Wasserstauanlage und ein Maschinenkraftwerk zum gewerblichen Betrieb.” Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 8:115.

⁴³ Schultze-Naumburg, *Gestaltung*, 8:115.

⁴⁴ Hughes, *Networks of Power*, 6.

single system producers, to municipal regional networks following World War I. Early phase pilot tests took place between 1832 and 1881, generally in regional capitals. In the next phase of development, individual plants that worked as closed systems, providing their own power, prevailed, until 1892, the date pinpointed by Werner Kleider as the beginning of the *Frühe Elektrizitätswerke*, in which systems delivered energy to a third party using public means. By 1899, the type of utility company that was no longer strictly a town center, but also not yet an inter-urban network, had emerged.⁴⁵ This is to say that the expansion of power supply accelerated near and after the turn of the century, bringing light and convenience to an enlarged public and allowing Germans to travel greater distances on a daily basis.

Conclusion

Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten* series represents an early twentieth-century effort to incorporate a large number of people and places into a network of mutual understanding and respect. The ability to appreciate the *Kultur des Sichtbaren*, or the country as a total work of art, would lead to affinities between men, but also between people and their country, which represented the extent of the landscape of the *Kulturarbeiten*. On the ground, this connection was established by extending projects of infrastructure that linked disparate places within the Reich together. This paper has outlined the pedagogical function of the *Kulturarbeiten* in extending aesthetic citizenship to a large public, creating an open discourse on culture and architecture. The rhetorical goal of the series, expressed in both its structure and content, reveals an ever-widening network establishing affiliations between those enrolled.

⁴⁵ The preceding characterization of stages in power supply is drawn from Werner Kleider's study of Württemberg, but even accepting some regional variation in power production and distribution, it provides a good general model. Kleider, 151.