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THE IDEA OF THE SACRED

IN NEOCLASSICAL BRITISH GARDENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH

AND LATE TWENTIETH CENTURIES

by

Michael Charlesworth

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the
University of Kent at Canterbury

July 1990

VOLUME I: TEXT

ABSTRACT

This study takes as its subject the sacred element in neo-classical gardens of the 18th and late 20th centuries. This element may be represented in the classical idiom (by temples or statues), or translated into the terms of the Christian religion as practised in England. The study argues that sacred ideas are an important motivating force in garden design, and moreover have a prominent socio-political content. It demonstrates this force at work by focussing first on the devotional aspects of Alexander Pope's garden, which, it is argued, displays an ecclesiastical ichnography informed by Roman Catholic values. In the middle of the 18th century, by contrast, political and cultural hostility to Roman Catholicism finds expression in the design of the landscape garden. During the second half of the century the constitutionally assured supremacy of the Church of England is also reflected in landscape garden design. Duncombe Park with Rievaulx Terrace, and Sledmere House, provide examples of these changes.

Sacred neo-classical gardening emerges from 19th century eclipse to find its fullest contemporary expression in the work of Ian Hamilton Finlay, whose garden in Scotland is tested here for consistency to the 18th century tradition he often invokes. His work also provides the material for a modern definition of the sacred idea. While it is still connected to political ideas, the sacred is now divorced from involvement with the Christian Churches and allied to imaginative and poetic effects of gardens and landscape.

Throughout the study evidence from literature, painting and architectural history is brought to bear on the subject, and it is argued that the connection between signs of the sacred in the garden and actual sacred practices in society is essentially a rhetorical one.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Stephen Bann, and the owners of the gardens, Lord Feversham, Sir Tatton Sykes, Bart., Ian Hamilton Finlay, James Pierce, and Signor Giuliano Gori, for their assistance and for permission to quote from and reproduce materials in their ownership pertaining to the gardens.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of a selected group of eighteenth and twentieth century gardens, which are examined with particular attention to the sacred idea that occurs as an aesthetic element in each of them. "Sacred" is conventionally defineable in terms of divinities, and the rites, places and objects appropriated to them [1]. While the sacred element is represented in these gardens by an object, usually taking the form of a building, shadowing the landscape around it with its values, an interval or discontinuity may be anticipated between, on one hand, such signs of the sacred arranged in a garden for delight and pleasure, and, on the other, actual sacred beliefs and practices at large in society outside the garden. The connections between these two areas across such an interval form a major area of investigation for this study. Its allied interests are therefore the psychological associations and socio-political implications of such a sacred element.

All the gardens discussed in this study demonstrate loyalty to the tradition of the classical garden and landscape. Classical sites provide the external source or model that authenticates the efforts of the later garden-makers, and engagement with the sacred idea in their gardens is, on one level, a consequence of choosing that model.

Interest in the sacred by neo-classical gardens is facilitated by the fact that the sacred in the classical tradition describes itself in terms of location. Classical gardens and topography were enriched with powerful sacred connotations, which were recognised during the eighteenth century and are recognised now. The sacred element was present throughout Roman Italy and the Empire. In the ancient Roman countryside were sacred landscapes, such as those at the source of the Clitumnus, or Lake Vadimon, explorations of which by Pliny the Younger are described in his letters [2]. Shrines and sacred sites spread all over the topography of the Roman Empire (or were appropriated as the Empire spread). In establishing this tradition an individual, dedicating an altar, can be as important as a group practising devotional rites. In part of one province, northern Britannia, while "temples and shrines were far from rare . . . the numerous finds of altars and other dedications has shown that sacred places were just as likely to be woods, springs or other special natural features of the landscape" [3]. Some gardens of Roman villas could, on occasion, contain representations of such places; the most famous instance is at Hadrian's villa, where the Canopus refers to a temenos in Egypt sacred to Serapis [4]. In addition to these larger and more august characterisations, villa gardens often contained small buildings, sometimes in the form of temples as signs of the sacred. Roman public gardens could contain shrines; and temples could possess gardens [5]. The sacred also formed an

element in even the smallest urban gardens, which often contained lararia, or shrines to the household gods [6].

Knowledge of such places, or of artistic images of them, and of the sacred element within the classical idea as understood in more general terms, was relayed to the eighteenth century by various sources, (which only in modern times have been augmented and often clarified by archaeological evidence unavailable during the eighteenth century). There were two main secondary sources. The relay of other, earlier gardens, particularly those of Renaissance Italy, was important, especially during the first half of the century [7]. The landscape painting tradition was also involved, particularly the paintings of Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, Gaspard Dughet, and Salvator Rosa, which became popular during the eighteenth century and depicted mythological scenes, or Golden Age landscape with temples, shrines and divinities [8].

However, in addition to these relays there was a primary source available in Roman and Greek literature. This can itself be divided into two categories. There were factual and historical accounts, such as treatises (for example, those of Varro, Cato, Columella, and the Elder Pliny [9]) and letters (such as those of Cicero and the Younger Pliny). One example of this relay, Robert Castell's The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated (1728), translated Pliny's descriptions of his own villas (together with some material from Varro) into the terms of gardening in the 1720's. While Pliny makes no mention of

sacred features in his gardens, he recounts the proposed rebuilding of the Temple of Ceres on another part of his estate [10], and Castell therefore locates the sacred idea precisely in the terrain that was destined to become paramount in English gardens between the 1730's and 1820's - the landscape (as opposed to garden proper). Two subscribers to Castell's book, John Aislable at Studley Royal and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik put into practice such adaptations of classical precedent. Clerk's garden included a grotto modelled on the sacred grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl [11], and Aislable at Studley also included the sacred idea in classical guise - a Temple of Hercules. Clerk's friend William Stukeley showed the sacred impulse in Roman terms in his gardening at Grantham in 1728 [12].

Clerk's grotto reminds us of the other type of literary source, the fictional evocations of both landscape and gardens in many authors, including Homer, Theocritus, Virgil, Ovid and Horace. Stephen Switzer urged the readers of his Ichnographia Rustica (1718) to borrow from such authors: "From Virgil (that great Master of Gardening . .) we may collect all that is Beautiful" [13]; from Homer he particularly recommends deriving ideas of forest, rock and precipices; while "From the Metamorphosis of Ovid, the Designer may collect Statues and Ornaments, for the adorning his Villa, that carry a very Air of Enchantment with them" [14]. While Switzer derives an important sacred justification from Paradise in Genesis [15], he identifies the earliest classical references to gardens as

those to the sacred gardens of Adonis and the Hesperides. These are of value not for their truth, which "I shall not examine" but for their inspiration for art [16]. However, only classical sources can provide continuity in the tradition of gardening. Switzer traces a continuity from Ancient Rome, to modern Italy, France, and Britain [17]. As if to emphasize the primary importance of the classical models, his book begins with a roll-call of classical divinities - Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Cynthia, Ceres, Pomona, Flora and Bacchus. Taking these deities seriously is "not rational, but delightful" [18].

Switzer thus deals with the sacred idea in classical precedent by subordinating history to art. This study, interested in both history and art (and therefore in signs of the sacred as well as buildings used for religious worship) will show that for other eighteenth century gardeners such sacred connotations were not only "delightful", but also serious and "rational" too. Specific homages made by the gardens in this study to particular classical origins will be studied as they arise, and the point that such imitations occurred does not need to be laboured here. I simply wish to emphasize that in a sense this is a study of the challenge posed to later gardeners by the sacred connotation of classical landscapes and gardens.

As we shall view the subject-matter from the standpoint of the creative imagination (the sacred as an aesthetic element), art and poetry become important reference-points in the

discussion. In poetry, Dryden's translations of Virgil of 1697 conveniently demonstrate a pattern that can be traced in eighteenth century gardening interpretations of the classical idea. The sacred element in Virgil is often translated into distinctly modern terms, in this case those of natural theology stimulated by scientific speculation: "Happy the man, who studying nature's laws, / Through known effects can trace the sacred cause" [19]. Couplets such as this could relay to the future a way of comprehending nature that increases the sense of continuity between modern life (religion and science of the 1690's), and Virgil and the classics. Dryden's Aeneid also demonstrates at one point a solution to the larger problem of how sacred landscape might be evoked by gardening. Early in Book III we learn that the woods on Mount Ida are "sacred groves". Later Aeneas visits some Trojans who are now living in exile. He makes his way towards their house and finds Andromache sacrificing to her dead husband in a carefully arranged setting:

The grove itself resembles Ida's wood;
And Simois seemed the well-dissembled flood. . .
Proceeding on, another Troy I see,
Or in less compass, Troy's epitome.
A rivulet by the name of Xanthus ran;
And I embrace the Scaean gate again. [20]

This passage reads like a blueprint for the representation of classical landscape in gardens that is all the more persuasive because of its sketchy and impressionistic character. The spaces between the features can be filled up by the imagination with geometrical layout or naturalistic landscape

as desired. The individual features are even reminiscent of some that took their place in eighteenth century gardens; the "rivulet" recalls the River Styx at Stowe, the "Scaean Gate" might bring to mind Stourhead's Pantheon by sharing with it the function of chief architectural signifier of an entire city [21].

The problems of translating the classical models into English gardens during the eighteenth century - of making the classics "speak good English" - have been discussed with respect to gardens in general terms [22], but the problems particularly attaching to a translation of the sacred connotation in gardens have not received detailed attention. A classical temple forms - to pursue the linguistic analogy - a "quotation" from the original language. A translation of such into English terms will entail an interest in the Christian Churches of the eighteenth century, and this interest is demonstrated and followed in the first five chapters of this study.

Interest in the sacred, however culturally predicated, has an obvious but implicit basis in psychology, which will be discussed. However, I am less concerned with the strictly devotional implications of the sacred idea than with its social and political implications. It is my contention that religious and political pressures specific to Britain during the eighteenth century generated a distinctly political iconography for the sacred in eighteenth century gardens, with

consequences persisting into the nineteenth century. Particular areas of interest are therefore the social and political significance of the sacred feature(s), or the political and social consequences of the installation of a sacred landscape. The gardens selected for examination embody such socio-political concerns.

Varied ways in which an interest in the sacred motivates garden design during the eighteenth century will be discussed in this study: as the first quotation from the Roman Catholic convert Dryden might intimate, the motivation happened in terms of deism (natural theology), and in terms of the conflicts surrounding Roman Catholicism. I shall therefore focus in Chapters One and Two on Alexander Pope's devotional garden at Twickenham, setting it briefly in a context provided by deism at Richmond Gardens. Pope's Roman Catholicism found itself in a hostile social and cultural environment, and discussion of Duncombe Park with Rievaulx Terrace, together with William Shenstone's ideas, in Chapter Three, provides insights into how that hostility took form in gardens. The peculiar constitutional position of the Church of England with respect to the other Churches will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five, in relation to later eighteenth century garden design in general (including that of Lancelot "Capability" Brown), and Sledmere House in particular.

The major temporal discontinuity implied by this study lies between the landscape projects completed at Sledmere by the

opening of the nineteenth century and the gardens by Ian Hamilton Finlay that were begun during the third quarter of the twentieth century. I am aware that over a century and a half may appear to present an all but unbridgeable gulf to the continuity of my theme. However, my claim is that inclusion of these modern gardens (Chapters Six and Seven) needs no extrinsic justification. Finlay himself has attempted to bridge the gap, and has aligned his neo-classical garden more closely with those of Pope and William Shenstone, and with Stowe and Ermenonville, (which all date from the eighteenth century), than with any gardens of the present. More importantly, he has claimed a sacred status for his garden temple and demanded institutional recognition of that status, taking political action in support of his contention. This study seems to provide a suitable opportunity to examine Finlay's garden for consistency to the sacred, political and semantic implications established by the eighteenth century examples. Moreover, Finlay has attempted to re-establish the poetic garden in a central position within gardening culture, and this involves concentrating upon the possibilities of imaginative meaning in gardening. The major tradition of gardening in the present century is derived from an ideology established in the nineteenth century, and has involved the arrangement of plants in pleasing visual displays, with the simultaneous servicing of a botanical interest: "In this age, a frog in a garden pond is of more interest than a budding water-lily. And a water-lily is of much more interest than an

inscription or a sculpture" [23]. Finlay attempts to change this and contest the meanings appropriate to a garden pond, with a view to reactivating those of neo-classical tradition (including sacred meaning).

The basic building materials for an inquiry into sacred meaning in gardens are varied. Archival sources and letters can reveal owners' or designers' thoughts. These can be supplemented by the descriptions left by visitors reporting on their experience of the gardens. In addition, there are often cross-references to the surrounding cultural field that allow specific significations to reveal themselves. The cultural field can include other works by the owner or maker of the garden. The general approach of this study has been to bring light to bear on the gardens from the surrounding culture, or from archival evidence, with a view to improving our understanding of the sacred idea at previously little-known or unknown gardens (Duncombe Park and Rievaulx Terrace, Sledmere, Finlay's commissions), or with the goal of revising our present understanding of other gardens in the light of the sacred (Twickenham, Finlay's Little Sparta). The relative obscurity of most of these gardens was one reason for their selection, with the goal of increasing the number of gardens about which it is possible to speak with detailed knowledge. Occasionally, however, this methodology is reversed and light is allowed to fall outward from gardens to illuminate, for example, an obscure chapter of Pope's biography, or relations between garden and literary culture, or the process of

perception itself. This is undertaken where it is deemed that the subject illuminated can only be explored through garden history's exploration of the sacred idea. It is a way of showing what garden history can contribute to the general development of knowledge in the Humanities.

While using the literary and archival sources specified above, garden history must also approach the constituents of gardens independently of them if and when necessary - or at least add to the evidence provided by such sources the results of a direct engagement with the garden. A garden - an enclosure open to the sky and altered for ornament or pleasure - can include a range of signifying features: in the second example from Dryden, they include a grove, a lake, a stream and a building; to these one could add statues, inscriptions, ornaments (such as urns), earthworks, tools, botanical labels and even individual plants or arrangements of them. Recognition and identification of these significant features are parts of the process of revealing the garden's meaning [24]. The nature of the signifying feature is of prime importance: the "quoted" or "translated" sacred idea is signified very differently by a classical temple, a different kind of garden feature given a specific sacred denotation (such as a hermitage), an obsolete building which was previously the site of sacred worship, a building which continues to be used for such, a building originally made for a quite different purpose and subsequently sacralized, and a sculpture of logs and unworked stone. Between them the

gardens selected for this study encompass all these types of feature. Once this process of recognition and identification has been achieved, the other factors, unique to gardens, that differentiate gardens from other works of art and that are not accessible via archives or cultural reference, can be analyzed.

Some of these factors pose problems of an unexpected kind. It could be argued, for example, that the chief ingredients of gardens are beyond the control of visitors and owners alike: weather, time, light. While not claiming to offer a systematic appraisal of them, this study will at least direct attention to such factors when they seem especially pertinent to imaginative effects and the sacred idea.

Others can be analyzed with more certainty. Consideration of these amounts to an examination of the context of the (in this case sacred) idea occurring within the garden. The context, after all, largely determines how we understand a garden feature. An analysis of context explores how a garden articulates itself; how the parts work together; what factors in the garden determine how features (or the whole) are seen, and how such determinations work [25].

In attempting to respond to the challenge presented by such factors, this study has relied a good deal on rhetorical analysis, and some justification for applying this to gardens should be undertaken. Various scholars have argued for the importance of rhetorical analysis to contemporary work in the

Humanities. In particular, Hayden White's tropological work in history has demonstrated the deep basis in rhetoric of historical discourse [26]. Carolyn Springer, working with the rich urban domain of Rome as her subject matter, claims for rhetoric the status of "the fundamental structuring principle of human discourse" [27]. Implicit to both scholars is an understanding that rhetoric pervades epistemology, and because of the depth of this penetration, could therefore potentially take effect in paralinguistic representations (in particular, White argues that there are "psychological equivalents" of what tropes are in language [28]). However, as gardens themselves cannot be accounted as a discourse [29] (though there is of course a discourse of gardens), this study is, by the nature of its subject-matter, more greatly indebted to the example provided by the work of Stephen Bann, who has demonstrated how rhetorical tropes can be detected and analyzed in three dimensional objects (and collections thereof) - an area in large part independent of verbal discourse [30]. Bann draws on the work of the anthropologist Dan Sperber to discuss the possibility that "figures of thought" present themselves as rhetorical figures, "functions both of the text and of the shared knowledge" which are "focalised" in the material of the text [31]. Bann argues that "by emphasising the primacy of "figures of thought" which are focalised in language, Sperber also opens up the possibility that such figures could be focalised in other material conditions" [32]. Such a "guiding assumption" is the point of

departure of my own conception of rhetoric.

One justification for an analysis based on rhetoric is therefore the expectation that it will give the most precise definition to the invisible devices that organise structures of meaning within gardens. However, the very application of this to gardens rests on the type of further justification provided by Sperber, and views rhetorical analysis as providing a direct way of aligning gardens with the fundamental processes of human understanding. The writings of various other scholars encourage such a view. The work of Roman Jakobson, applying metaphor and metonymy to functions within language use, enhances the cognitive status of these tropes [33]. Chomsky's famous rebuttal of Skinner's theory of language acquisition, and the consequent realisation of the importance in that process of the ability of the child to draw an analogy, provides a similar status (of "figure of thought") to what we designate a rhetorical trope [34]. In addition to these instances, Stephen Bann has equated metonymy and synecdoche with specific processes within the psychology of object-relations [35]. The expectation is, therefore, that in those gardens where these rhetorical tropes (and, by extension, others) can be demonstrated to be at work, a direct insight can be established onto the ways in which such processes of cognition and ordering find visual and three-dimensional expression.

Up to this point I have characterised the sacred idea in

terms of metonymy (a "quotation" from the classic) and metaphor (a "translation"). However, two other ways of viewing the sacred will become important during this study, and they may be thought of as projections of the trope of irony. The deist philosopher Matthew Tindal, writing in 1730, exposes and exemplifies one such view:

The bulk of Mankind . . with Confidence aver,
That, tho' all other traditionary Religions
are full of gross Falshoods, and most absurd
Notions, which their Priests impudently impose
on them as divine Truths; yet our own Priests
are such faithful Representers of Things, that
One may was well question the Truth of all
History, as the Truth of Things believ'd on
their Authority [36]

In the era when Tindal wrote, religious controversialists regularly stigmatised the sacred beliefs of others as "enthusiasm" and "superstition" [37], while seeking to promote their own view of religion in contradistinction to the condemned tendencies. Superstition, in particular, will become an important control on the discussion of the sacred as it emerges in eighteenth century gardens. Tindal's own discourse is absolutely anti-superstitious [38], a position that leads him to condemn bigotry as worse than atheism. While his main attack is on Roman Catholicism, he also condemns Protestants whose "pretended Zeal carries [them] contrary to the Principles of Religion, into persecuting Measures" [39]. The popularity of deism in the first half of the eighteenth century after nearly two centuries of religion-inspired strife (perpetuated in the eighteenth

century by the Jacobite struggle - a political dispute with a basis in religion) can be in part accounted for by its anti-superstitious stance.

This point brings up the second ironic view of the sacred, a modern theory which becomes particularly important in Chapter Six [40]. This cogent analysis focusses not on the sacred itself so much as on the process of sacralization, the mechanism within certain societies whereby human violence is re-defined as de-humanized violence by being attached to a sacred idea, which can then prepare the way for victimage and the sacrificial principle. In this view, the sacred functions as a camouflage for the victimage mechanism, and "Violence is the heart and secret soul of the sacred" [41]. While this analysis could potentially be widely applied, the gardens discussed in Chapter Six offer a particularly clear view of the mechanism at work.

The creative imagination, choosing and working upon the sacred element, has generated gardens that embody both private and public preoccupations. In the final chapter I concentrate more particularly on the place of the sacred within an imaginative response to gardens and landscape, viewing imagination not only as a property of the garden designer, but as a faculty brought by the visitor to any encounter with landscape, and one that can be awakened and employed by the garden designer to overcome the limits not only of the garden itself, but of the dominant rhetorical spirit of the culture.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. The Shorter Oxford Dictionary; A. Kuper and J. Kuper, The Social Science Encyclopedia (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985) s.v. "Religion and Ritual", entry by Maurice Bloch, pp. 698-701. Important connotations for the worshipper may include a sense of timelessness, or some other release from the grip of the everyday.
2. Pliny the Younger, Letters, trans. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Books 1969) pp. 216-217, 228-229.
3. Guy de la Bédoyère, The Finds of Roman Britain (London: B.T. Batsford, 1989) p. 139. The evidence shows a wide variety of Gods to have been worshipped at such rural locations: in addition to the altar on Hadrian's Wall inscribed "Deo" (revealed in a carving to be Mithras), Silvanus, Jupiter, the goddess Garmangabis, Fortuna, Neptune and Oceanus were among them. At Catterick there was an altar inscribed "Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est" ("To the God who invented roads and paths"). Also on Hadrian's wall "was found the record of a lightning strike. Such a spot was turned into a precinct once sacrifices had been made. The inscription states, FULGUR.DIVO[RUM], . . . "the lightning of the Gods" (ibid., pp. 154-155).

4. cf. Pierre Grimal, Les Jardins Romains (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) pp. 314-316. While Grimal's book remains the most comprehensive and authoritative commentary on Roman gardens, it has been supplemented by modern archaeological findings. See, for example, E. Macdougall and W. F. Jashemski, eds., Ancient Roman Gardens (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1981) incl. esp, (for the sacred) Brunnilde S. Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture" (pp. 9-28). Ridgway concludes that, in addition to "sacred groves and natural shrines", Greek cemeteries should be considered among "the antecedents of the Roman gardens" (p. 28). See also Macdougall, ed., Ancient Roman Villa Gardens (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987).

5. Public gardens with shrines: Grimal, pp. 312-313. Gardens of temples: *ibid.*, pp. 74-75, and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, "Homer's Garden", Journal of Garden History, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1989) pp. 86-94.

6. cf. Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, The Gardens of Pompeii Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Brothers, 1979), pp. 115-121, and Grimal, pp. 44-46, 298-299, 308, 323. One relay between sacred landscapes and the garden was provided by the ars topiaria, or art of making places, whose practitioners created not only wall-paintings of garden scenes and "sacro-idyllic" landscapes, but "decors" made of plants and sculpture in the garden itself. cf. Grimal, pp. 88-97. M. Rostovtzeff used

the term "sacro-idyllic" for landscape paintings with shrines, altars, statues, sacred columns, and so on, in an article published in 1911. cf. Jashemski p. 83 & 345 n. 88.

7. This important Italian influence has been recently explored by J. D. Hunt, Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750 (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1986)

8. cf. John Dixon Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) pp. 39-44, Christopher Thacker, The History of Gardens (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) pp. 185-188, Ronald Paulson, Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975) p. 20). British imitators such as John Wootton and Richard Wilson contributed to this genre. For a painting of a ruined classical temple by Wootton owned by Alexander Pope see Maynard Mack, Alexander Pope: A Life (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) p. 770.

9. From the Elder Pliny's Natural History, for example, we learn that a fig tree growing in the forum of Pompeii was worshipped as sacred because "things struck by lightning were buried there" (Jashemski, p. 133).

10. Letters, p. 258.

11. For Clerk, see William Spink, "Sir John Clerk of Penicuik: Landowner as Designer", in Peter Willis, ed., Furor Hortensis:

Essays on the history of the English landscape garden in memory of H. F. Clark (Edinburgh: Elysium Press, 1974) pp. 31-40. Clerk's friend and fellow antiquary, Roger Gale, also subscribed to Castell's book.

12. With his friends Gale and Clerk, Stukeley was a member of the "Society of Roman Knights" and retired from London to Grantham at least in part in order to garden. He showed the sacred impulse in an extraordinary fashion after his wife's second miscarriage in 1728: "The embrio, about as big as a filber[st], I buryd under the high altar in the chapel of my hermitage vineyard; for there I built a niche in a ragged wall oregrown with ivy, in which I placed my Roman altar, a brick from Verulam, and a waterpipe sent me by my Lord Colrain from Marshland. Underneath is a camomile bed for greater ease of the bended knee, and there we enterred it, present my wifes mother, and aunt, with ceremonys proper to the occasion". Stukeley, quoted in Stuart Piggott, William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary (rev. ed., London: Thames and Hudson, 1985) p. 77. Aislable's temple, built 1740-1742, was renamed the Temple of Piety by his son William (see Chapter Three).

13. Switzer, Ichnographia Rustica: or, the Nobleman's, Gentleman's and Gardener's Recreation (3 Vols., 1718) III, p. 8.

14. *ibid.*, III, p. 8. Homer, p. 7.

15. Vol. I, pp. iv, 3-4.

16. I, p. 7.

17. I, pp. 38-9. His "programme . . invokes classical and modern Italy . . to ensure that English country estates are the true heirs of the Roman art of gardening" (Hunt, Garden and Grove p. 188).

18. I, pp. i-iii.

19. Georgic II, ll. 490-491, in The Works of Virgil translated by John Dryden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961) p. 81.

20. *ibid.*, pp. 197, 198. Aeneid, Book III, ll. 394-395, 449-452.

21. For Stowe, see George Clarke, "Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham's gardening programme and its iconography", Apollo, 97 (1973) pp. 566-571. For Stourhead's Pantheon, see Kenneth Woodbridge Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1970) pp. 32-33, Paulson, *op. cit.*, p. 29, and Malcolm Kelsall's revision of Woodbridge, Paulson et al., "The Iconography of Stourhead", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes vol. 46 (1983) pp. 133-143.

22. For gardens, see Hunt, Garden and Grove, 180-222, from which the quotation is taken (p. 202).

23. Ian Hamilton Finlay, "More Detached Sentences on Gardening in the Manner of Shenstone", PN Review, 42, (Vol. 11, No. 4) (1984), p. 20. Finlay's use of a frog suggests the other meanings - from western ecology to far eastern poetry - that ponds can accommodate. cf. also notes for the television programme, Gardener's World (BBC 2, April 20 1990): "Beginning a three-parter on water gardens - what to put in them and round them and how to attract wildlife to them - and the versatile little plant: Pulmonaria" (The Guardian April 20, 1990, p. 40).

24. These correspond to the "pre-iconographical" and "iconographical" stages of Erwin Panofsky's system of analysing meaning; Meaning in the Visual Arts (London: Penguin Books, 1970) pp. 51-82.

25. At the beginning of Chapters Three and Five, in particular, I spend some time clarifying the ways in which the gardens work, as a necessary preliminary to focussing on the sacred significance.

26. White, Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) and Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). White sees the "four master tropes" (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony) as equivalents of psychological processes responsible for the archetypal structure of discourse (Tropics, p. 5).

27. Carolyn Springer, The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism 1775-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 16.
28. Tropics, pp. 6-15. Quotation on p. 14.
29. At least, not by White's definition of discourse, which is simply a form of writing located between "logical demonstration on the one side and . . . pure fiction on the other": Tropics, p. 3.
30. Stephen Bann, The Clothing of Clio: A study of the representation of history in nineteenth-century Britain and France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
31. Sperber, "Rudiments de rhétorique cognitive", Poétique, 23 (1975) p. 415.
32. Bann, p. 5.
33. Jakobson's insight, contained in the essay "Deux aspects du langage et deux types d'aphasie" reprinted in Essais de Linguistique Générale (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1963) Chapter 2, is extended by Roland Barthes, Elements of Semiology (New York: Hill & Wang, 1968) esp. pp. 60-65. Barthes argues for the usefulness of the syntagm/paradigm opposition (given specific rhetorical form by the metaphor/metonymy contrast) for the analysis of diverse areas of signification, including non-verbal areas.

34. The point is that "analogy" is a faculty possessed by the human mind before the acquisition of language, for which process it is a main tool, and therefore the working of it cannot be limited to verbal situations. cf. David Crystal, Child language, learning and linguistics: An overview for the teaching and therapeutic professions (London: Edward Arnold, 1976) p. 35.

35. Bann, esp. Chapters 4 and 5.

36. Tindal, Christianity as Old as the Creation: or, the Gospel a Republication of the religion of Nature (1730) p. 233.

37. e. g. Bishop Lavington's The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd (1749), or anon., Methodism and Popery Dissected . . . with General Remarks on the Nature of, and Affinity between Enthusiasm and Superstition (1779).

38. see The Preface, p. iii: Tindal has "laid down such plain and evident Rules, as may enable any Man of the meanest Capacity, to distinguish between Religion, and Superstition; and has represented the Former in every Part so beautiful, so amiable, and so strongly affecting; that they, who in the least reflect, must be highly in love with it".

39. p. 101. Some indication of how close to the surface of eighteenth century life these concerns were, comes from our knowledge of John Wesley's profound belief in witchcraft. (Anthony Armstrong, The Church of England, the Methodists and

Society 1700-1850 (London: University of London Press, 1973)
p. 82.)

40. I characterise a modern scholarly discourse as necessarily ironic following Hayden White, for whom irony is part of the "archetypal plot" of discursive formations, and is "a kind of attitude towards knowledge that is implicitly critical of all forms of metaphorical identification, reduction, or integration of phenomena". Tropics, pp. 5-6, 73.

41. René Girard, Violence and the Sacred trans. Peter Gregory, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977)
p. 31.

CHAPTER ONE

ALEXANDER POPE'S SACRED SHADE:

TWICKENHAM AND GARDENING 1718-1735

Dark all without it knits; within
It opens passable and thin;
And in as loose an order grows,
As the Corinthian porticoes.
The arching boughs unite between
The columns of the temple green;
And underneath the winged choirs
Echo about their tuned fires.

Andrew Marvell, Upon Appleton House, ll. 505-512

I

The Hermitage which William Kent designed in 1732 for Queen Caroline as a rustic classical building in Richmond Gardens contained the busts of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Samuel Clarke and William Wollaston [1]. It marks the point of intersection between gardening and natural theology or deism, therefore accepting into landscape gardening the movement in religion, stimulated by scientific discovery, which did so much to change attitudes towards nature at the beginning of the

eighteenth century. The Queen's Hermitage can be thought of as a shrine to natural religion.

The status of the Hermitage at Richmond as a shrine to deism, to Caroline herself, and to the Hanoverian succession is clearly demonstrated by various sources. The "Lines on Her Majesty's Grotto" "By a reverend young gentleman" enact within their poetic description of the grotto the process of detection of a higher being that was the essence of deism. The poem first outlines the deist impulse in general:

The Lords of Heav'n thou can'st not see
But thou may'st trace His Majesty
By what He made, this Earthly House,
And the rare Fabrick that it shows.

It then applies the same principle to a reading of the smaller fabric, the grotto:

Hence too the GENIUS of this Seat
Is character'd upon the Scene,
And does the Eye of Fancy meet.

That genius is revealed as the Queen ("Sacred CAROLINE") and a prose encomium on the Hanoverian dynasty follows [2]. The natural theology promoted by Caroline made nature itself the repository of the deepest spiritual truth, a view that, inevitably, affected attitudes to the garden. As the identities of the busts indicate, the work had been continuing for a generation [3]. Caroline's Hermitage simply appropriated the rationalist basis and anti-superstitious stance of deism for the Hanoverian dynasty. Thus Batty

Langley's thoughts turn to Caroline when he wishes to assert a cognitive status for his book Pomona: or, the Fruit-garden Illustrated (1729) beyond that of a simple manual of fruit-growing. In the Preface he writes:

[the book is] to be read by every one that desires to know the Reasons and Consequences of all their Operations, which I humbly conceive will be no less Delightful than Profitable; the Whole being a new Scene of Nature, wherein her wonderful Methods of Working, thro'out her various Productions, are fully demonstrated, in a concise and easy manner . . . [4]

The "Dedication of the Queen" makes the message explicit:

to a mind so exalted by Nature, and improved by Study, the Contemplation of the Works of the Great CREATOR, display'd in the beautiful Productions of Vegetative Nature, contain'd in the copious System of Planting and Gardening, will be an agreeable Entertainment . . .

For Hanoverian supporters Caroline and her Hermitage focussed the cognitive, deistical and political appeal of gardens.

Some idea of the political opposition's reaction to the Hermitage can be gained from an undated broadsheet collected by the 1st Earl of Strafford [5]. Amidst the assortment of anonymous anti-Hanover and anti-Usurper ballads, epigrams and poems (which also attack Sir Robert Walpole and the Excise Bill of 1733) is Swift's epigram, "On the Hermitage at Richmond". However, another of the poems demonstrates even greater indignation:

A Place there is, 'twas purchased cheap,
Thanks, Ormond, thy Undoing!

And there they build a ruin'd Heap,
For All they build is Ruin!

Three holes there are, thro' which you see
Three seats to set your Arse on,
And Idols Four; of Wizards Three,
And One Unchristian Parson.

In praise of Clarke (observe the Joke!)
Writes every Bard and Gown;
And Locke's the Theme of Courtly Folk,
Who loved nor Court nor Crown. . .

The opposition voice is Tory and Jacobite, and anti-Deist. By proving a focus for these concerns, the garden becomes both a subject and an arena for ideological conflict.

In comparison to the fury of the poems on the broadsheet, Pope's poetic response to the completion of the Hermitage, restricted to a single well-known line in the Epistle to Burlington, seems restrained:

Nor in an Hermitage set Dr. Clarke. (l. 78)

The poet's strategy is to ignore the fact that Dr. Clarke has been metonymically reduced to a bust, to take the living man as the object signified rather than his intellectual achievement of making natural religion theologically respectable, and to point to the absurdity of installing him in a lonely hermitage. This strategy is reinforced by Pope's own footnote to the line, which reads, "Dr. S. Clarke's busto placed by the Queen in the Hermitage, while the Dr. duely frequented the Court." Pope's "while" should not be taken to indicate simultaneity: Clarke's bust was actually installed three years after his death. Caroline's achievement in

locating the hermitage - a genus of garden building - as an appropriate place to celebrate the popular establishment of natural theology in England (the hermit being conceived as the type of person, in the period before Newton and Boyle, most skilled in reading the book of nature), is therefore deftly finessed.

A letter of September 1732 to Lord Peterborough makes it clear that Pope's chief objection to the royal Hermitage is that its idea is facile:

It will a little raise your envy to find all the Muses employed in celebrating a Royal Work, which your own partiality will think inferior to Bevis-Mount. But if you have any inclination to be even with them, you need but put three or four Wits into any hole in your Garden . . . [6]

And he goes on to suggest an Opposition garden feature, by proposing himself, Swift and Gay as the "Wits". On 6 November 1732, in a letter to Burlington, he is careful to dissociate his and Burlington's friend William Kent from the (apparently general) criticism of the structure. This means that in Pope's view criticism was focussed on the idea, rather than the execution, and therefore directed at the Queen he hated [7] rather than the architect he respected.

Apart from the political advantage to be gained from thus satirising the Queen's artistic effort, another reason for the concentrated energy of his written comments against the glibness of the Hermitage seems to have been that while Caroline was creating this building as a political and

religious focus, Pope was also engaged in making a religious shrine in his own garden at Twickenham: one that was much more deeply and intimately bound up with the overall form of the garden than Caroline's appeared to be, and one that celebrated the Old Faith in a natural setting. Pope's father had converted to Roman Catholicism, which by 1732 was a faith in decline compared with the fashionable deism of Clarke and Wollaston which was on the ascendant, about to be taken up (in 1736, by Bishop Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion) into the mainstream of Anglican theology [8]. Pope's shrine therefore emerges as oppositional to Caroline's more prominent and famous one across the river.

The basic form of Pope's shrine, as I have suggested elsewhere, [9] was provided by modelling the central part of his garden (Figure 1) on the ground plan of a Palladian church. The plan is envisaged as a generic one, something like those for San Giorgio Maggiore or Il Redentore, in Venice (Figures 2 and 3), possibly influenced by other renaissance architecture such as Bramante's unexecuted design for St. Peter's in Rome (Figure 4). The evidence is in the very strong resemblance of the garden depicted in Serle's plan, to architectural drawings of churches (Figure 5). There is also Spence's record of Pope discussing this very idea, of imitating a cathedral or Roman temple in trees, and elaborating on details such as the creation of columns and a dome:

I have sometimes had an idea of planting an old Gothic cathedral, or rather some old Roman temple, in trees. Good large poplars, with their white stems, cleared of boughs to a proper height, would serve very well for the columns, and might form the different aisles, or peristiliums, by their different distances and heights. These would look very well near, and the dome, rising all in proper tuft in the middle, would look as well at a distance [10]

Pope's qualification, "Gothic cathedral, or rather some old Roman temple" is interesting. The very fact that he went on to elaborate the details of the dome rules out the possibility that he really had Gothic architecture in mind - no Gothic cathedral he would have known has a dome, and he had no scholarly interest in the Gothic, as he had in Palladio. Moreover, Palladio's architecture illustrates the combination of the two objects which Pope mentions: he planned cathedrals with the outward form of Roman temples.

The very definition of space, by vegetation and stone ornaments as well as by changes in the level of the ground, would have produced for the visitor a tension and "scenographic" [11] effect very similar to that conveyed by Palladio's church designs. Indeed, this quality (defined by Rudolf Wittkower as "Palladio's Optical and Psychological Concepts") [12] has been identified as the chief distinguishing characteristic of Palladio's ecclesiastical work. We know that Pope had studied Palladio in depth; that his close friend Lord Burlington had an unparalleled collection of Palladio's drawings and plans, as well as being the driving force behind the extensive neo-Palladian movement

in England. Pope had as keen an interest in architecture as he had in painting, but rather less of an opportunity to indulge it. In the Essay on Man Pope had appealed to the same theories of cosmic harmony and Pythagorean number theory of the universe that lay behind Palladio's architectural proportions, [13] and Burlington's collaborator Robert Morris in his Essay on Harmony (1734), attempted to include modern gardening in the net of harmonic proportions.

The focus of the shrine is provided by the Obelisk commemorating Pope's mother, which, by its elevation above the rest of the garden and situation in the furthest part of it, occupied a position very like that of an altar in churches. The Obelisk would thus give the arboreal church its dedication. Palladio's churches dealt with the central problem of Renaissance ecclesiastical architecture, the theoretical desirability of a centralised plan, and found various solutions to the conflicting interests of theory and religious practice. In traditional practice a distant position for the altar was favoured, for symbolic reasons as well as to facilitate the dramatic presentation of the service. Not only was the position of the altar still a subject of controversy in seventeenth-century England [14], but at the time when he was establishing the garden, Pope had a working relationship with an architect who was, during the same years, working on a centralised plan for St. Martin-in-the Fields, (Figure 6) and therefore encountering the same problems: James Gibbs helped him to palladianize his

house, and letters to Pope from him survive from 1719, soon after Pope moved to Twickenham, and 1725, thus neatly marking off the first phase of the creation of the garden. There is stylistic evidence that in 1725 the Catholic and Tory Gibbs also . . . assisted Pope with another very personal matter, the design of a memorial to Pope's nurse, Mary Beach. This stone, on the wall of Twickenham Church, is in a characteristic "Gibbsian frame" [15] (Figure 7). Clearly, had he wished to discuss the problems of morality and symbolism in architecture, there was plenty of learned stimulus available in Pope's intellectual circle.

This suggestion of an architectural model, of sacred significance, will be considered here in the context of other gardening forms of the 1710's and 1720's. It will also be assessed in light of other modern interpretations of Pope's garden. In the next chapter the Obelisk will be closely evaluated, and it will be argued that Pope's mother and her Roman Catholicism provided an informing presence in Pope's green church that implicitly contrasts with Caroline's busts and her deism. The next chapter will also consider some connections between this view of his garden and his self-avowed Horatian model.

II

Pope's garden has been so much discussed in print since the

appearance of Maynard Mack's inspiring book, The Garden and the City in 1969, that the writings about it offer something of a case study in contrasting methodologies and developmental views of garden history. Reviewing achievements so far will enable us to place the view of the garden which has just been outlined within the framework of other recent scholarship.

John Dixon Hunt has recently discussed Pope's garden twice; in the earlier essay he interprets Pope's grotto as a nymphaeum and musaeum in the tradition of classical Rome and renaissance Italy [16]. The second discussion builds upon this and places Twickenham in a Palladian gardening movement growing up with (and somewhat dependent upon) Burlington's architectural "revolution" [17]. He is concerned to show how Pope adapted and used a long tradition of garden-making in a way similar to his use of classical latin poems as a model and an inspiration for his poetry. The Italian emphasis is a most valuable one, and Hunt's discussions are very extensive on Pope's writings and the grotto, but there is no similarly detailed attention to the rest of the garden which might extend or test the view which he puts forward. Hunt sees the impact of Palladian architecture as that of a model or example - a closely related art form also looking back to ancient and renaissance Italy. My own view is that in Pope's case the relationship between garden and Palladian architecture is a lot closer than that of architecture simply providing Pope with an example: it is an interpretation, made

physical in the garden, allowing him to reproduce in one art form a shape hitherto exclusive to the other: an isomorph.

Morris Brownell had previously interpreted Pope's garden from the perspective opposite to that of Hunt: as a work which was reaching forward into the future of garden design, a precursor of naturalistic or "picturesque" gardening [18]. A glance at John Serle's map of the garden of 1745 (Figure 1) might suggest that Brownell's is a precarious assertion, as its symmetry and enclosure show that Pope's garden has nothing to do with the design principles advocated by the Picturesque Movement at the end of the eighteenth century, which themselves grew out of the landscape garden. Indeed, Pope's is not a landscape garden in the sense in which we understand the phrase: it is not designed to counterfeit an idealised countryside, it does not incorporate parts of the agricultural landscape, nor does it have a close relationship to the unbounded vistas of the landscape painting. His garden is also in its major features remarkably symmetrical, and symmetry has never been judged a naturalistic quality.

The main feature of Pope's garden (leaving aside the grotto) consisted of a long walk or vista stretching between the Mount and the Obelisk. As we have seen, the definition of space within it is strongly reminiscent of architecture but this was achieved, at least in this part of the garden, without using clipped hedges: one visitor carefully reports that the encroaching vegetation is "pruned" away, so that

leaves and twigs appear unmarked by clippers and therefore as natural as possible [19]. Within this central avenue, Pope planted and designed carefully for modulation of colour and effects of light and shade.

Pope's own references to that careful designing (especially as they mention the transference of such techniques from painting to gardening) are the cornerstone of Brownell's argument. However, his method of applying the evidence has tended to raise objections to his larger idea [20]. On occasion, too, he jumps to conclusion without any evidence at all, as when he writes that the inscription on Edith Pope's Obelisk and the solemnity evoked by the cypress walk up to it "suggests (sic) that his mother is remembered in the garden as she is in the Epistle to Arbuthnot where he prayerfully writes, "Be no unpleasing Melancholy mine" (l. 407)" [21]. It may seem trivial to point out that the line from the Epistle to Arbuthnot does not "remember" Mrs. Pope at all, so much as contain a general wish for the poet himself. It applies to a time when Mrs. Pope was still alive, whereas the Obelisk was built after her death. At any rate, as I shall show later, when Pope's conversation about the obelisk is cross-referenced with some of his poetry, a very different association of mood and a less cosy way of remembering his mother is suggested [22].

Intensive consideration of Pope's garden was introduced by Maynard Mack. Mack's scholarship is meticulous and detailed,

and his view of Pope's grotto has been widely accepted - has indeed been so persuasive and forceful as to attract attention away from the rest of the garden. He has also very firmly established the importance of Pope's villa to our understanding of Pope's poetry. A later arrival to the field of Pope scholarship can only hope to build upon Mack's picture of Pope's villa - and in this case in two specific ways.

Mack discusses the unexecuted plan for Pope's riverside frontage, to include statues of river-gods and busts of Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Homer and Virgil, on terms [23]. Pope had included all of these in "The Temple of Fame" many years before [24]. (Serle's plan shows marks which probably represent the busts, and an elevation of the scene is visible in Figure 8). While the references to Cicero - defender of the late Roman republic - and Marcus Aurelius - early philosopher-ruler - are best interpreted as political gestures on Pope's part, the busts of the poets place Pope himself, by implication, in the grandest classical tradition. The Virgilian world was of course a "home" for the poetic imagination in Pope's time, not least in Pope's own case. As such it might have suggested itself as a suitable world to be evoked in poetic garden design: specific cases are the slightly later Stourhead and The Leasowes. John Dixon Hunt has argued that the combination of imitation and the new is the characteristic strategy underlying the design of eighteenth century gardens [25].

We can see a similar strategy, borrowing to create something new, at work in the plans for Pope's riverside. In addition to the busts, two river gods were to recline on urns at either side of his landing-stage, and would be the first feature encountered by visitors after disembarkation. Although this part of the plan was never implemented, it nevertheless represents Pope's ideal way of framing the garden. (I use the word in the particular way it is employed in formalist analysis of literary texts, where a framing device has the specific function of establishing the authenticity of a text by reference to an external model or source.) The inscription on the urn of one of the river gods was to have been taken from a passage in Politian's Ambra describing the river that flowed past the birthplace of Homer: "Hic placido fluit amne Meles". The inscription for the other god's urn came from Virgil's Third Georgic, ll. 14-15: "Magnis ubi flexibus errat Mincius". This quotation is located in a description of Virgil's imaginary landscape of victory that the poet undertakes to build once he is acknowledged as the greatest poet in the world. This source is also therefore a literary or unexecuted design, which must bring up the question of whether Pope ever really intended his plan to be realized, or whether it was simply a literary fantasy. At first it looks simply as though a progression of poetic greatness across classical civilisation is being formulated: Homer; Virgil; Pope. Unlike Dryden's flood imitating Simois, the Thames is not being called upon to

imitate Mincius or Meles, and Pope's home is being placed in the grandest possible classical tradition.

However, there is an equivalence involved. Immediately preceding the phrase quoted from Virgil are the lines, "viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam/ propter aquam" (ll. 13-14). The interesting parallel is that Pope had indeed so placed a temple (not of marble), and his garden, thus framed, therefore amounted to a translation into English terms of the sacred connotations of this classical model - along the lines that were outlined in the Introduction to this study. Once the idea of translation has been introduced, a richer significance for Pope's riverside lawn articulates itself, and provides a three-dimensional version of what is publicly acknowledged in the poetry. That Pope had been able to establish this green temple was a triumph for his poetry (and its income-generating power) over his physical and religious handicaps. As Virgil's was to have been, it is a garden of triumph. Pope's financial success was founded on his translation of Homer: "(thanks to Homer) since I live and thrive, / Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive" [26]. Pope is not merely borrowing Virgil's imagined poetic world; a gardening translation of the classics has been made possible by a literary one, and the debt is acknowledged in the proposed riverside embellishments.

Walking up the slope from the riverside lawn, visitors penetrated the grotto. Mack seeks to demonstrate the depth

and seriousness of Pope's involvement with his garden by suggesting that the grotto helped him to achieve a trance-like state which in turn helped his imagination become generative of poetry [27]. In support of this Mack quotes Pope's letters, the testimony of other poets such as Wordsworth, and a psychological authority published in 1916. Further psychological experiment with trance-like states since that date confirms Mack's suggestion. The Californian garden designer Vince Healy specializes in designs for hospice gardens and gardens as sites for psychotherapeutic rehabilitation [28]. The foundation for his work is the discovery by behavioural psychologists that the quickest aid to meditation or self-hypnosis (or simple relaxation in the case of some patients) is for the subject to focus with equal attention on stimuli to two or more senses at the same time. Healy uses this principle in designing environments for the dying and the psychologically ill, but also in private pleasure gardens.

Far from offering only a gentle stimulus, Pope's grotto was obviously something of a sensual feast, almost an excess of audible and optical effects. The visitor from Newcastle found that "the Caverns of the Grot incessantly echo with a soothing Murmur of aquatick Sounds" [29]. Pope wrote to Edward Blount, "a thousand pointed Rays glitter and are reflected over the Place" [30] as a result of the large number of reflective surfaces decorating the walls and ceiling. A stimulus additional to these would have been the

awareness on the skin of the different air temperature in the grotto - a refreshing coolness in summer, perhaps a warmer sheltered pocket in winter. This stimulating environment would have greatly eased Pope's passage into a poetic trance, if indeed his working method required such a change of mood. It is very interesting to note an eighteenth-century recognition of this quality in Pope's grotto. William Mason's poem Musaeus: a Monody on the Death of Mr. Pope was written in the year of Pope's death, and published in 1747. In it the poet imagines Pope awaiting death in the grotto:

How, in yon grot, each silver trickling spring
Wander'd the shelly channels all among;
While as the coral roof did softly ring
Responsive to their sweetly-doleful song.
Meanwhile all pale th'expiring Poet laid,
And sunk his awful head,
While vocal shadows pleasing dreams prolong;
For so, his sick'ning spirits to release,
They pour'd the balm of visionary peace.

This passage combines, as it were, Mack's and Healy's views very clearly, as does a later one, when Thyrsis addresses the expiring Pope from his own vision:

Yet not this various peaceful cave, with this
Its mineral roof; nor this assemblage meet
Of coral, ore and shell; nor mid the shade
These pointed crystals, glist'ring fair; nor rills,
That wander tinkling o'er the pebbled floor;
Deal charms more various to each raptur'd sense,
Than thy mellifluous lay- [31]

Mason, a skilful gardener himself, would have had the sensitivity to realise the capacity of Pope's grotto to stimulate the senses, whether his knowledge of it came from a

first-hand visit or through oral or written descriptions.

Thus Pope's involvement with the grotto was very intimate indeed. By providing a stimulus, as well as a metaphor, for the poet's imagination, the grotto became a participating extension of that imaginative power. However, it is important to remember that the same stimulus was also available to visitors, effecting a gentle disorientation that would have prepared them sensorily and emotionally for a visionary way of seeing the rest of the garden.

III

One other modern interpretation of gardens of the 1730's that bears on Pope's garden needs to be mentioned. Serle's map depicts Pope's garden as an extension of two types of bosquet evolved in French gardens in the seventeenth century: one is the wilderness, a sort of naturalised maze or labyrinth which would give visitors the sense of being lost and coming upon garden features unexpectedly. Pope's wilderness lies around the central open space in the garden and around the Shell Temple (Figure 9). This area was identified as a wilderness by the visitor whose description of Pope's garden was printed in the Newcastle Magazine in 1748: he describes the grotto "passing cross under the high Road" and then opening "into a

Wilderness Part of the Garden" and later reports that "in passing out of the Grotto we enter into a Wilderness" [32]. Pope himself had also referred to the area between grotto and Shell Temple (and around the Temple) as "the Wilderness" in 1725 [33].

The other type of French bosquet which was used by Pope in the design of Twickenham, embedded within the wilderness, was more architectural, and rarer in England (Figure 5). David Jacques has identified a small group of three other garden designs which also draw on the same source:

the sort of geometry that Le Nostre had used for some of the later bosquets at Versailles in about 1680. These bosquets were outdoor "rooms", treated architecturally with walls of clipped hedges. Their plans were composed from intersecting shapes and are reminiscent of the plans of Baroque churches. Although symmetrical about their axes, they varied in width and shape possibly with the intention to give optical or theatrical effects. [34]

The group identified by Jacques consists of an unexecuted plan for Nostell Priory in Yorkshire by Stephen Switzer, and two gardens designed by Lord Petre and his French gardener Peter Bourginion: his own at Thorndon Hall, and one for the Duke of Norfolk at Worksop Manor. Petre, Bourginion and the Duke were all Roman Catholics like Pope [35]. These designs amount to the closest stylistic analogues of Pope's own much smaller work, and given the loyalty all show to ecclesiastical ichnography, there may be some significance in the fact that all were produced by Roman Catholics who were

peripherally involved with Jacobitism. There is the intimation of a Roman Catholic style [36]. The designs Jacques mentions all date from the 1730's, while Pope's very similar garden layout existed, at least in an early form, during the previous decade. Therefore if there is immediate influence beyond that of French models, such influence emanates from Twickenham.

Unfortunately, Jacques curtails his discussion of the designs, regarding them as a backwater of parkland design rather than in the mainstream of gardening development. In doing so, he reveals the perspective ("Of more significance for the future were . . .") which determines his view of what is of interest.

The notion of making a garden conform to architectural lineaments has forerunners both in seventeenth-century English poetry, and in other gardening practice of Pope's time. The idea is elaborated twice in Andrew Marvell's "Upon Appleton House" (see the epigraph to this chapter and ll. 281-288). Pope's poetry does not deal with this idea, although its ghost might haunt various passages of "The Temple of Fame" where we see the temple growing before our very eyes (ll. 89-92, 262-265).

However, there is a large amount of evidence that Pope was accustomed to viewing and interpreting gardens in

architectural terms. In a letter of 1724 to Martha Blount, describing Sherborne Castle, he writes, "You come first out of the house into a green Walk of Standard Lymes with a hedge behind them that makes a Colonnade" [37]. A little later, after reporting the arrangement of groves of horse-chestnut, a bowling-green and canal, "behind this is a Semicircular Berceau, and a Thicket of mix'd Trees that compleats the Crown of the Amfitheatre which is of equal extent with the Bowling-green". Even the geometry of the wilderness is admired: "a little triangular wilderness" the "quarters" of which are filled with honeysuckle and cherry trees "all within reach of the hand." Both the colonnade and the amphitheatre are what would normally be considered architectural features, but are here fabricated by trees and bushes.

Other features in Pope's own garden have a very precise architectural form. In 1725 Pope wrote to Edward Blount describing his garden [38]. Between the Shell Temple and the grotto he says there is "a sloping Arcade of Trees". The Oxford Companion to Gardens defines an "arcade" as "a tall hedgerow (usually of hornbeam) clipped into the form of a row of arches supported on smooth tree-trunks resembling columns; a feature in the gardens of Marly" [39]. Green arcades of this kind are depicted in many paintings and engravings, an example being an anonymous painting (dated 1725-1730) of Winchendon House, Buckinghamshire, the seat of another Jacobite, Lord Wharton. Winchendon is mentioned by Stephen

Switzer, in Ichnographia Rustica (1718), as a good example of a garden in which garden forms imitate architectural features [40]. Indeed, green arcades were used so often in English gardens of this time that examples are almost too numerous to list. In addition to Twickenham, Winchendon and Sherborne, Lord Perceval's letter describing Hall Barn in 1724 has survived: in one part of the garden he found "the temple of Pan or Silvanus, consisting of several apartments, arches, Corridores etc composed of high thriving Ews, cut very artfully". Such features are also depicted in the Frontispiece to the Catalogus Plantarum, a nurserymen's catalogue of 1730 [41]. In the same letter to Blount, Pope again mentions the view up from the porch of the grotto which faced "toward the Arch of Trees." In his own edition of his correspondence, published in 1737, this phrase has been changed to "toward the Garden shadow'd with trees" either because it is more poetic, or more likely because taste in gardening had changed sufficiently during the intervening years for the imitation of architectural features to be less fashionable.

We can reach a very clear idea of what Pope's arcade was like by considering carefully its position and function in the garden. The drawing of Pope in his grotto, attributed variously to William Kent and the Countess of Burlington (Figure 10), shows arcades of brick or stone on either side of the grotto, which connect in an arched vault. It is likely that Pope would have tried to reproduce this shape in

trees up the walk to the temple, in order to blend inside and outside as seamlessly as possible, as well as to accomplish a "translation" into other materials, a sort of light pun. With this purpose of easing the transition out of the grotto in mind he also writes to Blount of his intention to pave the walk up to the temple with "cockle-shells" (a thought omitted in 1737). The cockle-shell walk would be "in the natural Taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping murmur, and the Aquatic Idea of the whole Place". To sustain the "aquatic idea", the cockle-shells may be thought of as forming a sort of dry cascade. At the same time we notice in Pope's description that an auditory sensation is being linked to a visual one, so that the sentence displays some of the confusing or blending of the senses which we have seen the grotto amply equipped to do. It is a dense and remarkable piece of gardening [42].

Thus the green arcade may have been vaulted over the walk as well as flanking both sides of the path. Indeed, that is what the visitor from Newcastle found twenty-three years later. The walk was "over-arch'd with wild and interwoven Branches of Trees. From the Temple, this sylvan Arcade, together with the passage of the Grotto, makes a sort of continued Tube . . ." The trees were "interwoven", which indicates work done deliberately.

So as the visitor emerged from the grotto into the wilderness, she or he found an architectural feature

translated into the materials of gardening; a strategy which continued in the rest of the garden. Turning away from the arcade tunnel and the shell temple, the visitor could ascend the artificial mount and view the rest of the garden from above, or pass the foot of the mount to enter the central walk or avenue which contained the bowling-green, and which Walpole so praised [43]. This area was laid out in plan like a Palladian church, combining Pope's enthusiasms for both architecture and gardening, and providing a way of unifying the design of a large area of the garden which contained various different features: mounts, quincunx, bowling-green, urns, broad walks, a green bank, cypress walk and Obelisk. Evidence of this strategy employed at other gardens apart from Thorndon, Nostell and Worksop is not plentiful, but Stephen Switzer discusses the idea of "laying down some little Spots of Gardening, in the Manner that the Ichnography or Plan of a Building is", in Ichnographia Rustica (1718). He writes that this is a new and beginning design strategy, which should be logically extended: "and by means of Eugh and other tonsile Greens, to imitate the Elevation thereof, in Columns, Pilasters, Niches, etc." The owner "is often glad to find some few Elegancies, and neat little Gardens, made and kept by Art". Switzer gives an example: "Such, in particular, is that beautiful Hollow at Kensington, with the several Cabinet-Recesses and Niches round it; . . . there is something in this entirely pretty and new in Gardening" [44]. Pope was, therefore, developing a new idea of gardening, but

not in quite the way we have tended to think in recent years. We have already seen Petre and Bourginion, as well as Switzer himself, later extending the idea to very large dimensions indeed.

At Twickenham, the optical experience of the visitor approaching from the Shell Temple was carefully considered and prepared by Pope. As the spaces opened or closed in, stone ornaments and the smaller mounts acted as unifying or binding elements, reminding the visitor of each other or of the large mount. One visitor defined the area precisely by referring to the stone features: "an elliptical area, having at the upper end an obelisk and on its sides Pedestals" [45]. By unifying this area the ornaments functioned very like alliteration or rhyme in poetry, which emphasizes the unity of the verse across the particularities of sense. Ronald Paulson has experienced a similar dialogue at Stourhead between concealing, absorbing vegetation, dividing the garden and making the parts of it different from each other, and stone architectural features emerging from the vegetation and establishing, then adding to, some coherence or overall statement of meaning [46]. Doubtless the experience of Stourhead is more vivid, as the garden is larger, and more naturalistic in layout; but the experience may be interpreted as a constant, recurring feature characteristic of any garden and one of the essentials on which the principles of design are based, and thus applicable to Pope's Twickenham too.

The vegetation of Pope's garden, either as surrounding trees and shrubs or as grass on the lawn and banks, was mainly responsible for the definition of the central space into various parts, while the alliterating ornaments began to state a contrasting, unifying theme which was eventually centred in the Obelisk at the far end, raised like an altar above the main floor of a church. However, there was a small exception to this principle. The visitor from Newcastle found that "The Middle of the Garden approaches nearest a Lawn or open Green, but is delightfully diversified with Banks and Hillocks; which are entirely cover'd with Thickets of Laurel, Bay, Holly, and many other Evergreens and Shrubs . . ." This particular kind of vegetation is clearly breaking up the definition of space, (at least three years after Pope's death), to give added variety to the "elliptical area" [47].

IV

The picture which emerges of Pope's garden is that of a garden of its time, similar, as we have seen, to many gardens of the period 1716-1730, distinguished only by a more thorough-going application of the ichnographic concept. It is, moreover, essentially metaphorical, working by substitution (of trees for columns, arching trees for stone arcades) and identification (the trees look like columns and

arcades; the Obelisk has the solemnity of an altar).

The ideas which Pope quarried for his translations into gardening were not particularly arcane. Apart from the examples of other gardens, of Marvell, and of Palladio's plans for churches, had Pope happened to look through Cesariano's 1521 edition of Vitruvius, he would have found, among floor-plans of sacred buildings (pp. LII, XIII) and well-known images such as Vitruvian Man (p. L), an illustration demonstrating the obelisk as the gnomon of a sundial (p. CLVII) (an essential factor in its dense meaning for Pope's garden), and the changing optical properties of an obelisk as a person approaches (p. LXXXVI). Although in the Vitruvian tradition the analogy between columns and the human body is of great importance, and Cesariano illustrates this too (pp. VI, VII), Pope (and Marvell in Upon Appleton House) are more interested in the column/tree analogy, which Palladio was of course aware of: in The Four Books of Architecture he attributes the practice of narrowing the tops of columns to the ancients imitating in stone their originally wooden structures - "taking example from the trees" [48].

One other quality of the Obelisk and cypress walk should perhaps be mentioned here. The accounts by visitors, especially from Walpole and the Newcastle Magazine, are particularly valuable to the garden historian in recording the emotional impact of the garden, which otherwise might be

very difficult to reconstruct. Walpole, for example, was clearly unconsciously affected by the solemnity of the Obelisk in its cypress walk, and referred to Mrs. Pope's "tomb" [49]. However, we can supplement this aspect of them by attention to geography, cross-referenced by Pope's own words. The main orientation of the garden was east-west, with the house at the eastern end. This meant that for much of the year the sun would set roughly behind the Obelisk, endowing Pope's view of it with the emotional glow of sunset light, strengthening its silhouette beside the mediterranean flavour of the cypress trees. The main metaphysical feeling conveyed by this arrangement was surely distance: elegiac, poetic, perhaps nostalgic. We might remember that the achievement of symbolic distance was one of the chief concerns in the controversy over the placing of altars in centrally-planned churches, and was very relevant to Pope's chosen layout. Spence recorded Pope elaborating on this achievement of distance in often-quoted words: "You can distance things by darkening them, and by narrowing the plantation towards the end, as they do in painting, and as 'tis executed in that little cypress-walk towards that obelisk" [50].

The "things" which he described being distanced were the cypresses and therefore the obelisk to which they led; and the mechanism by which this was done was modulation of the colour green, present in the foliage of the whole garden but radically darkened by the cypresses. Brownell has asserted

that Edith Pope was remembered in the garden with "no unpleasing melancholy": but evidence from another of Pope's poems gives a direct intimation that the emotions aroused by the garden were more problematical. In "Eloisa to Abelard" he had written :

But o'er the twilight groves, and dusky caves,
Long-sounding isles, and intermingled graves,
Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
A death-like silence, and a dread repose:
Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
Shades ev'ry flow'r, and darkens ev'ry green
Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
And breathes a browner horror on the woods
(ll. 163-170, my emphasis)

Pope had achieved in gardening an exact replica of the darkening green that he describes in the poem. (It is also worth remembering that the "isles" of l. 164 are of course ecclesiastical aisles.) Although the two examples come many years apart and might have been linked chiefly unconsciously or subconsciously, the intimation that "Black Melancholy" sometimes brooded over the Obelisk gives us our clearest indication of the grief that Pope felt over his mother's death, and of how he constructed for himself a part of a remodelled world to express that grief. As a church has a dedication, so Pope's garden, at least in the part designed along the lines of a church, in 1735 received its dedication to his mother's memory. And in order to consider more broadly Pope's meanings in his garden, it is to the Obelisk and its dedication that we must now turn.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. See Maren-Sofie Röstvig, The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphosis of a Classical Ideal (2 Vols.) (Norway: Norwegian University Press, 1962) Vol. II, pp. 28-42, and Judith Colton, "Kent's Hermitage for Queen Caroline at Richmond", Architectura, 2 (1974) pp. 181-189.

2. This poem appears on p. 73 of Thomas Gent's "A Journey into Some Parts of Yorkshire" (bound with Gent's The Antient and Modern History of the loyal Town of Rippon (1733)). The poem reads:

With reverential Awe approach the Place;
'Tis sacred Ground, and here a Genius dwells:
But if thou wou'd'st discover who's the Grace
Behold the Roof; whose 'tis, the Mansion tells.

The Lords of Heav'n thou can'st not see
But thou may'st trace His Majesty
By what He made, this Earthly House,
And the rare Fabrick that it shows.
Hence GOD himself is this way seen;
Hence too the GENIUS of this Seat
Is character'd upon the Scene,
And does the Eye of Fancy meet.

In vain go search in ancient Greece
For all the Muses, all the Graces;
See here of all that's form'd to please
The Shrine, the Seat, the living Traces.

In Rank august of Demi-Gods enroll'd
Those Sages see,

[Newtonus, Lockius, Clarkius, Wollstanus in Latin original]

whose Busts shed Rev'rence here:
Names above Praise! Where we, in Sum, behold
Nature, Religion, Reason, all Things, clear.

If now the Goddess of this Fane
Thou can'st not by these Tokens find;
With such a Presence, such a Train,
And all this Image of her Mind:

Go humbly pay thy Tribute-Praise
As due to Sacred CAROLINE;
And, if thou'rt in the Muses Grace,
Thou'lt better know the Pow'r Divine.

Long live the KING and QUEEN: And may the Succession
in their illustrious Race remain 'till the Dissolution
of all Things, when this transitory World shall be
brought to

AN END

Deism could read nature to reveal not only the existence, but
the character (or "attributes" - Clarke's word) of God. cf.
Gordon Rupp, Religion in England 1688-1791 (Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1986) pp. 251-277.

3. cf. Matthew Tindal, Christianity as Old as the Creation,
p. 14: (the book is written as a dialogue) "A. I suppose you
will allow, That 'tis evident by the Light of Nature that
there is a God . . . B. This, no doubt, has been demonstrated
over and over . . ." On p. 358 Tindal stresses deism's
rationalist basis in quoting Clarke's Demonstration of the
Being and Attributes of God to the effect that God's will can
be deduced from his attributes. Tindal's book is regarded as
paradigmatic of deism by a modern historian, Peter Byrne: "I
identify "deism" with the main teachings of Matthew Tindal's
Christianity . . . [deism is] a Tindal-like perspective on
religion". Natural Religion and the Nature of Religion: The
Legacy of Deism (London: Routledge, 1989) p. xiii.

4. Pomona: or, the Fruit-Garden Illustrated (1729), p. vii.

5. This broadsheet is in the Strafford papers at the British
Library, Add. Mss. 31152 f. 16. Another poem employs the

argumentum ad hominem:

Oh! last sad proofs of a degen'rate Age!
See flattery profane a Hermitage!
Truth has been long forbid the Court to dwell,
But C ---- has banished it the Cell.
True to the Sex, she feigns but to retire,
And only hides to make the world admire.
And while to these she consecrates a shrine,
She whispers, let the Incense all be mine.

6. The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (5 Vols.) ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) Vol. III, p. 312.

7. Sherburn, III, p. 329. His epigram "On Queen Caroline's Death-bed" (Epigrams 1738-1741) indicates the extent of the emotion: "Here lies, wrapt up in forty thousand towels/The only proof that C*** had bowels."

8. For decline in Catholicism, see J. C. D. Clark, English Society 1688-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 137. The full title of Butler's book is, The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. It was written in response to a suggestion by the deist Matthew Tindal. cf. Peter Gay, Deism: An Anthology (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1968) p. 79. For Butler's importance, cf. Rupp, pp. 280-285.

9. Michael Charlesworth, "Alexander Pope's Garden at Twickenham: an architectural design proposed", Journal of Garden History Vol. 7, No. 1, (1987) pp. 58-72.

10. Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of

Books and Men ed. James M. Osborn, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966) (2 Vols.) Vol. I, anecdote no. 619, p. 256, dating from c. 1728.

11. Rudolf Wittkower's word: Palladio and English Palladianism (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983) p. 22

12. This phrase is the title of chapter III, section 5 of Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (London: Academy Editions, 1973).

13. See Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) pp. 33-36

14. The movements of the altar in the 17th Century are mentioned in Smith Cook and Hutton, English Parish Churches (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976) pp. 161-162. Puritans abolished altars: High Churchmen and Catholics liked their traditional place.

15. Nikolaus Pevsner, Middlesex in The Buildings of England series (London: Penguin Books, 1951) p. 158. In fact the memorial tablet's frame is a precise version of the central doorcase illustrated in Plate 101 of Gibbs's A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Building and Ornaments (1728), without the pediment.

16. "Pope's Twickenham Revisited", Eighteenth Century Life, Vol VIII, 2 (January, 1983) pp. 26-35.

17. Garden and Grove pp. 200-205.

18. Alexander Pope & the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1978), Chapter 5.

19. This description is reprinted by Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City Appendix A, pp. 237-243.

20. See especially John Dixon Hunt, "Pope: 'Practical Poetry' and Practicing Poetry," Review, III (1981) pp. 155-164.

21. p. 145

22. Pope's garden is also discussed in Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: The Gardening World of Alexander Pope (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984), esp. pp. 39-61. He has made a painstaking collection of all the written and much of the visual evidence that remains. He is mainly concerned to interpret this from the viewpoint of "new landscaping tastes and images" (p. xvi); but despite this perspective the comprehensive chapter in Twickenham contains much interesting discussion.

23. pp. 37-40

24. Homer: ll. 182-195; Virgil: ll. 196-209; Cicero: ll. 238-243; Marcus Aurelius: ll. 165-167.

25. "Ut pictura poesis, ut pictura hortus, and the picturesque", Word & Image, I (1985) pp. 87-107.

26. Imitations of Horace: Ep. II ii, ll. 68-69.

27. Mack, pp. 42-44.

28. Healy's work features in the exhibition catalogue, Transforming the American Garden: 12 New Landscape Designs (Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 1986) pp. 52-53. cf. also Healy, "The Hospice Garden: Addressing the patient's needs through landscape", The American Journal of Hospice Care November/December 1986. (Conversation with the author, April 1987)

29. Quoted by Mack, pp. 46-47.

30. Sherburn, II, 296.

31. Works (1764) pp. 5-6, 13. The second quotation is a parody of Milton.

32. In Mack, pp. 238-239.

33. Sherburn, II, p. 296.

34. Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature p. 40. For the type of bosquet in question, see F. Hamilton Hazlehurst, Gardens of Illusion: The Genius of Andre Le Nostre (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1980) for example, p. 181. Such bosquets were not limited to Le Notre: see André Mollet, Le Jardin de Plaisir (1651) (facsimile by Editions du Moniteur, Paris, n.d.). One of the gardens mentioned by Jacques, Lord Petre's Thorndon Hall, is illustrated in Brian Allen, "Jonathan Tyers' Other Garden",

Journal of Garden History Vol. 1 No. 3 (July-Sept 1981) p. 223 (Fig. 8).

35. Two of them had experience of Whig repression: the Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned in the Tower in the aftermath of the Atterbury plot, and Petre was married to the daughter of the Earl of Derwentwater who had been executed in 1716 for his part in the Jacobite rising of the previous year (his wife's uncle suffered the same fate for the same reason in 1746).

36. Or more precisely, a style associated with one group of Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Philip Southcote was developing a different type of garden, the ferme ornée, at Wooburn Farm during the 1730's.

37. Sherburn, II, p. 237.

38. Sherburn, II, pp. 296-297

39. Oxford Companion to Gardens, ed. Jellicoe, Goode and Lancaster, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 21, entry by Denis Lambin.

40. For Winchendon, see Journal of Garden History Vol. 8 Nos. 2 & 3 (1988), catalogue of the "World of William and Mary" exhibition, Col. Plate XII and cat. no. 87. Switzer mentions Winchendon in Ichnographia Rustica (1718) Vol. II p. 221. Gibert West's poem on Stowe (1736) describes the

Abele Walk "Like some high Temple's arching Isles extend/ The taper Trunks [of Poplars], a living Colonnade" in a passage clearly reminiscent of Marvell ("External Murmur animates the Shade"). Printed in John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds.) The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820 (London: Paul Elek, 1975) pp. 215-227. Quotation from p. 218. Stowe's Abele Walk connected with the green arcades that flanked the South Parterre until altered under "Capability" Brown in 1743 (illus., Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown (London: Faber & Faber, 1975) Plate 3c).

41. Lord Perceval is quoted in Hunt and Willis (eds.) p. 165. The Frontispiece to the Catalogus Plantarum is reproduced in Country Life November 3 1988 (Vol. CLXXXII No. 44) p. 197. Arcades and external rooms are visible in many of the pictures of Zijdebaden in Erik de Jong, "Zijdebaden: A late 17th Century/early 18th Century Dutch Estate and its garden poem" Journal of Garden History Vol 5, No. 1, (Jan-Mar 1985) pp. 32-71.

42. It also shows Pope adapting to a new and more poetic use an established gardening idea. Switzer mentions the use of cockle-shells to make parterres on p. 187.

43. "The passing from the gloom of the grotto to the opening day, the retiring and again assembling shades, the dusky groves, the larger lawn, and the solemnity of the termination at the cypresses that lead up to his mother's tomb are managed with exquisite judgement." "The History of the

Modern Taste in Gardening" (1780) in Anecdotes of Painting in England (1786) Vol. 4, p. 295.

44. Vol. II, pp. 221-222.

45. Malcolm Andrews, "A new description of Pope's garden" Journal of Garden History Vol. 1, no. 1, (1981) 35-36, p. 36.

46. Emblem and Expression p. 29.

47. Elizabeth Carter's account showed a degree of wildness in this area as early as 1738. G. Hampshire, "Johnson, Elizabeth Carter, and Pope's Garden", Notes & Queries n.s. 19 (1972) 221-222.

48. Translated by Isaac Ware, London, 1738: (facsimile edition, Dover Publications: New York, 1965.) p. 25. For the importance of obelisks as gnomons, see Charlesworth, "Alexander Pope's garden . . ." p. 63.

49. Walpole, op. cit., p. 295.

50. Anecdote 610 in Spence, Vol. I p. 253. Here the problems of "picturesque" garden design become apparent. William Shenstone, in his "Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening" (Works in Verse and Prose, 4th edition, 1773) advises "distancing" by making vegetation lighter and "more fady" (Vol. II, p. 124). Could Pope have been thinking of pictures of buildings? The play of light and dark on architecture is significantly different from the effect on vegetation.

CHAPTER TWO

EDITH POPE'S MONUMENT

It is not the simple fact that Mrs. Pope was commemorated in the garden that is important for garden historians or literary critics: but the way that she was commemorated. The Obelisk was the visual and emotional focus of Pope's garden beyond the grotto, and provided the equivalent of the altar in his isomorph of a church. Not until the Obelisk was in place was the ichnography complete. In view of its importance, the feature invites longer meditation than it has yet received in discussions of Pope's garden or life. Examination of it can be expected to reveal, more precisely than we have been able to do so far, the meaning of the sacred design for Pope's life and work. The exploration will be conducted in two sections, which will attempt to explain how the commemoration relates the garden more closely to Pope's work and to certain expectations and forces in society. Through this narrow but extended focus I expect to be able to be very precise about what kind of commemoration happened.

I. A SAINT EXPIR'D

There were two monuments to Mrs. Pope. That in Twickenham church, which she shared with her husband (Figure 11), was of a conventional kind, describing her as "pientissimae" and as his father's "conjugi inculpabili". The existence of two monuments to her memory is rather surprising. Does this reflect simply Pope's historical position in the European Enlightenment? Phillipe Ariès has characterised the main trend of burial and commemoration during this era: "the common desire was either to keep the dead at home by burying them on the family property or else to be able to visit them, if they were buried in a public cemetery" [1]. It seems that in a sense Pope attempted to do both. In trying to advance our understanding of the Obelisk, the first question to address is, why?

Monumentalising involves endorsement of the commemorator's effort by third parties: the monument has to impinge upon the social world, to be valid. However, the exposed, because public, position of the family memorial in Twickenham church led to an incident that must have given Pope grave anxiety about the possible life-span of something which Barthes has characterised as intended "to be eternal . . . to be itself immortal" [2]. In passing it is worth further reflecting that such an intention, and such anxiety, could only be more deeply felt because Pope produced no offspring. The family would receive its lasting memorial in the poetry: but Pope

evidently desired something more tangible in addition, an enduring stone relic in the world, and proved to have a relatively early lesson in the vulnerability of such a desire.

The incident in question was Lady Kneller's attempt to have Pope's memorial tablet removed from its station in Twickenham church. This attempt took place in 1725, six years after its erection, when the memorial commemorated only his father, and Lady Kneller's purpose was to accommodate a huge and weighty memorial to Sir Godfrey (and herself). The resulting petitioning and politicking in which Pope had to engage to preserve the Pope tablet brings to the forefront the ambiguities of a monument in a church: is it permanent, or impermanent; public, or private property? The first question was all the more urgent for Pope himself, as the monument had been intended, from before its first installation, eventually to accommodate his mother and himself, and thus the stone embraced the future, as well as telling of the past.

Pope enlisted the support of the Earl of Strafford (who occupied the pew immediately beneath the contested stretch of wall), managing to argue both a public and private interest in his letter.

I thought fit, first of all, to apply to you, My Lord, who (I would fain persuade myself) will be concerned against it, next to me; not only as the nearest Neighbour to it, but as the person I would hope would most favour me. The Innovations, upon all sorts of property, & the Dangers of ill Precedents of all kinds, are what your Lordship is a well-known

Opposer of. [3]

Pope adds a curious postscript: "My Mother joins in her faithful humble Services, and in my petition for your PROTEST (a word, your Lordship is of late well acquainted with)."

It was very fortunate for Pope that the pew in question was used by Strafford. Pope's postscript shows that he was aware of Strafford's activities with other Jacobite peers in the House of Lords; he refers to Strafford's practice of signing formal Protests against Hanoverian Whig legislation passed by that House. Pope's dispute with Lady Kneller started in June 1725. In the previous two months Strafford had signed eleven protests, one of which used the same word employed by Pope in his letter: "We are of the Opinion, that the Abolition of the ancient Custom of the City, touching the personal Estates of Freemen, is a dangerous Innovation . ." [4]. Another political activity would have inclined Strafford to look favourably upon Pope's request for help. Like Pope, he had also spoken in Atterbury's defence at the latter's trial [5]. He lent his weight to Pope's cause.

In another letter to Strafford, Pope leans on the public status of the monument in anatomising Lady Kneller's strategy, "to make the Point as Personal as she can with me, therby to disengage herself from an opposition from the Parish . ." before, in the same sentence, reflecting on the dangers of overriding "the design of dying men, or their Survivors, to perpetuate their memories by the Certain Fixing

of Inscription as a Property" [6].

The affair dragged on for several months. One conclusion Pope might have drawn - and here we remember the words of Ariès - was that a monument in a private place would not have been so vulnerable. In a disconsolate letter to Broome he referred to the Kneller affair: "My cares are grown upon me, and I want relaxation." Later in the same letter he defined cares as "distempers caught by contagion" [7]. The risk of contagion is greatest in frequented public places. To avoid such cares would therefore be easier if he could in some way keep Mrs. Pope at home after her death.

Towards the end of the affair Pope reported to Strafford on a decisive meeting in Twickenham church attended by (among others) the vicar of Twickenham [8]. After reporting in conventional courteous language the vicar's outburst that Strafford's opinion was irrelevant as he never attended church, and his own clever rejoinder, challenging the vicar's credentials on the same grounds, Pope's patience with the whole business plainly gives way, and his anger throws up an image telling of personal pain:

The truth is, the black puppy provoked me,
which was more than all the fat woman
[Lady Kneller] could do with all her other
dirty Gownsmen. A dull Blockhead sometimes
galls me more than a Smart cunning rogue,
as a blunt Knife cuts & mangles worse than
a keen one.

Despite feeling cut and mangled by the ordeal, Pope had

managed to preserve his parents' tomb thanks to Strafford's help, and he found time to meet Strafford: he sends "my own wishes for Lord Wentworth's better health & the young Lady's who was so obliging as not to think me an Old man" [9].

While it provides a sufficient reason for any future memorial to be located in the private domain, Pope's experience at the hands of Lady Kneller does not explain why a second monument was desired. There is to us a strangely informal quality about remembering a human death by means of a garden ornament; a quality that suggests enjoyment (in so far as that is the main purpose of a garden). While such an action can be seen as a retreat from the contagion of a public station, there is an emotional corollary for such a retreat, the better to possess Mrs. Pope. An explanation for this impulse can only be reached by examining Pope's other reactions to his mother's death, which preceded the Obelisk in time, and discovering how the impulse to construct the Obelisk fitted in with them. The main evidence to assist an answer lies in Pope's letters to his friends.

Mrs. Pope died on June 7th 1733. On the 10th Pope wrote to Jonathan Richardson, describing his mother's face in death: "It would afford the finest Image of a Saint expir'd, that ever Painting drew" [10]. Using a metaphor that links Mrs. Pope with the garden very strongly, he asks Richardson to come and draw her "before this winter-flower is faded"

(Figure 12).

On 25 June he wrote from Twickenham to Caryll, the most demanding of his Roman Catholic friends, revealing his first unruly reactions to the death:

Reason and religion both tell me it is best; but affection will not be on their side, and I'm really more troubled than I would own. . . my Melancholy for her dead, is not virtue but weakness . . . To see you at Ladyholt was the first thought I had upon this event, but as it is a great and new Aera of my life, and upon which the whole course of it will in a manner change, I must pause awhile to look about me. . . I leave this place, to which I have no intentions to return a good while, it is become so melancholy to me. [11]

Despite his other thoughts, of "a great and new Aera", that have an expansive feeling, as of somebody who has just emerged from an ordeal, the self-punishment Pope reveals in his second sentence remained an undercurrent beneath the healthier impulses. A letter of August 9 reveals slow progress: "I am now pretty well; but my house is uneasy to me still, and I am therefore wandring about . . I have now but too much melancholy leisure" [12].

The confused and intense feelings of sorrow and abandonment came to a crisis in early September in letters to Swift and to Martha Blount. On September 1 he writes to Swift,

I have every day wished to write to you, to say a thousand things; and yet I think I should not have writ to you now, if I was not sick of writing any thing, sick of myself, and (what is worse) sick of my friends too. The world is become too busy for me, everybody so concern'd

for the publick, that all private enjoyments are
lost, or disrelish'd. I write more to show you
I am tired of this life, than to tell you any
thing relating to it. [13]

In the same letter he gives another vivid indication of the
vertiginous effect of the death on the ordinary course of
life:

I have written nothing this year: it is no
affectation to tell you, my Mother's loss
has turned my frame of thinking. . . I know
I ought to be easy, and to be free; but I
am dejected, I am confined: my whole amusement
is in reviewing my past life, not in laying
plans for my future.

In what psychoanalysts term the work of mourning, "each
single one of the memories and hopes that bound the libido to
the [lost loved] object is brought up", and this process is
signalled in the above quotation from Pope [14]. We also
notice the persistence of self-punishing ambivalence: "I
ought to be easy". The disconsolate confusing paradoxes of
this letter - "I am troubled for, and vexed at, all my
friends by turns." "I live as I did, I think as I did, I
love you as I did: . . . the world will not live, think, or
love, as I do." - can only make sense as a result of the
pressure exerted by the work of mourning going on in Pope's
unconscious. Their tale is of doubt and abandonment, anxiety
and distance. We are spectators of an archetypal drama being
played out, and building to a crescendo:

Here are some whom you love, and who love you;
yet they recieve no proofs of that affection
from you, and they give none of it to you.
There is a great gulph between!

On one level the "gulph" is metaphysical, or psychological. It also represents the physical gulf of the Irish Sea, which is keeping Swift from Pope. Although the words are addressed to Swift, and applicable in general terms to Pope's current perception of the human condition, it is also tempting to interpret these sentences as addressed, via proxy, to Mrs. Pope. The writer of this letter feels profoundly separated from his fellow human beings, and her departure has caused that.

To Martha Blount Pope writes from, apparently, Cirencester Park on September 7th, reminded of another recent death.

You cannot think how melancholy this place makes me: every part of this wood puts into my mind poor Mr. Gay with whom I past once a great deal of pleasant time in it, and another friend who is near dead, and quite lost to us, Dr. Swift. I really can find no enjoyment in the place; the same sort of uneasiness as I find at Twitnam whenever I pass near my Mother's room. [15]

This grouping of Swift with the dead is interesting in the light of the language of Pope's letter to Swift and the possibility of interpreting that language as if addressed to his mother. Pope continues, "I long to write to Swift, but cannot. The greatest pain I know is to say things so very short of one's meaning, when the heart is full." Complaints about the inadequacy of language, the lack of a vocabulary for emotions, are rare in Pope, and this is evidence in itself for his upset state. If Sherburn's tentative dating

for the letters (which has been followed here) is correct, it is also telling evidence that Pope was dissatisfied with his previous letter to Swift - effectively discounting it as a communication. Otherwise this phrase suggests that the chronological position of the letters should be transposed.

The same letter to Martha Blount expresses discontent with non-physical earthly ties:

'Tis but a very narrow circle that friendship
walks in this world . . . it is but to two or
three (if quite so many) that any man's welfare,
or memory, can be of consequence: the rest I
believe I may forget, and be pretty certain that
they are already even, if not beforehand with me.
Life, after the first warm heats are over,
is all downhill; and one almost wishes the
journey's end, provided we were sure but to lye
down easy, whenever the Night shall overtake us.

This is not the first reference in letters of this time to the desirability of an easy death, such as his mother's. Behind the reminiscence of Othello (who thought he had been betrayed by a woman) [16] and the sense of abandonment, we can also detect Pope testing the reality of his friendships - and finding them lacking, except for the very fact that he has a trusted friend in Martha Blount to grumble to. Here is a spiritual counterpart to the testing of physical reality that happened in his rambles. Pope feels himself deserted and let down, and is willing to blame his friends rather than his dead mother [17].

Pope feels deserted by his mother, yet can neither overcome that desertion nor confront his anger about it, as that

conflicts with traditional Christian consolation. The continuing conflict between the natural processes of mourning and Pope's sense of what is "right" is explicit later in the letter to Martha Blount: "I dream'd all last night of --- she has dwelt (a little more than perhaps is right) upon my spirits".

Obviously such a state of extreme turmoil and pain could not continue, particularly as the poet had "written nothing this year" as a result: and in the short term it is clear that Pope obtained considerable relief from three weeks in the energetic company of Lord Peterbrough. He, his household, and Bevis Mount perhaps provided the warm comforting atmosphere and trustworthy external objects and values that are essential for the healthy mourning process. The bereaved person recovers because "through the enjoyment and comfort he has in relation to people his confidence becomes strengthened" and "by regaining trust in external objects and values of various kinds" [18]. It is clear why the main work of this process took place at Bevis Mount rather than elsewhere: as we shall see, Peterborough and his household readily and openly discussed the Roman Catholic values that Mrs. Pope had also shared and represented for the poet: while Pope had a real love for the architecture and garden of Bevis Mount. Writing from Twickenham, to which he has been reconciled, "I am returned a week since from my Lord Peterborow, with whom I past 3 weeks as agreably and as healthfully as I ever did in my life." [19]. The return from

Bevis Mount therefore marks the completion of the first, most intense phase of mourning.

One long-term solution now open to Pope for the expression of his new-found confidence despite his mother's departure without him, was to reconstitute her in some other form. The second phase of mourning included the building of the Obelisk to her memory. Aaron Hill wrote on November 7 1733 to remind Pope that he had talked about building an obelisk on his last visit to Hill (when Hill had been building a shell obelisk) and sending him some shells. Although moods of doubt and depression recurred (as in a letter of 6 January 1733/34), we finally hear, on 22 March 1734/35, that "I am building a stone obelisk". [20]

Maynard Mack has interpreted the garden and grotto as an enabling power, helping by its physical integrity to create a persona for Pope which was given full expression in the satires, and which largely shaped them [21]. At this point I wish to argue that the the building of the Obelisk represents the partial restoration of an enabling force in Pope's life and work.

Pope underwent an inhibition upon his work as a result of his mother's death. The death happened at an important moment for him, just before the publication of Epistle IV of the Essay on Man, and after he had written at least three of the four Moral Essays. Together these works were to make up half of the "Opus Magnum", the major work of Pope's life. In

the event the Opus Magnum was never finished, and the poems that did appear were of a different, less philosophically systematic character than those projected to complete what the Essay on Man and the Moral Essays had started. An investigation into practical morality gained in importance, and Pope no longer demonstrated faith in a system of thought that could make sense of "Man in the abstract", as he had in the Essay on Man.

We need look no farther than Pope's own letters to find the evidence that his mother's death acted as an inhibition on his work, (which was only partially overcome). He wrote, "I have written nothing this year: . . . my Mother's loss has turned my frame of thinking". The letters also demonstrate that the inhibition took the form of an opposition between belief in a philosophical or religious system, and experience of unruly human feelings. "Reason and religion both tell me [her death] is best; but affection will not be on their side, and I'm really more troubled than I would own . . . my Melancholy for her dead, is not virtue but weakness". (To Caryll on 25 June. In the Essay on Man, simply to wish for more virtue had been to gain in virtue - Epistle IV, l. 326. The letter contains no shred of such optimism). There is evidence that the collapse of Pope's faith in system happened on the very day his mother died (7 June). In the letter of that date announcing his mother's death to Fortescue there are two sentences that seem to apply to Pope the concepts he had been discussing of human nature in the Essay on Man: "All

our Passions are Inconsistencies, and our Reason is no better. But we are what we were made to be." [22]. The progression is from system (first phrase) to no system (second phrase, about reason) to some kind of resignation (second sentence). A philosophical system, such as Pope had advanced in his recent poetry, provides a complete view of the world, and it is just this that Pope complains has been overturned: "frame of thinking", with its connotations of the largest and stablest, and most encompassing mechanism establishing the world-view, is the key phrase here.

The "Opus Magnum" was derailed by human awkwardness, the "ineluctable density of human psychology" [23], at the very time when Pope was experiencing the intractability of human emotions from within. He never recaptured a belief in the ability of the poet to take a public place advocating an encompassing philosophical system. Instead, the problems caused by unruly passions became more his object of interest, and were contrasted with meditative retreat. The major poems of 1733-1740 -the Horatian Imitations - are built upon the opposition between the "bedlam and chaos of the outside world" and the "personal elysium of garden and grotto" [24].

Added to this change in the type of poetry that was written (a change originating as an inhibition), there was also a hiatus in the writing of major poetry between 1734 and 1736. While this might be understood as a simple reaction to the large creative output of 1730-1733, a letter to Swift,

written a year after the raising of the Obelisk, puts the entire problem into a different light [25]. The letter outlines the "Opus Magnum":

The subject is large, and will divide into four Epistles, which naturally follow the Essay on Man, viz. 1. Of the Extent and Limits of Human Reason, and Science, 2. A view of the useful and therefore attainable, and of the un-useful and therefore un-attainable, Arts. 3. Of the nature, ends, application, and the use of different Capacities. 4. Of the use of Learning, of the Science of the World, and of Wit. It will conclude with a Satire against the misapplication of all these, exemplify'd by pictures, characters, and examples.

Pope then talks frankly of the inhibition he feels in the face of this ambitious project:

But alas! the task is great, and non sum qualis eram! My understanding indeed, such as it is, is extended rather than diminish'd . . . But what I gain on the side of philosophy, I lose on the side of poetry: the flowers are gone, when the fruits begin to ripen, and the fruits perhaps will never ripen perfectly. The climate (under our Heaven of a Court) is but cold and uncertain: the winds rise, and the winter comes on. I find myself but little disposed to build a new house; I have nothing left but to gather up the reliques of a wreck, and look about me to see what friends I have!

Pope uses the metaphor of a garden to represent his creative imagination. The garden is overshadowed by death (the winter of the year for gardens). Now that both parents were dead, it may not be fanciful to detect an unconscious pun in Pope's use of "house" (metaphor for the poetry in his letter but commonly used as a metaphor for the family). The following section of the letter states that his motivation is hampered:

"Pray whose esteem or admiration should I desire now to procure by my writings?" We should remember here that his parents (particularly his father) had first filled this role. Mrs. Pope told Spence that her husband set their young son to make verses: "He was pretty difficult in being pleased and used often to send him back to new turn them. "These are not good rhymes" [he would say]" [26].

Pope urges Swift to come and live with him:

I could keep you . . . I have more than I want.
. . . I have indeed room enough, nothing but
myself at home! the kind and hearty house-wife
is dead!

If writing major works of poetry is the equivalent of building houses, the "house-wife" is the person who looks after such works, she is in a sense the person for whom such works are made. In her absence, the edifice becomes "the reliques of a wreck". Consolation lies in his (actual) garden:

my house is enlarg'd, and the gardens extend
and flourish, as knowing nothing of the guests
they have lost. I have more fruit-trees and
kitchen-garden than you have any thought of;
nay I have good Melons and Pine-apples of my
own growth. I am as much a better Gardiner,
as I'm a worse Poet, than when you saw me.
But gardening is near a-kin to Philosophy.

The letter records a draining of power from the metaphorical "house" to the actual one, which is now big enough to accomodate Swift and his servants. Fecundity, and the poet's absorbed interest, have flowed from the internal garden of

the creative imagination to the actual garden, site of the strongest trace of "this winter-flower".

Mrs. Pope's involvement with the garden had been intimate, as she had been alive for the first 14 years of its making. Indeed, there had been something of a reciprocal relationship between mother and garden, in that the garden had grown up as Mrs. Pope had faded away. I suggest that the Obelisk was a concrete metaphor, serving to maintain her essential presence in his mythopoeic garden by a representation based upon substitution and identification. By making this construction, in the crucial period after his mother's death, Pope could repossess her and his own past and thereby complete the process of regaining the equilibrium which her death had upset.

In the absence of the philosophical poem, and the strengthening of the personal elysium, Twickenham's Horace became oppositional to court and city. Raising the Obelisk helped the completion of a successful mourning, and contributed to the ability of the re-enabled poet to write poetry again - but never in quite the same way. The first poems written after the hiatus were Imitations of Horace Ep. II. i. (To Augustus), Pope's strongest attack on the court, and Ep. II. ii., which includes, as we shall see, his most successful filial tribute to the private values of his father.

An acute unwillingness to let the lost person go is also

regarded as a characteristic of the Enlightenment by Phillipe Ariès:

Their tombs therefore began to serve as a sign of their presence after death, a presence which did not necessarily derive from the concept of immortality central to religions of salvation such as Christianity. It derived instead from the survivors' unwillingness to accept the departure of their loved one. [27]

A comparison with another monument made by a contemporary and friend of Pope illustrates this impulse even more vividly, and by its contrast with Pope's helps to bring out the individuality of Pope's commemoration - particularly, its connection with life (rather than death). In the autumn of 1731, Aaron Hill wrote to Pope about his plans for a memorial to his wife, who had recently died. He envisaged the monument as giving her life: "I cannot suffer her to lie unnoticed, because a monument in so frequented a place as Westminster-Abbey, restoring her, to a kind of second life, among the living, it will be in some measure, not to have lost her." The pathos of Hill's grief is given its limited location - and his life-giving impulse somewhat contradicted - by the monument itself:

The whole of what you see, is but part of the monument; and will be surrounded by pilasters, arising from a pediment of white marble, having its foundation on a black marble mountain, and supporting a coronice and dome, that will ascend to the point of the cloister arch. About half way up a craggy path, on the black mountain, below will be the figure of time, in white marble, on an attitude of climbing, obstructed by little cupids, of the same colour; some rolling rocks, into his path, from above; some throwing nets,

at his feet and arms, from below: others in ambuscade, shooting arrows at him, from both sides; while the Death, you see in the draught, will seem, from an opening between hills, in relieve, to have found admission by a shorter way, and prevented time, at a distance. [28]

Pope's reaction to this baroque extravagance is unfortunately not available; but the difference from his own neoclassical monuments could not be more marked. Hill triumphantly distinguishes his plan from the "low and unmeaning lumpishness, in the vulgar style of monuments", implying that his own project has a lofty meaning. What is astonishing about it for a modern reader is that the entire elaborate structure tells the story of a minute: of the instant before the death of Hill's wife, and that therefore its significance and meaning are temporally at least highly circumscribed. It tells of death, and of Hill's wish that that death had not happened, more than it tells of Mrs. Hill's life.

In contrast, Mrs. Pope's obelisk assumes considerable purity (Figure 13). It rigorously avoids any representation of her, let alone of her death, and we notice that the words of the inscription, "MATRUM OPTIMA. MULIERUM AMANTISSIMA." appear to celebrate Mrs. Pope's adult life, as mother and woman, but they do so without reference to dates, husband, age and the normal encumbrances of inscriptions (such as displayed by the Pope memorial in the church). Pope's Obelisk appears as an attempt to tell of Mrs. Pope's life, and is unlimited to instants of time, rather encapsulating

her whole, before the temporally demarcating "vale" gently asserts the past. Such at least would be a preliminary capture of meaning from the feature. The Obelisk celebrates the origin of Pope's entire being, and helps him to retrieve continuity with his own past. Further insights into the type of commemoration achieved come when the inscription is examined more closely.

II. MATRUM OPTIMA

An act of commemoration involves itself with certain social expectations. Reading an epitaph or monumental inscription during the eighteenth century was an activity that, if we believe the poets, could call forth scepticism accompanied at times by hostility. Matthew Prior warned readers of the problem in "For His Own Epitaph":

Then take MATT's word for it, the SCULPTOR is paid,
That the FIGURE is fine pray believe Your own Eye,
Yet credit but lightly what more may be said,
For we flatter ourselves and teach Marble to lye.

and other examples could be cited telling the same message [29]. That Pope was as aware as any of the danger of exciting irony as a response to monuments is testified by several examples -including two from the Epistle to Bathurst (published 1733). The poet refutes the official inscription on the Monument in London, which stated that the Great Fire

of London had been maliciously started by Roman Catholics:
"Where London's column, pointing at the skies, / Like a tall
bully, lifts the head, and lyes" (ll. 339-340). A footnote to
line 20 of the poem reproduced in full Arbuthnot's satirical
epitaph on Francis Chartres, which completely overturned the
panegyric orthodoxy of monuments. After the raising of the
Obelisk, a letter from Pope to Ralph Allen includes an
"Epigram to one who wrote Epitaphs":

Friend! in your Epitaphs I'm griev'd
So very much is said
One half will never be believ'd
The other never read [30].

The social expectations of monumental inscriptions provide
the starting-point for a final part of the exploration of
Pope's sacred design. Consideration of how he prepared for
this ironic response will prepare the way for a placing of
the words of the inscription in a context which to Pope was
essentially private, but which also demonstrates a
relationship with the larger social and cultural context of
Roman Catholicism.

The inscription on the Obelisk was distinguished from the
one in the church by its extreme hyperbole:

AH! EDITHA. MATRUM OPTIMA. MULIERUM AMANTISSIMA. VALE.

The extravagance of these claims ("Best of mothers. Most
loving of women.") seems almost to be inviting scepticism of
the kind expressed by Prior, and indeed by Pope himself.

Comparison with another eighteenth-century obelisk in a landscape garden, also commemorating a woman, elaborates this point. At Wentworth Castle, in Yorkshire, the 2nd Earl of Strafford (the son of Pope's friend) built an obelisk to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the early 1740's. It was conceived as a public statement, focussing on Lady Mary's intellectual achievements, specifically her introduction into England of inoculation against smallpox. The inscription reads: "To the memory of the Rt Hon Lady Mary Wortley Montagu who in 1720 introduced inoculation of small pox into England from Turkey. S. 17-- " (the last two figures are badly eroded). The high degree of specificity is a defence against visitors' scepticism. The terms of the memorial inscription can be legitimately questioned only by recourse to specialist knowledge (was 1720 really the date? Did the technique work? etc) [31].

In contrast to this, Pope's prodigal extravagance at first sight looks remarkably vulnerable. However, further meditation about it shows Pope using the conventions of the monument for his own specific purposes. The key to an understanding of how it works is its physical and conceptual context.

The visitor has been prepared for the Obelisk by the rest of the garden. There is a clear progression from the public world (of the river), through a metaphor of the poet's imagination (the grotto) [32], to the furthest, most private

place in the garden at the Obelisk (that commemorates the origin of Pope's entire being). We have seen the grotto providing the sensory stimulus for a relaxation or disorientation that would have helped to induce in the poet a visionary perception. Yet the stimulus to a visionary attitude would also have been available to the visitor. The grotto would have prepared for the viewing of Pope's garden, by disarming normal expectations and heightening sensory, and with it emotional, response. Moreover, by substituting for the poet's imagination, the grotto prepared the visitor to view the garden through Pope's eyes, as it were.

Once within the central part of the garden, the visitor would always have been aware of the Obelisk and cypresses ahead, and with the surrounding plant life closing in or opening up as the Obelisk was approached, the sense of nearing an unchanging inner sanctum would have increased. The position of the two small mounts, between the bowling green and the Obelisk, by narrowing the passage up from the bowling-green, would have contributed to this, acting psychologically as a secluding barrier through which the visitor must pass (this corresponds to a Palladian technique - the use of a screen of columns in Il Redentore to give an effect of simultaneous optical penetration and psychological exclusion) [33].

With a few exceptions, visitors to Pope's garden would know Mrs. Pope only through her son's presentation of her. And in

the case of the monument the extravagant hyperbole together with its extremely private site succeed in changing the conventional focus, so that the perceiving mind only makes sense of the Obelisk as an expression of the depth of Pope's own feelings of grief, rather than as an objective communication to the visitor about Mrs. Pope.

Most importantly, this impression of an act of self-expression by Pope is also imparted by the fact that the inscription, unlike all the others we have considered, is not addressed to a third party. Mrs. Pope is herself addressed: it seems that the visitor has stumbled upon Pope's grief-stricken cry to his mother [34]. By this combination of address and context, the visitor's impulse to read the inscription with irony is disarmed.

The inscription therefore does not lead the visitor who lacks any contrasting personal knowledge of her to revise his or her opinion of Mrs. Pope. We can readily discount the hyperbole of the inscription as it refers to Mrs. Pope, while simultaneously accepting the words as an expression of Pope's private grief. However, although the impulse to hostile and reductive irony in visitors' responses to the Obelisk is defeated by Pope's careful arrangements, it cannot be assumed that the impulse to scepticism was completely removed. It is possible, and I think legitimate, to ask the additional question, who else might be signified by the phrase "best of mothers" in this context?

The question is not altogether sportive, even though we have no evidence as to whether it occurred any contemporary visitor. If, as we have seen, Pope's mind turned to the saints for an image of his mother at the time of her death, by the time he composed the inscription for the Obelisk, he was looking even higher.

Pope owned a volume of sermons by Thomas à Kempis, and when much younger had owned a copy of the same author's De Imitatione Christi, and had written a verse "Paraphrase on Thomas à Kempis" [35]. The work of Thomas à Kempis is therefore the strongest published relay we know of into Pope's life for devotional Roman Catholic literature. Phrases used of the Virgin Mary by Thomas à Kempis are reminiscent of Pope's characterisations of his mother in the two epitaphs ("pientissimae . . . inculpabili . . . optima . . . amantissima"). The Virgin is "immaculate, unspotted" [36] and "pious" [37]. In one of the sermons dealing with Christ's passion the focus shifts to the Virgin Mary, witnessing the event. She is described as: "most loving" (the entire phrase is "this most loving Mother") [38]. When publication of the fourth Epistle of the Essay on Man was held up by Mrs. Pope's death, Pope took the opportunity to insert a compliment to her; heaven has long lent, he wrote, "a parent to the poor and me" (l. 110). The Virgin Mary, we learn from Thomas à Kempis, "has care of the poor". If you are poor, he writes, "Mary will be to thee a faithful Mother". "Mary is the friend of poverty". "Nor has [mercy] left her in heaven that she

should be unmindful of her poor" [39]. He does not describe her as "the best" (Pope's "optima"), but in her is "all moral virtue, all activity of virtue", and (a direct address) "no mind of man [is sufficient] to meditate thy excellences" [40].

However, Thomas à Kempis showers epithets upon the Virgin, and it is perhaps not surprising to find some identical with those used by Pope of his mother (the Virgin is often "most blessed . . . most illustrious" etc, in the sermons). More striking is the use of superlatives, which abound in the sermons and constitute three of Pope's four epithets about his mother.

The preliminary conclusion to be drawn is simply that Pope's mind returned to this kind of devotional literature when thinking of his mother's epitaphs. The links have no value as evidence of Pope's own commitment to the Old Faith, but they do in some sense equate Edith with Mary. The piety here is directed by Pope more towards Edith than the Virgin [41]. The words only develop any social profile at all as a result of the peculiar social circumstances of Pope's time with regard to Roman Catholicism, which was a proscribed religion. A consideration of this is important to the extent that the Obelisk was a social feature, designed to impinge upon third parties and thereby gain validity.

The phrases we have discussed commemorated Mrs. Pope's devout Roman Catholicism, and her (and Pope's) lifetime

spanned persistent anti-Catholic legislation in Parliament, which can never be completely disentangled from Jacobitism: in 1692 the removal of Catholics from ten miles of Westminster had determined the course of Pope's youth, and the Jacobite scares of 1715 and 1722/3 also provoked punitive legislation, such as double taxation, as well as serving to provoke commonplace anti-Papist hysteria. Pope's only relatives, the Racketts, were victims of the repressive Black Act of 1723, and the boundaries between "illegal" hunting and shooting, which was charged against one of them, and a supposed Papist conspiracy were quickly and repeatedly blurred in the minds of the agents of law enforcement [42]. Pope's old friend, John Caryll, one of the Catholic sufferers, held an Earldom in the Jacobite peerage, to which Pope referred in a letter of October 1733 (when letters were customarily read by post office employees looking for signs of Jacobite plots). A great proportion of Pope's personal social life was bound up with and influenced by Catholics and Jacobites [43].

The response of Sir Robert Walpole's anti-Jacobite, anti-Catholic administration was to play off two supposed evils against each other in order to consolidate their own power and maintain their exclusion of the Tories from lucrative public office [44]. The strategic message to be read in Walpole's actions and legislation can be crudely expressed in a formula: The restoration of James Stuart (Jacobus) is unacceptable because he is a Roman Catholic and

the head of state must be Protestant: therefore Roman Catholics are subversive because they favour the restoration of James Stuart (they are Jacobites), which is treason.

It is therefore against the anti-Catholicism of Walpole's strategy that the social profile of the Obelisk emerges most clearly. Pope and his friends were accustomed to discuss Catholicism in a half-joking way in their letters, and set it against political corruption; so, in a very dense letter of April 1732, Lord Peterborough wrote, "Whenever you apply as a good Papist to your female Mediatrix, you are sure of success." The reference to praying to the Virgin Mary also turns out to be a reference to the Earl's secret wife, Anastasia Robinson, a devout Catholic:

but there is not a full assurance of your entire submission to Mother-church, and that abates a little of your authority. However if you will accept of country letters, she will correspond from the haycock and I will write to you upon the side of my wheelbarrow: surely such letters might escape examination!

The conventional phrase "Mother-Church" achieves an added point in light of our discussion of Twickenham, and in the knowledge that Pope had used the same phrase in an earlier letter to Strafford: "we submissive Sons of the Mother Church, we Papists . ." [45]. The letter from Peterborough plays with the boundary between public and private life in a way probably congenial to Pope. His statements applying the the whole of Roman Catholic are suddenly turned to a purely personal significance as he sets off the Old Faith against an

implied faithlessness, Country values against Court politics, pastoral innocence against Walpole's onerous surveillance. At the end Peterborough makes explicit the source of the implied evils: after mentioning an approaching visit to the court, he writes, "I will call upon You, to be sprinkled with holy water before I enter the place of Corruption."

Pope's own religious beliefs, in the middle of all this, puzzled his friends. He was technically Catholic, but, as Peterborough shows, did not seem devoutly so. However, there are a number of clear but limited assertions of the dignity of Roman Catholicism in his work. One is in the lines on "London's Column" quoted above: others include the stone carved with the "Arma Christi" prominently displayed in the grotto [46]. To these we might add setting up a bust of Dryden in his garden (reported by Edmund Curll to be in a summer house): this commemorated not only the poet from whom Pope learned versification, but also, in public terms, a prominent Catholic convert who was stripped of his laureateship at the Revolution for being a non-juror (and therefore was victimised by a vengeful administration) [47].

In this light an added significance in his resistance to Lady Kneller over the monument in Twickenham church can be discerned. If his monument had been removed it would have been another example of the rights of Roman Catholics being brushed aside in favour of courtly Protestants: even if he had obtained another part of a wall in a less prominent

position, it would have been a literal physical symbol of the way in which Catholics were being forced to the margins of society. Pope had attacked the central problem very successfully, winning an income and an influential position for himself by his own efforts despite discriminating legislation. His success in saving the memorial added to this a small symbolic victory.

The anti-Papist movement in society did not, of course, emanate from Walpole. Had it done, it might have been possible for Pope to combat it more broadly. As it was, even a close personal and professional friend such as Bolingbroke could write in 1734 that, had Roman Catholic principles prevailed in 1688 they would have "reduced us to be at this time slaves, not freemen, papists, not protestants" [48]. Against the universality of anti-Papism Pope could only assert its value for personal, psychological reasons; for the individual, not for the state. This is the strategy he employed in the Horatian imitations. He freely admits that he has suffered financially for being Roman Catholic:

Tho' double-tax'd, how little have I lost? . .
My lands are sold, my Father's house is gone;
I'll hire another's, is not that my own (1733) [49].

Here the poet's consolation of himself by attempting to deny the efficacy of the impediment is not altogether convincing. Much more convincing is his later characterisation of his father:

my Father taught me from a Lad,
The better Art to know the good from bad: . .
But knottier Points we knew not half so well,
Depriv'd us soon of our Paternal Cell;
And certain Laws, by Suff'ers thought unjust,
Deny'd all Posts of Profit or of Trust: . .
For Right Hereditary tax'd and fin'd
He stuck to Poverty with Peace of Mind;
And me, the Muses help'd to undergo it;
Convict a Papist He, and I a Poet. (1736) [50]

While Pope distances himself from papism, he acknowledges a debt to it. Roman Catholicism, by regulating his father's conscience, becomes a source of strength, both for the father, and, by extension, because he was brought up by a good parent, for the son too [51].

The poem was one of the first to be written after Pope had made an affirmation of Roman Catholicism in terms of personal value in his mother's Obelisk. I venture to assert that the relationship Pope imagined between the individual and the example provided to that individual by faith is precisely expressed in the words of the inscription (and the phrase about Edith from the Essay on Man). In the fact that both Edith and the Virgin Mary are signified by the same words, there is the image of the greater figure proving a pattern for the behaviour of the lesser; - providing the lesser with an example - a role, to put it in terms of theatrical qualities. Edith Pope's life is defined by the phrases laid down about the Virgin, who has been an inspiration to the mother in the way Thomas à Kempis had recommended. There may also be some cause and effect: by such emulation Mrs. Pope has, in Pope's view gained in a moral sense - becoming good

and "most loving". This is the way Pope justified Roman Catholicism (by its moral rather than devotional or institutional value) in a letter to Swift, when he referred to a good conscience as "the most Catholick of all Remedies, tho not the most universal" [52]. Pope would therefore be commemorating a twin source of the "virtuous simplicity" that Maynard Mack has seen as the essence of Pope's self-presentation in the poetic satires. The technique in the allusion is close to the simple comparison of great things with small that commonly went on in eighteenth century poetry (for example, in Windsor Forest l. 105) [53]. I suggest that Pope saw in the Virgin a figure entirely appropriate for his mother to have tried to emulate.

There need be no megalomania in Pope's borrowing of the graces of the Virgin to commemorate his mother. It is not an allusion to himself as Christ. We have only one small intimation that Pope had made the link - and repressed it until the very end of his life. Mack discusses an apparent hallucination that Pope suffered very shortly before his death, when he said to Lady Burlington, "Look at Jesus there! How ill they have crucified him!". As Mack suggests, Pope may have been referring to a painting [54] (or even a crucifix): but it is not fanciful to suggest that such an hallucination, from somebody who was approaching his own calvary from within his warped body, has an unconscious connection with a major part of the poet's mythologising of his own life: with the impulse of hinting at his mother as

the Virgin Mary near the time of her own death.

The inscription is hyperbolic, but, when carefully considered, also demonstrates considerable restraint. Within a specific social and religious context it is also remarkably poised.

III. VALE

Pope's garden explicitly announces a classical model, which it translates into an ichnographic layout. Such a layout was fairly widespread during the 1710's and 1720's, but by employing an ecclesiastical ichnography Pope's garden is loyal to the sacred connotation of classical gardening and landscape, and reveals its closest stylistic similarity to be with a small group of gardens made by fellow Roman Catholics. The Obelisk completed the idea and celebrated the maternal origin of Pope's being. It tells us not about his mother so much as about his feelings for her and about her significance in his life. It focusses these feelings by referring to Roman Catholic beliefs that had been formative in Pope's early life and that had regulated his parents' moral sense. The beliefs are commemorated for their personal, rather than institutional, value. By implicitly commemorating his past, his youth, and Roman Catholicism, the Obelisk as a concrete metaphor provides the precise equivalent of the mother's

importance for Pope. The Obelisk mythically replaces her loss, compensating the poet for her absence.

Raising the Obelisk and maintaining his mother's mythic presence in his garden helped Pope overcome an inhibition on his work that her loss had caused [55]. By establishing her idea in his garden it helped change the emphasis in his poetry to an opposition between private elysium and public chaos, which replaced a belief in philosophical system that was no longer tenable for him. The Obelisk becomes a sacred feature marking and participating in Pope's rededication of his life to private and gardenist values.

Like the best landscape gardens of the time, Pope's smaller garden was a unifying and complex place, binding together several themes and concerns around a central focus: using conventions of statement and implicit response in unique ways, and exploiting literary or linguistic techniques. By focussing on how the hostile cultural environment surrounding Roman Catholicism found expression in the landscape garden, the next chapter will examine how the Roman Catholic poet's garden at Twickenham, and the faith it privately commemorated, was opposed and surpassed as the century proceeded.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Phillipe Ariès, Western Attitudes toward DEATH: From the Middle Ages to the Present trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) p. 72.
2. Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida (trans. Richard Howard: London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1988) p. 93.
3. Sherburn, Correspondence II, pp. 300-301.
4. Lords Journals, 22 (1722-1726) pp. 499-500. Strafford signed three protests against this act to regulate elections in the City of London. Strafford's cousin and Pope's friend Bathurst also signed two.
5. Sherburn, II, p. 307. Strafford would also have had cause to know and like Pope's Windsor Forest, as it praises the Tory Peace of Utrecht extravagantly. He had been the joint negotiator of the Peace treaty.
6. 6 July 1725, Sherburn, II, pp. 308-309.
7. Sherburn, II, p. 302.
8. Also present to investigate and make a decision about the affair was Dr. Henchman, Chancellor of London and Atterbury's friend.
9. 5 October 1725, Sherburn, II, pp. 327-328. A letter of 12

August (pp. 313-314) makes it clear that only Strafford's objection is being discussed by the Church authorities. As a result, Pope's mother is reported as regarding Strafford as "the Protector of Her Ashes". Evidence that Pope and Strafford met comes from a letter from the Duke of Bedford to Strafford in the British Library, Add. Mss. 31141, f. 309-310: (July 20 1725) "[come to Woburn and] I beg you will bring Mr. Pope with you or in case he should have left you by this time yet you would be so kind as to write to him to meet you there." This raises the possibility that Pope stayed with Strafford, and shows Strafford gaining in standing (at least with Bedford) from knowing Pope. Perhaps they might have found something to talk about; both had aged mothers living in Twickenham (who by coincidence both died in 1733) - which may be why Pope was careful to mention his own mother in his letters; Edith Pope had been born at Worsborough, Yorkshire, only two miles from the house that became Strafford's main country seat; there were connections between the men via Bathurst and Atterbury; and, most importantly, both had a great interest in gardening. Strafford built an obelisk to the memory of a woman (Queen Anne) in 1734, and Pope's followed in 1735.

10. Sherburn, III, p. 374.

11. Sherburn, III, p. 375.

12. To Hugh Bethel, Sherburn, III, p. 381.

13. Sherburn, III, pp. 383-384.

14. Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia", quoted in Melanie Klein, "Mourning and its relation to manic-depressive states" in Contributions to Psycho-Analysis 1921-1945 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964) p. 311. Freud is quoted pertinently again on p. 326: "Reality passes its verdict - the the object no longer exists - upon each one of the memories and hopes through which the libido was attached to the lost object, and the ego, confronted as it were with the decision whether it will share this fate, is persuaded by the sum of its narcissistic satisfactions in being alive to sever its attachment to the non-existent object".

15. Sherburn, III, p. 385.

16. Othello V, II, ll. 330-331: "Here is my journey's end, here is my butt,/ And very sea-mark of my utmost sail."

17. In the letter to Swift, he complains that Swift should visit him, that he can't come to Swift. "A sea-sickness . . would kill me".

18. Klein, op. cit., pp. 314, 323. She cites the example of a patient who, like Pope, went off to look at "nicely situated houses in the country" (p. 326). This process helps reparation and the growth of love, and as there seems to be a parallel with Pope it is worth quoting Klein here: "her relief in looking at pleasant houses was due to the setting in of some hope that she would re-create her son as well as

her parents" (pp. 328-329).

19. To Lord Oxford, 20 October 1733, Sherburn III, p. 389.

20. To Fortescue, Sherburn, III, p. 453.

21. Mack, The Garden and the City pp. 232-236.

22. Sherburn, III, p. 334.

23. J. D. Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape, p. 90.

24. *ibid.*, p. 102.

25. Sherburn, IV, pp. 4-5.

26. Quoted in Mack, Alexander Pope: A Life p. 25.

27. Aries, p. 70.

28. Hill to Pope, c. 17 September 1731, Sherburn, III, pp. 228-229.

29. (1714). The Literary Works of Matthew Prior, ed. H. B. Wright and M. K. Spears, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) (2 Vols.) Vol. I, p. 409. An amusing later example is William Shenstone's poem, "Inscription", in Works in Verse and Prose (4th Edition, 1773) Vol. I p. 212.

30. April 1736, Sherburn, IV, p. 13.

31. Strafford met Lady Mary in Italy in 1740, and the obelisk is mentioned in a letter from Strafford's builder of June 1747. (British Library, Add. mss. 22241 f. 100). The most



likely date of the obelisk is between Strafford's coming-of-age in 1743 and Spring 1747. Originally topped by a small gilt sun, the obelisk formed an emblem of reason, the shaft representing the illumination of reason as a shaft of light.

32. Mack, The Garden and the City pp. 47-50.

33. cf. Wittkower, Architectural Principles, pp. 99-100. The columns were translated into the garden as a screen of trees by William Kent at Chiswick (D. C. Streatfield and A. M. Duckworth, Landscape in the Gardens and the Literature of 18th Century England (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, UCLA, 1981) p. 21.

34. A similar mediation between the lost person and third parties by a direct address to the former seems to be a constant response to death in western culture. It is observable in the notices printed in the "In Memoriam" sections of local newspapers. One example will suffice:

LEPPARD - Frederick.
December 6 1986.

A loving heart of gold stopped beating
Hard working hands now rest.
God broke my heart to prove to me,
He only takes the best.
The tears still flow,
I miss you so.

Your loving Wife Elsa.

At first sight the impulse seems strange - as though Frederick is expected to be somewhere, reading the paper.

Only when considered as an inscription (very often for people cremated, who might otherwise have no memorial) does such a notice make full sense. The relative attempts to express their grief, and to sum up the qualities of the lost loved person for a public audience. Such a commemoration brings with it a satisfying sense of closure. The above example displays considerable rhetorical sophistication. The lost person is introduced to curious third parties in the first two lines. The metonymy by which he is characterised in the poem is reminiscent of symbolic depictions of Christ, and the reduction embodied by it is balanced by the elevation of his wife's role inherent in the capital W in the last line. There is a powerful and inevitable progression towards a direct address to the husband, and the everyday humility inherent in the last line - the subscription of a letter - draws us satisfyingly back to the preoccupations of the quotidian world. (Ashford Extra, week ending December 11, 1987).

35. Mack, Collected in Himself: Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and some of his contemporaries (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1982) p. 443. The book was entitled, Thomas of Kempis Canon Regular of S. Augustines Order His Sermons of the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. Translated out of Latine etc By Thomas Carre. (Paris: Mrs Blageart, 1653) (Hereafter CARRE). Mack concludes that only a quarter of Pope's library has come to light (less than 200 volumes). The possibility exists,

therefore, that he may have owned other books by Thomas à Kempis. (The same translator and publisher brought out others in the same year). The British Library copy of this work is bound with Lord Francis de Sales' "Delicious Entertainments".

36. CARRE, pp. 174, 27. (I translate Pope's epithets to his mother, "most pious, most spotless/blameless, best, and most loving").

37. CARRE, pp. 188, 137. cf. also Sermons to the Novices Regular, trans. Dom Vincent Scully (London, 1907) p. 186 (hereafter SCULLY).

38. SCULLY, p. 164.

39. SCULLY, pp. 186, 179, 178, 182.

40. SCULLY, p. 189, (direct) CARRE, p. 175.

41. Idealization of the lost person is a common process in mourning: cf. Klein, p. 322.

42. See the discussion by E. P. Thompson, Whigs and Hunters (London: Allen Lane, 1975), esp. pp. 278-294. For Pope's Catholicism in general, see Howard Erskine-Hill, The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) esp. pp. 42-102. J. C. D. Clark, English Society 1688-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) esp. Part III, asserts Jacobitism to be the primary constitutional crisis of 1688-1760.

43. Particularly where women were concerned: apart from his mother and half-sister, Roman Catholic women who were particularly close to Pope included Theresa and Martha Blount. Less intimate, but still friendly, was Anastasia Robinson. The letter to Caryll is in Sherburn, III, pp. 390-391.

44. cf. J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole: The King's Minister (London: Cresset Press, 1960) pp. 41-46.

45. Peterborough's letter is in Sherburn, III, 281-282. Pope to Strafford, (5 October 1725), Sherburn, II, 328.

46. Discovered by Mack, The Garden and the City pp. 63, 65, 287-288. A photograph appears as Plate 24 (p. 64).

47. Howard Erskine-Hill, "Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a rhetoric of Jacobitism?" in E. Cruikshanks, ed, Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982) p. 52. Curll on Dryden's bust, in Mack The Garden and the City, p. 308.

48. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, A Dissertation Upon Parties (collected papers from The Craftsman, 1733-1734, published in book form 1734). In The Works (8 Vols.) (London: 1809) Vol. III, p. 61.

49. Imitations of Horace Sat. II. ii, ll. 152, 155-156.

50. Imitations of Horace Ep. II. ii, ll. 54-55, 58-61, 64-67.

51. Mack discusses Pope's Catholic education in A Life, pp. 25-52. See esp. p. 26 for the effect of Pope's father's moral sense on William Wycherley in 1707.

52. 15 October 1725, Sherburn, II p. 331: "[Arbuthnot] has a good Conscience into the bargain (which is the most Catholick of all Remedies, tho not the most Universal)".

53. Another Virgilian tendency: the "sic parvis componere magna solebam" of Eclogue 1, l. 23; the "si parva licet componere magnis" of Georgics 4, l. 176. It is also similar to the way in which Christians are exhorted to "take up the cross of Christ" without arrogating themselves as Christ. (A phrase from Thomas à Kempis: cf. SCULLY p. 166.)

54. A Life, p. 809.

55. In place of the argument presented in this chapter it would have been possible to formulate a discussion that relied much more heavily on twentieth century psychoanalytical research. In particular, "inhibition on work" is a phrase used by Melanie Klein in a paper entitled "A contribution to the psycho-genesis of manic-depressive states. (op. cit., p. 290). Her argument is applied a contrario to Scott's "supreme capacity for work" by Stephen Bann (The Clothing of Clio, p. 103). That such a use of this material was not made here reflects a decision taken on the basis of my belief that sufficient evidence of a contextual nature exists in Pope's letters and other writings to make

the processes discussed very clear. However, a realisation of the role of objects in overcoming the processes of inhibition, derived largely from the writings of Klein, has greatly assisted my analysis of the evidence.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RHETORIC OF GARDEN SPACES AT DUNCOMBE PARK

AND RIEVAULX TERRACE

I. THE POETRY OF PROSPECT

To examine the next transformation of the sacred idea, it is necessary to turn to one example of a small group of gardens that came to prominence in the middle years of the eighteenth century, and which, by their representation of the sacred, diametrically opposed Pope's Twickenham, with its discreet and private affirmation of Roman Catholicism, the ecclesiastical ichnography demonstrated there and at Thorndon, Worksop and Nostell, and indeed the ichnographic idea in general. Rather than representing buildings, this group, of which our example is Duncombe Park and Rievaulx Terrace, takes our discussion into the landscape [1].

Very little documentary evidence relating to the conception and making of Duncombe Park survives. Interpretation is

further discouraged by the fact that the temples in the gardens are named only after their architectural form [2]. However, the garden was made at a time (between 1713 and 1758) when associationism was becoming a widespread and important part of English gardening [3]. Therefore an understanding of it, while not accessible via archival evidence, can be gained from consideration of a number of associations and interpretations available to visitors during the eighteenth century according to their education and tastes. These meanings adhere to various parts of the garden and the particular views from it, and from our discussion of them it will become clear that the two parts of the garden at Duncombe and Rievaulx were formed into a coherent whole in mid century, despite being built at differing times and being geographically separated. The whole demonstrates thematic continuity and coherence of form. The themes and significances shift perceptibly between c. 1720 and 1850, but until the 1790's, the main process is one of accrual rather than replacement.

The present arrangement at Duncombe Park has changed remarkably little since the eighteenth century (Figure 14). West of the house was (and is) a wide park (an ancient chase) of clear grassland, 170 acres in extent, bordered on all sides by woodland. In contrast, and innovative in the eighteenth century because it curves around the natural contour, the East terrace complements the classical architecture of the house through being accented by the

addition of classical temples. The first of these to appear was the Ionic rotunda at the northern end, followed after an interlude by the Tuscan colonnade temple (now known as the Doric Temple). The outer edge of the terrace is sharply cut, and from it a steep and regular bank slopes to the edge of the gorge. On the inner edge are the straight lines of the garden itself, which is therefore clearly separated from the surrounding terrain. The garden may take advantage of a spectacular natural site, but there is no attempt to confuse the two.

At Rievaulx Terrace, completed in 1758, despite the overwhelming similarity of the idea, some marked differences in execution are apparent (Figure 15). Here we encounter an expansion of the very idea of a garden, as the garden has been moved to a solitary site two inconvenient miles from the house. An eighteenth-century visitor, Arthur Young, describes the terrace:

This ground consists of a noble winding terrass, upon the edge of an extended hill; along one side at a striking depth is a valley; on the other a thick plantation, bordered by shrubs: At one end is a circular temple, with a tuscan colonade; at the other end another temple, with an ionic portico [4]

The grassy terrace has been built up on the hill's edge, and so represents a considerable feat of engineering for the middle of the eighteenth century. To the east, native forest trees were planted which have now grown up to give a thick protective belt of woodland which shelters the terrace from

that direction. As the edge of the plantation still forms the irregular serpentine shape that Young found, the trees also give the impression of being the edge of a mighty forest which comes to a natural clearing at the brow of the hill. The natural feeling is enhanced by the absence of flowers and obviously formal planting. The only bright colours are provided by wild flowers growing in the wood, on the bank to the west, or sprinkled in the turf of the terrace itself. In the eighteenth century these were supplemented by flowering shrubs mixed with the forest trees, the plantation being "bordered by shrubs". In winter, by contrast, the classical simplicity of the terrace here, and that at Duncombe, means that they retain considerable beauty: the white stone of the temples stands out against the brown, grey and purple woodlands.

The terraces invite the visitor to look outward, having been designed to provide very wide outward views, to which they are the emphatic foreground. The views will occupy most of our inquiry, as they are the distinguishing characteristic of the garden (indeed Arthur Young describes nothing else). One question that must be addressed is, what was their status? Were they an example of borrowed scenery, whereby the views become a thematic extension of the garden?

Arthur Young described Duncombe as it was in 1768 [5]. He distinguished between two types of views at Duncombe Park: those of "prospect" and "landscape". Both of these were

sections of the broad overall view. At first it seems that he was using "landscape" (with its original exclusively painterly source) of views designed by a landowner for ornament or pleasure. In contrast, by "prospect" he meant the random countryside not subjected to design: the chance product of climate, soil, history, agricultural economics, and settlement patterns. However, we should remember that this distinction corresponds to the one William Shenstone had made in 1764: "I use the words landscape and prospect, the former as expressive of home scenes, the latter of distant images". This indicates a possible reliance on Shenstone by Young [6].

Young gives no hint of any discordance between these elements in his description of Duncombe. For him the scene which the garden and immediate surroundings evoked ("landscape") harmonized in its visual meaning with the further countryside.

At one end of [the terrace] is an ionic temple [rotunda], commanding a noble variety of prospect and landscape: The former is seen to the left picturesquely broken by large trees near the temple itself: A little to the right of that a vast extent of country; then you look down upon a valley, winding at the bottom of a noble amphitheatre of hanging woods, and at the other end of the terrass, a tuscan collonade [sic] temple. The opposite woods which spread over a fine extent of hill, fringe the very shore of a beautiful river, which winds through the valley, and forms, almost in the center of it, a considerable cascade. . . .the cascade almost over-hung with the pendant wood; the tuscan temple crowning a bank of wood, form together a distinct landscape, in which every object is such as the warmest fancy could wish for, or the correctest taste approve . . .

[from the colonade temple:]

in front, between the hills, an extensive woody valley opens beautifully variegated:
An old tower [Helmsley Castle], Helmsley church, and the town scattered with clumps of trees, are seen in the midst of it at those points of taste which make one think them the effects of design. (Figure 16) [7]

We notice in the last sentence that "prospect" blurs into "landscape": accidental features in the prospect of Helmsley - which could not have been arranged for ornament - occupy "those points of taste which make one think them the effects of design" [8]. Similarly, by the time Young arrives at Rievaulx Terrace he finds a "landscape" in countryside that has been altered for practical, rather than ornamental reasons: "The inclosures, of which the valley is formed, appear at this point of view extremely beautiful; the scattered trees, hay stacks, houses and hedges, all together form a pleasing landscape. Two distant hills give a proper termination to the whole view." [9]. By providing this type of view, Rievaulx Terrace exhibits characteristics that place it within a small group of gardens from the middle years of the eighteenth century which were designed to give very wide views over specifically agricultural landscape from terraces. Apart from Duncombe itself, both Rousham in Oxfordshire (from c. 1738) and Farnborough Hall in Warwickshire (c. 1751) provide examples of this, the views from Farnborough's long curving terrace extending as far as Edge Hill. At Hack Fall in Yorkshire (1750), Mowbray Point, though not a terrace, activates the historical associations

of the surrounding countryside with the Mowbray family. Another of the Aislable's gardens, Kirkby Fleetham, featured a curving terrace with three temples giving wide views northwards from before 1750 [10].

This small group of gardens shows a kinship and similarity with the eighteenth century prospect poem, in which the poet climbs a hill in order to view the neighbouring countryside, which he then proceeds to interpret for emblematic or historical associations. Pope had explicitly linked this poetic process to actual viewing of countryside: "[the prospect poem's effect is] in much the same manner as the real sight of such scenes and prospects is apt to give the mind a composed turn, and incline it to thoughts and contemplations that have a relation to the object." Another source (an anonymous undated poem entitled "An Occasional [sic] Draught of the Gardens at Wentworth House") shows that garden features could be substituted for to the prospect poem's prominent hill:

Oh Denham! Sacred Shades! Were I inspired
But with thy Muse as thy Example fired
Hooper would challenge, should employ my skill
And emulate in Fame thy Coopers Hill [11]

As sections of Windsor Forest or Thomson's The Seasons show, prospect poetry was also an opportunity for the poet to understand the country in the sense of the nation [12]. The seventeenth century prototype, Denham's Cooper's Hill, combined natural description and history with "exegesis and

abundant moralizing" [13]. Of the many differing types of eighteenth century prospect poem, John Dyer's Grongar Hill (1727) and Richard Jago's Edge-Hill (1767) can be singled out to provide examples which develop Denham's interests in different ways. Grongar Hill's history is vague, with no specific actions and events; the poet is interested in combining emblematic meditation with a picturesque aesthetic method. Jago's poem, in contrast, combines moralizing with elucidation of particular historical and cultural associations: "It is descriptive chiefly of the prospect - but admits an account of the fight there, and many little tales and episodes, with compliments to the gentry of Warwickshire" (emphasis in original) [14]. Jago imposes order on his subject in ways which will have some relevance by analogy for my discussion of the terrace views at Duncombe and Rievaulx. He does so partly by "clustering his "moral Reflection" about views in several directions". He also employs the morning noon evening night division derived from Milton and Thomson [15].

Linking in this way the varieties of prospect poem and the landscape garden sets up certain expectations of the latter, ranging from emblematic to aesthetic and historical readings of the countryside. I hope to show that deliberately included in the wide views from Duncombe and Rievaulx were objects and types of landscape that encouraged the viewer to meditate on the most important events of the nation's history over the previous two hundred years.

Duncombe and Rievaulx terraces, then, give the opportunity for a visitor to overlook and reflect upon their local landscapes in much the same way as the poet and reader of prospect-poems did on the printed page. Arthur Young's account reveals that he did just that, and in doing so followed literary example. Dyer's Grongar Hill contains a passage explicitly celebrating contrast:

Ever charming, ever new,
When will the landscape tire the view!
The fountain's fall, the river's flow,
The woody valleys, warm and low;
The windy summit, wild and high,
Roughly rushing on the sky! . . .
Each give each a double charm,
As pearls upon an Aethiop's arm.

Young's description of Rievaulx enacts the same process as that in Dyer's poem by suddenly reversing a slow downward survey of the hillside to give an abrupt transition to the hilltop:

In front vast hanging woods are spread over the opposite hills, and form a variety of steeps, dells and hollows. Here and there the range of wood is broken by cultivated enclosures; at the bottom of these hanging forests, upon the edge of the valley, an humble cottage is seen in a situation elegant in itself, and truly picturesque in the whole view. The distant hills which are seen above, are waste grounds, with fern, whins, etc. [16]

On the previous page he had concluded a long discussion of the merit of contrast in his summary of Duncombe, finding of an unplanted section of hillside, occurring in the middle of a huge wood, that "the effect is good; different from all the

surrounding ones, and presents to the eye a contrast of a striking nature." In both cases for Young (as it is for Dyer's poet) the contrast is a sort of refreshment, gained at the expense of a potential sublimity (available only if the hillside had been planted). Apart from Dyer, Young again may be relying on Shenstone for the terms of his analysis, as Shenstone's Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening includes long sections on the subjects of variety and novelty and their value for refreshment [17]. The bias towards purely aesthetic concerns that Young brought to his encounter with landscape is clearly shown. These consistent concerns, together with the linguistic similarity between Dyer and Young in the extracts quoted, link both poem and garden as parallel responses to the same cultural preoccupation, of how the landscape could be aesthetically enjoyed.

At this point it is interesting to note that Young repeatedly uses a metaphor of theatre. Of the Doric (colonnade) Temple at Duncombe Park, he writes: "the temple commands such various scenes of the sublime and beautiful as to form a theatre worthy the magnificent pencil of nature." [18]. Here he is using the word "scenes" very precisely, and is sensitive to the differing mood or emotion that each scene conveys. The "theatre" that they create together is essentially a backdrop or setting. Thus a view from Rievaulx Terrace is "a noble scene". He was not alone in feeling this quality: John Sell Cotman detected a theatrical quality at Duncombe, which passed into some of his watercolours painted

there [19]; for him it was the classical incidents in the garden which possessed this - the most obvious way in which the garden was attempting to imitate some other place visually.

Duncombe Park and Rievaulx Terrace are unified for Young by being viewed in the light of prospect poetry and by raising an idea of theatre. There is also a garden building which helps to unify the various kinds of view available from the terraces. Some years after its initial conception, Duncombe Terrace was given a specific reference by the addition of the Doric Temple on the south-east spur. Its situation meant that the temple could command views of the river to the west and its ninety-degree turn northwards. The form of the temple - a cylinder topped by a dome and surrounded by a colonade - could bring to an educated and well-travelled visitor two specific associations. The nearer of these was with the Mausoleum at Castle Howard, which shared the same form, and which has been taken to be the inspiration of many similar garden buildings [20]. Castle Howard is less than ten miles from Helmsley, and a strong connection between Duncombe and Castle Howard was formed when Thomas Duncombe III married a member of the Howard family in 1740 [21].

The form of the temple is also sufficiently like the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli in Italy to bring to mind that surviving original, which is situated overlooking what was a distant agricultural plain. Of course, unlike that at

Tivoli, the temple at Duncombe is not ruinous; but it was just such a perfected version of the Temple of the Sibyl that appeared in Palladio's The Four Books of Architecture in, for example, Isaac Ware's translation of 1738 [22]. The temple amounts to a quotation from classical landscape, and the views from Duncombe's east terrace can provide borrowed landscape, in the form of a broad plain of English agriculture (the north-west part of the Vale of Pickering) to complement the temple in the garden. The Tuscan Temple at Rievaulx shares the same form and therefore the same preoccupations as Duncombe's Doric Temple. Like those of the Temple of the Sibyl, the Tuscan Temple's columns stand on a podium, so that it is not identical to the Doric Temple, where the columns, like those of the Temple of Vesta at Rome, rise from steps. Nevertheless the temple is another imitation of the same Roman originals [23]. As such it represents the strongest possible statement of thematic continuity between Duncombe and Rievaulx Terraces.

Another quotation from classic ground is provided by the Ionic Temple at Rievaulx, modelled on two Roman buildings, the Temple of Fortuna Virilis and the Maison Carrée at Nimes [24]. The temples signal the presence and of the sacred idea, and establish the spaces between them - the terraces - as classical landscape (and here the interest is precisely in landscape rather than in classical gardens), as well as framing the garden in the technical sense outlined in connection with Pope's garden. Despite two eras of building,

these and other features at both places show that the terraces should be considered as a single unified design.

One of the oldest surviving features of the planting at Duncombe is the yew hedge, now swollen to a tunnel, of the northern Yew Walk. The focus of the view northwards from this raised walk returns us to a consideration of the garden's relationship to the life of the nation as a whole. Standing looking back at the Walk is a pre-existing piece of ancient architecture, Helmsley Castle (Figures 17 and 18).

II. HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS AT DUNCOMBE PARK

Helmsley Castle had powerful specific associations, of relatively recent date. It owes its present ruined condition to having been besieged in the Civil War by General Fairfax, which gives it a dramatic historical link with someone who is also, thanks to Andrew Marvell, something of a literary figure. Marvell locates him, like a haunting spirit, emphatically within his own landscapes:

For something always did appear
Of the great Master's terror there;
And men could hear his armour still
Rattling through all the grove and hill [25].

Fairfax was also connected with nearby Gilling Castle, and was even granted Helmsley itself under the Commonwealth. His daughter and heiress carried it back to the family of the

previous owner at her marriage to the 2nd Duke of Buckingham in 1657.

In his History of England (1754) David Hume had summarized the Civil War as the product of "gloomy enthusiasm" which had "poisoned" the body politic and led to "puritanical absurdities" [26]. Lord Bolingbroke, in his A Dissertation Upon Parties (1734), had characterized the same events in a way that condemned both sides:

the principles by which king James and king Charles the first governed, and the excesses of hierarchical and monarchical power, exercised in consequence of them, gave great advantage to the opposite opinions, and entirely occasioned the miseries which followed. Phrenzy provoked phrenzy, and two species of madness infected the whole mass of the people. It hath cost us a century to lose our wits, and to recover them again [27].

Either view, but more particularly perhaps the latter, which could better accomodate Whig condemnation of the Stuarts, could provide a framework for a view of Helmsley Castle. In either case, very pressing is the idea of the progress of English civilisation implicit in the appropriation of a site of civil war and death into the aesthetic design of a modern landscape garden. The temporal distance from the Civil War, (and by implication the constitutional changes which had taken place since that time to prevent any recurrence) are effectively expressed by the distance of Duncombe from the ruin and its elevation compared with the low-lying castle [28]. Indeed, the passage of time

is dramatized in the garden at Duncombe, in the form of Jan Nost's statue of Time consulting a sundial where the lawn meets the terrace (Figure 19). The century of religious and civil strife has been effectively "placed" by the building of house and garden.

The ancient deer-chase, visible between the garden and Helmsley Castle, formed a distinctly un-geometrical setting for the castle: smooth undulating turf with scattered trees, usually solitary but occasionally growing in groups. It is separate from the garden, only optically included as part of the experience of visiting it. The celebrated rusticated wall, retaining the garden behind bastions, provides an emphatic barrier. Nevertheless in the eighteenth century the old chase would also have been distinct from the random agricultural countryside, as it was arranged for two precise economic functions, both overlain with an aristocratic patina: the pleasures of the chase and the production of good ship-building timber.

These concerns added general associations to the specific connections with national figures evoked by the Castle. Buckingham had hunted deer, fox and hare on his Helmsley chase. As fox-hunting grew in popularity the hunting of deer remained aristocratic (the right to keep deer having been originally limited to the royal family and a few aristocrats) and somewhat archaic, with timber production (in contrast) gaining in nationalistic importance. In addition to the

cultural associations thus provided, deer-parks had considerable economic value in the eighteenth century (far in excess of the garden proper) and a high value for the status of the owner. This was true both of the production of meat (Pope's letters begging venison from his friend John Caryll illustrate what was a wide-spread tendency [29]) and of timber, when prices of ash and oak show "an irregular but accelerating rise throughout the eighteenth century" [30].

Pope's Windsor Forest had brought together and summarised the cultural importance of the two pursuits for the early eighteenth century. The river-god expresses the political importance of one:

Thy Trees, fair Windsor! now shall leave their Woods,
And half thy Forests rush into my Floods,
Bear Britain's Thunder, and her Cross display,
To the bright Regions of the rising Day;
(ll. 385-388)

And in an emphasis which is interesting in light of the predominant architecture of Duncombe Park, the poet classicizes the significance of the other, by allusions to Arcadia and Diana [31].

Pope had also made public some more specific associations of Helmsley Castle. Buckingham (who had married Fairfax's daughter and regained Helmsley) was the subject of a famous passage in Pope's Epistle to Bathurst that adds a personal dimension to Duncombe's dramatisation of the lapse of time since another era [32]. The sub-title of the poem is Of the

Use of Riches. Buckingham is presented in the poem and the footnote as the classic dissolute aristocrat, squandering tens of thousands of pounds through sheer inability to use his wealth productively, being more interested in illicit love, duelling, and high living at court. Helmsley chase had been his hunting ground, and this hedonistic life contrasted implicitly with the Duncombes' accumulation of wealth, purchase of Helmsley in 1689 and enclosure of the park. The sale of Buckinham's estate to Sir Charles Duncombe was recorded in the same poet's Imitations of Horace: Satire II ii: "And Hemsley once proud Buckingham's delight, / Slides to a Scriv'ner or a City Knight" (ll. 177-178) [33].

Therefore, despite his unsympathetic treatment of a member of the family, after 1733 Pope (together with Marvell) had eased the assimilation of the castle into the aesthetic design of Duncombe Park by making literary associations potentially available to alert visitors. Helmsley could be understood as the possession of important people and the site of important events, but also, by those who remembered Pope and Marvell, as a literary place fit to be featured in a work of art, as well as the focus of moral concerns.

Thus the view from the Yew Walk towards Helmsley Castle is a meditation on certain aspects of the past, as well as a mediation between garden and general countryside. The relation between those elements is one of the fascinations of both Duncombe and Rievaulx. In the light of relationships

between past and present, garden and countryside, but with more particular focus on the place of the sacred idea, we must now consider Rievaulx Terrace more fully.

III. ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND THE SUBLIME AT RIEVAULX

The view from Rievaulx Terrace exhibits the same pattern as that from the Yew Walk at Duncombe. From a classicizing vantage-point framing the view, a specific historical object is seen, set in a literary context. Rievaulx's literary context is expressed by Arthur Young:

From the Tuscan Temple, the end view is exceeding fine; at your feet winds an irriguous valley, almost lost in scattered trees: In front vast hanging woods are spread over the opposite hills, and form a variety of steeps, dells, and hollows. Here and there the range of wood is broken by cultivated inclosures; at the bottom of these hanging forests, upon the edge of the valley, an humble cottage is seen in a situation elegant in itself, and truly picturesque in the whole view. The distant hills which are seen above, are waste grounds, with fern, whins, etc. which seem to bound the little paradise in view, and add to the enjoyment of beholding it, that which results from contrast and unexpected pleasure. [34]

What Young saw was an oasis lying in the midst of desolation: this was a popular poetic motif which became a staple of the aesthetics of literature. John Milton had given it classic expression in his visions of the earth suspended in chaos, and then of Paradise in the wild world, in Paradise Lost (1667) [35]. Towards the end of the poem, in

a striking proleptic image, he describes the very soil which had made Eden, strangely and horribly transformed after the deluge:

 then shall this mount
Of Paradise by mighty waves be moved . . .
Down the great river to the op'ning gulf
And there take root an island salt and bare,
The haunt of Seals, and orcs, and seamews' clang.
 (XI, ll. 829-831, 833-835)

In these lines the poet provides a variation and inversion of the basic motif: desolation in the midst of desolation.

Early in the eighteenth century, the same image began to be used in the literature of travel, as Daniel Defoe demonstrates in a famous moment in his Tour thro the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724):

Nothing can be more surprising of its Kind, than for a Stranger . . . wandering or labouring to pass this difficult Desart Country, and seeing no End of it, and almost discouraged and beaten out with the Fatigue of it (just such was our Case) on a sudden the Guide brings him to this Precipice, where he looks down from a frightful heighth, and a comfortless, barren, and . . . endless Moor into the most delightful Valley, with the most pleasant Garden and the most beautiful Palace in the World. [36]

Thus it was a standard part of the literature of travel by the time Dr. Johnson employed the tradition in his evocation of the civilised world of country house life existing in the wilds of the Isle of Skye:

The fictions of the Gothick romances were not so remote

from credibility as they are now thought. . . Whatever is imagined in the wildest tale, if giants, dragons and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the sea without a pilot, should be carried, amidst his terrour and uncertainty, to the hospitality and elegance of Raasay or Dunvegan. [37]

The relishing antiquarian touch which Johnson adds is reminiscent of the "romantic scene" which was found by Young at Rievaulx (quoted above): Young was still striving to elaborate the essence of the contrast of oasis and desolation that he had already described, whereas the more literary Johnson foregrounds and explains its romantic character. It is also interesting to note that Johnson's language shows the contrast to be between the beautiful (within the great houses) and the sublime (the traveller feels terror).

This motif of the oasis influences the responses of visitors and their use of language [38]. Of course, the success of this borrowing from literature would depend upon the surrounding countryside being appropriately desolate. Even at Rievaulx, the effect for us is different, because the parts of the Moors surrounding the valley have now been brought under the plough, and the resulting effect is a lot smoother and tamer than Young found.

Young's observations quoted above were taken from the Tuscan Temple. As visitors make their way along the terrace towards the Ionic Temple, an object comes into view which extends the theme of the oasis in desolation.

A powerful poetic use of this motif had been demonstrated

in Alexander Pope's Eloisa to Abelard (1717). The poet evoked Eloisa's lonely nunnery in the desert in these terms:

From the false world in early youth they fled,
By thee to mountains, wilds, and deserts led.
You raised these hallow'd walls; the desert smil'd
And Paradise was open'd in the Wild.
(ll. 131-134)

This example from Pope is particularly significant in that the object to be contemplated during the fitful walk northwards is the ruined Rievaulx Abbey. Young introduces this building in language strongly reminiscent of Pope's poem:

You look . . . down immediately upon a large ruined abbey, in the midst . . . of a small but beautiful valley; scattered trees appearing among the ruins in a stile too elegant to admit description: It is a casual glance at a little paradise, which seems as it were in another region. [39]

The oasis of peaceful agricultural land and village cottages, overlooked by the Terrace, provided, as Milton had, a variation on the basic theme. It was an oasis with a ruin as the focal point. The huge abbey, built between 1131 and 1538, is surprisingly complete, though thoroughly ruined. As visitors walk along the terrace, they are provided with a series of views of the ruins along avenues specially cut through the woodland which clothes the steep slope, each avenue focussing attention on the ruins and their immediate surroundings. Through the vistas they are seen from differing angles and against slightly different backgrounds. Arthur Young's account shows that the effect was very much the same in 1768: he meticulously describes the views from

ten vantage-points that he reached, the first five of which did not offer views of the ruins. The abbey is first seen

through a waving break in the shrubby wood,
. . [you look] down immediately upon a large
ruined abbey, in the midst, to appearance, of
a small but beautiful valley . .

From hence,
moving forwards round a curve of the terras,
the objects are seen in new directions; a
variety, not a little pleasing. The ruins of
the abbey appear scattered, and almost in
full view; the valley in front is broad and
highly beautiful . .

Further on from this spot
you look down a steep precipice almost on the
tops of the ruins . .

Before you arrive at the
portico, the scene is much varied; hitherto an
edging of shrubby wood along the brink of the
precipice hides the immediate steepness from your
eye, but here it is broken away, and you look
down on the abbey in a bolder manner than before;

. . . The view from the ionic temple is a noble
one, equal to any of the foregoing, and different
from all. A strong wave in the line of the terras
presents a view of its own woody steep bank,
rising in a beautiful manner to the tuscan temple,
which crowns its top. The abbey is seen in a new
but full view . . [40].

The main effect is of variety, a highly praised aesthetic quality in the eighteenth century. Young's description reveals that the views from the terrace had been manipulated and arranged in a highly sophisticated and skilful way, to afford maximum variety, surprise and mystery.

William Shenstone, from whom we have seen Young drawing an aesthetic vocabulary, wrote in detail about the aesthetics of ruins only a few years before the latter's visit to Rievaulx:

Ruinated structures appear to derive their power of pleasing from the irregularity of surface, which is variety; and the latitude they afford the imagination to conceive an enlargement of their dimensions, or to recollect any events or circumstances appertaining to their pristine grandeur, so far as concerns grandeur and solemnity. The breaks in them should be as bold and as abrupt as possible

Shenstone returns to the grandeur of abruptness later: "Smoothness and easy transitions are no small ingredient in the beautiful; abrupt and rectangular breaks have more of the nature of the sublime. Thus a tapering spire is, perhaps, a more beautiful object than a tower, which is grander" [41]. To pursue this conjunction of abrupt breaks, and space created for the imagination to expand into, and we can turn to another of Shenstone's essays, On Writing and Books:

One sometimes meets with instances of genteel abruption in writers; but I wonder it is not used more frequently, as it has a prodigious effect upon the reader. For instance, (after Falstaff's disappointment in serving Shallow at court),
"Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pounds"
Shakespeare. [42]

The effect is revealed in this example (where Falstaff recalls a fragment of conversation over an interval of several hundred lines) to be also one of transumption, or far-fetching. In retrospect we can also see the same effect in the extract from Pope's Eloisa and in Young's "a little paradise, which seems as it were in another region." It is the rhetorical trope underlying the oasis in desolation, and it operates by omitting intermediate stages in a sequence.

In the intervening spaces provided by transumption between remote cause and immediate effect the imagination can move and expand. Indeed, transumption here operates at different levels. Shenstone finds it a property inherent in ruins quite independent of words, and an essential part of the sublime emotion. For the monks and nuns illustrated in Pope's poem, in contrast, founding a new monastic community, transumption is a motivational impulse of the greatest importance:

From the false world in early youth they fled, . . .
You raised these hallow'd walls; . . .
And Paradise was open'd in the Wild.

The ultimate origins of their endeavour may be thought of as located in the original monasteries of their orders, but they are moved to seek out exotic locations far from their spiritual "homes" in which to fashion images of ideal societies [43]. Transumption is also one of the effects behind fetching the Temple of the Sibyl and the Maison Carrée to the Yorkshire landscape. Among rhetorical tropes, it dramatises memory most strikingly. It is long-term memory that is involved, in which the mind leaps over intervening periods to reach a distant time; in fact without this faculty transumption could not be generated [44]. The trope is essential to gardens that engage with history or quote classical antiquity.

While he feels the power of transumption, Young does not write of Rievaulx Abbey in terms of melancholy, although

later in his journey he does meditate in this way upon the ruins of Fountains Abbey [45]. Perhaps surprisingly, at Rievaulx he seems more pleased than melancholy. However, Shenstone also provides an interpretation of a ruined abbey which is important for our understanding of Rievaulx, as it would make its ruination a cause for celebration and enjoyment. In a letter to Richard Graves of February 1743 Shenstone describes a projected poem in blank verse on the subject of "Rural ELEGANCE", to include descriptions of garden features. As he writes of what will be in his poem, his language blurs the boundary between poem and garden: Shenstone describes his first book:

including cascades, temples, grottos, hermitages, green-houses . . . The next [book] running upon planting, etc. will end up with a vista terminated by an old abbey, which introduces an episode concerning the effects of Romish power, interdicts, etc. in imitation of Lucretius's "Plague of Athens", taken from Thucydides, Virgil's Murrain, and Ovid's Pestilence, etc. [46]

There is little reason to suspect that such an association of thoughts was not typical of an eighteenth-century reaction to a ruined abbey (except perhaps among Roman Catholics [47]). Shenstone was unlikely to want to include an outlandish train of thought in what he hoped might be a popular poem. The poem as he described it in the letter did not appear, but some time later he published a prospect-poem, The Ruined Abbey: Or, the effects of superstition:

And see betwixt the grove's extended arms
An Abbey's rude remains attract thy view,

Gilt by the mid-day sun: . . .
These were thy haunts, thy opulent abodes,
O Superstition! (ll. 60-62, 78-79.)

The poet denies any private value to Roman Catholicism: "Each angry friar / Crawl'd from his bedded strumpet" (ll. 347-348). Shenstone was fond of this theme, expressing the idea just as succinctly in "Elegy XXI. Taking a view of the country . . . Written at the time of a rumoured tax upon luxury, 1746":

Here if my vista point the mould'ring pile,
Where hood and cowl devotion's aspect wore,
I trace the tott'ring reliques with a smile,
To think the mental bondage is no more!

The celebrated religious progress forms a triad with political nationalism and Georgic in the next stanza: "Pleas'd if the glowing landscape wave with corn;/Or the tall oaks, my country's bulwark, rise" (ll. 17-22). In an orthodox whiggish way pertinent to our discussion of Pope's garden, letters written by Shenstone during the 1745 rebellion show that he links these ideas with the contemporary political threat of Jacobitism: "you will, upon Confession, pardon me, as you expect Pardon from your Confessor shou'd ye Benedictines & Friars get a Footing in this Island - which I find, your Brother is endeavouring to prevent" [48]. Twelve years later, in 1758 (when Rievaulx Terrace was completed) Shenstone constructed his own ruined Priory at The Leasowes, which therefore must be interpreted emblematically as a celebration of the ruin of superstition, rather than as an expressive melancholy feature. The Priory was sited in a

shallow valley comfortably overlooked by Shenstone's house, repeating on a smaller scale the situation of Rievaulx Terrace and Rievaulx Abbey [49].

Nor was Shenstone alone in interpreting ruins in this optimistic way. In Book I of The English Garden (1772), William Mason describes ruined castles and abbeys in terms of "fell Tyranny/And ruthless Superstition" (ll. 361-362). Even Thomas Whately, who disliked emblem and dwelt instead on sensory and visual properties, in the case of ruins conceded to historical association that "all remains excite an inquiry into the former state of the edifice, and fix the mind in a contemplation on the use it was applied to" [50].

The linking of Rievaulx Abbey with the evils of superstition is therefore consistent for an eighteenth-century visitor, especially in light of the treatment of the past (exemplified in Helmsley Castle) at Duncombe, where the present is exalted by being contrasted with a bloody and turbulent past. The ruined castle, overlooked by Duncombe's Yew Walk, displays the destructive power of militant Non-Conformism; in contrast, at Rievaulx as in Pope's garden, what is at issue is the status of Roman Catholicism, the destruction of the temporal power of which the ruins of the abbey embody. The garden of Duncombe and Rievaulx, poised between the two ancient sites, exalts in contrast the modern and the classical. For it is entirely characteristic of the educated classicist Shenstone that the

ideas and texts he uses to put mediaeval Christian superstition in its place are derived from Greece - Thucydides and Lucretius' Plague of Athens - or from Rome - Virgil and Ovid. And we can detect the same rhetorical strategy at Rievaulx Terrace. The garden itself can be understood to assert a meaning simply by the way it is laid out in space.

The ruined abbey - a memorial of Henry VIII's religious policy which created England's state religion - has been gathered within the purview of a landscape garden. From the standpoint of the classical temples we look down on the ruined abbey [51], the associated superstition of which (following Shenstone) we therefore contemplate from a distance. Thus the language we might use to describe how we view the buildings states the low relative importance of their original religious and political values for the humanistic (or even pagan) world of eighteenth century classicism (embodied in the modern garden temples). There is also a great contrast in scale compared with gardens of previous centuries. In this rhetoric and scale, rather than in its ubiquity, we sense the self-confidence of eighteenth-century classicism. By establishing the viewing points, it has literally distanced and put in perspective the obsolete buildings of religious and civil dissension. Superstition and civil war have, it is hoped, been superseded.

Young's failure to experience melancholy at Rievaulx is surely a subconscious reaction to this distancing within the emphatically classical values asserted by the garden [52]. A comparison with the antithesis of Augustan self-confidence will help us understand this point more clearly. This antithesis is not the imperial expansion, and its attendant problems, of the second half of the eighteenth century, but rather the nostalgic investment of value in the gothic during the early nineteenth century, partly in response to the anxieties and doubts provoked by vigorous social unrest and change. Such investment can be seen in photographs of Helmsley Castle and Rievaulx Abbey by the Victorian photographer Roger Fenton. Details of Fenton's photographs reinforce this point. In two photographs of the abbey, "Rievaulx Abbey" (1854, Figure 20) and "Rievaulx Abbey: the high altar" (c. 1854) and one of "Helmsley Castle - the Fosse" (1860), Fenton has included carefully posed female figures [53]. On one level they provide an index of the scale of the buildings. However, they also mediate our response to the places; we find the people not contemplating the buildings from a distance, but self-evidently involved within the ancient structures. In "Rievaulx Abbey: the high altar", a young woman is even depicted in an attitude of prayer within part of the abbey, as if rehearsing the role of medieval nun in a fit of Victorian nostalgia. Even if the image is intended to be ironic, that very irony presupposes the prior existence of a stage of uncomplicated acceptance (a

nostalgia). In this display of a vicarious self-identification with the mediaeval nun, how distant has Shenstone's olympian scorn for superstition become!

The contrast is codified in relation to Rievaulx Abbey by Thomas Dunham Whittaker's text for William Westall's A Series of Views of the Abbeys and Castles in Yorkshire (1820) [54]. The text is completely out of sympathy with the values of the builders of the terrace, and, indeed, with the Frontispiece of the book. After pouring scorn on the terrace, Whittaker wishes that a drive from Duncombe Park could "approach the ruins at the lowest, that is, the really picturesque point of access" [55]. The artist William Westall, on the other hand, shows sympathy in his Frontispiece with the earlier eighteenth century point of view (Figure 21). While Thomas Gray and William Mason had identified the view from the bottom as the truly picturesque view in the 1770's (as a general rule, not specifically in relation to Rievaulx) [56], they had done so as part of an aesthetic debate, and without the reversal of value to nostalgic cultural investment in the past that Whittaker demonstrates: "Such [views from the bottom] were the charms that the monks of Rievaulx contemplated at the origin, and enjoyed during the continuance of their house". (In contrast, we have just seen Mason personifying "Superstition" with regard to abbeys). The lower, sentimental viewpoint had been adopted at Rievaulx before Whittaker's written outburst by water-colour artists such as Girtin (1798), Cotman (1803) and Paul Sandby Munn

(1806) [57]. A possible conclusion to be drawn from the case of Rievaulx is therefore that the aesthetic demands made by picturesque tourists and water-colour sketchers paved the way (in tandem with the decline of Jacobitism) for what amounted to a change in political thinking about the monastic system, by promoting a sentimental point-of-view. (Whittaker's text appeared only nine years before the Catholic Emancipation Act and thirteen years after the death of the last of the Stuarts, Cardinal York [58].)

Such a conclusion allows a development of the comparison with Studley Royal. According to the above model, the history of the sacred theme there falls into two parts, separated by the date 1768, when William Aislabie acquired the ruins of Fountains Abbey. The garden is framed by two impressive views: before the central area of the garden (around the Moon Ponds) is entered, one view leads back from the park down an avenue and across open countryside to focus on Ripon Minster three miles away; while the other view, the climax of the visit, displays the ruined abbey from Tent Hill or Anne Boleyn's seat - both elevated sites, forming part of an arrangement similar to that at Rievaulx. Between these views, the garden announces one of its themes through the (contrasting because classical) Temple of Piety. The visitor therefore contrasts two very large religious buildings, one taken into the national religion and still in use as a working cathedral, and the other slighted and ruined. As Whately states, such a contrast must at least lead to

speculation about the causes of such differing fates. After 1768 the chance for the visitor to become absorbed in the ruins at close quarters changed the rhetoric of the garden, and could be held responsible for stimulating a nostalgic melancholy rather than critical (and classical) aloofness.

This mid-eighteenth-century distancing can also be seen as in a sense a precondition for the other aesthetic qualities present in the views of Rievaulx Abbey, which helped determine the siting of the terrace. The aesthetic tastes of the builder of the terrace, Thomas Duncombe III, can alert us to these. Although our biographical information about him is skeletal, one interesting fragment that exists is that he commissioned a painting from William Hogarth - and by doing so can be thought of as sharing an interest in - perhaps a responsibility for - its content.

The painting is Mr. Garrick in the Character of Richard the Third (Figure 22). This was commissioned by Duncombe in the year during which he inherited the Helmsley estate. Hogarth completed it in October, 1745 [59]. Richard III before the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 is a historical fact, and Hogarth has attempted to reconstruct the scene as if reaching for a historical specificity - showing the inimical camps, a crown, a crucifix, and armour. We know that the scene depicted, however, is from Shakespeare's play, in which Richard, waking from nightmare, exclaims, "Have mercy, Jesu!" [60]. The painting is therefore simultaneously a historical, literary,

and theatrical subject.

As it synthesizes these themes, the picture has been acclaimed as a major landmark in the history of art: Frederick Antal found it "unlike anything in art before it", and explained that it "belonged to (an) early patriotic vein of history painting which soon after reached a climax of international importance in West". Ronald Paulson agrees: it is "important . . . as an adaptation of native English history and drama (Shakespearean) to history painting" [61].

In addition to the above thematic concerns, the painting depicts a historical moment of the greatest importance for the development of modern theatre, as it was this role (acted in 1741) which ensured Garrick's fame and success. There is a feeling of excitement in the picture which may be related to this: as we watch Richard starting from sleep - a medieval anti-hero on his way to death - we also see the emergence of a modern hero of the theatre, whose naturalistic gestures and expressiveness of costume were innovatory in their period. Harmonising with this naturalism is the fact that the brightly-lit figure against the sombre background is the only indication of theatre within the picture. This suggests that Hogarth wished to blur the boundaries between history and theatrical presentation (here we may remember Young's characterisation of one of the views of Rievaulx Abbey: "it is a noble scene"). But it is also a celebration of Garrick's theatrical achievements, and specifically of how he

transformed theatrical presentations: lighting the stage with footlights instead of chandeliers was his innovation. This practice was first adopted in the year when the Hogarth painted the picture - four years after Garrick's performance as Richard.

The picture was innovative: in it both Hogarth and Garrick himself can be seen going beyond their previous artistic limits to create new forms in their arts. As for the patron, the painting has an implication for the treatment of history in his garden - providing us with a structural framework to help us confirm our experience of the landscape. Foregrounded is the modern taste and aesthetic judgement of the eighteenth century, of which the historical artefact is a mere instrument. Garrick uses the historical and literary figure of Richard as a mechanism for his rise to success. Similarly, Duncombe's terraces use views of historical subjects in their modern, and comparatively simple, aesthetic schemes.

Yet the painting is more than this: it is also a painting of terror. The appearance and gestures of the central figure are conceived as external signs of the psychological state. The genesis of Richard's fear is within himself: a nightmare occurring independent of specific external threat. Edmund Burke, elaborating aesthetic movements which were already in existence, in 1757 identified fear (terror) as "the ruling principle of the sublime" [62]. Some twenty years after

Hogarth's picture was painted the Gothick novel was to become one of the chief theatres of the sublime, and transferred the scene of its examination of terror to ruined castles and medieval abbeys. Other elements in the sublime are that very solitude that we see Richard involved in; "the negation of social existence"; and darkness. Burke writes, "how greatly night adds to our dread" [63]. Together with an awareness of how gardens change character with different times of the day, this aspect of Hogarth's painting is of particular importance to our understanding of the emotional character of Rievaulx Terrace, which can be shown to display the same interests, and give some intimations of how the sublime of the Gothick novel came about.

At the Ionic Temple (Figure 23), a small puzzle arises. The elaborately decorated interior is (and was) furnished as a dining-room complete with fireplace, and the large basement was formerly a fully equipped kitchen to provide a good dinner for the room above. When Cotman and the Cholmeleys visited Duncombe Park on 5 September 1803 in the company of Lady Palmerston and her undergraduate son, the company dined at Rievaulx Terrace [64]. Yet Duncombe Park is only about 2 miles down the valley - a bare half-hour by horse transport. Alternatively, surely a light lunch could have been eaten *al fresco*?

Involved here are some rare gardening effects. The terrace faces west, and in addition to the other influences and

reasons for its siting it was built as a place from which to watch the sunset. Westall's engraving of 1819 (Figure 21) shows visitors admiring the sunset from the terrace, as the river catches and prolongs the light and the western sky is streaked by some thin bands of cloud. Thus an elegiac sunset light would be added to the "scenes" of the garden. Sunset does not occur in early September until perhaps 7.30 PM, long after the terrace had been enjoyed in the full light of day. The dining-room would have provided an opportunity to pass the interval in a most convivial and novel way. The effect of the sun setting in drifts of colour beyond the horizon, seen over the rough moorland wastes, is such as to transform the effect of the garden entirely, making it an example of the taste for the sublime. At sunset, the world of man is impinged upon by the great and awe-inspiring in nature.

The sublimity works in two ways: for in addition to the light and colour in the sky, as the sun sinks, shadows are cast over the ruined abbey first, which would drown in a pool of darkness while the terrace still enjoys uninterrupted direct sunlight (this precise moment is depicted in Westall's engraving). The effect of this is to lend the abbey an awful solemnity and a suggestion of horror, so that the view of the disappearing and darkening valley becomes, through linked yet different associations, as sublime as the view of the sunset. Contemplation of the ruins by night, in relative solitude (isolated from towns and villages) can evoke a response of terror in the visitor. The abbey - a lonely ruin

in an unpeopled desolation - also possesses other qualities analysed by Burke as provocative of sublimity: size; power (once possessed by the abbey, now contemplated retrospectively); and contributing deformity (ruin) [65]. If the daylight response to the ruins is a rejoicing about a victory over superstition conceived in national terms, contemplation of the ruins by night would surely evoke what, in that earlier moment, had been suppressed (but which could only emerge in a diametrically opposed form). Thus the ruins become superstitious in a personal or individual way - ultimately, that is, by providing ghosts or visions.

William Mason described such an experience of Abbey ruins in his poem, Ode V. To a Friend.:

To thee, whose young and polish'd brow
The wrinkling hand of Sorrow spares;
Whose cheeks, bestrew'd with roses, know
No channel for the tide of tears;
To thee yon Abbey dank, and lone,
Where ivy chains each mould'ring stone
That nods o'er many a Martyr's tomb,
May cast a formidable gloom.
Yet some there are, who, free from fear,
Could wander thro' the cloysters drear,
Could rove each desolated Isle,
Tho' midnight thunders shook the pile;
And dauntless view, or seem to view,
(As faintly flash the lightnings blue)
Thin shiv'ring Ghosts from yawning charnels throng,
And glance with silent sweep the shaggy vaults along.
[66]

Illustrated here are responses to the ruins which depend not only on age and experience but on being able to contemplate the ruins at the appropriate time of night. Visitors to Rievaulx Terrace would have had the opportunity to do so, and

to feel the sublime emotions aroused by that activity. To the sunset is thus added a view of the decayed greatness and pernicious superstition of man's own past, comfortably remote, yet still holding in the dark hours a sense of tenuous continuity and connection, and able to provide a ghostly terror contemplated from the comfort of the terrace - or possibly closer. Enjoyment of the Abbey's sublimity is the other side of the coin to the distancing to which the Abbey has been subjected.

IV. PAINTINGS AND PROSPECTS

Other paintings in both the house and garden can complete our understanding of the terraces. The ceiling of the Ionic Temple was painted by Guiseppe Borgnis with various subjects. The dominant tone is of light-hearted amusement, present in the group of four painted panels which surround the ceiling. These depict Hercules and Omphale, Diana and Endymion, Venus and Vulcan and Perseus and Andromeda. In celebrating the vicissitudes of gender roles within amorous relationships, the paintings convey a humorous enjoyment of love. At the same time, one at least offers a suggestion that the terrace was used during night-fall, and that the temple therefore offered diners a foretaste of later pleasures. Endymion is visited by the moon goddess, (Diana) "while her brother the sun god is just beginning his journey across the heavens in his golden chariot" [67].

Apollo's chariot features in the largest of Borgnis's paintings, in the centre of the ceiling, depicting Aurora (Figure 24). It was a typical piece of eighteenth century wit to remind visitors of the opposite of the thing that they have been brought to admire [68], so that we find a depiction of dawn at a site built as a place from which to admire sunset is not in that sense surprising: more amusing. However, this painting has important implications for our understanding of the terrace at Duncombe, which faces east. The view from there would have looked at its best, in the sense of having the richest and most spectacular effects of light, at sunrise or in the early morning. For example, there would be many mornings, especially in September, when the gorge of the Rye was full of mist while the sun shone above it directly onto the terrace: a combination to be coveted by gardeners with less spectacular sites.

This effect, and the strange symmetry of the Duncombe and Rievaulx terraces is put into a fertile context by two paintings in the house listed by Arthur Young:

Claude Loraine. Morning, a landscape. The light wonderfully fine; the trees nobly done; the keeping and expression exceedingly great.

Ditto. Summer evening. Clear obscure, and brilliant glow, inimitable: The trees finely done. [69]

The paintings are also mentioned in a manuscript pamphlet previously kept at the house [70]. That which depicts morning

(Figure 25) features a steep wooded hillside to the right of the picture, with a river winding at its foot crossed by a bridge in the middle distance. In the background is a mixture of classical and vernacular buildings. Towards the front of the picture a herdsman drives his cattle into the water. At the foot of the wooded hillside is a watermill, and the painting is sometimes known as Landscape with Mill. The morning light floods in from the left. In the painting of evening (Figure 26) the light comes from the right, falling onto a wooded hill (at left) on which stands a circular classical building - apparently a ruined rotunda. Some figures herd cattle and sheep across the foreground, and mixed classical and vernacular architecture is again visible the middle distance.

Such companion-pieces were occasionally encountered in houses during the eighteenth-century, prized, and remembered. Lady Sykes found "a Morning and Evening of some good modern Master" at Stackpole Court, Pembroke: "but how unlike the two celebrated Claudes at Lord Radnors, three & twenty years has not erased the impression they had made" [71]. Duncombe and Rievaulx are remarkable for displaying the same subjects in the garden. Details, firstly, strengthen the links. Visible in Landscape with Mill is an image of Tivoli's Temple of the Sibyl (Figure 27). We have already discussed the significance of this building to visitor's experience of the Doric and Tuscan temples in Duncombe's and Rievaulx's prospect views and the possible reminiscence

provided by them of Italian countryside or Castle Howard. The presence of it in the painting within the house adds another dimension to the visitor's experience of the garden buildings, which now must be seen as shifters, terms mediating between three landscapes: that of the Rye, the remembered or read-about landscape of Tivoli, and the Claudean landscapes within the house. A detail of Summer Evening (Figure 28) shows that Duncombe terrace's rotunda could function in this way too, and might recall the painting from its outdoor sunlit location.

The kinship between garden and paintings extends from details to overall composition. For Young, though not for us (the trees having grown up since), the views to be enjoyed from the Ionic Temple at Rievaulx Terrace included a view southwards towards the circular Tuscan Temple, which, perched above the steep westward slope, with the valley of the Rye winding into the distance on the right, presented a pictorial composition very similar (in mirror image) to the view of the Doric Temple at Duncombe from the Rotunda, where the steep slope and river were to the East, (or left). Such a strong symmetry contributes to our sense of the terraces' continuity. But the view at Rievaulx also bears general similarities to the view within the painting of Summer Evening: a round temple on a westward-facing slope. Thus there is also an symmetry in subject-matter linking the paintings and the terraces, which can be said to "show" the same things. The parallel is the same between Duncombe

terrace and Landscape with Mill. Again, the disposition of the source of light, the river and the steep hillside in the painting match that of the same elements in the Yorkshire landscape. The prospect-paintings suggested in the landscape garden complement the prospect-poems discussed earlier, evoking a mythic and mediterranean world to add to a view of national history.

V. CONCLUSION: "LANDSCAPE" AND TERROR

In this chapter we have been considering a landscape garden. "Landscape", we understand, is "a way of seeing"; "with connotations of separation from the possession of land and perception mediated by various devices such as mirrors and perspective" [72]. In our experience of Duncombe and Rievaulx we have come close to these concerns. We certainly make extensive use of "devices" such as perspective, and in this respect there is sense in which Arthur Young's metaphor of theatre shares this distancing. In 1764 Shenstone asserted that if a garden "happens to have been the scene of any event in history", then "mottoes should allude to it; columns, etc. record it; verses moralize upon it" [73]. That this was not done at Duncombe and Rievaulx testifies to a greater interest there in theatre, sculpture, paintings, and architecture than in the garden inscription: the strategy of withholding a commentary forces Young and other visitors to supply their own words, and the effort drew from Young a

metaphor and a response of great interest.

The correlative of the Duncombes' preference is that sight is privileged in a peculiar way. Unlike Pope's garden, which was to be explored and penetrated - for visitors to be absorbed into - not only are the objects in the landscape of Duncombe and Rievaulx seen at a distance, in olympian revelation, but so also are the elements. The enormous gulfs of air involved in the views are dramatized only by accidental means - by birds, by smoke or mist, by trees and falling leaves. The only other use of air is in the breezy locations of the terraces - no grotto like Pope's provides a variation in temperature, humidity or movement of air. Pope's grotto had also alerted visitors' awareness of earth, which at Duncombe and Rievaulx is apprehended simply in its global or planetary sense. Sunshine is the only access to fire, and the only stimulus, beside the breeze, to the sense of touch (as the ground's surface is consistent and level turf). Taste is feasted, for some, in the banqueting room, rather than by the availability of garden fruits or vegetables to hand for picking. Birdsong, the wind in the trees, and the sound of Duncombe's cascade described by Young, "A cascade in view, adds the beauties of motion and sound to those numerous ones already mentioned", all stimulate the sense of hearing. Yet these are subdued stimuli in contrast with Pope's grotto, for example, and Duncombe and Rievaulx are obviously gardens to be seen. Water in gardens can often be felt, drunk, or even bathed in;

at Duncombe, characteristically, it is looked at:

[the valley's sides] are covered with hanging woods, the brownness of which sets off the beauty of the river in a striking manner. It is here seen in a greater breadth, and as you look upon the line of its course, the sun-beams playing on its current throw a lustre on this sequestered scene surprizingly elegant. [74]

Beyond the senses, the garden stimulates the imagination in several ways. It has connections with specific poems by Marvell and Pope. The garden takes its place with topographical prospect poetry. There is an important literary and poetic motif, of the oasis in the midst of desolation, involved in the view from Rievaulx Terrace. By the way the garden is laid out in space there is an ideological message embodied on the level of perception itself. The garden forms its own wordless yet clear rhetorical framework, involving the viewing of isolated buildings from a lineal progression through space and time. Metonymy, the reduction of a whole to part of itself, is the strategy behind a reading of Helmsley Castle and the Abbey as representative of Civil War and Dissolution. The important buildings are ruined, and therefore literally parts or fragments. Yet this collection is more than the sum of its constituent objects: in the moors, fields, river, small town, ruined castle, and ruined abbey we may read a nation's history and a country's progress. In large part this is attributable to the duplications. The "lineal progression through space and time" has itself been broken; there are two

terrace-gardens involving lengthy walks. There are also two ruins, two circular temples, and, within the house, two paintings particularly relevant to a viewing of the landscape. This enables the first terrace to set up a syntax that (preserved in short-term memory) can then be confirmed and varied by the second terrace. It is in the play of similarities and differences that meaning emerges. The visitor is free to arrange and combine elements, but not in a wholly haphazard way. There are rhetorical controls on his or her experience of the garden. The features constitute a series of metonymies. But they also refer, simultaneously, to an associational axis [75] (Helmsley Castle evokes other ruined castles, Fairfax and the Civil War; the abbey evokes Shenstone's priory and the monastic system; round temples refer to each other, to Castle Howard and Tivoli, to that in the painting within the house). The associational system is governed by transumption, the drama of long-term memory evoking history. The metonymic objects are fragments of larger wholes, and are perceived as metonymies as a function of the viewing-station: these vantage-platforms are necessary to maintain them as metonymies, as we saw in the discussion of high versus low view-point. The fragments have to be kept fragmented and apart (controlled) by the dominant overseeing eye, for the danger is that of becoming absorbed in a violent and superstitious history that we want instead to keep distant and to celebrate having put behind us.

Within this framework, the imaginative dimension is further

extended at sunset by the sublime. The effects demand from the visitor an entirely different response to the daylight meditation on enthusiasm and superstition, agriculture and classicism. The dimension they introduce is purely imaginative, and opens fully by virtue of a feature only possible in a garden: the sunset.

* * *

For something always did appear
Of the great Master's terror there

At intervals in this chapter we have used the account of a visitor, Arthur Young, and we have studied quite closely the way in which terror is included in aesthetic concerns at Rievaulx and Duncombe Park. It would be inappropriate to conclude our discussion of these landscapes without reference to other visitors, uninvited, who used the park in secret and by night, and whose activities reveal another way in which terror was employed there - this time with a specific economic and social purpose directed at the rural poor. In 1812 Charles Duncombe (later to become Lord Feversham) posted broadsheets announcing that he had set steel traps and spring-guns in the woods of Duncombe, against stealers of wood (Figure 29). This action shows a willingness to kill and maim the poor in order to preserve trees. But the public advertisement of this decision also demonstrates a use of

terror for the purpose of trying to control the actions of people [76]. The broadsheet was printed because it was hoped that the terror for wood-stealers of the possible consequences of this armament of the park - the possibility of losing a limb, or worse, being caught by keepers or killed by a spring-gun or even a festering wound - would deter them more effectually than the actions of the traps and guns would catch or disable them. Sublime terror has therefore been secularised and employed by landowners in service of their interests over trees. While this confrontation with the rural poor was not an essential consequence of the sacred element in Duncombe's landscape, when we return to the topic of the relations between landowner and larger rural community, in the following chapter, it will be to study a situation where conflict with local people arose directly in consequence of the installation of a sacred landscape. This happened at Sledmere, some thirty-five miles east of Duncombe Park.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The group consists of William Shenstone's The Leasowes (1743-1763) and John and William Aislable's Studley Royal (c.1718-1781), in addition to Duncombe with Rievaulx.

2. An obvious contrast exists with the contemporaneous Studley Royal, where at least two of the buildings, the Temple of Piety and the Temple of Fame bear names which encourage emblematic interpretation. So strong is the encouragement that the nineteenth century historian, J. R. Walbran, whose eye "will be gladdened by nothing but Nature, naked and unadorned", found himself interpreting the surroundings of the Temple of Fame allegorically. (A Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey, Harrogate, Bolton Priory, and Several Places of Interest in their Vicinity (12th Ed., Ripon, 1875) pp. 86-87).

Our only evidence for the date of the house at Duncombe Park is the inclusion of it in Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus III (1725), where he gives the date 1713. The only extended modern discussion of Duncombe and Rievaulx is by Christopher Hussey, English Gardens and Landscapes 1700-1750 (London: Country Life, 1967) pp. 140-146. For

dates and other useful background, see this and Nikolaus Pevsner, Yorkshire: The North Riding (London: Penguin Books, 1966) pp. 139-142 and 307. The surviving 18th and 19th Century archives are in the North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO) at Northallerton. For clarity (as well as to reflect present differing ownership) the garden and terraces around the house 3/4 m. south-west of Helmsley are referred to throughout this chapter as Duncombe Park or Duncombe Terrace, while the terrace overlooking Rievaulx Abbey, 3 m. north-west of Helmsley, is referred to as Rievaulx Terrace. The southerly temple at Duncombe Park is known as the Doric Temple (although it is tuscan in form) to distinguish it from the Tuscan Temple at Rievaulx Terrace.

3. W. A. Brogden dates the beginning of associationism to the work of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, and gives the date 1736. Garden History, Vol. 15, No. 2. (Autumn 1987) Book review, p. 181. Associative work at Studley Royal was also under way by then.

4. A Six Months Tour Through the North of England (2nd Edition, 1771) Vol. II, p. 83.

5. The Autobiography of Arthur Young ed. M. Betham-Edwards (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1898) p. 49 gives the year. The first edition of the Tour sold out immediately: in the 2nd edition Young's footnotes about country seats first appeared. Young visited houses and gardens as a recreation from his work compiling a statistical survey of agricultural

economics. He might have had a better understanding of agriculture than most visitors, but his classical education had been curtailed in favour of algebra when he was a boy, and he had not been sent to university. He complains of this in *ibid.*, pp. 14 and 23. His account, heavily weighted to purely aesthetic or picturesque values, must be read in this light.

6. Shenstone, Works Vol. II, p. 114. Young's Tour Vol. III, pp. 279-281, shows that he had read at least Dodsley's "Description of the Leasowes" from Volume II of Shenstone's Works.

7. A Six Months Tour, II, pp. 79-80, 81.

8. However, the precise location of the vantage-point, the Doric Temple, was the effect of design.

9. A Six Months Tour pp. 85-86.

10. For Rousham, see Simon Pugh, Garden-nature-language (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988). For Kirby Fleetham and Hack Fall, see Patrick Eyres et al., "Mr. Aislable's Gardens" (Bradford: New Arcadians Press, 1981) (exhibition catalogue with essays). For Hack Fall, see Edward S. Harwood, "William Aislable's Garden at Hackfall" Journal of Garden History Vol. 7 no. 4 (1987) pp. 307-411.

11. Pope is quoted in Earl Wasserman, The Subtler Language (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959) p. 46. The

poem on Wentworth Woodhouse is in Sheffield City Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, M9 (179/22). It refers to the Hooper Stand (1748) but not to Keppel's Column (1778) and can only be roughly dated.

12. Relevant sections of Windsor Forest are ll. 1-164, 219-234, 283-end; and of The Seasons, (for example) "Summer" ll. 1379-1466.

13. R. A. Aubin, Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England (1936) (New York: MLA 1966) p. 40. The essential problem of the genre lay in its handling of description, to which history and moralizing were always to some extent servants or justifications.

14. William Shenstone, letter to Richard Graves of 20 November 1762, in Letters of William Shenstone ed. Marjorie Williams, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939) p. 640.

15. Aubin, p. 92.

16. Grongar Hill ll. 103-108, 112-113. Young, A Six Months' Tour, p. 83.

17. Works II, pp. 112-113, 116, and 125 (where he points out that variety diminishes grandeur). Quotation from Young, A Six Months Tour pp. 81-82. Variety and refreshment have a precise precedent in Pliny the Younger (Letters, p. 140, end of first paragraph), thus revealing a possible classical precedent for elements of the picturesque vocabulary.

18. Ibid., p. 80.

19. Detected by Andrew Wilton, British Watercolours 1750-1850 (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1977) p. 37.

20. Hussey, p. 144. See also Kerry Downes, Hawksmoor (London: B. T. Batsford, 1979) p. 230.

21. National Trust Guidebook: The Rievaulx Terrace (1979) p. 3.

22. Plates 65, 66, 67 and 68.

23. The Temple of Vesta in Rome is illustrated in Ware's Palladio, Plates 34, 35 and 36. Palladio's text names the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli the Temple of Vesta, too; so to this extent both Duncombe's models were temples of Vesta. Palladio allegorizes their round form as the form of earth, "by which human generation is subsisted" (p. 94). The ceiling of the saloon at Duncombe Park depicted "Flora", "Peace" and "Plenty" in stucco relief, with two landscapes painted over fireplaces. (Young, Tour, p. 74.)

24. National Trust Guidebook, p. 10.

25. Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough, ll. 37-40. Fairfax is also celebrated in Marvell's Upon Appleton House, and Epigramma in Duos Montes Amosclivium et Bilboreum: Farfacio.

26. Quoted by Roy Strong, Recreating the Past: British History and the Victorian Painter (New York: Thames and

Hudson, 1978) pp. 150-151.

27. The Works, Vol. III, p. 50.

28. The 350' contour crosses Duncombe's east terrace, while the river below is at about 200'. The Castle stands some twenty feet above the river.

29. Sherburn, III, pp. 383, 384, are two examples. For the status of deer parks, cf. E. P. Thompson, Whigs and Hunters esp. pp. 158-160. Buckingham's hunting is mentioned in Roger Longrigg, The History of Foxhunting (London: Macmillan, 1975) p. 58.

30. Oliver Rackham, Ancient Woodland: its history, vegetation and uses in England (London: Edward Arnold, 1980) p. 197. Rackham asserts a perceptible historical dimension. In the 18th Century, "Parks never regained the importance in the landscape that they had in the 14th Century, but all of their earlier functions still exist." In this historical dimension overlay could occur: Brown's work at Blenheim "did not obliterate its royal predecessor, Woodstock park, whose ancient oaks still cover much of the area."

31. ll. 159, 165.

32. ll. 299-314 and n.

33. The financial manoeuvre by which Sir Charles Duncombe obtained the fortune that he spent on Helmsley is described in the guidebook to Duncombe Park (Helmsley, 1990) pp. 5-6.

34. A Six Months Tour p. 83.
35. Book II ll. 1035-1055 and Book IV ll. 131-152.
36. (First view of Chatsworth) Daniel Defoe, A Tour (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968) Vol II, p. 583. (Or A Tour, abr. and ed. Pat Rogers (London: Penguin Books, 1971) pp. 476-477.)
37. A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924) p. 69.
38. Young finds such places when lost on the moors far from landscape gardens: see A Six Months Tour, Vol. II, p. 184 n.
39. Ibid., p. 85.
40. Ibid., pp. 83-86.
41. "Unconnected Thoughts . . .", Works, Vol. II, pp. 117, 130.
42. Works, Vol. II, p. 168.
43. Shenstone simultaneously views ruins in terms of "abruption". Christopher Thacker has equated ruins in gardens with the poetic or literary fragment, containing "powerful and moving hints of what once was there" The Wildness Pleases: The Origins of Romanticism (London: Croom Helm, 1983) p. 107. The poetic fragment, torn from its complete

setting, is surrounded by its imaginative spaces, the ne plus ultra of metonymic reduction; but a ruin also provides spaces within itself which compound the element of mystery.

44. For types of memory, cf. David Crystal, Introduction to Linguistic Pathology (London: Edward Arnold, 1980) pp. 63-65.

45. A Six Months Tour, II, pp. 301-303

46. Letters of William Shenstone pp. 62-63.

47. The Roman Catholic Messenger family exemplifies an exception to Shenstone's association. They preserved the ruins of Fountains Abbey "through respect to the ancient religion of the place" (Thomas Pennant, A Tour from Alston-Moor to Harrowgate and Brimham Craggs (London, 1804) p. 75) and prevented William Aislabie from acquiring them until 1768.

48. To Winny Fletcher, 28 November 1745, Letters p. 99.

49. cf. ibid., p. 497, for the Priory.

50. Observations on Modern Gardening (1770) p. 131.

51. Rievaulx Terrace is at 525'; Rievaulx Abbey at 275' and the River Rye c. 250'. The steep hillside is therefore even more dramatic than that at Duncombe. For 18th Century classicism as modern in contrast with gothic see William Mason, The English Garden (new edition, commentary and notes

by W. Burgh, 1783) p. 186.

52. In contrast, at Studley Royal Young was able to clamber all over the ruins, and rhapsodized about their melancholy qualities

53. "Rievaulx Abbey" (1854) and "Rievaulx Abbey, the high altar" (c. 1854) are cat. 95 and cat. 96 respectively of Roger Fenton, Photographer of the 1850's (London: South Bank Board, 1988), the catalogue of the exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, London, February - April 1988. "The high altar" is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. "Helmsley Castle, the Fosse" (1860) is Plate 51 of John Hannavy's Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall (London: Gordon Fraser, 1975). Valerie Lloyd interprets such photographs of 1840-1860: "The abbeys, evidence of a Catholic past in a Protestant country, and the great Gothic cathedrals were seen to embody spiritual values which could be reasserted in the current crisis [of faith and Christian belief]" (Introduction to the Hayward Gallery catalogue, p. 21).

54. A Series of Views of the Abbeys and Castles in Yorkshire, drawn & engraved by W. Westall, ARA and F. Mackenzie with Historical and Descriptive Accounts by Thomas Dunham Whittaker (London, 1820). This slim volume dealing with Rievaulx was the only one of the "Series" to appear (Brit. Library Cat.).

55. p. 16.

56. cf. Malcom Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989) p. 61

57. These paintings are all in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Copley Fielding and J.M.W Turner also adopted the lower viewpoint at Rievaulx in the 1830's. Whittaker is quoted from p. 16.

58. Chapter Four will sketch the political changes relevant to this point.

59. Ronald Paulson, The Art of Hogarth (London: Phaidon Press, 1975) p. 74. Also Frederick Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962) p. 67. The painting is now in the Liverpool Art Gallery.

60. William Shakespeare, Richard III V, III, 1. 179

61. Antal, pp. 67 and 201. Paulson, notes to Plate 88.

62. A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (2nd Ed., 1757), Part II, Section ii in Works (12 Vols., London: Nimmo, 1899) Vol. I. p. 131. Sean Shesgreen notes this emotional content in Engravings by Hogarth (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1973), notes to Plate 57.

63. Part II, Sect. iii, p. 132. The definition of solitude is from Christopher Thacker, The Wildness Pleases, p. 79.

64. Andrew J. Moore, John Sell Cotman 1782-1842 (Cotman Bicentenary Exhibition - Norfolk Museums Service) p. 24.
65. Power: Part II, Sect. v, pp. 138-145; Size: II, vii, pp. 147-148; Ugliness: III, xxi, p. 199.
66. Stanza III, Poems, 1764, p. 41. In the day and night views of the abbey we have a clear intimation of the gothic novel. Characteristically extremely anti-papist, its evocations of gothic buildings often make them part of (not merely the site of) the ghostly threat. Ann Radcliffe's The Romance of the Forest (1791) is a good example. Gothic novelists therefore seem to have been using habits of mind and thought that had originated in the landscape garden.
67. James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (London: John Murray, 1974) p. 103. The smaller blue and pink panels in the Ionic Temple also contribute to the theme of love's strange trials: Hero and Leander, Cupid and Psyche, Europa and the Bull, Pan and Cupid.
68. It happens, for example, at Rousham, where Scheemakers' statue of a lion attacking a horse - a powerful reminder of the savage and wild in nature - is placed where the visitor is invited by the altered Mill and the Eye-catcher to look out over the surrounding peaceful countryside and regard it as a thematic extension of the garden.
69. A Six Months Tour, p. 77.

70. Manuscript at NYCRO (Microfilm 1418, frames 1771-1786) entitled "Description of the Pictures and Statues at Duncombe Park" (not dated: orthography and capitalization of all nouns point to late 18th Century). This is a guidebook: "The Company is desired not to touch the Pictures or Statues" (frame 1774). Frame 1780 has "Two Landscapes -- By Claude Loraine. These Pictures were painted for the celebrated Cardinal Bontivaglio --." This name is certainly a mistake for Bentivoglio, Claude's early patron. The paintings were shown in the exhibition Im Licht von Claude Lorrain at Haus Der Kunst, Munich, FDR in 1983. In the catalogue (pp. 156-157) Marcel Roethlisberger concluded that they are not by Claude but by Giovanni-Domenico Desiderii (1623-1667), the pupil and lodger of Claude.

71. "Remarks": Journal of a Tour in 1796. Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull, DDSY (2)/12 App. B. Vol. 11 M.42 (1985) following DDLO(2).

72. Stephen Daniels, comments on symposium paper, in Landscape Meaning and Values, eds. Penning-Rowsell and Lowenthal (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986) p. 45.

73. "Unconnected Thoughts of Gardening", pp. 113-114.

74. This and previous quotation, A Six Months' Tour II, p. 81.

75. The linguistic opposition syntagm/paradigm used by semiologists is obviously pertinent here. The syntagmatic

chain of terms linked by contiguity and unfolding diachronically would correspond to the experience of walking along the terraces and coming upon the garden features; and the associative (or paradigmatic) axis by which linguistic terms simultaneously operate synchronically would correspond to the associations of the features perceived during any moment of the walk. cf. Roland Barthes, Elements of Semiology pp. 58-86.

76. For a related use of traps and guns, also in 1812, see Douglas Hay, "Poaching and the Game Laws in Cannock Chase" in Hay, et al. Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in 18th Century England, (London, Allen Lane 1975) p. 252 & n. 5. Notices produced at Sledmere House in 1812 against poachers contented themselves by threatening only the utmost "Rigor [sic] of the Law". University of Hull, Brynmor Jones Library, DDSY 104/ 128, 129. An instructive contrast with Humphrey Repton's activities in 1812, and the way in which they impinged upon the rural poor, is provided by Stephen Daniels, "Humphrey Repton and the Morality of Landscape", in Valued Environments, ed. John R. Gold & Jacquelin Burgess (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1982) pp. 124-144.

CHAPTER FOUR

AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY: SLEDMERE AND ENCLOSURE

Lady Sykes, of Sledmere, on a tour of Wales in 1796, expressed her sense of the value residing in the countryside near Carmarthen in the following way: "The Bishop of St. David's Palace is situated near Carmarthen, but it does not enrich the view with Gothic Towers, or monastic greatness, but in the humble residence of a religious and vertuous man" [1]. In this brief passage we can detect shifts, like changes in allegiance, within the discourse of sacred buildings in landscape. The abbey is conspicuous for what it does not do - for its absence - a state from which it is rescued by Lady Sykes' feat of imagination. An intimation of the nostalgic attitude which was discussed from an aesthetic standpoint in the last chapter is discernible in the connoted disappointment of "but it does not enrich the view" and the use of "monastic greatness". Yet this attitude emerges only to be contrasted with the approval of the moral and religious predominance of the Anglican Bishop.

Political changes pre-dated and made possible the attitudes

that Lady Sykes exemplifies here, while they acknowledged the predominance of Anglicanism. From before the beginning of the eighteenth century the English ruling class had been engaged on a process of removal or inhibition of rival faiths that seemed to challenge the supremacy of the Church of England. With the defeat of Jacobitism in the rebellion of 1745-6, the Church of England entered a long period during which its constitutional status remained unchallenged. There was no longer the threat that the Church might be replaced as the national religion by Roman Catholicism as a result of a change of the ruling monarchical dynasty. Although the final Jacobite plot did not take place until 1759 (the year after the completion of Rievaulx Terrace and Shenstone's ruined priory) [2], measures were taken against Scottish Jacobitism in the late 1740's, including the Ordnance Survey of Scotland and an extensive programme of fort- and road-building. Anti-Jacobite Parliamentary legislation continued during the 1750's [3]. These measures seem to have increased ruling-class confidence that the Church of England was now invulnerable to serious challenge from Roman Catholicism. The earliest legislative evidence of this new confidence was the passing of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, which restored major property rights to Roman Catholics after nearly a century of increasing repression [4]. At this point Dissenting Protestants were also under a Test Act. Opposition that was deemed to be politically and religiously threatening had been pushed aside, by repeated Acts of Parliament, to ensure a privileged position for the

constitutional religion. Only in the late 1770's did the long process of restoring full citizenship to the members of other Churches begin. A Dissenters' Relief Act was passed in 1779.

It is against the background of the new confidence that the subject-matter of this and the ensuing chapter should be seen. To examine some of its apparent implications for the motivation of garden design by the sacred idea, the two chapters will take as their subject the landscape alterations at Sledmere House, Lady Sykes's home in the East Riding of Yorkshire. "It was . . . at the parish level that the Church formed the closest connection with society" [5], and Sledmere is one of a group of gardens that seem to reflect on a parochial level the pre-eminence of the Church of England on a national one. The owners of these gardens provided a privileged position for the village church within new or rearranged landscapes. A partial list would include Kedleston Hall, Nuneham Courtenay, Croome Court, Compton Verney, Packington Hall, Harewood House, Normanton (Rutland) and Stapleford Park [6]. An interesting variation was provided by the 2nd Earl of Strafford in his park lodges at Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire, and Boughton, Northamptonshire, which were built in the shape of small churches as a sort of false signifier. Generally speaking, however, the churches incorporated in such landscapes were the sites of devotional worship. At Sledmere, (as at Nuneham Courtenay and Packington Hall) the church was rebuilt in classical form; I shall argue more particularly in the next chapter that Sledmere's park

represents neo-classical landscape, the desirable sacred element of which was provided by the church. I suggest that the presence of the churches in this privileged position close to the landowner's house can be held to reflect church-state relations as they emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The present landscape at Sledmere is the result of the implementation of changes under Christopher Sykes' Enclosure Act of 1776. Sledmere church now shares with Sledmere House a prominent position on the south-facing slope of a shallow valley, which rises gradually up the long opposite slope to the wooded horizon. The buildings occupy the valley, where once the village stood. The fact that the pre-existing village has been removed invests these remaining buildings with a conspicuous authority, simply by their continued presence within the emptied landscape (Figure 30). At least 38 other buildings were demolished. Sledmere House, as a home, takes its place near one end of a system of dwellings that includes, at the other extremity, natural features of the countryside. It also represents authority, most obviously as the home of an M.P., which Sykes was from 1784 to 1789. (He was also a J.P. and a Doctor of Civil Law.) The status and character of the buildings in the landscape, considered individually and in relation to each other, reveal a system of value built into the landscape from its first creation in the 1770's, which can be held to reflect not only church-state relations, but also the attitude to power and the community of

its owner, Sir Christopher Sykes.

The history of Sledmere during this period provides a way of exploring the immediate social implications of installing this arrangement. A study of the implications of the act of landscaping is a study of the consequences of installing a landscape in which the sacred building shares with the house the role of a major informing centre of the new order of things. Such consequences are more pertinent when there exists, as I shall argue in the next chapter, an aesthetic equivalent or reflection of each of the main points to be made about the consequences of the historical process of enclosure.

Throughout this study Lady Sykes's opinions and observations have been taken to be as pertinent to the Sledmere landscape as those of her husband. Two types of evidence support this assumption. One is literary. In 1803 Lady Sykes wrote an account of her 1796 tour to Wales. Comparison of this text with her husband's shorter diary, written during the journey, shows how her Remarks assimilates the entire substance of her husband's Tour, with the single exception of his long and fascinated account of the copper mines of Anglesey (for this she substitutes an account of the Druids, who are not mentioned by him). This assimilated work becomes the basis of her own longer and livelier journal. The relationship between these texts, on the level of the written word, suggests that her views of landscape were largely formed by those of Sir

Christopher. The other type of evidence is financial: she invested money in her husband's agricultural and landscape gardening activities [7]. In fact, Lady Sykes's financial and legal involvement with Sledmere was crucial to Christopher's ability to put his plans into practice. The parish, "so far from being merely a unit of local and church government, was until the nineteenth century a most intricate complex of legal obligations and property interests, and the gentry were the predominant interest in it" [8]. In taking out an Act of Parliament to improve and regulate his interest in the parish, Sykes first had to contend with an obstacle unwittingly presented by his wife.

By the terms of their marriage settlement of 1770, Elizabeth Sykes was granted a jointure of £1498/6/5d out of the Sykes estates in and around Sledmere (which parish itself produced £540 p. a.). This was in return for bringing £15,000 to Sykes on her marriage, with a further £15,000 to be hers on the death of her mother. In 1776, when Christopher brought his parliamentary enclosure bill before the house, this settlement was regarded as an impediment to his plans. The bill was entitled "An Act for enabling Christopher Sykes esq. to raise Money, by way of Charge or Mortgage upon several open and uninclosed fields, wolds, and grounds [amounting to over 5,000 acres, together with two parcels of inclosed grounds, one of 200 and another (the Avenue) of 140 acres] . ." To enable the Bill to pass, Elizabeth Sykes had to waive her marriage settlement and agree to accept a yearly rent charge

of £590 instead [9]. Sykes's attorney considered that the success of the Bill would turn upon her being perceived to give up her right willingly, and suggested that she appear in person before the Parliamentary Committee to testify [10].

While the title of Sykes's Bill advances an economic motive for the enclosure, this cannot be taken too literally; if Sykes's motive had been solely financial, ploughland, as the most profitable form of farmland, would have come up to the door of the house, instead of which a park of some 2,000 acres was installed. A review of the consequences of enclosure is therefore a study of the consequences of installing an aesthetic design, as one petitioner made clear when he objected to alterations that had been made "for the Beautifying and Improvement of the Estate . . . to the prejudice of the Petitioner and the Public in General" [11].

The Act was passed in May 1776 and the village was removed, leaving the church as the most important building beside the house. Yet the main difference between the plan that Lancelot "Capability" Brown made for the new landscape (preserved in his map, still at Sledmere) and the layout as it was by 1795 concerns the treatment of Sledmere church, and this anomaly may be held to reflect a considerable tension which focussed on the church as a result of a dispute that involved Sykes's authority.

Brown's map of November 1778 shows that the church is hedged off from the house behind a belt of woodland which runs round

the church on four sides (Figure 31). Capability Brown's plans of gardens illustrated in Dorothy Stroud's book show this type of hedging around a building or area of land (in a rather bosquet-like manner) as a recurring feature of his work [12]. However, the same layout also features on the map of a partly-executed design for Sledmere prepared by Thomas White in 1776 (Figure 32) [13]. It is unlikely that both landscape gardeners would have independently recommended concealing the church from the house had they not been instructed to do so by the owner.

In contrast to Brown's plan, Thomas Malton's watercolour of the library shows that by 1795, when most of Sykes's plans for the landscape had been achieved, the church had been assimilated into the landscape garden. Through the painted library windows we can see that the plantation of trees in front of the church has been reduced to two small groups, so that the church could be clearly seen beyond them (Figure 33).

The explanation of these changes surely lies in the fact that the church was a focus of contention with the rural community, and dealing with it became one of the tests of Sykes's authority. On January 29, 1776 he had written, "I propose to enclose Sledmire [sic]. Upon the Inclosure the whole will be divided into 3 large and 2 smaller farms" [14], and so began a campaign to assert his authority over the countryside which was not finally concluded until 1800, the year before his death. But he met with some spirited

opposition to his proposals on the part of the Rev. R. J. C. Rousby, Lord of the Manor of the neighbouring hamlet of Croom, and "owner and proprietor of all lands and grounds [upwards of 1500 acres] in the Township of Croom, which is within the Parish of Sledmire" [15].

One of Rousby's objections to Sykes's enclosure was that he and the other inhabitants of Croom would be denied access to Sledmere church if it was enclosed within a landscape garden. The charge of attempting to deny English Christians access to their place of worship, pressed in public, (in a petition to the Houses of Parliament) must have smarted with a conventionally pious man such as Sykes. Yet this objection was only resolved by apparent concessions on his part. He confirmed the pews on the north side of the church to the people of Croom, and consulted Rousby over the location of a new access road to it from the north on February 27, 1777 [16]. A map of the church with details of seating arrangements survives in the Sledmere archive. Rousby is allotted most of the north side, the two front pews being occupied by his family and servants. This document presumably dates from 1777 and reflects the arrangement that pre-existed that date [17]. An attached leaf, pencilled "Aug 15 1782" lists changes to the occupation of the pews which include the appearance of the names Marrowmatt, Life House and Castle Farms (the "3 large farms" of Sykes' 1776 letter), Warren and Toft Farms (the 2 small farms), and the newly-built Triton Inn. This is an indication of what is new in the landscape, and of how the

local community had been disturbed by Sykes's activities: the earlier plan is filled entirely by names of people, the later by names of buildings. Apart from the problem of the church, Rousby had other objections (which will be considered): thus at the time of greatest tension for Sykes, when his authority was meeting some vigorous resistance, his impulse seems to have been to exclude a focus of that conflict, the church - if only optically - from his landscape garden, sealing it off, for the time being, behind a thick hedge of woodland.

It is worth recalling what the church represented to different people. To Sykes it signified, at this particular juncture, conflict and public discomfiture. To Rousby it was an institution in which he had to protect his and his hamlet's interest. To the ordinary villagers, it was the temple of their sacred worship, whatever vicissitudes might happen. We can also read it in another way.

A comparison between Sledmere and Nuneham Courtenay is useful here. There as at Sledmere the church continued to be used for worship, the congregation entering by a door on the opposite side from the family [18], having had to trek a mile from the new village through parkland every Sunday. Like the hapless Christians of Nuneham Courtenay, the inhabitants of Sledmere now had to enter a landowner's landscape garden to attend divine service. The impression given is that, as it has been enveloped by his garden, the church has become the landowner's private possession - or at least that there is a

closeness and a kinship of interest between landowner and Church. This impression holds no matter how much actual facts of the internal organisation of the Church might contradict it. Indeed, when the other ways in which a landowner's authority can impinge upon it are borne in mind, the impression only gains in strength. In the case of Sykes, his family had determined the appearance of the building and refurbished the pews [19]. As we have seen, he decided where people should sit inside the church. As the impropiator of tithes he was entitled to give himself the largest and most comfortable pew, and to position it in the chancel. He also decided the direction from which the congregation would approach the building, and through advowson (the appointment to livings) had a major say in who would be their vicar. ("Practically, the intertwining of Church and State and Church and Society was demonstrated by the extent of the control exercised by the laity over appointments to the Church" [20].) The church was included in his garden and was, in short, a focus of his authority. The impression that the Church could also be taken as an instrument of his authority (that he controlled the church at least on the local level) is very strong.

Since the objects of Sykes's authority are the rural poor, we should at this point explore the attitudes of Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes to them further. The Tour to Wales will provide our major source, and there is evidence in the journals that the couple closely observed the poor, as well as

where and how they lived. On the Tour Sledmere's owners encountered people whose home was the countryside itself. Some families of rope-makers, for example, were living just inside the "Devil's Cave" at Castleton. When the couple visited the ruined Castle keep at Neath, "The moment you entered the Ruins out turned 20 or 30 poor wretches who have taken up their abode in the vaulted remains to be near the Copper Works" [21] (the same copper works were spoiling the tourists' visit by the large amount of smoke they poured over the area). The poor tended to be associated with poor land. On a hard ascent to Pont-Aberglaslin, they saw an anti-pastoral vignette: "Amidst these Rocks we saw a woman, and a Boy, both knitting as they attended the Cattle, without Shoes or Stockings, and but scanty rags to cover them." [22].

They were also interested in the way the poor lived. Lady Sykes reports an encounter near Aberystwyth in a telling passage: she enters a hovel which contained a family of four, a calf, a dog and cat: "The Scene around was as miserable as within, on a small unsheltered Heath, without Hedge, or Tree, and near the high Cliff of an enraged Sea, with an impending Storm over my head." No-one in the hovel spoke English, and Lady Sykes did not linger [23]. There is a sense in which this is felt as a literary experience, which would have been a suitable way to distance the wretchedness witnessed and the sense of unease which that provoked; she conveys a sublime experience with intimations of a brooding and potential violence. However, a family famous as agricultural improvers

would doubtless have reflected later how much the enclosure and improvement of the "unsheltered Heath" would have improved the lot of the inhabitants; even if from our perspective we may suspect that it would simply have moved them on [24].

Sykes had removed commons in the East Riding, including the "open wold" at Sledmere, some fifteen years before. Isaac Leatham, author of the first Board of Agriculture report on the East Riding, had defended such removals: "Some are of the opinion that inclosures have been the cause of a decrease in population, but a far greater number maintain contrary opinions." In faintly absurd terms he asserts that good enclosures, where rights of pasturage were recognised and compensated even among the poor, provoke a mechanical response: "cottagers are hereby accomodated with land for the maintenance of a cow, and the growth of potatoes, all of which must have a tendency to promote marriages and consequently increase population". Oliver Goldsmith had viewed the removal of commons less optimistically in The Deserted Village (1770). A shepherd has been evicted from his former dwelling to make room for the lanowner's park:

Where then, ah where, shall poverty reside,
To scape the pressures of contiguous pride?
If to some common's fenceless limits strayed,
He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade,
Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,
And even the bare-worn common is denied.

[ll. 303-308]

Leatham also reports the extent of removal of commons from the Yorkshire Wolds: they "vary in [size], from 200 to 2500

acres" (but were generally 300-500 acres) [25]. By being one of the leading landowners to undertake enclosures, Sykes helped to make the rural poor much more dependent upon wage labour and less reliant on their own resources, simply by removing the land necessary for such self-reliance. For Goldsmith's shepherd, unable to find pasture for his sheep, this becomes rather an urgent problem.

As Lady Sykes discovered when her husband and son were climbing Cader Idris and she had been left behind, agricultural wages in remote areas were very low:

In the course of my wandering I joined the conversation of some Men returning from their daily labour, which led me to inquire the wages of the country; They told me they then had eight pence a day and their victuals [26].

This pay compared with wages in the East Riding, reported by Isaac Leatham in 1794: for day labourers, Michaelmas to Martinmas 5 to 6s a week, and Midsummer to Michaelmas 8 or 9: twice as much as the Welshmen, but no higher than wages reported by Arthur Young and Sir Digby Legard in the Wolds a quarter of a century previously [27].

On the Welsh tour, and no less significantly for a landowner who had a graveyard within his landscape garden, Sir Christopher had been interested in burial customs. Graves were defined in coffin shapes by slates pushed into the ground. The interior was filled in with topsoil and flowers "strewn or planted". In the case of a child's death, a

smaller coffin shape was built upon the first. "In one instance I saw 3 tiers [tiers], a Grandfather, Mother and Child. Sometimes if a Child dies first, when the father or mother dies, they take up the Child, and place it upon the Coffin last buried." [28].

Clearly, a couple who observe in such a fascinated way the smallest customs and details of rural life could be expected to have an equally detailed awareness of their home community, and to understand the consequences to it of their own actions.

In response to the kinds of problems exemplified - destitution, lack of adequate medical attention, and so on, while the couple are charitable, giving money in Milford to "some poor Irish souls" for their passage home, Lady Sykes sees no reason for radical political change [29]. Sir Christopher's political attitude, in so far as it emerges during the Tour, is one in which responsibility balances privilege for the land-owning class. Of the "improvement" of South Wales, he writes,

All along the coast I have traveled much has been done by the patient industry of the Welsh Peasantry and much more would be done if the great Land owners of the Country would give their Attention to it, but the Estates are in too few hands, and like Ireland belongs [sic] to persons who do not reside there, or attend to the incouragement of Industry [30].

In his view example does not always come from the top, and the ruling class should not become indifferent or complacent.

This was not simply an attitude developed in the 1790's: there is a contrast between what he found in South Wales and Sykes's own practice at Sledmere, from where he had written to Joseph Rose in 1789 about the decoration of his new house, hoping that "all the Men you employ here will not be sent from London as I have particular pleasure in employing Persons in my Neighbourhood when it can be done consistently with the Work being well executed". Sykes had sold his London house that year to reside permanently at Sledmere [31].

His concern for appropriate responsibility to accompany privilege is also manifested in his advice to William Wilberforce about the management of rabbit-warrens. Wilberforce was contemplating bringing a Bill in Parliament to regulate warrens. Sykes argues that rabbits do so much damage that warrens can only be protected if they are walled or paled round so that rabbits cannot escape. Otherwise,

no one either Landlord or Tenant ought to be discouraged from destroying them by Night or day upon his own property . . . if more security is given to Rabbits within the Pale of a Warren, more power ought to be given to destroy them beyond that Pale. [32]

Of course, this apparently obliging quid pro quo stops short at the poor. In the same letter Sykes explains that the requirement of walling or paling is necessary to prevent any small cottager obtaining a few rabbits, describing themselves as a warrener, and becoming predatory upon rabbits from other warrens. The proposal was part of the increasing

capitalisation of agriculture. The intentional effect of Sykes's suggestion would be to discriminate against small-scale or poor warreners who might be unable to raise the capital for erection of a wall or fence.

Sykes, an M.P. in the 1780's, was on good terms with William Pitt, commissioning matching busts of Pitt and himself from Nollekens in 1794. The brand of political economy exemplified in such writings as have been quoted was concerned with the maintenance of the existing social order in troubled or potentially revolutionary times, and it demanded restraint in the consumption of wealth. In his Tour Sykes contrasted two wealthy North Welsh families, Wynne at Winnstay and Middleton at Chirk Castle: "Sir W. W. Wynne is said to have 36000 a Year but pays about 16000 in Interest, Jointures etc out of it and [is] obliged to keep up a State as if King of Wales" (Winnstay had a theatre with an immense number of scenes, 300 costumes and a hail storm machine. Lady Sykes felt sure that "many a thousand pounds had been expended in these foolings"). "Col. Middleton [£20,000 p.a.] may be as private as He pleases, without observation, and is a prudent Man, with a much finer place". And then, restraint upon restraint, Sykes censures himself for comparing two families whose rivalry in the district is well known [33]. The same attitude can also lead to the suppression of evidence of too overt conflict. At Llangollen Lady Sykes tells us that they were:

accosted by the most tempestuous landlady
I ever met with, when we enquired for Beds,

none were to be met with for more than one night, nor any eatable Hay for our Horses, and bad Corn. Thus situated My Son Tatton and I prevailed upon Sir Chrisr to set out after dinner [34]

despite their desire to see the Ladies of Llangollen and the views from Dinas Bran. Sir Christopher's account suppresses this to "but the Hay was so bad for the Horses, I could not prevail upon my Companions to stop at Llangollin longer than while we eat our dinner". A retreat is therefore dignified as concern for animals [35].

Although by temperament Christopher Sykes might have preferred to avoid it, there had been conflict and difficulty for him over his enclosure of Sledmere. Thomas White's plan had been for the "Chief ride" at Sledmere to lead down the dry valley towards the village of Fimber (Figure 32), and this was adopted by Sykes. To complete the route Sykes had to buy a small parcel of three acres of land at the edge of Fimber. Progress was slow; there were no less than 10 proprietors to locate and negotiate with, and the question of tithes over the parcel had to be negotiated with the Earl of Winchelsea [36].

Also in 1776 emerged the far more serious problem of the opposition of the Rev. Rousby. Rousby wrote to Mr. Foord on July 21 1776: "As Mr. Townsend acquaints me you have been appointed as a J.P. to set out the Roads at Sledmire . . I . . inform you . . that it is my resolution to prefer indictments at York assizes against all the Obstructions to the Old Roads in Sledmire". Foord reported to Sykes on August 14 that he

"stopped the indictment" at York [37]. However, four years later Rousby evidently became anxious because roads were being diverted and changes taking place before the legal process of enclosure had been completed. He embarked on a campaign of indictments. On April 1, 1780 he brought an action against three yeomen of Wetwang for ploughing up the public road. A year later he indicted the "inhabitants of Sledmire" for digging a gravel pit five feet deep on the highway from Kirby Grindalythe to Beverly and for digging ditches on the Malton road. The inhabitants of Melburne were also included, having put posts and rails across the highway [38]. Benjamin Tranmer, who rented land crossed by the old road to Malton, was indicted for making sod banks across it [39]. In each case the subjects of the lawsuits were the old roads, some time after new roads had been laid out, and Rousby was carrying out his threat of four years previously. The purpose was to cause Sykes to act more quickly. Rousby's petition to Parliament in 1776 had specified that he had been assured in the past by Sykes that everything would be equitably settled, yet Sykes had already staked out new roads before his Act had been passed. On August 8, 1777 John Hopper, Sykes's gamekeeper [40], wrote to Sykes of a paper sent by Rousby to him and Harper and King, the churchwardens. Rousby had written, "I do hereby require you to take notice that I do not give my consent to the Removal of the Present Gate into the Church Yard of Sledmire until you are legally authorized to do so" [41]. Rousby's actions also dramatise the idea of inhibited

movement, to which we shall have to return. The feelings of Tranmer, et al., caught between Sykes's delay and neglect of legal procedure, and Rousby's ire, are unfortunately unrecorded.

I now wish to concentrate, in a section which will extend almost until the end of the chapter, on the idea of division and separation - both in human terms and in terms of the physical fabric of the village. Rousby found an ally in Luke Lillingstone, owner of the rectory at Kirby Grindalythe, who objected to the enclosure Bill infringing on his rights to tithes of wool [42]. There are a few signs that the dispute among the gentry was having a divisive effect on the local community. Hopper wrote to Sykes "unknown to my Mrs.", because she thought he shouldn't. Christopher Sykes's father wrote in April 1776 that a local man, Sawden, Sykes's tenant, was taking Rousby's part, saying that Rousby "would do as he would with respect to the high ways, and his own private affairs" [43].

Other reactions to the dispute were more predictable. On his own initiative Thomas White acted as an intermediary with Rousby's agents, as Sykes's attorney and Rousby's were not on good terms and he was worried that a law suit would jeopardise the Act. To Mortimer, Sykes's attorney, in contrast, the dispute was mock-heroic: he writes that he is going to London to "carry on the Opposition with Vigour - we will steer steady . . . I do not fear the warmth of the Divine Rousby". However,

to Christopher's father, suspicious of Sawden, the dispute was total war. Referring to Mr. Butler, Rousby's lobbyist in London, he wrote: "might it not be proper to use your Interest with Mr. Sawry Morritt, and Mr. Willoughby to take of[f] Mr. Butler in some respect, at least that he may not be so sanguine in R: interest" [44].

Another point of contention was a "well or wells and springs" used by Rousby, his "tenants, servants and labourers . . with or without carriages and horses", to which Sykes had blocked access. The dispute was arbitrated by three of the local gentry, and in the arbitration agreement, which was not settled until 1782, it was decided that Sykes should provide a new well for the village, to the water of which he was not to be entitled. Rousby should pay a third of the cost or £40, and Sykes paid a deposit to the arbitrators that he was to forfeit if the well was not built within a year. Although it was not ready until 1785, he received his money back [45].

In respect of lost access to a pond for watering cattle (The Marr, which still survives in front of the house and gives its name to Sledmere), Rousby accepted a pay-off of £130 to settle past, present and future claims [46]. Richard Birkby, one of Rousby's witnesses, in his deposition testified that before 1751 (when a new House had been built at Sledmere) The Marr had lain open to the York, Malton and Scarborough roads. Richard Sykes, the then owner, removed a hill called Green Hill along the north and south sides of which the roads went

to Malton, to York, and to the church. The whole area of hill and Marr was enclosed behind a brick wall, and a new, wider and more even but more distant road was made below The Marr, along the line of the present ha-ha. The witness was a herdsman and had had to go for water to Kirby Grindalythe, the nearest village to the north of Sledmere, a distance of two and a half miles [47].

Although Rousby's petition states his objections from his point of view, it is not difficult to comprehend a much more general dismay that the enclosures by Sykes in 1776 and by his uncle in 1751 must have caused the village. In a study of rural settlement patterns, Michael Chisholm assesses water as the most valuable of the 5 basic elements without which a settlement cannot be sustained:

the disadvantages posed by distance in conducting various enterprises . . . may be thought of as units of cost to the community; for example, the removal of water 1 kilometre is equivalent to ten units of cost, whereas if the source of building materials is that far away it represents only one-tenth of the cost. . . . Water has been given a high value [because] . . . it has to be used at frequent intervals in the day and is difficult to carry and store in large quantities when only rudimentary implements are available. [48]

As the nearest stream, at Kirby Grindalythe, is 4 kilometres from Sledmere, for Birkby and herdsman like him loss of water therefore amounted to a severe economic penalty. His deposition states that four years later he constructed a rather muddy dew-pond at Croom for £30, paid for by Henry Rousby, the then owner, but that in a dry season only Kirby

had water. Rousby's action was therefore in part undertaken to reclaim this expense, as well as presumably trying to avoid a repetition of the events of 1751, when a Sykes had simply taken the law into his own hands. The later loss of the well simply repeated and compounded for villagers the earlier separation from a major source of water in The Marr.

Even in the provision for the poor of Sledmere, Sykes had to be prodded by Rousby. The Robert King who was indicted by Rousby in 1780 for ploughing up the public road was a tenant of Sykes, as well as overseer for the poor of Sledmere and Croom. Although the poor do not feature in Rousby's petition to parliament against the enclosure bill, they are mentioned in the arbitration agreement of July 5, 1782. By this Sykes agreed to donate four new poor houses to the parish to replace the old ones [49].

While the dispute with Rousby continued, Sykes was pressing ahead with planting work that made his influence highly visible. His diary for 1777 records him planting either at Sledmere or in his nursery at Wheldrake (where he was then living [50]), firs, "Mr. White's trees", "the Walnut tree from the New Road [moved] into the Close at Sledmire", two-year-old larch, one-year-old larch, laburnum cuttings, hawthorn and mountain ash. On September 18, "The Great Brown and son the Council [sic] came to Sledmire in the morning early", and the following day Brown left. Seven days later the entry reads, "Finished staking out Garton road and Colby Wood plantation

and Life Clife Wood North point of the hill". This was a quick response to Brown's visit, but necessarily so, as the rest of the year was spent in planting. The Garton road was new, the course of it decided by Sykes in earlier concert with White and confirmed by Brown. It replaced the old road which had led too close to the centre of the southerly view from the house.

The front endpaper of the 1778 diary has Brown and Holland's address and an odd sketch of a ha-ha, showing alternative barriers of fence or hedge, but wrongly positioned halfway down the bank. On September 5 "Mr. Brown came this morning, we rode about, dined and lodged at Wetwang" before Brown left the following day. This suggests that the idea of using a ha-ha to separate garden and park was Brown's. The map summarizing Brown's new plan for the alterations which form the basis of the present landscape is dated November 1778 (Figure 34). On September 3 the brickwork of Castle Farm was finished.

These actions on the part of Sykes and his predecessors put in perspective his later concern for apparent restraint in the display and exercise of power. Indeed, the diary entry for October 2 1777 - two weeks after Brown's first visit - records the most radical expression of Sykes's power over the landscape: "Dunn [the agent] gave tenants notice to quit at Sledmere". This was the beginning of the process of removing the village, which stood near the church, to make way for the

landscape garden [51]. Included in the eventual demolition were presumably the poor houses only replaced after 1782. At least some tenants were rehoused between the house and Croom, where the present village of Sledmere stands. The cottages known as "Gardeners Row" can be dated to this period, and perhaps some other village houses [52].

One of a bundle of maps that survives in the Sledmere archives allows a further important point to be made about the character of the new community envisaged at Sledmere and its contrast to the old, in consequence of demolition of the old village. The maps evidently date from the crucial years in the late 1770's when the park and farms were being established. They are all based on a map supposed to date from the 1740's, (but datable by Richard Birkby's testimony to after 1751) and thus they depict the old layout of the village with houses east and west of the stirrup-shaped Avenue along the York-Bridlington road (Figure 35). The maps have inked or pencilled on to them various proposals for the new naturalistic layout [53].

In Chisholm's model of units of cost for rural settlements, arable land is allotted a higher unit of cost (in relation to distance from the settlement) than is grazing land, by a factor of 5:3. This is because "Arable land is usually more greedy of labour than grassland, requiring more cultivation and more transport of goods to and fro" [54]. In the entire valley from Sledmere Castle to the Fimber road, Sykes replaced

the open field system of agriculture at Sledmere with a large area of grassland near the village. The arable "three large farms" were located further from the settlement than the grazing-land, adding a certain unit of cost to the labourers and the tenants who worked the new farms. The only way to bring down this new economic penalty would be to disperse the labourers to the location of their work, and Sykes planned for just this. On one of the maps in question, "Proposed" small rows of labourer's cottages - isolated from each other in fields belonging to the farm that they were associated with, rather than in the village - are marked and labelled in a key [55]. The rows of cottages can still be seen, for example at Warren Farm, and Mill Cottages at Sledmere Mill Farm. The character of the community that Sykes planned was one in which the local people had been divided up and parcelled out. This actual fragmentation of the community gives way, within the landscape garden, to an artistic image of integration by the opening up of the church to the landscape.

There has survived from the eighteenth century no voice to speak for the villagers of Sledmere. It was apparently a peaceful enclosure: there were no riots, and there is no evidence of unrest - unlike the situation at Milton Abbas, where force overcame resistance [56]. In contrast, the Sykes archive is remarkably full, and, with the exception of private correspondence giving Sykes's precise feelings and attitudes, documents most stages of the enclosure process. However, before going on to consider the aesthetics of the changes, it

is necessary to summarize three effects of the enclosure on the village community. We have seen how the villagers were to some extent removed from the vicinity of the church, which became the aesthetically important possession of the landowner, and how that landowner diverted the congregation's physical movement towards it. The first consequence of enclosure is therefore the problem of free movement, which was only partially dramatised by Rousby's concern about roads, but not confined to that issue. Before enclosure it had been possible to ride, on grass, from Driffield to Malton [57]. Enclosure limited the physical movement of the villagers, who were now confined to the public roads, to the church and to their own dwellings and places of work. There was no public open space in the centre of the new Sledmere to replace the pre-1751 green around the Marr and Green Hill, or the spaces of the open wold and common field system. Secondly, and allied to this was the fragmentation of the old community, illustrated in archetypal terms by Goldsmith in The Deserted Village (when villagers depart for the Americas), and enacted on a parochial level at Sledmere (where they departed for the cottages on outlying farms). The only places used by villagers that remained from the old village in their former positions were the church and place of burial. Thirdly, removal of commons (and water supply) made villagers more dependent on wage labour at a time when labour rates were static.

Freedom of movement, a unified and integrated village, and a

partial economic self-reliance. These were the three qualities sacrificed to enable Christopher and Lady Sykes to create their chosen landscape garden, with its appropriated sacred building. The next chapter will show how each of these points had a mirror-image within the aesthetic scheme that was laid over old Sledmere.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. p. 149 of "Remarks": Journal of a Tour in 1796 (hereafter Remarks), typed in duplicate by Katharine Sherwood 210, Strand, London, June and July 1918. Vol. 11 of a typed 22 volume series of bound volumes in the Sykes archive at Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull (hereafter B JL). Ref. DDSY (2)/12 App. B. Vol. 11 M. 42 (1985) following DDLO(2).
2. cf. E. Cruikshanks, ed., Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982)
3. cf. G. H. Gutteridge, The Early Career of Lord Rockingham (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UCLA, 1951) p. 3.
4. Gordon Rupp, Religion in England 1688-1791 discusses the background and consequences of this act, pp. 196-200.
5. Anthony Armstrong, The Church of England, the Methodists, and Society 1700-1850 (London: University of London Press, 1973) p. 11.
6. Nuneham, Croome Court and Compton Verney are all discussed in Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown (London: Faber & Faber, 1975). For Nuneham, see also Mavis Batey, "Oliver Goldsmith: An indictment of landscape gardening", in Willis, ed., Furor Hortensis pp. 57-71.

7. John Popham, "Sir Christopher Sykes at Sledmere - I" Country Life, 16 January 1986, pp. 128-132, and "Sir Christopher Sykes at Sledmere - II" Country Life, 23 January 1986, pp. 188-191, mentions this (p. 191).
8. Armstrong, p. 11.
9. BJL DDSY (3)/7 no. 82 (21/199).
10. Jim Mortimer to Christopher Sykes, 24/4/1776, BJL DDSY 62/331.
11. BJL DDSY 62/304.
12. At Nuneham Courtenay, Brocklesby (1771), Moccas, Rothley, and Temple Newsam.
13. Thomas White had made a plan for improvements at Burton Constable, east of Hull, in 1768 (Elizabeth Hall, "The Plant Collections of an 18th Century Virtuoso", Garden History, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 1986) p. 19.) His work there was superseded by that of Brown, a fate destined to befall him at Sledmere too. Further information on his career is provided by David Jacques, Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature p. 106. The date of Sykes's consultation of him is indicated in BJL DDSY (2)/12 App. B, Vol. 8, p. 1.
14. BJL DDSY (2)/12 App. B. Vol. 8, pp. 4-5.
15. Commons Journals, Anno 1776, p. 692. Robert James Clay Rousby (1732-1793) is described as "Clerk". His petition

against the act was read on 1/4/1776. He had come into possession of Croom in 1772 from his uncle Robert Rousby: BJL DDSY 62/311. His widow died in September 1801: DDSY 101/66. The Gentleman's Magazine (1793) describes him as "Rector of Croom", which would mean that he received the tithes from his estate, to add to his rents, while having no church to officiate in.

16. Diary entry (BJL DDSY 102/10) and BJL DDSY 62/335.

17. BJL DDSY 3 4/50. The endpaper of the diary for 1777 has the plan of a long building (?church), with names on subdivisions (?pews). The names are shortened in two columns, and appear to read:

Toron	Poor	
Mop Col	Ban Col	
Towes & Jim	Marr	(= Marramatte Farm?)
Mor.	Life	(= Life Hill Farm?)
	Cast	(= Castle Farm?)

18. Baron J.F.W. van Spaen van Biljoen wrote in 1791 that "The cattle [sic] enter at the other end which does not communicate with the garden and the main portico of six columns actually an external feature of the temple acts as a garden pavilion". "A Dutchman's Visits to Some English Gardens in 1791", ed. Heimerick Tromp, Journal of Garden History 2, 1, (1982) 41-58, p. 56.

19. There is a permanent exhibition of plans and photographs illustrating this in Sledmere Church. Permission to rebuild was granted Richard Sykes in 1755. The church had been

classicized by 1758 (Sledmere guidebook).

20. Armstrong, p. 11.

21. p. 20 of Christopher Sykes's journal of his tour in Wales in 1796 (hereafter Tour). Typed out by Katharine Sherwood in 1918. DDSY (2)/12 App. B. Vol 5 M.42 (1985) following DDLO(2).

22. Remarks p. 224.

23. p. 200.

24. For the problems of gauging the actual material effect of enclosures, see J. Barrell, The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) Appendix, pp. 189-215.

25. Isaac Leatham, General View of Agriculture in the East Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1794), p. 39. His remarks about cows and potatoes are on p. 37.

26. Remarks p. 218. Other remarks about rural working life are on pp. 135, 149, 151, 189, 218, and in Tour p. 24.

27. Leatham, p. 32. Legard in Young, A Six Months Tour Through the North of England, Vol. II, pp. 16-17. Young's own findings, *ibid.*, p. 4.

28. Tour p. 22.

29. "some modern reformers" mentioned in Remarks p. 185. Irish at Milford, p. 165. Charity also took place at home:

Christopher Sykes's diary entry for August 11 1777 reads,
"Gave Wilkinson a poor man £1" (BJL DDSY 102/10)

30. Tour, p. 50.

31. Quoted in Popham, p. 190. Joseph Rose, the chief plasterer for many of Robert Adam's commissions, developed a personal friendship with Sykes from 1789. In August, 1798, for example, he helped obtain an exercise machine for Lady Sykes. (BJL DDSY (3)/8 Sect. 1 (22/18)).

32. May 21, 1789. DDSY (2)/12 App. B, Vol. 8, pp. 104-105.

33. Tour, p. 77. Wynne's outgoings are actually rendered by the typist as "pays about 16000 in Fish and pasturage out of it". Luckily Lady Sykes's handwriting was more easily legible, and here her journal follows her husband's text exactly. "Interest, Jointures" therefore comes from Remarks, p. 281. Wynnstay's theatre, p. 273.

34. Remarks, p. 263.

35. Tour, p. 71.

36. BJL DDSY (2)/12 App. B, Vol. 8, p. 9.

37. Rousby to Foord, July 21, 1776. DDSY 62/321. Foord to Sykes in the same bundle. Foord acts as intermediary with Rousby, but refuses to do so with another interested party (Willoughby of Birdsall) because he wishes to appear impartial.

38. BJL DDSY 62/321-329.
39. DDSY 62/329.
40. BJL DDSY 100 no. 9. Hopper's employment began in 1771.
41. BJL DDSY 62/321.
42. BJL DDSY 62/331, letter of 27/4/76.
43. BJL DDSY 62/331.
44. Letter to Sykes from White, April 4 1776; Mortimer, April 24 1776; Mark Sykes, rec'd April 27 1776. All in BJL DDSY 62/331.
45. The arbitrators were Sir William St. Quintin of Scampston (where Brown also worked), Sir James Norcliffe of Langton, and William Preston of Moreby. DDSY 62/334-342.
46. DDSY 62/316.
47. DDSY 62/310.
48. Chisholm, Rural Settlement and Land Use: An essay in location (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1968) p. 102.
49. DDSY 62/335.
50. His father Mark Sykes still occupied Sledmere House. Christopher Sykes did not move in until after his father's death (1783) when he also inherited the recently-conferred baronetcy: BJL DDSY 102/10. The endpaper for the 1775 Diary

has a note, "Mr. Wm. Shields, Dalkeith 60,000 Scotch firs", and on the next page, in pencil "Caledonian Laburnum" and "White Beam". The endpaper for the 1777 Diary has "Oct 31 1777 Order to Mr. White 20,000 seedling larches 50,000 Scotch fir seedling" in a list totalling over 112,000 trees. Popham states a total for that year of 265,000 Scots pine (p. 130). In thus favouring Scots Pine, Sykes was following a local habit that Sir Digby Legard, another large landowner of the Wolds, did not altogether support: "Though the Scotch fir has been usually selected for these [planting] trials, and has succeeded, yet the ash will do as well, and is a much more valuable tree: For ploughs, sellies of wheels and axles, for sheep bars, and for the coopers use, no tree is equal to it" (quoted in Arthur Young, op. cit., p. 20). After Christopher Sykes had moved into Sledmere House, R. H. Beaumont of Whitley Beaumont sent 13,000 birch and 3,000 mountain ash, writing in February 1783 of Whitley Beaumont that "Cropley [?Crosley?] (ye land surveyor) is now here marking out Mr. Brown's plan" (BJL DDSY (3)/8 Sect. 1 (22/18)).

51. Uneven banks, the traces of old foundations, are still discernible in parts of the park.

52. Popham, p. 131, Figure 9. The row is also visible on a map (BJL DDSY 106/14) datable to c. 1776. (See n. 55 below).

53. The bundle is BJL DDSY 106.

54. Chisholm, p. 102.

55. BJL DDSY 106/7. There is a note referring to the three large farms pencilled on the map - "farmhouses that you saw". As Castle Farm, at least, was finished two days before Brown's visit in 1778, this note could be intended for him. The endpaper of the 1776 diary has a note for Mr. Carr about the chamber floor for the Castle (DDSY 102/8). As John Carr was the architect of the farm, this suggests that construction work on it would not have begun at the time of White's involvement with the design. The map 106/4 is the original of the 1751 map. It is in very bad condition, but it has "naturalistic" profiles for woods in the Avenue inked in over the old layout, and shows the serpentine "main ride". Pencilled in are suggestions for the new layout. A naturalistic profile for the Avenue is also pencilled in on map 106/12, but it does not resemble that on Brown's plan. The maps record working thoughts of the era 1776-1778 and could have been used by Brown or White.

56. cf. Batey, "Oliver Goldsmith", p. 61.

57. G. E. Fussell, "The Reclamation of the Wolds: An Achievement of the Gentry" Land Agents' Journal (1956) pp. 159-162, p. 160.

CHAPTER FIVE

A GARDEN, AND A CHURCHYARD: SLEDMERE BY 1800

Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes showed themselves to be skilled at reading landscape in mythic terms during the tour to Wales. When Sir Christopher discovered some prehistoric standing stones, he was baffled by the failure of history to explain the structure, and performed a strange act to improve the possession of them by his understanding:

I crept thro' under the covering stone, which
stands upon 3 others. They were almost overgrown
with Bryar . . . what was probably once the seat
if not the object of adoration in this Country
is not now distinguished even by a name and when
I enquired . . . of the cause of their being there
I was answered they grew there. [1]

The megaliths have become the perfectly naturalised object. When Christopher Sykes interprets the dolmen in terms of both temporal and spiritual power, we can regard his reaction as a projection of his own views of important buildings in the countryside [2].

Such meditations, which include that of Lady Sykes near Carmarthen, become a reading of the landscape for its sacred

value, and the most theatrical moment in the process came when the couple visited the "Devil's Cave" at Castleton in Derbyshire (known more commonly as the "Devil's Arse in the Peak" - although Daniel Defoe hastens to reassure readers that "there is nothing of similitude or coherence either in form and figure, or any other thing between the thing signified and the thing signifying" [31]). Several hundred yards within the cave, after crossing the underground river twice, once on the guide's back and once lying in a punt, Lady Sykes and her husband came to a place where "we were surprised by a company of singers, who had taken another path, and ascended to a place called the Chancel, considerably higher than the place you stand on". They sang "God Save the King", and Lady Sykes asked for something more appropriate:

It being Sunday evening I requested a psalm . .
the effect is strikingly solemn. On coming out
of the Cavern, after having been so long
absent from the day light, the first
Appearance of it has an effect beyond
description and what no one can see without
feeling a pleasing sensation . .
How wonderful are thy works O God.

The strong effect of associationism was enhanced by human assistance, and is pleasantly at odds with the name of the cave. The passage records a late persistence of a type of deist discourse, that links this more august episode with the "Reverend young gentleman's" poetic response to Queen Caroline's grotto at Richmond (Chapter One). There is an additional social edge: church-state concerns are implicit in

the choice of music inside the Devil's Arse.

Clearly one of the resources that Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes brought to their experience of landscape was a lively sense of the sacred. We may assume that this way of seeing also applied to their view of Sledmere. Of course, it may be objected that a traveller on holiday is in a privileged position, liable to be more responsive to such possibilities than when at home. But Lady Sykes is aware of this danger. Travelling through the Vale of Clywd (the "richest vale in Wales") she philosophizes about the response to landscape:

Among these beautiful Scenes the contemplative mind takes an Ideal property in all its objects, enjoying the Hill, the Vale, the Stream, the Wood, with a pleasure more exquisite because more unalloyed than that of the actual possessor, for how frequently do we see the owners of such Scenes dead to their beauties, from daily having them in view [4].

The "dead"-ness is interpreted in her next sentence as ingratitude to God, which is a clue about the way Lady Sykes dealt with the same danger at Sledmere. The problem, with the landscape, is moralised, in a specifically religious way. In this way of seeing, potentially any landscape can become a sacred one.

I propose to follow the example provided here and interpret the aesthetic and sacred dimensions of Sledmere. The point of interest is how aesthetics served to reward and validate the processes of historical determinism outlined in the last chapter.

The most striking effect of the landscape garden at Sledmere is the coming to predominance of the rhetorical effect of naturalisation. We examined the history of the parish in the last chapter, and we understand that "myth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification" [5]. Naturalisation operates at the same level as Duncombe and Rievaulx's transumption, becoming the chief determinant of the way in which Sledmere's aesthetic design is seen. To this extent it assumes the function of a rhetorical figure. In fact it can be seen as the antithesis of Duncombe's transumption, which depends on the simultaneous perception of remote origin or cause and immediate effect, with the suppression of what lies between. Naturalisation, by contrast, in gardens as in other human activities (not least in its sense of immigration), suppresses history and a sense of origin, rejects the past, and takes responsibility for present and future.

To some extent therefore naturalisation appears to overlap with the process of translation that we have been following; for example, in Pope's version of Virgil's marble temple. The difference is that, in his ideal framing device, Pope made the connections explicit, whereas naturalisation, by definition, camouflages its borrowings from the past. It also has the meaning, not present in "translation", of making things seem to be the product of processes other than human ones. In the context of a garden this meaning becomes

paramount [6]. This chapter will trace naturalisation in both its definitions through various parts of the aesthetic whole.

I

In addition to Sledmere, Capability Brown worked at five of the gardens mentioned in the last chapter in what may be termed the Anglican church group. In his gardens the question of meaning is at the least determinate point that it reaches in this study. Initially, therefore, some attention must be paid to how meaning is endowed on his gardens. While Duncombe and Rievaulx, although not offering the determinate precision of the verbal inscription, provided a rhetoric of viewing that discriminated between varying ways of regarding the features, and a viewing-platform from which to see them, Capability Brown's work set the visitor free from such limits, enabling many differing routes around the garden to be found [7]. The first point to be made about the relationship between social and aesthetic concerns at Sledmere is that this freedom of movement for the privileged family and their circle within the park is obtained at the expense of greatly inhibited movement by the villagers of Sledmere. As we have seen, at the very time that White and Brown were beginning to make the parkland, the villagers were finding their movements confused and restricted. Not only were they excluded from the terrain of the park, where

formerly they had had access, but their movements were hampered outside its boundaries (as Rousby's indictments reveal).

An influential modern view has allied to this physical freedom within Brown's parks and gardens what might be termed a freedom of associationism. Brown is credited with having achieved the removal of explicit signifying practices linked to statuary and emblematically named temples: "[it is] the language of things themselves that would prevail with "Capability" Brown" [8]. The resulting new garden is often said to be "expressive" of the visitor's changing moods [9]. Yet, as we have recently been reminded, many buildings featured in Brown's landscapes, and they must certainly have functioned as signifying elements [10]. A source not hitherto discussed in relation to garden history bears on this apparent contradiction.

In George Richardson's Iconology (1779) the illustrative plates mainly followed earlier editions of Cesare Ripa, but a few were changed or newly made for the book. One of these depicts "Reflection", a woman who holds a looking-glass while a ray of light passes from her forehead, is reflected in the mirror, and falls on her heart, to signify that "the reflection of the mind regulates the thoughts of the heart" [11]. However, she appears against the recognisably modern background of a typical Brownian landscape garden, containing Palladian house, specimen trees, a clump of trees, and a lake

in front (Figure 36). J. B. Boudard's Iconologie, published in Parma in 1759, was one of Richardson's sources for his book. In contrast to Richardson's, Boudard's plate of "Réflexion" depicts a very different, vague and hummocky landscape (Figure 37) [12].

Reflection's landscape has an ambiguous status. Of the other 422 figures in the book, the only two that show gardens do so in order to let the personifying figure enact an attribute. "Grammar", for example, waters a plant, "to indicate that as water nourishes plants, grammar may be said to prepare and ripen young minds" [13]. There is no such connection for Reflection, where the explanatory text is defeated by the landscape, and simply states, "A landscape is introduced, which is reflected by the water" [14]. By the inclusion of this new background, the conventionalities of the emblem have been dislocated. This leaves the way open for the reader to evolve a connection between the emblem and the Brownian park. One inference is that the new landscape itself reflects and regulates the visitor's mood, or feelings: and that during interaction with it, psychological values and dynamics are of primary importance.

Richardson's book is a document of the neo-classical movement in the visual arts, which finds Brown's work suitable for inclusion within itself [15]. The book, one of the last workings of the tradition of emblematic personification that has its most important manifestation in

Ripa's work, attempts to appropriate the new calm, thoughtful, and moody, landscape garden to Reflection. The very fact that the commentary can make nothing of the landscape shows that the attempt fails, but it is now the figure with the beaming brow and the looking-glass who is out of place. For the discourse of gardening Richardson's plate provides an exceptionally clear indication of the break between emblematic and expressive traditions.

A similar evacuation of meaning appears to be the implication of Brown's celebrated comment to Hannah More relating his work to punctuation: "Now there", said he, pointing his finger, "I make a comma, and there, . . . where a more decided turn is proper, I make a colon; at another part, where an interruption is desirable to break the view, a parenthesis; now a full stop" [16]. Brown refers to a sentence or paragraph while leaving out the words, concentrating instead upon the marks between the words (purely visual signs) as if they constituted a separate system. This remark, when taken together with the ability of punctuation to alter meaning, raises an interesting possibility about the work of his rivals and former associates who designed in his manner. Such men as William Emes, Thomas White, Richard Woods, John Spyers and Samuel Lapidge are generally thought of as less skilled than Brown, and their products less satisfying. They did much to raise the hostility of the Picturesque movement against Brown-like gardening. Their fault appears to have been a form of the

rhetorical trope amphibologia, or mispunctuation leading to misconception of the message. For example, a misconception that the message was one of "copying" or "following" nature, rather than "improving" or indeed "making" it. "Copying" or "following" nature so that his work is indistinguishable from it is a motive attributed to Brown by sources as diverse as a complimentary obituarist and a hostile Sir William Chambers [17]. Brown himself referred to his work as "Improvement" (on plans) and as "place-making", a phrase which denies a debt to nature or anything else, while clearly showing "nature" (in so far as it is one of the things represented in his gardens) to be a culturally constructed concept [18].

However, to say that landscape parks of the second half of the eighteenth century, and Brown's work in particular, enabled the visitor to find their own response (of mood or meaning) reflected in the landscape, is perhaps to give an exaggerated impression of freedom. It would work only within certain limits. We can see some of the limits in the background of Richardson's engraving - a classical building, a clump of trees. In other words, there remains "the language of things themselves". The question that must now be addressed is how that "language" could have worked.

All of the gardens listed in the group exemplifying the present transformation of the sacred idea demonstrate the same pattern of cultural ingredients; but it is the variations upon the basic pattern that give individuality to

each garden, and comparison with another landscape garden can therefore enhance our view of the particular use of these elements at Sledmere.

The basic ingredients can be seen clearly at Kedleston Hall. After the village had been demolished, the house was rebuilt by Robert Adam in an uncompromising neo-classical style hard by what had been the village church, and near the site of the previous house [19]. The church was more completely appropriated by the landowning family than was to be the case at Sledmere, and became the family chapel. Its fabric was not classicized, and one of its functions was to act as a memento mori, by means of a vertical sundial visible a few yards from the windows of the piano nobile of the house. The sundial bears a carved skull, two carved hourglasses, and the motto, WEE SHALL [ALL DIE] (Figure 38) [20]. The contrast between gothic and classical architecture therefore becomes that between connoted death and life. The significance of the church is essentially private. While it enjoys a very intimate relationship with the house, physically and functionally, the church cannot be easily seen from the surrounding park, as it is almost concealed by a wing of the house, the stables, and a shrubbery.

Where does the park stand in the pattern? A classical and Pastoral idea seems to be signified by the small classical structure known as Bentley Well. Viscount Scarsdale's original scheme for this feature, built over a spring as a

memorial to a former steward of Kedleston, included a weeping willow nearby and a wild rose trained over the spring head [21]. The motif of "death in Arcady" lies behind this feature, and complements the church's memento mori by sacralizing a spring in the fashion described in Roman literature [22]. The new house, Bentley Well, and the other classical features of the landscape encourage the view that the landscape of pastoral agriculture around them was envisaged, by Scarsdale and Robert Adam, to be an extension of the classical idea. This view sees cultural resonance emanating from the house and other buildings [23].

The pattern at Sledmere varies from that exemplified at Kedleston. By a curious reversal of the main movement that has been under discussion in this study, Sledmere church was rebuilt in classical form on its original site, a short distance from the house. The tower remained in 14th century Early English (Figure 39) but through the rest of the structure the church provides a classical element in the landscape, and simultaneously supplies the sacred connotation that we have been tracing as a strong ingredient of classical landscape. The church's function as a memento mori is considerably subdued in comparison with Kedleston's stark reminder, and instead the architecture complements that of the house. The park included one gothic building (Sledmere Castle Farm), but it is at some remote distance (over a mile) from the house, serving as a discreet example of another architectural method, or a wishful fabrication of remoter

history, rather than sharing the function of memento mori performed by Kedleston's gothic church. The element of fabrication is provided by the fact that Sledmere Castle was built in the late 1770's - so that it lacks the evocative power of age [24].

All the other architecture at Sledmere was classical. From the mid 1780's a group of smaller buildings was added to the landscape garden, all designed by Christopher Sykes. By 1800 the visitor would have encountered: the stables (1784), a Doric greenhouse of 1786 about a hundred yards east of the house (its position in relation to the house therefore matching the church to the west), the house (rebuilt 1786-1792) the Greek Doric deer shed of 1792 facing the house across the park (Figure 40 - deer having been obtained in 1789), and an octagonal summerhouse built in 1800 halfway down the valley towards Fimber in an area invisible from the house known as Sylvia Grove [25]. All these features, by setting up a classical frame of reference around the church, encourage an extension of the classical idea to the green spaces between them (Figure 41). None of the buildings was based upon a particular model such as the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, but this fact helps the naturalisation (in its "nationalising" sense) of the landscape. A particular model provides a transumption and quotation from the original, and in it the past is clearly perceived, whereas the classicism at Sledmere is more general and therefore, in the absence of a preexisting and precise cultural provenance, more easily

able to be regarded as English as well as classical. At the same time, because of their smaller size the other buildings do not distract attention from the central importance of the house and church.

A third kind of freedom is presented to the visitor by Brown's parkland and its merging with the garden proper (within the ha-ha). This can be described as a liberty of the eye, which now can take its pleasure in a wide unbounded view, not so broad as those at Duncombe Park and Rievaulx, but seeming vast because all that is encompassed within it contributes to an aesthetic unity. The landscape setting is in a sense a great space, across which the architectural incidents, including the house, are seen (and seen from each other). Before 1776 there was rigidity and contrast: the stiff stirrup-shape of the Avenue included 140 acres, and the open field system existed outside that. Brown's more fluid and naturalistic green walls encompassed 2,000 acres, much of which can be seen from the house, and excluded one world to establish and defend another, actually smaller but, because a garden and because it included a sacred building, imaginatively unlimited. A contrast of spatial organisation with earlier gardens such as Stowe exists, in that many of Stowe's buildings were buried in the thickets, and the garden could therefore accommodate mutually contradictory associations and meanings. Given the remoteness of Sledmere's only architectural contrast (Gothic Sledmere Castle), the park provides a unified cultural message.

Did this classical connotation reach out to include the pastoral farming in Sledmere's park? Was that part of the "language"? Evidence from other parks, including some by Brown, shows that the answer depended on the visitor. At Kedleston in 1777, James Boswell did not grant pastoral or classicism a privileged position when listing the factors that most strongly contributed to his enjoyment. However, other people, elsewhere, did.

Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, for whom Brown worked at Sandeiford Priory in the early 1780's, wrote about him, "I consider him a great poet" [26]. In doing so she confirms that, in meaning as much as mood, Brown's gardens were sites in which the visitor or owner could locate his or her own content, the limits for which were provided, in Mrs. Montagu's own case, by the human labour associated with the prevailing land use. Brown worked amidst an "extremely animated" scene: "20 men at work in the wood and grove, and the fields around full of haymakers" [27]. He transformed her woods into "sweet pastorals and gentle elegiacs", and as the work drew to a close, had formed "a lovely pastoral - a sweet Arcadian scene" [28].

The development of the theory of Pastoral poetry during the eighteenth century probably assisted the very literary Mrs. Montagu's discovery of Arcadian Pastoral in her landscape

garden. The traditional definition of the genre had been based upon the labour of farming involved: "A Pastoral is an imitation of the action of a shepherd, or one considered under that character". Real contemporary shepherds were not intended, however, because "pastoral is an image of what they call the Golden age" [29]. However, a strict interpretation of this declined in England during the eighteenth century, partly as a result of the influence of the French critic Fontenelle, who in 1684 had emphasized "quietness or leisure" as being of prime importance because pastorals are about "Laziness and Love" [30]. He stimulated what has been called a "rationalist" and "subjective" argument [31] that prepared the way for the characteristic Pastoral controversy in eighteenth-century England: this revolved around the extent to which the idea could be naturalised, and how much contemporary English reality could be allowed to intrude. Thomas Tickell had argued in favour of naturalisation in 1713. The limitation of his approach is clear in his suggestion for naturalising the sacred idea in terms of "our own rustical superstition of hobthrushes, fairies, goblins and witches" [32]. Tickell's suggestion is perilous, in that it exposes the entire Pastoral idea to the reductive power of irony. The elements he was seeking to translate in this way were theological - gods, fauns, nymphs, river-gods and so on, and the translation he envisages invites an ironic response to the genre - a pitfall that would only be avoided by a translation of such an element into Christian terms.

However, that a translation was considered desirable makes an analogy with the garden seem possible. Other, and earlier, gardens, had explicitly signalled this subject-matter as relevant in its untranslated state. Thus Rousham (at least from the late 1730's) contained the statues of Apollo, Pan, Venus, and a Faun, and The Leasowes (before 1763) contained a group of such features, including a Temple of Pan. We have seen that in 1724 Lord Perceval encountered a Temple of Pan or Sylvanus at Hall Barn [33]. These are precisely the kind of signifying procedures that Brown removed from his landscape gardens: in connection with his work at Sandleford Mrs. Montagu announced with pride that "we shall not erect Temples to Heathen Gods" [34].

Dr. Johnson contributed to the naturalising process in 1750, by redefining Pastoral as "a poem in which any action or passion is represented by its effects on a country life" [35]. "Whatsoever, therefore," he continued, "may, according to the common course of things, happen in the country, may afford a subject for the pastoral poet". By this time the "rationalist" critics, broadening the Pastoral conception, were in the ascendant: "The great cry against servile imitation in this genre was in no small part due to a desire to lessen the difference between English rural life and English pastoral poetry" [36].

An analogical argument about Pastoral and the garden can only hope to find an overlap between two distinct areas of

culture in a loose matching of superficially similar evidence. However, an important figure in the naturalisation of Pastoral appears as part of a cause-and-effect relationship when William Beckford underlines how Pastoral ideas could lie latent in certain kinds of labour. One afternoon in Holland in 1780, in "the cool air of the wood near Haerlem" he found that "Hay was making in the fields, and perfumed the country far and wide, with its reviving fragrance." He continues,

I promised myself a pleasant walk in the groves,
took up Gesner, and began to have pretty pastoral
ideas; but when I approached the nymphs that were
disposed on the meads, and saw faces that would
have dishonoured a flounder . . all my dislike
. . returned. [37]

Beckford does not specify which of Salomon Gessner's works he was reading, but the Pastorals seem most likely in this context, and English translations of Rural Poems had appeared in 1762, with translations of New Idylls following in 1776 [38]. These poems, in which Gessner "took his subject matter from the actual events of modern rural life" [39], amounted to an achieved naturalisation of the Pastoral genre by sealing the identification of Pastoral with contemporary rural life. Gessner is credited with a "powerful and pervasive influence" on the theory of Pastoral in England, and occupies an important position in Drake's essay "On Pastoral Poetry", of 1798, which argues for the location of Pastoral in what "may even now occur in the country" [40]. His work would have been most conducive to Beckford's

short-lived attempt to locate the Pastoral idea in pastoral farming. Beckford's liking for pastoral endured the temporary set-back recorded here, and led him to take a flock of English sheep with him when he went to live in Portugal [41].

Too much reality, of the kind that defeated Beckford in Holland, was the characteristic threat to the Pastoral idea. The owners of Sledmere were as vulnerable to this as any. At an inn at Pontypridd in 1796, the graceful simplicity of the fare aroused a specific idea for Lady Sykes: "We dined [at] a small new Inn half a mile below the Bridge in the truly Pastoral manner on Trout from the neighbouring Rill, Eggs, Cheese and Butter . ." [42]. The linking of Pastoral ideas to the meal shows how deeply those ideas had been internalised by the end of the eighteenth century. The dinner can be fruitfully compared with another at Tan y Bwlch in the Vale of Festiniog. The day had started well, with what we recognise as a revelation of the oasis in desolation as the visitors entered the Vale. But too harsh reality stepped in at dinner, in the form of a waitress:

the lower class of Welsh Ladies seldom wear stockings, this we should have dispensed with, but alas she had the preceding day scalded her foot, a poultice was applied with a most dirty scanty rag, that permitted its contents to ooze above and below

and another potentially Pastoral idea evaporated [43]. In this light, and as a final element that could assist in

developing Mrs. Montagu's attitude, we may remember that Brown's pastoral landscapes ensured, by means of a ha-ha wall combined with a deer-fence, that such reality, whether human or animal, would be kept literally distanced from the landowner's house.

The fact that the Pastoral idea could be encountered by some people in pastoral agriculture is given an enhanced significance for this study in light of changes at Sledmere outside the park resulting from enclosure. At the time when the theory of Pastoral poetry was embracing greater and greater naturalism, the landscape garden could provide a protected and decorous image of pastoral life - comfortably removed from the reality of work and dependency happening outside the parks' boundaries. At Sledmere, after enclosure of the open wold, the only flocks looked after by a local shepherd would belong to somebody else, and his reward would not be the happy and carefree "laziness and leisure" described in poetry, but low wages gained by long hours and hard work. Isaac Leatham wrote with approval of Wolds agriculture: "there are few countries where [farm servants] and the labourers work harder" [44].

Such a contrast continues through the involvement at Nuneham Courtenay of a famous English Pastoral poem. The removal of the village at Nuneham is thought to have partly inspired Oliver Goldsmith's celebrated anti-Pastoral protest that I have already quoted, The Deserted Village (1770): "The

country blooms - a garden, and a grave" (l. 302). There are also the productions of William Whitehead [45].

As for Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes, although their landscape park was begun in the 1770's, the tour to Wales shows that they still liked parkland in 1796. Lady Sykes rejects the landscape of one of Brown's chief detractors, Sir Richard Payne Knight. At Downton Castle, "in the grounds by attempting to follow Nature, he has cast off the appearance of cultivation and brought savage wildness to his door" [46]. The terms of the rejection make it clear that she is under no illusion that Brown had tried to "copy" or "follow" nature, but had instead provided a recognisably cultivated landscape. Christopher Sykes also rejected Knight's taste in architecture. Of Hafod, he wrote, "The house is a new one, and by no means an happy imitation of an Abbey. He has been almost as unfortunate as his friend Mr. Knight" [47].

In parks such as Brown's there was little explicit verbal or emblematic direction of the visitor's response. Features like Bentley Well operated merely as suggestions, offering themselves for acceptance but with little, beyond added pleasure, depending on the choice. There is evidence that the owners of Sledmere disliked anything more insistent than such suggestion. They made explicit their annoyance with emblematic direction after an encounter with the sacred idea on a visit to Hawkstone. In the celebrated grotto, they met three hermits. Their impatience is expressed in a terse

comment about the second, "a man in the habit of a Druid (childish fancies)" [48].

There is an allusion to a famous pastoral poem, Thomas Gray's Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard, at Sledmere, which testifies to Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes's interest in the Pastoral idea. At Duncombe Park it is possible to locate within the house paintings that exhibit a relationship with the aesthetics of the terraces, and which therefore can affect the way we interpret the garden. A parallel strategy is possible at Sledmere, as the allusion to Gray's Elegy takes the form of a painting. The allusion can function as a suggestion, like Bentley Well (not least to a twentieth century visitor) and offers the possibility of linking the churchyard of the Elegy with that surrounding Sledmere church; of locating an elegiac resonance within the landscape garden. There is evidence that by 1823, at least, someone within the family circle had linked together the family at Sledmere House, Gray's Elegy, and Sledmere church. In that year Sir Christopher's son, Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, was buried in the church. The inscription on his monument commemorates its extremely wealthy book-collecting subject in a phrase taken from Gray's "Epitaph" to the impoverished poet of the Elegy, describing him as "Of "soul sincere"" (l. 121).

In light of the above connection, I propose to study the reference to the Elegy more closely, as evidence of Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes's taste, as part of the aesthetic

whole they provided at Sledmere, and for the sake of how a link between it and Sledmere church can affect our understanding of that whole.

II

The reference takes the form of a very large painting; covering 63 square feet of wall space, it is by far the largest picture in the house (Figure 42). The painting, by William Hamilton and dating from 1799 (when it was brought to Sledmere), depicts the moment in the poem when the poet, prefiguring his own death [49], imagines "some hoary-headed swain" (l. 97) of the village describing him to "Some kindred spirit" (l. 96) and then directing the inquirer to the poet's own grave:

Approach and read (for thou canst read) the lay
Graved on the stone beneath yon aged thorn.
(ll. 115-116) [50]

In recent years the painting hung in the entrance hall of the house, presenting its message to visitors in an emphatic way as soon as they entered the house. From there they could, if they so wished, walk straight through the house to view, from the dining-room windows, Sledmere church in its churchyard, the focus of a beautiful vista that includes the lawn and (on the right) a Cedar of Lebanon. The association of these visual elements (picture and vista) on the level of

content is at any rate suggestive, and provides the visitor with the materials for a potential linking of poem and landscape.

Before going on to examine the picture, and in order to elucidate as precisely as possible the cultural values of the object of Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes's interest, I wish to stress the naturalisation of classical models that the poem undertakes, a process that is exemplified in miniature by changes made by Gray to an early version of the poem; in particular, the substitution of John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell and John Milton for Cato, Caesar and Cicero as exemplars of "the people's rights, political power, forensic and literary eloquence" [51]. The process includes naturalisation of a sacred classical idea.

Two of the many earlier poems that served as models for Gray's poem were Virgil's Georgic II and Eclogue 5. Lines 458-542 of Virgil's second Georgic provide a model for ll. 13-76 of the Elegy. Virgil's original is a famous celebration of Latin country people and country life, and Gray is particularly interested in the sections contrasting country purity with the lack of solid values among the wealthy and the city-dwellers (ll. 461-466, 495-512). In adapting these passages, Gray seems to have had a translation - that of Dryden - already in mind. Virgil's original describes the farmer's domestic happiness: "interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati". Dryden's translation introduces the idea of

climbing, perhaps to dramatise the children's extreme youth: "His little children, climbing for a kiss, / Welcome their father's late return at night". Gray, in his turn, follows Dryden closely, but visualises the scene more distinctly (the father is now sitting down): "No children run to lisp their sire's return, / Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share" [52]. Gray strengthens one connotation of Virgil's original "pendent", that had disappeared from Dryden's version, by his use of "envied kiss" [53]. However, the main change he brings over the original is of course in his adoption of an elegiac mode, where the celebrated life is now envisaged to be past. Virgil can celebrate the values of a pious rural society in the present tense:

et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
sacra deum, sanctique patres; extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit
[ll. 471-474]

But Gray cannot [54]. Allied to this elegiac mood is a shift in the poet's position. For Virgil's poet, joining this idealized life is a second choice, open to him if his poetic ambition is not matched by insight and poetic success:

sin has ne possim naturae accedere partis
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
flumina amem silvasque inglorius.
[ll. 483-486]

The poet of the Elegy, marked by melancholy, has already reached the stage that is only imagined here [55]. In a sense he has taken up a suggestion made by the earlier poet. Both

here and by making the ideal community exist only in the past, Gray reveals himself sensitive to lateness in time - to the problem of coming to the classical tradition belatedly [56].

The final section of the poem, focussing on the poet and his grave, is a version of the tomb of Daphnis in Virgil's Eclogue 5, which forms the starting-point for a long line of versions of the "Tomb in Arcady" episode [57]. In the Eclogue two friends of Daphnis discuss his life and death in song. Mopsus envisions the tomb he has asked to be made, and reports the epitaph, written, as in Gray's version, by the dead poet himself: "Daphnis ego in silvis, hunc usque ad sidera notus, / formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse" (ll. 43-44) [58]. Menalcas also specifies that the tomb will be a sacred place:

sis bonus o felixque tuis! en quattuor aras:
ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo.
pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quotannis
craterasque duo statuam tibi pinguis olivi,
et multo in primis hilarans convivia Baccho,
ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra
(ll. 65-70) [59]

It is as though Gray's poem is lamenting the decay of the sacred idea. Comparing these two literary ideas, it seems inconceivable that the grave of the Elegy could ever be the site of the kind of celebration envisaged by Menalcas. And so far are the modern English from bearing the imprint of Justice that they would insult graves that were not marked out: "Yet even these bones from insult to protect / Some

frail memorial still erected nigh" (ll. 77-78).

In the English tradition of the eighteenth century the most likely location for an imitation of such a sacred place as Daphnis's tomb was a landscape garden or a churchyard. The former is ruled out as a possible scene for the Elegy by the logic of the first part of Gray's poem. By adopting the latter, the poem translates the sacred idea into Christian terms, specifically those of the Church of England (thus avoiding the yawning pitfall that trapped Tickell [60]). Ultimately the poem, for all its classicizing detail (urn, bust, senate, muse) and classical models, ends with God, to whom further judgement of the human soul is entrusted. This climax is made more emphatic by the linear structure of the poem (which makes a further contrast with Virgil's architectonic eclogue), in which all the earlier agitation (of social contrasts between urban and rural, rich and poor, and the private agitation of the poet perceived by the swain) is laid to rest in the "lap of Earth" and the "bosom" of God. The latter itself supports the "trembling hope" of Christian resurgence [61].

Gray's poem therefore provides a nationalised version of two famous poetic moments from the classical tradition, both of which commemorate sacred landscape features or pious lives. Apart from any other effect it may have had, the enormous success during the eighteenth century of a poem which made a village churchyard an aesthetically acceptable

object must have assisted the incorporation of churches into the aesthetics of the landscape garden.

There is a reference to the poem in Christopher Sykes' Tour. he found Pembroke, "with its Ivy Mantled Walls very grand" [62]. The capitalization indicates that he was reminded of the Elegy's "ivy-mantled tower" (l. 9). I believe this passing allusion to be more significant than it may appear. Sykes's journal is distinguished by its terse style, and this appears to be the only allusion in it to any literary work, with the single exception of an anonymous guidebook that is stigmatised on an early page as being inaccurate.

We can only speculate why the poem appealed to Christopher and Lady Sykes. Pastoral can be defined as the townsman's dream of the innocent and leisured country, and it is interesting to note that Christopher Sykes was intermittently such a city-dweller. This is especially true of 1784-1789, when he was M.P. for Hull. He chose not to stand in the 1789 election, and sold his London house that year. The reason he gave for the sale mimics the countryman's reaction to the city: "It is now so built around that I cannot breathe in it" [63]. As far as the Elegy in particular is concerned, Samuel Johnson suggests that it is peculiarly effective at engaging with the reader's subjectivity [64]. Sykes' garden architecture and the interior of his house, with its plaster decoration and copies of antique statues [65] display a

neo-classical taste which might have enjoyed detecting the trace of Virgil behind Gray's lines. On the other hand, his commissioning of Sledmere Castle and his inspection and measuring of gothic ruins and churches during the tour in Wales betray a developing taste for the native tradition, to which Gray's poem contributed. On a more practical level, we have noted his interest in the life of the poor; and the idealised rural community of Georgic II provides an agriculturalist with a sentimental view of the farming community that could give spiritual reinforcement for the responsibility he assumed as layer-out of an entire agricultural landscape [66].

III

The above speculations foreground the fact that there are two parts to a naturalising process that takes place in a ruling-class environment: nationalisation of the idea, which is here achieved by Gray; and the making of the idea (in this case the anglicised poem) congenial to the ruling-class audience. In the case in question, this second part of the process was the task of the artist, William Hamilton.

Hamilton was skilled in interpreting rustic literary moments in a way congenial to aristocratic tastes. It was he who had designed the new plates for Richardson's Iconology in the late 1770's. The list of subscribers to Richardson's emblem-book is almost entirely made up of 4 dukes, 1 marquis,

7 other lords, many knights and baronets, and the architects and artists who made a living decorating the houses, furniture and books of the wealthy.

One of the plates Hamilton designed contained a depiction of "Hospitality" (Figure 43). It shows a "very fine young woman" with a child, while a travelling pilgrim dressed in a hat and cloak decorated with shells, and holding a staff, waits to enjoy the cornucopia's bounty [67]. When Hamilton illustrated an edition of Goldsmith's Poems in 1800, this motif is re-used, so that the engraving, ostensibly illustrating a short episode from The Traveller set in a rustic Swiss cottage, depicts a rustic version of the emblem of Hospitality. The pilgrim reappears in his decorative shells, which signal that we are confronting an emblematic moment. The children have increased to three, surrounding their father, while the fine young woman (their mother) is present too. There is even a version of her cornucopia in the platter of salad which she is setting on the table [68]. Thus the aristocratic reader can recognise a classical Hospitality in the alien living-room, and regard it as a familiar image. Another engraving from the same book shows the same tendency: in his illustration to "The Hermit", Hamilton has set the scene in what is recognisably a garden hermitage or grotto; an artificial cave made of large rough rocks. There are even the objects that tended to find their way into hermitages in gardens: an open book, a crucifix, a skull, a gothick chair. Goldsmith's poem describes a

dwelling at once more typical of actual rural dwellings in the eighteenth century and more remote: a "humble thatch", "Far in a wilderness obscure" [69].

How did Hamilton respond to the challenge of picturing Gray's poem? There are similar sources in Iconology for the figures in Hamilton's Elegy. The hoary-headed swain who gestures towards the gravestone (on which can be dimly seen the first line of the Epitaph) is a version of the final plate from Iconology, Hamilton's own design, "The End" (Figure 44). The "Explanation" describes him as "an old and infirm looking man, dressed in fading coloured robes" [70]. In the painting, the man's text, displaced from a page containing omega to the gravestone itself, becomes a monumental inscription which he cannot read, but which contains an intimation of Christian resurgence. The "kindred spirit", singular in the poem, has become a group of people, two of the adults in apparently old-fashioned dress. The figure nearest to the swain resembles "Hope" (Figure 45) in her posture, and adds the crossed legs of "Innocence" (Figure 36) [71]. She is dressed differently from the others because "Faith" (Figure 45) is "represented by the figure of a woman of a modest air, dressed in white robes". Faith was represented by the Romans "with an erect open air, and with a thin robe on, so fine that one might see through it" [72]. The child on her right reaching up to her is derived both from the child in the plate of "Hope" and from that reaching upwards in the plate of "Tuition" [73]. Forerunners of the

other two figures can be located in Richardson, too: the other woman's posture and hand near her chin derive from "Melancholy" [74], while the man shares the stooped posture and concentrating expression of "Doubt" (Figure 45), as well as his staff, which represents the support of experience.

Hamilton's problem, in forming this picture, was that the iconology of the Ripa tradition had developed over one and a half centuries a system of representation based upon attributes (the staff and lantern of Doubt, the anchor of Hope) and action (Grammar waters a plant). Yet an anglicised Pastoral demanded a different approach, or risked an anomalous and incoherent result (of the kind we saw in the plate of Reflection). In Hamilton's extension of the older tradition expressiveness of posture, gesture and face has become more important (particularly in view of the huge size of the painting). Yet he has managed to retain attributes (including the old man's text) and has alerted viewers to another dimension by dressing characters in period clothes. Without knowledge of the iconological encoding of the picture, the questions of why Hamilton has increased the number of figures, and who they are, become unanswerable. The iconology simultaneously limits the painting, and makes it a highly readable image. The figures are visualisations of the emotions latent within Gray's poem for the reader, and, in some cases (Melancholy, for example), are those explicitly personified by Gray.

Richardson's Preface talks of a "repertory" of subjects for artists and decorators, and Hamilton, who was amongst the subscribers to the edition, was clearly using the book that way some twenty years later. Quotations of Faith, Hope, Doubt, and Melancholy, provide a taxonomy of the kind of responses that contemplation of The End may be thought to provoke.

Analysis of the legibility of the painting is not yet concluded. Richardson's "Doubt" is indebted to a far more important Pastoral painting. By his posture, his youth, his long hair, his staff, and his day-dreaming expression, he is reminiscent of the third shepherd in Nicolas Poussin's Arcadian Shepherds (Louvre version, Figure 46), who similarly leans on a staff and "seems trajected into a sympathetic brooding melancholy" [75].

In fact, Hamilton's Elegy is a modernised and nationalised version of Poussin's picture. Hamilton's four visiting figures, although one is a child and two are women, are, by their orientation towards each other and their languid, contemplative postures, reminiscent of the figures in Poussin's painting. Hamilton simultaneously links his own work and Gray's poem to the "Et in Arcadia Ego" theme. While doing so he demonstrates knowledge of J. Baptist Cipriani's engraving of "Ancora in Arcadia Morte", from before 1785 (Figure 47). The child in Hamilton's picture is evidently derived from the panic-stricken child of the engraving.

There is also the possibility of knowledge of Sir Joshua Reynolds' version of Poussin's idea, Mrs. Bouverie and Mrs. Crewe (Figure 48). In the double portrait the gravestone inscribed "Et In Arcadia Ego" is in the bottom right hand corner of the canvas, like Hamilton's gravestone; Mrs. Bouverie's posture, looking solemnly at the stone while her thumb supports her chin, is similar to that of the melancholy woman towards the left of Hamilton's picture; and Mrs. Crewe gestures towards the stone with her open left hand while gazing intently at her companion, in a posture reminiscent of the "swain". This open-handed gesture is appropriate for drawing attention to death, because it combines pointing with the conventional open-handed gesture of resignation [76].

As the painting exhibits such a high degree of intertextuality, it becomes of some importance to establish what was contributed by Hamilton himself, if anything. Even the young man's foot resting on an old slab, which seems to plant the action firmly in an English graveyard, can be derived from the precedent in Poussin. Hamilton actually contributed two original elements. Behind the figures there is the elongated porch of the church, barring the elegiac light of sunset (itself derived from "The End") and so providing an image of distance. The other element greatly contributes to the intimacy of the group of young figures, who are painted touching each other; the young man is apparently cupping the breast of one companion in his hand, while the other woman's right arm lies across his shoulders.

The figures create a vortex of intimacy into which the child is about to break. This seems to signal the work as related to the fashionable cult of sentiment, in which such physical intimacy was common towards the end of the century [77]. The intimacy, belonging to the codes of posture and movement, is a naturalisation device, whereby the painting could announce itself to potential buyers and admirers as distinctly modern, while at the same time alluding to various precedents in the past.

Given that both the Elegy and Poussin's picture were later developments of a theme derived from Eclogue 5, there is an appropriateness in Hamilton's decision to organise his visual recapitulation of the cultural loyalties of the Elegy via Poussin. The mood of Hamilton's painting is strongly elegiac: the figures stand a discreet distance from the grave, which they contemplate thoughtfully, with sadness and awe, gathered under the authoritative compositional pyramid provided by the church as if for shelter. The figures cluster in the foreground, with the imposing shape of the church behind them dominating the upper half of the painting. This compositional emphasis within the picture entrusts the final responsibility for, and judgement of, the themes of mortality and obscurity represented, to God, through the Church of England. It therefore amounts to the precise visual equivalent of the linear verbal structure of Gray's poem.

The resulting mood of sad absorption is very strong

indeed. At the same time the emphasis of Gray's poem is reinterpreted: all the concern is now for the pastoral element embodied in the dead poet, the significance of whose life and death the figures are assessing from their vulnerable position of kinship. The problems couched in the first Georgic section, of, firstly, the precise involvement of the poet with the rural community, and then that of the relationship between the community and larger national society, are gracefully elided. Memories of some "village Hampden" withstanding "the little tyrant of his fields" (ll. 57-58), presumably undesirable in the decade when enclosure of common lands and fields was at its height, are left to the discriminating power of the viewer's memory.

Sir Christopher Sykes bought the picture from the Royal Academy exhibition of 1799 and took it back to Sledmere, where it has remained ever since. By doing so, he provided the visual material necessary for a placing of his own landscape garden, incorporating church and graveyard, within the tradition of elegiac Arcadian Pastoral. If the suggestion is taken up by the visitor, Sledmere church becomes the equivalent of the church of the Elegy. It therefore becomes the invocation and restatement of the religious and metaphysical ideals of the poem and the picture. It also becomes representative of a particular kind of rural community.

The Elegy is, as we have noted, primarily preoccupied with

the dead. The existence of a village of the living is implied, but that village never becomes the subject of the poem, and we are left with the church and church-yard. An analogy with Sledmere exists because Sledmere church stands in a landscape which has been deliberately emptied of people. This is the point of connection with the third consequence of enclosure discussed in the last chapter. The actual removal of the village in 1778, the division and dispersal of the rural community across the parish, with the site of the village taken by a private pleasure ground, meant that old Sledmere was comfortably in the past by 1799, and even more remote in 1823. To be sure, a community still used the church, every Sunday, in its allotted places, but then it disappeared until the following Sunday. The church conjured it up, as it were, in a congregated form that did not continue in dispersed weekday life. The rural community is not represented in the new landscape park or garden except by the church, which implies, rather than reveals, a village of the living. Having removed the actual community from their garden, Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes were pleased enough with the church to integrate it as an important element in the design of the landscape garden, thereby readmitting a fictive image of community.

In a parallel between the painted Elegy and Sledmere church, Sledmere becomes a neo-classical version of the myth of the lost rural community, that is always in the past [78], and myth entirely blots out historical actuality.

IV

I have argued that Sledmere's new landscape design mystifies the three ways in which enclosure impinged most comprehensively upon the villagers. It mystifies the idea of freedom: free movement, sight, and associationism are obtained for privileged visitors at the cost of inhibited movement for the villagers. The idea of labour is mystified: carefree Pastoral can overlay hard-worked wage labour. And it mystifies the idea of community: an image of integration using church as signifier disguises the reality of a village demolished, a population divided and scattered, and a central village green denied. Authority for the making of the new landscape emanated from Sledmere House, and the final part of an examination of "the language of things" at Sledmere features a further aestheticization of socio-economic concerns focussing, initially, on the architecture of the house.

We should first consider the idea of significant form, and in particular that the "graceful pyramid" is (in pictures) "the appropriate form for the delineation of relationships of authority and obedience" [79]. My discussion of Hamilton's Elegy embraced this point. By using this criterion, but

applying it to architecture, we can begin to gauge the extent to which a concern for restraint in the demonstration (though not, as we have seen, the exercise) of authority can be traced in the Sledmere landscape. It is the question of the relationship between outward signs of authority and power and the actual exercise of power by Christopher Sykes. Nikolaus Pevsner has described Sledmere House in anthropomorphic terms, as having a "noble, extremely restrained character" and exhibiting "a fusion of grandeur and common sense rare in 18th Century house planning" [80].

Some of the appropriateness of the use of the pyramid to express authority can be felt from the occurrence of pediments on Palladian houses. Representing a classical temple embedded within the house, they were thought appropriate because temples had been places of sacred authority in classical times, and modern country houses which embodied that form could borrow the "dignity and nobility" and "grandeur and magnificence" associated with divinity [81]. When deciding to enlarge his own house, Sykes first considered plans by the Yorkshire architect John Carr and himself which featured pediments [82], but eventually chose an unemphatic treatment of the garden front in a design which contained no pediments at all (the present small one on the West front was added after the fire of 1911).

The most likely explanation of this decision connects the house with its landscape setting, big enough to dwarf the

house and reduce it to the status of just another architectural incident within the landscape. Avoiding a pediment on the house helped to deny the house an obvious readable sign of authority, to deny it as the obvious centre of the landscape, and to subordinate its associations to the spirit of the landscape setting.

Where, though, has the pediment - the triangle of authority - gone? This might seem a trivial question were it not for the existence of ancillary buildings which do embody this code of power. The church is an immediate and important example. The deer shed of 1792 has a pediment (Figure 40), and two of the "3 large farms", Life Hill and Marrowmatt, while not displaying pediments, have nevertheless a suitable pyramidal form which determines their grouping within the surrounding farm buildings. These farms were the first elements of the new landscape plan to be established. They occur, disproportionately large and not quite in their present positions, on the map by Thomas White, whom Sykes had consulted on December 27, 1775. However, another map survives in the Sledmere archives which involves these farms in a far more important answer to the question [83].

The map is one of those mentioned at the end of the last chapter as dating from the crucial years when the park and farms were being established. It has the farmhouses of Life Hill, Sledmere Castle, and Marrowmatt marked on, and connected to each other with ruled pencil lines (Figure 49).

The line from Sledmere Castle to Marrowmatt Farm (a distance of over two miles) passes through Sledmere House. A line is also drawn from the house to Life Hill Farm (one and three-quarter miles). The shape formed by the lines linking the farmhouses is an isosceles triangle, almost perfectly bisected by the line between the house and Life Hill Farm. The exactness of this sophisticated form effectively precludes consideration of it as an accident. All the farmhouses, like the deer shed, are positioned to face Sledmere House, and could be originally seen together only from the Library [84]. Within the triangle lies most of the area of ornamental landscape.

In this hidden large-scale geometry, known only to Christopher Sykes (who established the precise location of each farm) is the structure which underpins the naturalistic layout of the landscape at Sledmere. Visitors to the garden and park, framing their own little views with different trees and features, are unaware of the giant framework around which the landscape was made, as it was only from the windows of the library that all three farmhouses could be seen together. The triangle represents the authority not only of Christopher Sykes, but of ancient Greek mathematics, adopted for the service of a neoclassical house and landscape. In making the shape, Sykes demonstrates an unexpected kinship with his contemporary, the painter George Stubbs. Ronald Paulson has characterised Stubbs' work in language exactly appropriate to our present discussion of Sledmere's

neo-classicism, naturalised landscape setting, and authority:

Stubbs replaces the models of past art with a close, literal representation that is supported by invisible structures based on geometry - structures not evocative of forms in earlier art but found in nature and carrying with them the same anonymous authority as natural law. [85]

The most stable figure, naturalised and made authoritative in the pyramid, the triangle's secret use at Sledmere perfectly expresses a concern for the union of those qualities with that of restraint. Christopher Sykes's purely visual secret geometry linking the house with the farms which peep, as it were, into the privileged park from the edge of the georgic countryside, represents an equivalent to Capability Brown's inter-verbal system of punctuation of the landscape.

For someone who prided himself on [86] (and was later to win fame through) agricultural improvement there is an absolute appropriateness that the giant form which supports the layout of the landscape park is based in farms located in the productive agricultural countryside. George Romney's large double portrait of Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes reinforces the message (Figure 50). It is Lady Sykes's gesture in this picture (pointing to a distant farm and enclosed farmland) and her adoption of Mrs. Crewe's position and attitude (Figure 48) - even to the tilt of her head and the pearls in her hair - that encodes the idea of her husband's monument. Her attitude announces that we are asked to consider not only Sir Christopher's life's work,

metonymically represented by the distant farm, but a representation of the way he would like to be remembered - his "epitaph". Romney's picture embraces the idea of Sir Christopher's mortality. Consideration of the monuments in a series of three pictures can demonstrate this. In Reynolds' Mrs Bouverie and Mrs Crewe the epitaph, "Et in Arcadia Ego", taken with the figures' attitudes, expressed an atmosphere of contemplative absorption in mortality, which the young women meditate upon from their position of youth and beauty. This theme is present at Sledmere in most explicit form in Hamilton's Elegy, in which the text on the gravestone is the first line of the poet's "Epitaph", intended as a cue to direct the viewer's memory to the relevant section of the poem, with its information about the poet's life and reduced Latitudinarian beliefs. However, the "swain" cannot read it, nor can the viewer (read all of it). By making this reference depend on the viewer's (fallible) memory, and by appealing to the work of Poussin and Reynolds, the painting advances the "Et in Arcadia Ego" theme in comparison with the specifics of the very poem that is being illustrated. In Romney's double portrait the farm and enclosed fields do not strictly amount to a text (unlike that of "The End"'s book of omega in Iconology, or the Epitaph). Yet it is intended as a decipherable memorial, and so becomes part of the "language of things" that dominates Sledmere. The picture's message is therefore that the elegiac text is all around us at Sledmere. The monument is the environment itself, in which the "Et in

Arcadia Ego" theme is immanent. The entire landscape, made by him, speaks the epitaph of Sir Christopher Sykes. In this message (this myth) Sledmere is Sir Christopher's work as the Hermitage at Richmond was Queen Caroline's and the universe is God's. Like "Capability" Brown, his activity was "place-making", and while he has perished his Arcadia, by which he may be known, remains.

Sykes was a connoisseur of portrait painting [87], and the double portrait of 1793 was the first place in which the above message appears. Some years later it took form in print: his obituary in The Gentleman's Magazine states that "the Wolds of Yorkshire, where he had property, will be his lasting monument" [88]. In 1840 the same message entered the landscape explicitly when it was engraved in stone on a rotunda over the village well (that Sir Christopher had belatedly provided in 1785) erected by his son Sir Tatton. But the myth is first articulated in the painting: Lady Sykes acts as an intermediary (perhaps representative of her important financial role in the establishment of the landscape) by fixing her husband with her gaze while gesturing to the distant farm. Her gesture does not quite repeat that of Mrs Crewe: her hand is only half open. This can be interpreted as reflecting the need for her gesture to penetrate the picture space to indicate the (supposedly distant) farm, and to avoid indicating the dog, which curiously parodies her own obvious devotion. Meanwhile an aloof Sir Christopher, staring rather blankly ahead and

almost certainly holding a copy of the enclosure Bill, allows himself to be adored.

If Sledmere church implicates Anglicanism in the new order of landscape, Sykes's triangle rests that order upon agriculture. The triangle of farms was the first and the largest expression of his authority that Christopher Sykes undertook, having planned it by December 1775 at the latest, and carrying it out as soon as possible after that. After his death in 1801 the same activity of agricultural change and development was broadened in scope by his two sons, Sir Mark Masterman Sykes and Sir Tatton Sykes (Figure 51), who followed paternal example until the latter's death in 1863, 88 years after his father had come into possession of Sledmere [89]. Successive proprietors have made the values which are inherent in the tradition established in those years felt until our own time and over thousands of acres of the Wolds.

Sledmere demonstrates a sacred and a creatively imaginative landscape in varied ways. The elements we have studied are not linked by interlocking chains of causal relationships, but they do complement each other by the process that they all display. Primary to each is naturalisation, which is at work in every part of the design: in using classicized Sledmere church for sacred worship, in the treatment of the landscape park that merges with the garden proper, in the theory of Pastoral poetry that can engage with visitors'

responses to the park, in Gray's Elegy and Hamilton's painting, in the displaced triangle of authority. Alien models are nationalised, or highly readable intrusive codes are camouflaged and made to seem the products of natural law and process. The aesthetics exemplified here is concerned with transforming and surpassing an existing model, of progressing to the future, of suppressing or simply not acknowledging borrowings. If, in a sense, vantage-point bears or unlocks the message at Duncombe Park and Rievaulx Terrace, at Sledmere the process is the message. Rapid naturalisation will conceal the fragmentation and dispersal of the previous village.

The church changes its aesthetic function during the time of the establishment of the new arrangement. A church always implies the existence of a community, from which it derives its reason for being. It is thus representative of Sledmere, the parish, irrespective of what pictures are in Sledmere House. A fragment surviving accidentally from a previous arrangement of village and house, the church was initially (probably in response to a social conflict) hedged away from the park, and emphatically contained within a frame. Some years later, the frame was dismantled to allow the integration of the church with the landscape setting. The entire setting could now be seen as an obvious whole; a microcosm of England, containing Church and State, ideally transformed: peaceful, pastoral, poetic - and empty.

The changing status of Sledmere church as symbolically representative of the Sledmere community is a process of metonymic reduction (the isolating and framing process, simultaneous with the dispersal of the village dwellings) followed by, on the eve of the nineteenth century, a synecdochic assimilation of the fragment as one of the informing centres of the new order of things. In the utter transformation worked here, Sledmere can be seen as the antithesis of Duncombe Park and Rievaulx Abbey, while in other ways continuing the rapid increase in scale and the removal of inscriptions from the garden which we observed at those places. Duncombe and Rievaulx add little to the existing order; they instead provide a point of view over already beautiful countryside. The Castle, Abbey, valleys, town, river and hillsides are simply seen from new vantage-points. In contrast at Sledmere the landscape has been privatised. The local people were turned out of Sledmere and the land appropriated to private enjoyment. The church has been pocketed. The outside world is excluded behind Brown's belts of woodland, and the landscape garden becomes a place where private mood is highly important. Sledmere's landscape - and the many like it made from 1750 to 1850 - is the newly-private domain of a very small section at the top of the pyramid of society.

In its vantage-point in the year 1800, but also by nature of the landscape garden, the discussion of Sledmere terminates the trajectory of the sacred idea in eighteenth

century gardens that we have been following from our starting-point in deism. Contrasting with that religious movement was Alexander Pope's garden of devotional significance, where the devotional aspect of the garden was informed by Roman Catholic culture, but took as its object Pope's mother and her significance in his life. As a Roman Catholic, Edith Pope had been hedged around, like the larger Catholic community of which she was part, by hostile legislation and an unfriendly social climate. We then went on to discuss an expression of such hostility in national terms, via the significance of ruined abbeys and attitudes to Roman Catholicism that they focussed, and as these took shape in the three decades immediately after the death of Pope. Underpinning the attitudes to Roman Catholics were political concerns, and Sledmere contrasted the level of the parish with these national preoccupations, substituting a naturalised mythic view of the rural community for a censorious condemnation of Roman Catholics. Sledmere's arrangement of landscape and cultural reference finally embodies the freedom from anxiety enjoyed by church and ruling class after the legislated removal of rival powers and the disintegration of the major threat to both religious and political stability, the Jacobite movement. Using for divine service a church that has been rebuilt in classical style achieves the complete naturalisation of the sacred connotation that attaches to the classical idea of landscape.

While Pope's Twickenham, also fashioned by a Tory, was conceived out of religious and political opposition, the landscape of Sledmere is the product and expression of supreme social and political self-confidence. The landscape improvement practised there could mask, as much as eradicate, the social tensions and divisions beneath the serene surface (and upon which Sledmere is built).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Tour, p. 42.

2. This was a conventional way of interpreting megaliths; Dryden's Epistle to Charleton (1662) had done the same for Stonehenge, as an explicit projection of contemporary politics (esp. ll. 47-49, 53-58). Dryden provides a clear example of the truism that the values of contemporary politics and society can determine the way we interpret archaeological evidence.

3. Defoe, A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-1726) (London: Penguin Books, 1971) pp. 472-473. See also Tobias Smollett, Humphrey Clinker (1771) (London: Penguin Books, 1967) p. 312. Lady Sykes's visit is in Remarks, p. 12-13.

4. Remarks, pp. 257-258.

5. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, trans. Annette Lavers, (London: Paladin Grafton Books (Collins), 1973) p. 142. As Simon Pugh states, (Garden-nature-language p. 57) the era 1725-1825 was a crucial one for this process, when attention to "the natural" in gardens corresponded to an epoch of parliamentary enclosure Bills and consequent appropriation of the countryside.

6. cf. the definition of "nature" in Pugh, pp. 135-136. Malcolm Andrews, in The Search for the Picturesque, pp. 3-23 employs the concept in its sense of "nationalisation" of classical models.

7. cf. J. D. Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape, p. 188, and C. Thacker, The History of Gardens, pp. 209-210.

8. J. D. Hunt is comparing Brown's work with Spence's learned and emblematic Polymetis, Garden and Grove, p. 222. cf. Roland Barthes, Mythologies pp. 132-133: "[Poetry's ideal] . . . would be to reach not the meaning of words, but the meaning of things themselves . . . in the hope of reaching . . . natural (not human) meaning". Juxtaposing these two quotations signals a possible definition of Brown's work as a state of myth reached through a process of naturalisation.

9. This is the view of Hunt, expressed in The Figure in the Landscape, pp. 188-193, 218-224, in Garden and Grove, p. 222, and in "Emblem and expressionism in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden" Eighteenth Century Studies IV, (1971), pp. 294-317. Ronald Paulson endorses it in Emblem and Expression, p. 20. The essential idea, and the terms, are derived from Thomas Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening pp. 150-151.

10. Robert Williams, "Making Places: Garden-Mastery and English Brown", Journal of Garden History, Vol. 3, No. 4, (1983) pp. 382-385, gives examples of the buildings Brown

built: "lodges and temples, banquet and summer houses, rotundas, bridges, cascades, dams, cold-baths, grottoes, towers, columns, ruins, dairies, menageries, gates, chapels, and stables" (p. 382) and argues for a closer examination of the place of this architecture in Brown's work.

11. George Richardson, Iconology (London: 2 Vols., 1779), Vol. I, p. 85. Reflection is Fig. 155 in Plate XL.

12. Richardson's Preface lists 14 previous French and Italian editions of Ripa. Despite dismissing Boudard's commentaries in the Preface as "rather too much abbreviated", Richardson betrays a reliance on him, in for example the commentary on the figure of "Iconology": "It is the name of the science contained in this book" (Vol. I, p. 112). Boudard has "C'est le nom de la Science contenue dans ce livre". However, Richardson frequently departs from Boudard.

13. Vol. I, Plate XXXIII, Fig. 128, and "Explanation", p. 69.

14. Vol. I, p. 85.

15. Richardson was chief draughtsman to the Adam's architectural practice. (He designed the church at Stapleford Park mentioned in Chapter Four as one of the "Anglican church" group of gardens.) The list of subscribers to Iconology includes: Robert and James Adam, Francis Bartolozzi (engraver), Matthew Bolton of Birmingham, Sir William Chambers, Thomas Chippendale, J. Baptist Cipriani,

Thomas Clark (plasterer to the Board of Works), George Dance, William Emes of Derbyshire (designer of landscape gardens at Erddigg, Belton House and elsewhere), Charles Grignion (engraver), Sir William Hamilton, Joseph Nollekens, James Paine, Edward Penny (Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy), Sir Joshua Reynolds, George Romney, Paul Sandby, Benjamin West, Richard Westmacoat (sic), William Woollet (engraver), and Antony Zucchi (painter). There were also some 37 other less well-known sculptors, painters, engravers, and architects.

Three subscribers worked at Sledmere: John Carr (the architect who designed Sledmere Castle Farm and worked on preliminary designs for the new house), Joseph Rose Junior (plasterer, who was responsible for the design of the interior of the new Sledmere House), and Samuel Wyatt (architect, consulted by Sir Christopher Sykes over the new house at Sledmere).

16. Hannah More quoted in Stroud, p. 201.

17. Obituarist, Stroud p. 202. Chambers, Stroud p. 165.

18. Brown's use of "place-making" may be derived from the painter's term "face-painting" via George Lambert's "place-painting" (Barrell, The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, p. 51) but it is also, perhaps coincidentally, a precise translation of the Latin phrase ars topiaria (mentioned in the Introduction, n. 5). Brown made

intensive use of the elongated S-shape in his work: William Mason's The English Garden shows how this shape was abstracted from nature and applied by art in the construction of the naturalistic landscape garden (Book II, ll. 56-78). Again, the construction of an idea of nature is clearly revealed.

19. "My Lord has marked the place of his nativity, by planting a Larch Tree where the old house stood". Lady Sykes, Remarks p. 29.

20. Chapel: James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson LL. D. (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1906), 2 Vols., Vol. 2, p. 118. Memento mori: cf. Lady Sykes: "The church nearly joins the house, its Tower is covered with Ivy, which spreads nearly over the church, and has a solemn Effect; Here are some Monuments of the family". (p. 30).

21. Dated 1763. Adam's design for this is illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, Robert Adam and Kedleston: the making of a neo-classical masterpiece by Leslie Harris (The National Trust, 1987) p. 71 (cat. no. 58).

22. The idea is related to Virgil's "inducite fontibus umbras" ("shade the springs"), referring to the tomb of Daphnis in Eclogue 5 (l. 40).

23. Other classical buildings by 1775 included a Bath House, a Hexagon Temple, the Fishing Room with cold bath and boathouses, the Bridge, the North Lodge, and the Stables.

24. In claiming that Sledmere House and church exemplify the twin power of Church and State, I am suggesting that meaning enters the aesthetic arrangement from outside (from classicism, enclosure, politics). This is a symptom of realism in the visual arts discussed by Norman Bryson, Word and Image: French painting of the Ancien Regime (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) pp. 10-11.

25. For the dates of these buildings, see John Popham, "Sir Christopher Sykes at Sledmere - II", Country Life, January 23, 1986, pp. 188-191.

26. Mrs Montagu "Queen of the Blues": Her letters and friendships from 1762 to 1800 ed. Reginald Blunt, 2 Vols. (London, 1928) Vol. II, p. 123. It is significant that she wrote neither "he is a great poet" nor "he claims to be" one.

27. *ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

28. *ibid.*, p. 123, and Letter of December 4 ?1782, British Library Add. Mss. 40663, f. 105.

29. Both quotations from Alexander Pope, "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" (1717) in The Poems ed. John Butt (London: Methuen, 1963) pp. 119-120. This definition, derived from Rapin (1659) was reiterated in similar form by Knightly Chetwood (1697) Charles Gildon (1718) De la Roche's translation of Fraguier (1710) Thomas Purney (1717) and, with

provision for "other rustics" by Oliver Goldsmith in 1762. (cf. J. E. Congleton, Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684-1798 (1952; reprinted by Haskell House, New York, 1968) pp. 157-159). Pope was an important spokesman for the "neoclassic" interpretation of Pastoral, advocating a strict adherence to Virgilian precedent and Golden Age ideas.

30. Quoted in Congleton, pp. 67-68. Fontenelle ruled that there should be "no Ploughmen, Reapers [etc]" in Pastorals because their life is too hard. It is worth reflecting that Capability Brown excluded such people, with their arable activities, from his gardens by means of the belt of woodland that characteristically encircled his parks.

31. Congleton's terms; esp. pp. 97-114.

32. Quoted by Congleton, p. 88.

33. Chapter One.

34. Add. Mss. 40663 f. 105.

35. In Congleton, p. 158-159. When Johnson wrote of Pastoral in terms of feelings, or mood: "It exhibits a life, to which we have always been accustomed to associate peace, and leisure, and innocence; . . . [we] suffer ourselves . . . to be transported to elysian regions, where we are to meet with nothing, but joy, and plenty, and contentment . . ." the qualities could be almost exactly transferred to a garden. (Congleton, p. 175).

36. Congleton, p. 314.

37. Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents (1783), entry for July 1st 1780, abridged as E. Mavor, The Grand Tour of William Beckford (London: Penguin Books, 1986) pp. 30-31.

38. Congleton, pp. 121-122. Beckford could have been reading a German edition.

39. Congleton, p. 123.

40. Drake in Congleton, p. 144. Gessner's influence, p. 125.

41. "The sheep I brought from England were feeding under my windows", Journal for Saturday 22 September 1787, Journal of William Beckford in Portugal and Spain 1787-1788 ed. Boyd Alexander (London: Hart-Davies, 1954) p. 205.

42. Remarks, p. 129. Sir Christopher "had proof of the attention they pay to their little gardens in their Country. [The landlord] brought us up a Cucumber, and Letaces fine young Onions, this on the 7th of June at a house which would not pay for a Wine license." (Tour, p. 15).

43. Remarks, p. 219.

44. General View p. 32.

45. Part of one, inscribed on a seat at Nuneham, describes the only villager Viscount Harcourt allowed to remain in an original dwelling. It is best described as a smug admonition

of the wealthy, and is quoted in Headley and Meulenkamp, Follies: A National Trust guide (London: Jonathan Cape, 1986) pp. 266-267.

46. Remarks p. 69.

47. Tour p. 49. Sir Christopher Sykes felt unease when parks he visited were not being used for pastoral farming. cf. Tour, p. 89.

48. Remarks p. 47.

49. I am choosing one of two readings here. The other identifies a rustic stonecutter as the subject of "thee" in l. 93 of the poem, and therefore as the person whose burial is recounted by the "swain". While I do not regard this alternative reading as the "mare's nest" that worried Cleanth Brooks (The Well Wrought Urn: Studies in the Structure of Poetry (1947: London: Methuen, 1968) p. xi), I prefer the reading made here as a more complex and provocative one because it makes the poet (and poem) self-reflexive. The debate on this issue is set out in Herbert W. Starr, ed., Twentieth Century Interpretations of Gray's Elegy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968) pp. 41-82.

50. The title as reported in the Sledmere catalogue, was "The Elegy in a Country Churchyard - New Edition of "Gray's Poems" "The Curfew Tolls" etc." Oil. 86" x 106". The edition mentioned was presumably that of de Roveray (1800) for which Hamilton illustrated "The Progress of Poesy". The Witt

Library of the Courtauld Institute also has a reproduction of Hamilton's version of Gray's "ploughman", "homeward plodding".

51. Malcolm Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque, p. 12.

52. Virgil, l. 523, Dryden, The Works of Virgil, p. 82, Gray, ll. 23-24. Gray of course owned a copy of Dryden's translation (W. P. Jones, Thomas Gray, Scholar: The True Tragedy of an Eighteenth Century Gentleman (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965) p. 33).

53. The trace of Dryden is detectable at other moments, such as when Virgil's "hunc plausus hiantem / per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque / corripuit" (ll. 508-510) becomes Dryden's "The senate's mad decrees he never saw" and "The applause of listening senates to command . . . Their lot forbade" in Gray (ll. 61, 65).

54. "Patient youth accustomed to work and sparse simplicity, devotion to the Gods and venerable fathers; when Justice left Earth she left her final imprint on them". A few lines later, there is more piety: "fortunatos et ille deos qui novit agrestis - / Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores" (ll. 493-494) "and fortunate is he who renews acquaintance with the gods of the country - Pan, old Silvanus and the sisterhood of nymphs".

55. Virgil may be translated, "If, however, I cannot gain access to these parts of nature, if a sluggish coldness round

my heart impedes my vigour, fields and streams will please me, and the rivers in the valleys; let me, unknown, love the rivers and the woods".

56. In a similar way, Virgil built in Eclogue 5 upon Theocritus, apparently advancing the "story" of tragic Daphnis from its point in Theocritus's Idyll 1.

57. E. Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts (London: Penguin Books, 1970) Chapter 7, "Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition", p. 347.

58. "I, Daphnis, remain in the woods, my fame reaches the stars; shepherd of handsome flocks, more handsome myself". More precisely, the epitaph is made by the dead man's friend, who imagines Daphnis specifying it himself (Renato Poggioli, The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975) p. 79).

59. "Since you wish thine good and happy, lo - four altars: behold two for you, Daphnis, and two high altars for Phoebus. Every year I shall place here, two by two, beakers of foaming new milk, and two wine bowls full of olive oil for you, and there will be joyful parties before the hearth if it's cold, or in the shade when it's hot."

60. And helped expose him to Pope's (and Gay's) irony. Even if Gray had wished it, which he evidently didn't, at this historical juncture neither Roman Catholicism nor

Non-conformism could have domesticated the classical model as comfortably. Roman Catholicism was still tainted by Jacobitism and a foreign connotation (Rome); while Non-conformism, by linking with Cromwell and Milton earlier in the poem, would confuse the extent to which the village virtues could be seen as in the past.

61. There is not much evidence of faith as a devotional force. It may not be fanciful to see a reduced sign of the eighteenth century latitudinarian preference for the idea of salvation through good works in the second stanza of the Epitaph: "he gave to Mis'ry all he had, a tear, / He gained from Heav'n ('twas all he wished) a friend (ll. 123-124).

62. Tour p. 32.

63. Quoted in Popham, pp. 188-189. Pastoral as the townsman's dream of the country: cf. Poggioli, esp. pp. 1-9.

64. "The Church-yard abounds in images which find a mirror in every mind, and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo" (Life of Gray) in Rasselas, Poems, and Selected Prose, (3rd ed.) ed. Bertrand H. Bronson, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971) p. 600.

65. Decorations inside the house in plaster by Rose included "The Sacrifice to Plenty, Performing the Epithalamium, The Aldobrandini Marriage and Dressing the Candelabra" (in the library) and "Pomona, Hebe, Flora and Autumnus" in the hall.

There were statues of two fauns (Grecian and Roman), a copy of the Apollo Belvedere "from Lord Bisborough's collection at Rohampton", and two antique busts - "Young Marcellus and Artimisia". (BJL DDSY 62/17). Sykes had been on the Grand Tour in 1770 (Sledmere guidebook, p. 16).

66. While Sykes was laying out and altering thousands of acres of the Yorkshire wolds, Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues, on a vastly larger scale, were producing in the U.S.A. "a political landscape faithful to Classical theory", and Jefferson obviously drew on the georgic ideal, thinking of farmers as God's "peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtues". J. B. Jackson, Discovering the Vernacular Landscape (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) p. 31. One other painting owned by Sykes reveals his aesthetic interest in English rustic life: a "Farm Yard" by Morland (DDSY 62/17).

67. Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 224, and explanation, p. 19.

68. The Poems of Oliver Goldsmith (London, 1800) Plate facing p. 18.

69. Ibid, facing p. 91.

70. II, CIX, Fig. 423. "Explanation", p. 161.

71. I, XL, Fig. 155.

72. Vol. II, pp. 25-26.

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73. II, LXII, Fig. 237, and II, LXXII, Fig. 278.
74. II, LXII, Fig. 236 and II, XCI, Fig. 352. By relying on culturally-constituted iconology so heavily, Hamilton appears to be an exception to the main development of English painting in the eighteenth century, at least as expounded by Ronald Paulson (Emblem and Expression), p. 9).
75. Panofsky, p. 359.
76. Such codes of gesture are another source, for Bryson, of realism in the image: "effects of the real" in the domain of connotation of the sign (Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze (London: Macmillan, 1983) p. 67).
77. Lady Sykes's Remarks recount a sentimental encounter with the 85 year old dean of St. David's cathedral, who showed her and her husband around the ruins. The meeting drew tears from both her and the dean (p. 187).
78. Studied by Raymond Williams in The Country and the City (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973) passim.
79. John Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape: the rural poor in English painting, 1730-1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) p. 124.
80. Pevsner, Yorkshire: York and the East Riding (London: Penguin Books, 1972) p. 344.
81. R. Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of

Humanism, p. 74. The second phrase is quoted from Palladio. For Alberti, "the basilica, as the seat of jurisdiction in antiquity, is . . . closely related to the temple . . . temple and basilica as the seats of divine and human justice are intimately related" (p. 6).

82. Illustrated in Popham, p. 189.

83. BJL DDSY 106/12.

84. I am grateful to Sir Tatton Sykes, Bart., for pointing this out to me. The vistas corresponding to the pencil lines are no longer obvious, as trees have grown up since to block two of the views.

85. Emblem and Expression, p. 199. The geometrical structures are specified as the triangle and the golden mean (p. 173).

86. On 12 May 1780 the Agriculture Society in Beverley awarded Christopher Sykes an honorary Premium for planting most larch trees. The award was for 5 guineas worth of books. Sykes wrote back to request a medal or a marble vase instead, and offering to pay the difference. I take this request for a trophy to display as evidence of pride in his achievement and a desire to show it. BJL DDSY (3)/8 Sect. 1 (22/18).

87. The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle For the year MDCCCI. Part the Second, p. 870. In the portrait he

commissioned from Romney we can conclude that the encoded message was the idea of Sykes himself and was given to Romney in the form of instructions, which Romney then executed with reference to Reynold's earlier double portrait. Another point of similarity between the paintings lies in the fact that like Mrs. Bouverie and Mrs. Crewe, Lady Sykes and her husband occupy the same picture plane.

88. The Gentleman's Magazine, p. 1049. The message of the portrait helps to explain the otherwise perhaps puzzling absence of a memorial to Sir Christopher in or near the church.

89. Although Popham gives the date 1770, a date of early 1776 for this is established by B JL DDSY 101/21, written 8 years after Christopher Sykes came into possession of Sledmere and one year after the death of Sir Mark Sykes, which happened in 1783.

CHAPTER SIX

CONSTRUCTING THE SACRED IDEA:

LITTLE SPARTA (AND ERMENONVILLE)

Social tensions are not masked at Ian Hamilton Finlay's garden, Little Sparta, in Scotland (made 1967-present day). This is due both to a cultural shift from concealment to exposure and to Finlay's personal conception of art and of gardening, which is invariably expressed in cultural terms. Sacred landscape of the kind discussed in the last three chapters dwindled in importance during the nineteenth century (see Appendix One for a discussion of some contributory factors in this process). The reemergence of classicism in gardens during the twentieth century finds its fullest expression in the work of Ian Hamilton Finlay.

Finlay's work often depends upon baring the contradictions inherent in modern life. The results of his artistic inquiries into clashing ideas and the place of the classical

tradition in the twentieth century are represented in the terms and imagery of military conflict; the armed forces of Britain, Germany, the U.S.A. and Japan, from both world wars, are all evoked. As his garden becomes a setting for signs of war, initially, at least, Finlay's strategy seems to be an example of the rhetorical effect of catachresis, the abrupt bringing together of two antagonistic terms with an anomalous result. Yet as he has pointed out, "gardening . . . easily passes into politics - and this is factually confirmed by the history of gardening, as witness Stowe, or Girardin's Ermenonville (where Rousseau died)" [1]. While this artistic project, which has resulted in concrete poems and sculptures as well as garden features, has developed, Finlay has found himself involved in legal disputes with various bodies - disputes that centre on the garden. It is at first sight surprising to find, at the centre of one of Finlay's longest and most famous conflicts, denominated the "Little Spartan War", that there stands a sacred building [2].

The dispute began over rates levied by Strathclyde Regional Council, an arm of local government, on one of the garden buildings of Little Sparta, a former cow byre which had been converted into a gallery. Finlay's reaction to the rates demand was to convert the building again, this time into a Temple of Apollo (Figure 52), and to insist that, as it was now a sacred structure, waiving of the imposed taxation was mandatory under the Council's own legal constitution.

In this act of sacralization great differences are apparent in comparison with the sacred elements we have hitherto considered. Signs - representations - of the sacred can be differentiated from churches or former ecclesiastical structures that are (or were) sacred buildings in a functioning sense. Yet at Little Sparta the temple is not used for Christian worship. In fact the sacred idea in gardens has been freed, by the last third of the twentieth century, from automatic involvement with the Christian churches. Instead at Little Sparta it is the classical tradition, and specifically Apollo, which has become sacred. Yet no organised religious ceremonies take place at the Temple of Apollo, and it appears to remain rather the representation of a temple than a functioning temple. The dominant effect of publicly claiming a sacred status for this building goes beyond catachresis and becomes one of paradox, in that a building which neither began life as a sacred place nor appears to be used as one now, is nevertheless being treated as one.

This claim by Finlay must be tested in this chapter for consistency to the precedents provided by eighteenth century gardens. What is at issue is obviously at one level the definition of the sacred, and this chapter will also set out how Little Sparta provides the materials for a definition that is perfectly consistent with a modern anthropological investigation of the sacred idea [3].

Examination of Little Sparta in relation to the eighteenth century tradition will therefore be the starting-point of this chapter, and important relays for eighteenth century gardening will be discussed. In this regard I wish to make an initial point about the depth of involvement of the sacred idea in Finlay's garden by focussing on a part of the garden that recalls Pope's Twickenham particularly strongly. In the landscape section of the garden, a small natural amphitheatre below the Top Pond has been planted with trees, each embellished with its own stone column base inscribed with the name of a historical figure. The tree/columns therefore evoke the life and work of the people whose names are inscribed upon the column bases, and marry them to a particular species of tree. They are close in spirit to the eighteenth century tradition of commemorative monumental columns (Keppel's Column, Wentworth Woodhouse, and Cobham's Pillar, Stowe, for example). They also recall Pope's discussion of the use of "full-grown Poplar trees" as columns, which we saw had a reversed precedent in Palladio [4]. Finlay's tree/columns are also used in his Sacred Grove or Five Columns for the Kroller-Muller at the Kroller-Muller Museum in The Netherlands. This example immediately brings up one point of interpretation: the meaning of such a sacred grove seems to be that our notions of the sacred come from human examples, or are at least culturally determined [5]. On the formal level, in Chapter One we discussed Pope's tree/columns and Palladio's Vitruvian notion of the columns

bearing anthropomorphic characteristics as inevitably mutually exclusive; it is typical of the dense, syncretic quality of Finlay's art that the tree/column bases manage to combine all three elements - column, man and tree.

The dense unity of Finlay's art is one of its strengths, and discussion of how such unity is created from apparently disparate ideas will become important later in the chapter. Lord Gowrie, government Minister for the Arts during one stage of the Little Spartan War, revealed in a remark about the dispute a belief that Finlay's work is separable from the substance of the disputes: "My own most sincere advice would be for you to put this irritation behind you and get on with Finlays which will long outlive this irritance!" [6]. In fact, there are several different thematic categories in Finlay's artistic output, but this does not mean to say that any one is obtained at the cost of another, or that the work is separable from its sacred basis. The problem can best be clarified by isolating two themes that might serve as extrapolations of the fracture that Gowrie recommends: Pastoral, and War.

I. WAR AND PASTORAL

Pastoral for Finlay is largely marine. The sea, together with the use of water, constitutes the garden's most

extensive metaphorical sequence. In places the metaphor is purely visual. Thus a spray of astrantias surrounds the sunk garden in summer, as foam does a boat at sea (Figure 53), and as if in illustration of the phrase "the waves break only into one perennial blossom of foam" [7]. The metaphor is pressed home by the line of isolated concrete slabs which form a path to the sunk garden, and which are inscribed with the names of types of boat. In the card "They returned home tired but happy" (1972, with Ian Gardner), Finlay equated an upland path with the wake of a sailing boat, and the line of stones therefore functions as the sunk garden's "wake" [8].

In some Pastoral works the balance of visual and verbal elements is very fine. The Westward-facing sundial, oriented towards the sunset, bears the motto, "Evening will come / They will sew the blue sail", and below the gnomon a small raised area of wood in the shape of a sail, representing a carved shadow, makes the necessary visual link between sail and shadow or shade. The material of which the sundial is made, wood, suits the domestic atmosphere that the words evoke (in contrast to what would be the effect of polished granite, for example) and the rot which is now setting into it adds another dimension (an elegiac one) to this record of diurnal time. The inscription can be connected with Panofsky's assertion that Virgil "invented" evening in the Eclogues, in an essay with which Finlay is familiar [9]. In addition, the "sail" is a sign of Finlay's ability to locate the Pastoral idea in small boats.

In other marine Pastoral metaphors the visual element is even less privileged. The Woodland Garden is another part of Little Sparta that is reminiscent of Twickenham. Twickenham's Wilderness was a sort of naturalistic labyrinth, which a visitor would enter to become gently disoriented, and uncertain about where s/he would emerge. In the Woodland Garden a maze of paths leads visitors along an apparently purposeless meander in which, though the Woodland Garden is only a few yards wide, it is possible to become confused about routes and turnings. Here visitors encounter the names and numbers of specific sea-going boats. The names of sailing vessels have been a perennial object of fascination, and one which has lent itself to a kind of poetic association:

Fancy hailing a ship which rejoiced in such a name as Katherin Pleasaunce, or Cloud in the Sun, or Falcon in the Fetterlock. No doubt the mariners of the Happy Entrance were jovial souls, far different from the hard-bitten rogues aboard the Scourge of Malice or the dressed-up gallants aboard the Popinjay [10].

However, as the quotation and its source show, the chief objects of this interest have usually been either warships or tea clippers. What Finlay has done is to register the powerful legacy of Pastoral present in the tradition of naming fishing-boats. Finding evocations of Arcadia and Virgilian Eclogue in the unexpected location of the Scottish fishing fleet, he has then formed small lyric poems of the names and used them to strengthen links between landscape and

sea while simultaneously evoking Pastoral poetry very strongly in specific places. Thus Shepherd Lad encounters Amaryllis in the Woodland Garden. Disoriented from normal responses by the confusion of the labyrinthine walks and by being unable simply to apprehend the woodland visually as an entirety (and thus control or comprehend it), the visitor's imagination can dwell on the individual pastoral moment implicit in this encounter, or upon the notion of the northern seas as an Arcadian land, or upon the multi-pathed Woodland Garden as the sea - a confusing of garden and ocean which is wholly characteristic of Little Sparta and which is fixed by the tradition of naming used by Finlay.

By evoking, here and in other features, Arcadian pastoral, Little Sparta becomes evocative of William Shenstone's The Leasowes. Finlay has used Shenstone's literary form (exemplified by Unconnected Thoughts about Gardening) himself, turning it to new account [11], and one important formal lesson has influenced Finlay's gardening practice. This is the notion of "Semi reducta Venus", reported by Robert Dodsley in a paragraph which ends his A Description of The Leasowes:

Thus winding through flowering shrubs, beside a menagerie for doves, we are conducted to the stables. But let it not be forgot, that on the entrance into this shrubbery, the first object that strikes us is a Venus de Medicis, beside a bason of gold fish, encompassed round with shrubs, and illustrated with the following inscription.

- "Semi reducta Venus."

. . . .
Fresh rising from the foamy tide,
She every bosom warms;
While half withdrawn she seems to hide,
And half reveals, her charms . . .

[12]

The placing of this description at the end of Dodsley's account means that it serves as a summation of the essential principles of The Leasowes ("but let it not be forgot"), in much the same way as the effect of the actual statue was impressed on the minds of visitors to the garden as they departed, "to the stables".

Finlay's statuette of camouflaged Dryads embodies this idea in a form which combines classical with modern, war with Pastoral. He wrote to Stephen Bann of "Dryads in camouflage smocks, (surely the precise equivalent of Shenstone's Venus, semi-retiring . . .)". There is also a small sculpture entitled "Panzer V (Pantherai Semi-Reducta)". However, the same idea has also become a principle of the design of the garden, discernible in the warships emerging from foliage, for example. It is an essential part of the problem of placing; "It is the case with gardens as with societies: some things require to be fixed so that others may be placed" [13].

Yet the motif can also be related to Finlay's Sentence, "Certain gardens are described as retreats when they are really attacks" [14], which becomes an extension into the socio-political domain of the aesthetic idea through the tactic of the feigned retreat. At Shenstone's Gothick

Alcove, visitors found a poem that enacted this process:

O you that bathe in courtly blysse,
Or toyle in fortune's giddy spheare;
Do not too rashly deem amysse
Of him, that bydes contented here.

Nor yet disdeigne the russet stoale,
Which o'er each carelesse lymbe he flyngs:
Nor yet deryde the beechen bowle,
In whyche he quaffs the lympid springs.

Forgive him, if at eve or dawne,
Devoide of worldly cark he stray:
Or all beside some flowerye lawne,
He waste his inoffensive daye.

So may he pardonne fraud and strife,
If such in courtlye haunt he see:
For faults there beene in busye life,
From whyche these peaceful glennes are free.

[15]

Shenstone demonstrates how "inoffensive" Pastoral retreat can be turned into a cultural offensive with a sudden condemnation of the greater world outside. Finlay is a poet and has worked as a shepherd, and thus an interest in Pastoral seems to harmonize with certain biographical details [16]. Can it also be said, in the light of Shenstone's example and Finlay's tendency to dramatise the clash of ideas in militaristic imagery, to harmonize with Finlay's service in the infantry at the end of the Second World War?

If the opposite of war is peace, the opposite of experiencing moments of war is proposing moments of pastoral. Since war takes place outdoors and is always within nature, its symbolic status is that of the ultimate anti-pastoral. [17]

Paul Fussell's point is that in modern times the experience

of war inevitably brings to mind its antithesis, pastoral. They become two sides of the same coin. Finlay takes this a stage further in his comments on the Monument to the First Battle of Little Sparta (Figure 54). The Monument depicts a machine gun over the inscription, "Flute, play with me Arcadian notes", and Finlay writes,

The machine gun is a visual pun (or play!) on Virgil's flute, with the vents in the barrel-sleeve as the finger-stops. But - Et in Arcadia ego - is the flute to begin, or the gun - or is the duet in fact to be a trio: does the singer (if he is to continue in his pastoral) need both? [18]

As we shall see, the Monument to the First Battle of Little Sparta commemorates a day when Finlay's garden was threatened by the intrusion of alien forces. In the Pastoral world created by Virgil's Eclogues the Latin poet's poetic shepherds were similarly threatened by dispossession through disruptions emanating from outside and based on war. Eclogue 1 opens with the lamentation of Meliboeus over being dispossessed of his farm to make way for a resettled "impius . . . miles" (l. 70). Eclogue 9 continues a similar theme, in which Menalcas has attempted to save his land by singing.

The Monument becomes the sign of a kind of unity between war and Pastoral. If Finlay chooses to sing with a machine-gun, that is because he believes that on one level Pastoral is war. This same unity, including a third element, the sacred, is perceptible in "Pantherai Semi-Reducta" and in Finlay's emblems: Over the picture of a battleship is the

motto, "For the temples of the Greeks our homesickness lasts for ever". Another emblem features the large U.S. battleship "Minneapolis" under camouflage netting, with a motto from Virgil, "Habitarent Di Quoque Silvas" ("even Gods have dwelt in the woods") [19].

Both formal and conceptual elements occur in Finlay's borrowings from the past in his garden. Of these his conceptual debt to the past is primary, and has been most clearly expressed in relation to Twickenham, which is cited as having provided the idea that the poet's garden is a "place to stand", a "kingdom" in which "a counter-order has been established" [20]. In order to understand fully what this means for Finlay at Little Sparta, how it relates to war and pastoral, and to reach a full understanding of the significance of the First Battle of Little Sparta, we need to examine a garden already mentioned by Finlay which is an important relay for eighteenth century gardening, concentrating the themes we have been examining: this was the Marquis de Girardin's Ermenonville. This garden can make such an important contribution to an understanding of Little Sparta that an extended consideration of it is necessary.

II. LE CHARBONNIER EST MAÎTRE CHEZ LUI

René-Louis de Girardin (1735-1808) owned Ermenonville and

made the landscape garden there between 1766 and 1781. Ermenonville divides into three parts. That which is most important for us, south and southwest of the château, formed an image of idealised nature, of a specifically Arcadian kind. Garden buildings in the woods, around the Petit Etang and in the Prairie Arcadienne to the south of the lake, together with inscriptions, and monuments to five pastoral poets (Theocritus, Virgil, Thomson, Gessner and Shenstone) emphatically established an Arcadian pastoral atmosphere [21]. The poets testify to the major concerns of this part of the garden. Gessner was much admired by Rousseau, whose last resting-place Ermenonville became. He wrote an appreciative letter to the German poet's translator:

You have inspired me with a desire of seeing
another spring, to wander with your shepherds
thro' new paths, to share my solitude with
them, and to behold their rural retreats,
which are not inferior to those which you
and Mr. Gessner have described so well [22]

Rousseau's was one of two real tombs that existed at Ermenonville and that add the characteristic (and after Poussin, the essential) elegiac mood to Ermenonville's Pastoral. On the larger island in the lake is the grave of Georg-Frederic Mayer, a landscape painter and "un honnête homme" who died in 1779 [23]. Mayer worked for Girardin shortly before his death, painting at least two pictures of Rousseau (Figure 55). One evokes particularly strongly the atmosphere at Ermenonville during Rousseau's stay (Figure 56). Rousseau's own tomb on the Ile des Peupliers, provides a

complex emotional and visual centre to this part of the garden.

The imprint of Rousseau on Ermenonville was extensive; it is marked by the Maison de Jean-Jacques, the Monument des anciennes amours, the Verger near the château (linked to Julie's orchard in La Nouvelle Héloïse [24]), and his column in the Temple of Philosophy (visible in the background of Figure 56). In the case of the Autel de la Réverie he participated in the design of a garden feature [25]. Given this involvement, it is entirely fitting that his tomb should also become part of the fictive landscape, which in a sense his presence validates.

At Rousseau's tomb, designed by Hubert Robert, the link with Poussin is particularly strong, because of the similarity of the tomb and that depicted in Poussin's Arcadian Shepherds. The connection was made even more explicit outside Ermenonville by a garden feature directly inspired by the Ile des Peupliers; on the Island of Poplars in the garden of Arkadia, Poland, a tomb was built bearing the inscription Et in Arcadia Ego [26]. Furthermore, the scene at Ermenonville is interpreted as a version of the Et in Arcadia Ego theme by J. Mérigot fils in his engraving (after Godefroy and Gandat) of the island for the Promenade (Figure 57). This shows in the foreground a little girl raising her finger to decypher an inscription nearby. The gesture is that of the shepherd spelling out the inscription

on the tomb in Poussin's painting. Although the actual tomb is a short distance away on the island, the inscription which the girl is attending to is identifiable, by its location at the foot of a willow, as that which refers to "les restes mortels de Jean-Jacques Rousseau" [27]. The tomb invests in the garden an artistic image of what was in its Virgilian origin a sacred feature.

The original foreign form of the elegiac Pastoral theme's shrine is assimilated into the landscape garden at Ermenonville directly, in contrast to the similar conception at Sledmere. There the process of naturalisation which was all-important led to an elaborate displacement of the original, through a poem, and through Hamilton's painting within the house, with the potential effect of enabling visitors to locate the elegiac tomb within the garden in Sledmere's churchyard. From the Virgilian original, the tomb of Daphnis in Eclogue V, four stages are passed before we reach the churchyard. The result is distanced, mystified, diffused and naturalised. The boldness of Ermenonville, using only two stages, is apparent: but as it was an actual tomb of a public figure centrally important for the life of France, a key element of naturalisation was achieved there too. In a sense Rousseau endorses the myth by his involvement. However, by this prominent showing of the Pastoral code it is made clear that the Pastoral myth is that of a man-made society, ideal and artistic: Rousseau's challenge to the visitor is therefore the challenge to create

a society more like the ideal one - a task taken up by the Revolution.

The complexity of Ermenonville as a relay of the concerns examined in this study can be partially gauged by another characteristic. The seat from which Rousseau's tomb was intended to be viewed was named "le banc des meres de famille" (one of whom features in Mérigot's engraving). Mothers and nursing mothers seemed to be the focus of considerable interest for Girardin. Nursing mothers (as emblematic personifications of Nature and Fecundity in the tradition of Ripa), together with other mothers and infants, all in bas relief, enliven Rousseau's tomb with cheerfulness. In another part of the garden an inscription on an ancient oak evoked the golden age of ancient Gaul, the health and good sense of which could be judged by the fact that "Tout enfant par sa mère était lors allaité/ Et leurs femmes étaient leurs conseils, leurs oracles . ." [28]. We have seen the importance of the mother expressed in a very different way at Twickenham. By the time that Ermenonville was being made, Rousseau, in Emile had established the cultural acceptability of breast-feeding for the real mother, in opposition to the practice of using a wet-nurse, whom Pope, for example, had been fed by. Pope's biographer, discussing how he may have contracted Pott's disease (that crippled and eventually killed him) favours the theory that he contracted it from the milk of his wet-nurse, Mary Beach [29]. If this hypothesis is correct, it would retrospectively

vindicate Rousseau's achievement. The link with Emile is made explicit on the tomb itself, where "on voit un bas-relief représentant une femme assise au pied d'un palmier, symbole de la fécondité; elle soutient d'une main son fils qu'elle allait, et de l'autre tient le livre de l'Emile". Nearby, the "banc des mères de famille" asserted in an inscription the mutual benefit both mother and child owed to Rousseau: "De la mère à l'enfant il rendit les tendresses,/ De l'enfant à la mère il rendit les caresses" [30].

A mother also makes her appearance in the final chapter (dealing with the social utility of landscape gardening and enclosure) of Girardin's treatise on landscape design, De la Composition des Paysages (1777). Girardin argues in favour of bringing the common fields into the middle of villages and surrounding them with trees and hedges. This by its airiness would be healthier, and would provide somewhere for village walks and games. Household animals could be pastured close by without the need for shepherds and dogs.

La pauvre mère de famille, en filant sur le pas
de sa porte, aurait du moins la consolation
de voir jouer ses plus jeunes enfants autour
d'elle, tandis que sa vache, son unique
possession, pâturait tranquillement sur un
beau tapis de verdure qui lui appartiendrait. [31]

We can recognise the kind of writing involved here: it is the literature of sentiment, modelled on Rousseau, especially popular in the 1770's, and which has been linked by

Christopher Thacker to the Autel de la Rêverie at Ermenonville [32]. However, in the next sentence Pastoral becomes a means of social control: "Cette vue de sa propriété l'attacherait à son pays . ." For Girardin, as for Christopher Sykes, the appearance of harmony becomes more important than actual conditions: "Ces sortes de places mêmes en Angleterre, sont le plus agréable de tous les jardins Anqlais: jusqu'aux animaux tout y paraît content". In these lines we have an intimation of an unresolved tension at Ermenonville.

Bearing on the question of the place of social and political concerns at Ermenonville and in Girardin's imagination is a consideration of the status of Ermenonville's Pastoral. We have seen it as a Pastoral of the code. However, local villagers were granted free access to the park, on the condition that they respect the code in the form of the various features and buildings [33]. So far the Pastoral is maintained separate from the villagers, despite their access to it. However, there were occasions when the villagers were required to take the place of Arcadian shepherds and milkmaids, especially at the festivals held under le Gros Hêtre (the Great Beech) or, in wet weather, under a large shelter on a sort of covered dance-floor or hall nearby. Monique Mosser has shown that such fêtes held in French gardens were another example of Rousseau's influence, taking their inspiration from the fête of the grape harvest at Clarens in La Nouvelle Héloïse [34]. The

obvious contrast is again with Sledmere, where the local people (even on their way to church) were excluded from the park, except for those whose work involved looking after trees and livestock. The line of demarcation between the pastoral of the code, and the naturalised pastoral, is central at Ermenonville - unlike in Brown's parks, where the code is largely suppressed. At Ermenonville the perilous presence of that boundary is always perceptible, and the villagers have to cross and recross it at festivals, tread it frequently, and respect it always.

The tensions implicit in Girardin's man-made golden age were poignantly high-lighted on June 4 1791, when the body of a young anonymous suicide was discovered on a bench near the Prairie Arcadienne [35]. By killing himself in that particular place, the young man had transgressed the Pastoral line, bringing his despair into the golden age. There is a kind of appropriateness about this sad incursion from the outer world, which reminds us of the fictive nature of Girardin's vision and the extent to which it was based on an unreal suppression of all that is unruly, passionate and threatening in the human spirit.

A more important, but still unexpected, incursion of the larger social and political world happened during the excavation of stone as building-material for Ermenonville's Hermitage. Workmen discovered a prehistoric burial-chamber containing the skeletons of a number of people, musket-balls,

and an iron spur. The remains were interpreted as those of people massacred during a religious war of a previous century. An inscription was placed there and became a garden feature:

Hic fuerunt inventa plurima
Ossa occisorum, quando
Fratres fratres, cives cives trucidabant.
Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum! [36]

The massacre has several implications for Ermenonville and our understanding of our sacred theme. In one sense this accidental discovery harmonised very well with the Hermitage, which made explicit, by its inscription, the link between the hermit and deism which we discussed early in Chapter One: "Au Createur j'eleve mon hommage,/ En l'admirant dans son plus bel ouvrage" [37]. The inscription, emphasizing God's works, reminds us that deism, as the rational interpretation of nature to discern God, had become important because it was seen as a transcendence of superstition. The final line of the inscription on the burial chamber is a quotation from Lucretius that had been used by Matthew Tindal in 1730, in a passage in which he brings together his main target, superstition, and the idea of sacred violence. He attacks "execrable superstition" that excites even "the tender sex" to "rejoice to hear the Shrieks, and see the Agonies of Men expiring under the most cruel Tortures" [38]. Tindal's Chapter VIII had developed his argument against superstition

by focussing on sacrifice. His answer to the question, does Christ's death not terminate and proscribe sacrifices for christians, is that sacrificial violence continues in the pursuit of heretics:

If putting innocent, and conscientious men to Death
on Account of Religion, may be call'd Sacrificing
them, there have been more human Sacrifices than
ever were before in the World, and those too not
offer'd up to God, but to the Devil . . . even at
this Day the Papists . . . take their leave of each
Sufferer with this charitable Expression, Jam
animam tuam tradimus Diabolo [39]

The point is more gently underlined by the writer of the Promenade des Jardins d'Ermenonville, who criticizes those who furnish hermitages with "tous les ustensiles monastiques, depuis le sablier jusqu'a la tete de mort; details qui n'offrent que le tableau degoutant de l'ignorance et de la superstition" [40]. Excavation of the massacre served to reinforce the anti-Superstitional message of the deist hermit, bringing home in a most pertinent way, through an historical and existential link, the cruel madness of religious fanaticism. The sacred idea is seen at its most rebarbative. Ermenonville's link here to Caroline's Hermitage in Richmond Gardens, where Deism and the Hermit had first been combined, answers that structure across most of the eighteenth century.

Ermenonville's Hermitage and burial chamber are linked with the monument that celebrates the ancient Gauls, who are shown practising a kind of benign natural religion:

Pour rendre culte à la Divinité,
Fors du dôme des cieux les voûtes éternelles,
Ou des chênes anciens les ombres solennelles. [41]

The three structures constitute a group which brings golden age ideas to bear on French national history in the service of a didactic point. A progression is adumbrated: ancient natural religion - medieval and later superstition - modern natural theology. The extent to which the three structures represent the assimilation of the anti-pastoral into the optimistic garden can be gauged by the fact that the suicide was buried beside the burial chamber, grouped with the other evidence of transgression, and close to the modern antidote, deism. The hope of participants in the deist Pastoral myth was that "moral evolution will lead their conscience back to that unconsidered spontaneity from which history had snatched it" [42].

However, even while it is constructing and achieving this message, Ermenonville provides evidence that sacrifice - the operation of sacred violence - is not left so easily behind:

The celebrated opera-dancer, Mlle. Theodore . . .
had an enthusiastic admiration of Rousseau . . .
[she] made a pilgrimage to his grave; and
there, in the true spirit of enthusiastic
homage, cutting off one of the long tresses
of her fine hair, she hung it as an offering
upon his tomb.

On another occasion,

[two young Englishmen swam to the island, and]
kneeling at the tomb of Rousseau, had burnt a
book, published a short time after his death by

Diderot, in which he had treated the memory of Rousseau with the most cruel indignity . . .
Mons. Girardin was absent from home, when the sacrifice of Diderot's book was offered at the tomb. [43]

Like Daphnis's tomb, Rousseau's becomes a site of sacrifice. The owner could not stop his anti-superstitious garden being sacralized, by those coming from outside. The sacrifices specified here may not have been particularly terrifying; but in the Revolution itself, as we shall see, a quite different effect is achieved by the same mechanism.

The fourth way in which the outside world impinged upon Ermenonville is commemorated in the Charcoal-burner's Hut. This rustic structure was "construite avec de vieilles souches placées les unes sur les autres", and was therefore a variation of a root house, the most primitive and rustic of garden buildings. Nevertheless it was a commemoration of political defiance, bearing the inscription "Le Charbonnier est maître chez lui" [44].

Le Prince de Condé, a member of the royal family, owned a capitainerie (control of hunting rights over a particular area, even where the land was owned by other people) which extended to Ermenonville. Within a capitainerie others needed permission to hunt, but also around it (although in areas otherwise outside its jurisdiction) authorisation was needed to put up enclosures or to breach them. On hunting trips to Ermenonville Condé threw down hedges and fences belonging to Girardin. Girardin brought a law-suit which he won, and in

celebration built the Charcoal-burner's Hut, a pretext "à l'affirmation de la liberté individuelle contre le pouvoir royal" [45]. Michel Conan is surely right to state that Ermenonville gains validity and authenticity by this political defiance, and is equally true that in a sense Girardin had no choice but to contest Condé's power.

On one hand, the villagers were brought in, given free access to the park and expected to cross the Pastoral line and join the Arcadian idea at intervals. In return, as it were, the Pastoral enclave had to be protected from the outside world. Once such a delicate balance and such a fragile illusion had been set up, it had to be defended and preserved, for the illusion to survive. As soon as Conde began impinging upon it in hostile fashion, conflict became inevitable: Girardin could no more decline the combat than relinquish Ermenonville. As if in acknowledgement of this defence of a frontier, the charcoal-burner's hut occupies a boundary - between the woods of the idealised Arcadian section and the wild unimproved nature of le Desert (dedicated to philosophy and Rousseau).

Ermenonville is important for an understanding of Little Sparta not simply because of its exposure of the sacred idea, and of the relationship between the sacred and the socio-political. It is an example of resistance. Ultimately Little Sparta is validated by the same test as that undergone at Ermenonville. In a way made more pressing by the fact that

most of it is executed in collaboration, Finlay's work is an extension of his mind; the conceptions of his imaginative vision, once formed, have to be realised in stone or other objects, by other people. Thus the result, (as in the case of the conning tower monolith, Nuclear Sail) can be brilliantly successful in these terms - "Just what I meant." The sunken garden "has come very near the imagined ideal that inspired it" [46]. And photographs "should be able to capture that essence or vision from which the imagination began" [47]. In Finlay's case, the garden is his work. Thus any violation of it, even a conceptual one (not a physical wrecking), is an intrusion into the artist's mind, and will naturally be resisted [48]. The Monument to the First Battle of Little Sparta commemorates the fact that Finlay, like Girardin, has the political will to defend his creation. Standing at the place which marked Little Sparta's southern frontier for the day, it is the exact equivalent of Ermenonville's Charcoal-burner's Hut.

Viewing Little Sparta in the light cast by Ermenonville and the Charcoal-burner's Hut can thus make full sense of the inspiration provided by Pope's garden: a counter-order, a kingdom, a place to stand. Such an attitude as Finlay exemplifies also makes sense of such statements as "Garden centres must be the Jacobin Clubs of the next revolution" [49]. Seen in relation to Ermenonville and Finlay's subsequent defence of his domain, the phrase assumes some subversive coherence, while otherwise operating simply on the

level of humour by linking two otherwise completely different organisations. The point is that there is another level of seriousness.

Finlay has spoken of his feeling for "that astonishing idealist pastoral, the French Revolution (whose Virgil was Rousseau)" [50]. At Little Sparta there are two sublime garden features which invoke the ideas of the French revolutionary hero, St. Just, and seem to combine them with the example of socio-political resistance (and therefore transformation) relayed by Ermenonville. One of these is The Stones, the climax of the garden, which borrow a wide view of the Vale of Dunsyre and a range of the Pentland Hills behind, to set against St. Just's words, "The present order is the disorder of the future", inscribed on large blocks of unworked stone. The second is at the furthest point of the landscape section of the garden, at the far end of Lochan Eck, where a classical column stands in front of a bare moorland hill, and carries the inscription, again from St. Just, "The world has been empty since the Romans" [51]. The power and effectiveness of these works make obvious the fact that Finlay's aesthetic has derived strength from his socio-political struggles.

III. PHILOSOPHY AND RHETORIC

Little Sparta therefore demonstrates exemplary consistency

with the eighteenth century tradition of socio-political protest in gardens, and with Ermenonville in particular. Yet the fertility of classical precedent is also involved in the Monument. It is characteristic of Finlay to push the reference of the neo-classical garden further back in time than his eighteenth century forerunners. In this process ideas of both landscape and gardens are important. Besides memorialising an incursion of alien social and political forces, the Monument to the First Battle of Little Sparta also records a celebrated victory in much the same way as the Spartans were wont to do in the Peloponnesus during the thirty years' war with Athens: "The Spartans took up a position in front of the enemy dead and at once put up a trophy . ." [52]. As we have seen, the necessity for Arcadia to be militant, in the interests of survival, is asserted on the plaque, and also in accompanying publications. Here the validating power of the Monument becomes apparent, making the published documentation more potent by its solid three-dimensional enduring presence under the sky.

Militancy is also represented by the figure of Apollo in Finlay's Lararium. This small feature is derived from Roman gardens, and is situated at Little Sparta close to the house. In gardens of the Roman empire lararia were small shrines to the household gods (lares). These could celebrate any of a number of deities, as recent archaeological evidence from Pompeii has revealed [53]. In Finlay's case the shrine is dedicated to Apollo, a small statuette of whom occupies

the aedicula (Figure 58). For this dedication there is a classical precedent in "the statues of the lyre-playing Apollo found in at least three gardens" of Pompeii [54].

Yet Finlay's Apollo carries a sub-machinegun. In what sense can a gun reasonably replace a lyre? For an answer to that question we have to turn to the one part of western cultural history that Finlay has particularly singled out: "The influence on my works is the Western Tradition . . . I am particularly interested in the Presocratic Greeks" [55]. Specifically, Finlay has invoked the presocratic philosophers Heraclitus and Anaximander in his work. Such philosophy is, for us, mainly remembered for the taxonomy of the elements (earth, air, fire and water). Finlay himself defines it as "universe-naming, thing-and-order-enjoying" [56].

Finlay suggests that a lyre and a gun are analogous. The figure of analogy is the foundation of metaphor, and is perhaps the most characteristic effect at Little Sparta. According to Edward Hussey, analogy was important for Heraclitus "as a guide to the truth". For a philosopher who "had no abstract vocabulary at his command", analogies "aimed at demonstrating the unity, in general, of pairs of opposites". A very unproblematic example of the way opposites could be reconciled is provided in the Fragment, "Sickness it is that makes health pleasant and good, and so with hunger and satiety, weariness and rest" [57]. Finlay read Hussey's book and used a quotation from it for his work

Lyre, a sculpture largely consisting of an Oerlikon gun. The reference is to a Heraclitean Fragment about "how what is at variance is in agreement with itself: a back-turning structure like that of the bow and of the lyre." [58]. A series of shifts have taken place: Finlay's Oerlikon gun represents a modernised bow, which has itself replaced the lyre. In the lararium, a machinegun becomes the modernised bow.

Military artefacts dramatise conflicts. For Heraclitus, as for Anaximander, the kosmos was still the scene of a constant struggle between opposed forces: but for Heraclitus this struggle is what establishes equilibrium in the universe: "But one must know that war is universal and that justice is strife, and that all things happen according to strife and necessity". Hussey comments,

The perpetual struggle of opposites and the justice that balances them are indistinguishable . . . Every event, then, can be analysed into encroachments . . . of one opposite on another - acts of 'war' or 'strife'" [59].

As Finlay puts it, "The garden pool teaches what the Presocratics knew, that land wishes to be water, and water, land" [60]. At one level, this is a comment about the amount of mud that accumulates at the bottom of ponds; behind that, however, is a cornerstone of presocratic thought.

To achieve his purpose, then, Heraclitus relied not on logical reasoning so much as on rhetoric and figures of

speech:

In part of fr. 1 he describes himself as "delimiting each thing according to its nature and declaring how it is". The devices he uses are . . . etymologies, puns, antitheses and portmanteau-words" [61].

This characterisation recalls Finlay's linguistic strategies at Little Sparta (and Hussey's earlier characterisation of Heraclitus can create a similar reminiscence: "His utterances suggest a striking and original personality in a partly self-willed intellectual isolation" [62]). It therefore seems that what Finlay is attempting at Little Sparta is nothing less than a redefinition of the world along neo-presocratic lines. Sometimes, as with Revolution, n. this involves a literal redefinition of words according to their associative uses; more often it entails encouraging or challenging the visitor to redefine his or her view of certain phenomena which are encountered within the garden, and which range in scale from the Battle of Midway to the Rococo Walnut Briq [63].

The central way in which Finlay makes such redefinitions possible uses the context of a poem to contribute to its meaning, either in a complementary way (the siting of the Westward-facing sundial, for example) or in a dialectic mode (as in the case of the monumental stone inscribed Bring Back the Birch, where the slogan is changed by the cherry trees planted nearby). The effect of such visual/verbal puns is to change the normal sense of the words, or our conventional

response to natural locations, by virtue of the unexpected meanings thrown up by the interaction between the words and their settings. A further example from the garden might be the dark Henry Vaughan Walk at the bottom of the front garden. A path leads beneath cypresses and other bushes past a series of stone plinths bearing lead inscriptions from Vaughan, "The Contemplation of death is an obscure melancholy walk . . . leading to life". The Walk then emerges at a light part of the lawn. The effect of this arrangement, of taking literally and concretely what was written figuratively and metaphorically, is to reflect on the sense of Vaughan's words so that an originally devotional text can be taken to have an existentialist meaning. Simultaneously, a transformation comes over the visitor's experience of overshadowed Walks in other gardens (the Yew Walk at Duncombe Park is a good example - what was planted as a hedge has now swollen to form a tunnel), so that they in turn borrow the emblematic meaning conferred by the quotation from Vaughan at Little Sparta. The Elements are included within this redefining strategy, too: an adaptation of Holderlin by the Upper Pond challenges our idea of the true extent of Earth: "With yellow Pears / & filled / with Wild Roses / the Land / hangs down / into the Lake".

The goal of this process is also a purification of perception:

By tearing the object out of its habitual
context, by bringing together disparate

notions, the poet gives the coup de grace to the verbal cliché and the stock responses attendant upon it and forces us into heightened awareness of things and their sensory texture. [64]

Writing of his work, A Pittenweem Fancy "Bluewater's Bark", Finlay explained that bark on a tree "parallels the texture of rippled water", and that the work is "pure sensation (or perception) stabilised" [65]. Such perception rests on analogy, or the identification of elements which are related only by the perceiver's mind, which is the basis of metaphor, as we have noted, and therefore of poetry, and, perhaps, language itself; but it is not only a process governing the emission of verbal information - controlling the production of communication: it also works in precisely the opposite direction. Analogy is a key element of human cognition, which rests upon the ability of the child to relate sound and object, sense stimulus and effect, two similar sounds emanating from different objects, and in the realm of language enables the child to apply a linguistic rule derived from one verb, for example, to another. David Crystal explains that certain facts contradict the assertion that imitation is a complete method of language acquisition:

The best example of this is the process often labelled "analogy". The child who says "I goed" instead of "I went", or "mouses" instead of "mice" has not obtained these patterns from any adult model. What he has done is produce new forms by extending his understanding of the regular patterns of the language. [66]

Crystal emphasizes that despite the examples he uses this is

not an error, but a most important part of language acquisition. Something we label as a rhetorical trope has its roots in the earliest cognitive processes of all people, and possibly in innate abilities. A gardening strategy that uses rhetoric is therefore revealed as an essential rather than an arbitrary motivation.

By drawing upon such an essential and early human ability, and by, in a parallel movement, returning the visitor to the origins of Western philosophy, in order to make original and fresh engagements linking such ideas with our way of interpreting life, Finlay re-applies the old to make possible a renewed perception and understanding of the physical world and the human place in it. His concerns are philosophical at the deepest level: cognition, perception, ultimately epistemology.

The lararium, situated close to Little Sparta's Temple of Philemon and Baucis, is a sign that the garden is sacralized territory, maintained by somebody hospitable to the classical gods. Finlay first claimed a sacred status for his garden and Temple of Apollo in the context of the War with Strathclyde Region over rates. The initial reaction of the visitor might therefore be that sacred in such a context means inviolate: something not to be outraged by alien forces; indeed, the comparison with Ermenonville has shown that meaning to be important. Yet this does not exhaust its significance.

The bureaucratic definition of a sacred building is, as might be expected, essentially quantitative [67]. We noted much earlier that Finlay's Grove at the Kroller-Muller Museum contains the idea that the sacred might be culturally mediated, and might be taken to apply chiefly in terms of a particular culture. As his garden and Temple of Apollo are neo-classical, it is worthwhile to assess what classicism means for Finlay.

While Pastoral operates in the modern context as the peaceful, the familiar, and the non-threatening, other elements of classical culture are strange, alien and bewildering. Heraclitus characterizes Apollo, one of the gods of Pastoral poetry: "The Lord whose oracle is in Delphi neither speaks out nor conceals, but gives a sign" [68]. The recognition of signs, and their right interpretation, are therefore paramount in importance. Such signs provide clues for a recognition of the classical in the modern world.

It is important to remember that "Genuine concern" is equated by Finlay, "as a classicist" "with decisive action" [69]. In the modern era, such decisive action is vividly discernible at the Battle of Midway, which has featured largely in Finlay's work. Midway occurs as a slate in the Woodland Garden at Little Sparta, and "'Big E" (at Midway)" has been exhibited in the Temple of Apollo [70]. This last work consists of a stone aircraft-carrier (the U.S.S. Enterprise, familiarly known as "Big E") with the letter E

carved on its flight-deck, in imitation of the same letter carved on a stone near the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. The favoured interpretation of the fragment at Delphi is that it constituted an act of worship of Apollo through invocation of pure being - "(Thou) Art". As the E at Delphi was a celebration of the god, so, it can be thought, was Big E at Midway. The inferences from Finlay's Midway, then, are twofold. The activities of the carriers (altars) constituted acts of worship; and the battle was one of Apollo's signs, revealing his being (Gods exist because there are altars) [71].

Little Sparta's Temple is sacred "To Apollo/ His music/ His missiles/ His Muses" (Figure 52). In the apparent discordance between music and poetry on the one hand, and missiles on the other, we detect, as in the lyre/gun substitution, a neopresocratic acceptance of the unity of opposites. It is apparent that Finlay's characterization of Apollo harmonizes with that in Walter Pater's story, "Apollo in Picardy", which forms one of the relays for such a conception. A sign of the importance of this story in Finlay's work lies in a work entitled "Sundials at the Zeppelinfield". Northward-facing sundials make an ironic comment on Nazi geo-political ambitions [72]. This recalls the interpretation early in Pater's story of the much-eroded statue of Apollo on the gable end of the Prior's barn as a northward-facing sundial - a suggestion given prominence by being excerpted from the text in a footnote [73]. "Apollo in Picardy" shows how the

removal of Apollo from the mediterranean produces a more violent god, "with a divine or titanic regret, a titanic revolt in his heart, and consequent inversion at times of his old beneficent and properly solar doings." There is a perfect consistency with Roman practice in the idea that Apollo undergoes changes through geographical displacement: a Roman altar discovered in Wiltshire was dedicated to "Apollo Cunomaglos", and shows Apollo synthesized with a Celtic god, the "hound-prince" [74]. But in Pater lateness in time is involved as well: violence erupts because he is "tired, surfeited" [75].

Harnessing a potent cultural artefact such as Pater's story enables Finlay to work with an extraordinary economy. One of his "Two translations" reads: "Arrosoir / Evening arrow" [76]. Here Finlay is suggesting that the execution of Robespierre was a late manifestation of the violence of Apollo. "Evening" is a sign of lateness in time, the "arrow" is Apollo's death-dealing missile, and "Arrosoir" was the name of the day according to the French Revolutionary calendar on which Robespierre met his death in 1794.

A purely artistic application of the belief in late Apollonian violence might lead to the conclusion that the Temple is sacred to a subversive classicism (Apollo in Picardy has half-concealed his identity in a hostile, because Christian, environment; hostility could equally lie in the secularly non-classical), which demonstrates a rough and

abrasive co-existence with other movements of art. Finlay's letters show a shift in his own attitude towards his work between 1970 and 1975. In the former year he characterises the ideal artistic collaborator as one who puts "honest care" into the work. By 1975 the best collaborators would be the "few religious people" in the art world (religious, that is, in their attitude to art) [77]. Finlay has stated that "the arts . . . [are] regarded by the Arts Council as somewhere between a tourist attraction and a social service of a less essential sort" and "where the Arts once overlapped with Religion, they now overlap with tourism and entertainment, and there is no form or mode for the non-secular in our society" [78].

Yet, beyond the domain of art, Finlay has expressly claimed a political application for the idea. Within the Temple, a changing exhibition celebrates Apollo and the French Revolution - an event which united Apollonian violence and the Pastoral idea, thus harmonising twin branches of the classical tradition (Figure 59). St Just is equated with Apollo and an inscription reads, "Terror is the Piety of the Revolution" [79].

French Revolutionary violence was not confined to wars and civil wars. The Terror is inevitably evoked by this inscription (Figure 60), just as "the Revolution" stands as a synecdoche for a whole society as well as for a series of political acts. René Girard has written of the way in which

societies can be sustained by victimage, and of the peculiar role of Kings within the power/violence/sacrifice cycle [80]. The key to this is the notion of the Sacred, that represents a dehumanized violence (as opposed to human revenge) which because non-human becomes authoritative and inviolable. Applying this idea to Finlay's conception of the French Revolution, we conclude that Revolutionary society stands by exercising The Terror: of course, the death of Louis XVI and others is inevitable and necessary to the survival of the Revolution because of the political power that they wield and focus, yet the language in which Finlay characterizes terror - the language of sacralization - opens the way to an interpretation in Girard's anthropological sense. In this view the victims of the terror by their surrogacy and by being sacrificed to a sacred idea (sacralized - and Apollonian - Revolution) break a cycle of violence that would otherwise consume the society in question. The important point is that their deaths must be seen as the operation of dehumanized violence; "that is, under the deceptive guise of the sacred" as opposed to human revenge. What is revealed within the Temple of Apollo is the status of the sacred idea ("piety") as a cover or disguise for the sacrificial mechanism. Girard describes the process in Violence and the Sacred:

The sacred consists of all those forces whose dominance over man increases or seems to increase in proportion to man's effort to master them. Tempests, forest fires, and plagues, among other phenomena, may be classified as sacred. Far

outranking these, however, though in a far less obvious manner, stands human violence - violence seen as something exterior to man and henceforth as a part of all the other outside forces that threaten mankind. Violence is the heart and secret soul of the sacred. [81]

There is obviously a self-reflexive way in which this now applies to Little Sparta itself, particularly in view of recent emphasis on the guillotine in Finlay's work. The Temple of Apollo sacralizes Finlay's garden and his work. Thus, after the art critic of The Guardian newspaper had described his work as "silly", Finlay exhibited a waxwork head of the offender, as if newly severed by the guillotine, in an exhibition at the Fondation Cartier in Paris [82]. However, it is not only Little Sparta that gains an enhanced profile from Girard's words. We can detect the same process at work in the religious massacre at the place which later became Ermenonville's landscape garden. The sacrifices at Rousseau's tomb make him the focus of the same mechanism. It is also tempting to apply the theory in a wider, initially secular, field: Pope's health and strength was sacrificed to social convention, and, of course, the free movement, self-reliance and centralized village of the poor at Sledmere were sacrificed to allow the creation of the landscape garden. The dehumanized violence there is (via Leatham and Sykes's obituary) that of the amelioration of the nation by agricultural "improvement" and increase of population. Girard continues in a sentence which inevitably brings to mind Finlay's vision of Midway as a collective act of worship of Apollo: "We have yet to learn how man succeeds in positing

his own violence as an independent being" [83].

In the light of this theory of the sacred, far from being a paradox, Finlay's Temple of Apollo becomes a perfectly logical building. On one level it dramatises through opposition the extent to which his garden is being invaded from outside by the rating demand: the sacred is inviolate, and Finlay rejects and meets the conceptual and institutionalized violence manifested in the Regional Council's unilateral action. On a deeper level the Temple is the site of sacred violence perpetrated by an individual or group in accordance with a sacred idea to which he or they are prepared to sacrifice something. Apollo's violence is that of classical art.

Girard's model offers a way of defining and interpreting the sacred that we can apply to varying situations and diverse historical moments. Nonetheless, it can be accounted as an ironic view of the sacred idea that works by a kind of double vision, viewing the sacred from a double perspective: that of what might be termed the worshipper, and that of the modern French scholar. The very irony that it exemplifies permeates modern western society. When Finlay states that "there is no form or mode for the non-secular in our society", he engages with the problems set up by that situation. He does not mean that there is no form for religion; he appears instead to mean that there is no form for the area of "overlap" between the arts and religion, and

that this overlap is precisely where his garden takes its stand.

In the Temple of Apollo the creatively imaginative, the political, and the sacred converge in a single work. At Little Sparta as a whole we are encouraged to redefine our view of life, to meditate upon and be refreshed by our findings, and to apply our experience to later experiences in gardens elsewhere. The unity that the garden has is a result of the way Finlay's works, however varied and numerous, revolve around certain constant preoccupations and themes. Finlay has understood that a garden can be a way of understanding and interpreting the world, and that it was, as we have seen, used in that way in the past.

The remaining chapter of this study will respond to the question of the place of the "non-secular" garden in contemporary culture, by considering Finlay's response to this problem in his commissioned works, and again at Little Sparta. (Appendix Two presents a garden from the U.S.A., contemporaneous with Little Sparta, that produces a very different response to the same problem.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Quoted from an interview, "Spartan Defence", in Studio International Vol. 196 (1984) p. 61.
2. cf. New Arcadians' Journal 23 (Autumn 1986) "Despatches from the Little Spartan War" and PN Review 32 (Vol. 9 no. 6, 1983), Photo-documentary of the Battle of Little Sparta.
3. The definition in question is that of René Girard, in Violence and the Sacred trans. Peter Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) and Things Hidden Since the Beginning of the World trans. Stephen Bann and Michael Metteer (London: The Athlone Press, 1987) esp. pp. 52-53, 55-57, 72.
4. cf. Chapter One
5. The Sacred Grove is illustrated in (for example), Yves Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay: A Visual Primer (Edinburgh: Reaktion Books, 1985) pp. 112-115. The best introductory guide to Little Sparta is Stephen Bann's "A Description of Stonypath", Journal of Garden History Vol. 1, no. 2, (1981) pp. 113-144.
6. Quoted in New Arcadians' Journal 23, p. 31.
7. Filson Young, With the Battle Cruisers (1921), quoted by Finlay in a letter to Stephen Bann, 27/2/75.

8. Illustrated in Abrioux, p. 88.
9. "Et in Arcadia Ego", Meaning in the Visual Arts, p. 346.
10. Basil Lubbock, The Log of the Cutty Sark (Glasgow: James Brown & Son, 1924) p. 3.
11. cf. "More Detached Sentences on Gardening in the Manner of Shenstone", PN Review 42 (Vol. 11 No. 4, 1984) pp. 18-20.
12. In William Shenstone, Works in Verse and Prose Vol. II, pp. 318-319.
13. Letter to Bann, 9/8/77. cf. Abrioux, p. 226. Panzer V is illustrated in "Homage to Ian Hamilton Finlay", exhibition catalogue (London: Victoria Miro Gallery, 1987) Plate 17.
14. In Abrioux, p. 38.
15. In Works, Vol. II, p. 303.
16. In Abrioux, p. 9.
17. Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), Chapter VII, "Arcadian Recourses", p. 231.
18. "Monument at Little Sparta", The Third Reich Revisited, in New Arcadians' Journal, 15 (Autumn 1984), no pagination.
19. "Homesickness" emblem in Abrioux, p. 157. "Minneapolis" in Finlay's Heroic Emblems (with Ron Costley and Stephen

Bann, Calais, Vermont: Z Press, 1977) p. 9.

20. Stephen Bann in Abrioux, p. 37. cf. Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City, p. 232.

21. Anon., Promenade des Jardins d'Ermenonville (Paris, 1811), printed as a sequel to René-Louis de Girardin, De la Composition des Paysages (1777) ed. Michel Conan (Paris: Editions du Champ Urbain, 1979) relevant section pp. 134-156.

22. Quoted in Congleton, Theories of Pastoral Poetry, p. 123.

23. Promenade, p. 144.

24. *ibid.*, "Postface" by Conan, p. 246.

25. *ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

26. cf. The Oxford Companion to Gardens, pp 21-22. There is a striking contrast with the neo-classical restraint shown on the Rousseauinsel, in the garden of Worlitz, East Germany, where a simple urn commemorates the philosopher (pp. 613-614). The "Ile des Peupliers" is also imitated at Sturefors, in Sweden (p. 539) and at Brockhill Park, Kent, where the grave involved is that of William Tournay Tournay (d. 1903).

27. Promenade, p. 142.

28. *ibid.*, p. 156.

29. Maynard Mack, Alexander Pope: A Life p. 153. The relevant sections are near the beginning of Emile: "les mœurs vont se réformer d'elles-mêmes, les sentiments de la nature se réveiller dans tous les coeurs . . ce premier point, ce point seul va tout réunir . . Commencez par les mères; vous serez étonné des changements que vous produirez. Tout vient successivement de cette première dépravation". Emile ou de l'éducation (Paris: Editions Garnier Frères, 1961) p. 18. Difficulties for, and with, the wet-nurse are on pp. 33-35.
30. Promenade, pp. 140, 143.
31. pp. 109-110.
32. Christopher Thacker, The Wildness Pleases pp. 232-233.
33. Promenade pp. 129-130.
34. Monique Mosser, "Afterword" to Geoffrey James, Morbid Symptoms (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1986) p. 54.
35. Denis Lambin, "Ermenonville today", Journal of Garden History Vol. 8, No. 1 (Jan-Mar 1988) p. 46.
36. Promenade, p. 150. "Here were discovered many bones of people massacred when brothers slaughtered brothers and citizens butchered citizens. How powerfully could Religion/Superstition persuade to evil!"

37. *ibid.*, p. 151.
38. Tindal, Christianity as Old as the Creation, p. 74.
39. pp. 97-98.
40. Promenade, p. 151.
41. *ibid.*, p. 156.
42. Jean Starobinski, quoted by Mosser, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
43. Helen Maria Williams, Letters from France (1794), letter xxxiii, quoted in Garden History VII, 3, (Winter 1979) p. 66.
44. Promenade, p. 157.
45. Conan, "Postface", p. 188.
46. Letters to Bann, 10/3/73 and 3/7/68.
47. Letter to Bann, 1/5/73.
48. Spectacularly, but not only, in the Little Spartan War. cf. New Arcadians' Journal 24 (Winter 1986, "Blast Folly, Bless Arcadia" - dispute with the National Trust).
49. In Abrioux, p. 38.
50. Studio International, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.
51. The Stones and the Inscribed Column are illustrated in Abrioux, pp. 46, 227.

52. Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, (trans. Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books, 1954) Book 5, Chapter 5, p. 353.
53. In her excavations of gardens in Pompeii and Herculaneum, Wilhelmina Jashemski found evidence of the worship of Hercules, Dionysus, Venus, Diana, Sacred trees, Isis as universal mother, Zeus- (or Dionysus-) Sabazius (a Thracian-Phrygian mantric hand), and Apollo as well as representations of Priapus and Flora. cf. Jashemski's The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius pp. 115-140.
54. *ibid.*, p. 140.
55. Studio International, p. 61.
56. Letter to Bann, 17/9/71.
57. Edward Hussey, The Presocratics (London: Duckworth, 1972) pp. 41-42.
58. p. 43.
59. p. 49.
60. "More Detached Sentences . ." (PN Review 42) p. 20.
61. Hussey, p. 59.
62. p. 33. Finlay's physical isolation is not self-willed. For his stance as an intellectual outsider, cf. the interview in Telegraph Weekend Magazine, (January 21, 1989)

p. 54, "Stand a wee bit outside it the way we do and you see how pathetic it all is".

63. Revolution, n. is illustrated in S. Cutts et al, The Unpainted Landscape (London: Coracle Press, Graeme Murray Gallery, Scottish Arts Council, 1987) pp. 72-73, and the Rococo Walnut Brig in Stephen Bann, "A Description of Stonypath", (Figure 7).

64. V. Erlich paraphrasing Viktor Shklovsky, Russian Formalism: History - Doctrine (The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 1969) p. 177.

65. Letter to Bann, 17/9/71.

66. David Crystal, Child language, learning and linguistics (London: Edward Arnold, 1976) p. 35.

67. New Arcadians' Journal, pp. 4 and 34 n. 6.

68. Quoted by Finlay in a letter to Bann, 6/11/72.

69. Letter to Bann, 11/8/73.

70. cf. Abrioux, pp. 102, 179. cf. also the Serpentine Exhibition Catalogue (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1977), and Heroic Emblems pp. 43, 45, 47-48, 53. The Battle of Midway Heroic Emblem has also been made as a tile, and the installation at the Serpentine Gallery exhibition was repeated at the Galerie de l'Estampe contemporaine, Paris, in 1987.

71. cf. Stephen Bann's essay in the Serpentine Gallery Catalogue. "Gods exist because there are altars" is a quotation from Chrysippus known to Finlay and discussed by Abrioux in "Dissociation: on the poetics of Ian Hamilton Finlay's tree/columns", Word & Image Vol. 4 no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1988) p. 339.

72. Walter Pater, Apollo in Picardy, in Miscellaneous Studies (London, 1907). cf. the title of the song-book of the Hitler-Jugend, Uns geht die Sonne nicht unter (Koln: Musikverlag Tonger, 1934). Finlay's point in "Sundials" (Third Reich Revisited) seems to be the precise opposite of this title.

73. Miscellaneous Studies p. 154.

74. cf. Guy de la Bedoyere, The Finds of Roman Britain (London: B.T. Batsford, 1989) p. 155.

75. This and the previous quotation from Pater, op. cit., pp. 143, 157

76. In Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay, p. 191.

77. Letters to Bann, 15/3/70 and 6/5/75.

78. Studio International, pp. 59, 61.

79. illus. in Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay, p. 58.

80. cf. particularly Violence and the Sacred, passim.

81. Violence and the Sacred, p. 31. On p. 74, in the context of Greek tragedy, Girard discusses regicide in two consecutive sentences which seem to have a bearing on concepts important within the French Revolution. Behind the first can perhaps be seen the idea of égalité: "The act of regicide is the exact equivalent, vis-a-vis the polis, of the act of patricide vis-a-vis the family. In both cases the criminal strikes at the most fundamental, essential and inviolable distinction within the group. He becomes, literally, the slayer of distinctions." Behind the second stands fraternité: "Patricide represents the establishment of violent reciprocity between father and son, the reduction of the paternal relationship to "fraternal" revenge." It comes as no surprise, therefore, to read on p. 304:

When we consider the monarchy of the Ancien Regime in France or any other traditional monarchic system, we cannot help wondering whether it would not be more profitable to consider these institutions in the light of sacred kingship than in the light of modern ideas about monarchy. The concept of Divine Right is not just a fiction made up on the spur of the moment to keep the king's subjects in line. The life and death of the monarchic concept in France - its sacred rites, its fools, its cure of scrofula through the royal touch, the grand finale of the guillotine - all this is clearly structured by the influence of sacred violence. The sacred character of the king - that is, his identity with the victim - regains its potency as it is obscured from view and even held up to ridicule.

82. The dispute between artist and journalist is summarized in Art Monthly, 110, (October 1987) pp. 3-4.

83. Violence and the Sacred, p. 31.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE "NON-SECULAR" GARDEN IN A LIMITED WORLD:

LITTLE SPARTA AND FINLAY'S COMMISSIONS

I. LITTLE SPARTA AND LIMITATION

An account of the persistence of the sacred in modern gardening must take account of the extent and nature of the limitations which surround the non-secular garden. In 1970, Finlay wrote that "limitations are rarely drawbacks if one can contrive to work in harmony with them" [1], and one indication of the extent to which he has transcended limitation is the very existence of his gardening work in other situations. This chapter will explore these omitted works, and the relationship of them and Little Sparta to the surrounding cultural field.

In one sense limitation, or a potentially limiting force,

is built in to the cultural and artistic environment which surrounds Finlay's work. The predominant cultural spirit, at least in Britain, is surely irony. In part a sense of belatedness, especially in terms of the classical tradition, it must also be inevitable in a time of post-modernism, when the generative impulses of the century's dominating cultural movements are exhausted and the need for a replacement is acknowledged but struggling within a self-referential spiral. An awareness of the peril of irony has informed all Finlay's work, not simply that undertaken recently.

Letters discussing Ocean Stripe 5 show Finlay coming to terms with the problem and evolving a strategy in response. Finlay's belief that "There is only one art" permits us to apply evidence from this poem sequence to our discussion.

The conjunction of photos and borrowed text, pleases me very much, as does the ambiguity of the whole. I mean, it sort of carries neo-Dada through a back-somersault, into seriousness. Is it a deriding of the sound poem texts? No it isn't. But in a way it is, sort of . . . it does do something quite new . . . [2]

A letter of a few months later shows that Finlay has resolved some ambiguities:

the quality I call - I am sure wrongly - "irony". Perhaps I should call it "ynori", since it is something that operates (I would hope) in the (reverse)/opposite way, presenting the serious in a distancing guise of humour [3]

While Finlay registers a doubt about the proper label for his rhetorical strategy (a problem solved by recourse to pure

Concrete poetry), there is no confusion in his second letter about how the strategy works. Irony in its simplest form may be said to destroy a serious intention by double vision, applied reductively, often as humour. In defence against this, Finlay introduces humour himself first, thereby drawing the poison of irony, and creating an opportunity for contemplation of the serious purpose behind his work (this stage succeeding the other in time). It is a strategy that he has used repeatedly; the stone and concrete models of battleships at Little Sparta, on which sparrows take the place of aeroplanes (a bird table for winter; a bird-bath (Figure 61) for summer), at first seem like a joke: yet a range of meanings, to do with visual puns, land and sea, power, and garden historicism (depictions of ships in the gardens of the Villa d'Este [4]) lies behind the humour. The strategy is still used: exhibiting the waxwork head of an unfriendly critic is a macabre joke.

In early poems other human qualities are brought to bear on the problem. A poem from 1960 celebrates transcendence of limitation and intimates a strategy later applied at Little Sparta:

OPTIMIST

My would-be father, old and slow,
Did buy himself a kind of tin-
Can for brewing proper, out-of-door tea in.
The bloody fire, though, it wouldn't go.

It was the bloody wet sticks, and everything.
Alone he kneeled on the out-of-door grass,
Blowing with love. I remember how, home again,

He brewed wild tea on the domestic gas. [5]

Formal concerns act as constraints - the ends of lines are emphatically marked in rhyme and syntax, and in one case split a word; they emphasise a general lack of movement and awkwardness which is also apparent between the stanzas (so that in line 5 we find ourselves at the same stage as in line 4). In l. 5 a banal expression disrupts the rhyme-scheme. These effects contribute to the consequent impression of bafflement and frustration important to the meaning, which is offset by enjambement and the invocation of memory and love to overcome the limiting power of time and circumstance. The simplicity of the language and the technical effects contribute greatly to the power and effectiveness of this poem. Finlay's work at Little Sparta, invoking the Battle of Midway, the last cruise of the Emden, nuclear submarines, and much of our literary and painterly heritage, and bringing them back, as it were, to Little Sparta for consideration, can also be seen as a form of brewing wild tea on the domestic gas. As many of the works operate in terms of the sublime, wildness is an appropriate consideration. The events, places and times referred to can no longer be revisited; but their significance can be reasserted and renewed in the form of garden features. Some works of art can also be recreated; thus Finlay is growing Albrecht Dürer's Das Grosse Rasenstück [6], and on one level implying a comment about the naturalism of Dürer's art; on another, the Rasenstück, literally "brought home" to Little Sparta,

takes its place in the garden's collection.

One key area of limitation, both within itself and in the limiting power it seeks to exercise over other people, that Finlay has combated has been that of bureaucratic language [7]. Finlay believes that a bland and apparently moderate epistolary style is used to camouflage outrageous abuses of power. Behind the words lie the actions of limitation, which are executed by militaristic policing (most obviously exposed by the Little Spartan War). The human qualities evoked by the earlier work are perhaps less well able to deal with this institutional threat, for which a more wide-ranging and philosophical instrument (or technique) of resistance might be necessary.

A work outside the strict range of Finlay's gardening works testifies to these concerns. One of the pieces in The Third Reich Revisited - a large cube constructed of smaller blocks, with a large crack in it, exhibited as an environmental sculpture (Figure 62) - is accompanied by the text,

The cube with a crack in it is entitled "Introduction of the Immeasurable into a Regular Solid". Erected by an anti-ecology Blackpeace splinter group, it provides a kind of instant visual antidote to the modern, one-level democracy which has bureaucratized the forests (there are no more forests, there is only forestation) and the sea. . . . a utilitarian view of conserving nature is substituted for a utilitarian view of exploiting it . . . In the present view, nature is degraded to a means of production (including the production of leisure) [8].

In a way characteristic of Finlay's work, the cracked cube resembles the cracked solid in Nikolai Kolli's design for an architectural construction entitled The Red Wedge (1918: Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) [9]. In the text, Finlay simultaneously demonstrates a kinship with the work of the Californian poet, Gary Snyder, who wrote of the U.S. Forest Service in Earth House Hold,

The Philosophy of the Forest Service: Optimistic view of nature - democratic, utilitarian. "Nature is rational." Equals, treat it right and it will make a billion board feet a year. Paradox suppressed. What wd an Aristocratic F. S. be like? Man traps?

Forest equals crop / Scenery equals recreation / Public equals money. : : The shopkeeper's view of nature. [10]

In a sense this represents Snyder's point of departure (philosophically and in his personal history) from the attitudes to nature of Western civilization. Snyder lives in California and was eventually able to turn to the resources of Zen Buddhism, which he studied at length in Japan, while Finlay, striving to renew the Western tradition from within, and finding his materials inside it, invokes "The French Revolutionary, or the Greek view of nature" as a non-secular antidote to the overbearing bureaucratic/utilitarian modern Western model. Finlay gives specific form to the possibilities inherent in this by invoking the "Immeasurable", a concept explored and labelled by Bernard Lassus of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. For Lassus the démesurable is an effect produced by poetic expansion of the

physical dimensions - an effect that stimulates the imagination (a resource brought by every human being to their encounters with landscape, and one that can be deliberately harnessed by the garden designer to transform quotidian objects and settings with minimal physical intervention) [11]. Reflection on the way sunset could unlock an extra dimension at Twickenham and Rievaulx suggests that this is a promising technique for the garden designer.

Activation of the Immeasurable is therefore one technical resource with which the non-secular gardener can expose and contest the debilitating conceptual government of irony, relayed through bureaucracy. This view of bureaucracy intersects with Hayden White's view of irony: "such philosophies and systems of thought as psychoanalysis, existentialism, linguistic analysis, logical atomism, phenomenology, structuralism, and so on, all the major systems of our time, [are] projections of the trope of irony." [12]. How else can such widespread irony to be resisted? Is it essential "to lose thought in myth once more"? Here White invokes Nietzsche: "To render the familiar strange, to give the quotidian the stamp of eternity . . . these were the highest aims that the historian as poet could aspire to". It seems that Finlay, poet as (garden) historian, has adopted just this strategy [13]. At Little Sparta the visitor encounters works of garden historicism such as sundials, bird baths, bird tables and the detached capitals of classical columns (Figure 63), which recall

Edwardian preoccupations with garden decoration, recorded in such works as Gertrude Jekyll's Garden Ornament [14]. One of the capitals, no longer a simple metonymic ornament or plant trough, becomes a transumptive ruined fragment, evoking the idea of an ancient classical building once standing on this site at the outer fringe of the then Roman Empire (Figure 64). Soon after moving to Stonypath, Finlay made a preliminary classification of the garden as "a cottage garden" [15]. The equivalent of the transformation of Edwardian ornaments on the level of the cottage garden might be transformation of tools. At Little Sparta there are ornamented scythes and a familiar axe that, inscribed with Barere's words on St Just, "he spoke like an axe", is made strange. A quotidian watering-can commemorating Robespierre is surely given the stamp of eternity [16]. These give an unexpectedly concrete meaning to Finlay's "Detached Sentence", "Used tools moralise" [17].

Varied techniques combat irony and limitation. Brewing "wild tea" obviously works only in one direction, to Little Sparta, although all the commissions exemplify the emission in different form of ideas developed at Little Sparta. Invocation of humour, memory and love was more prominent in earlier work, while more recently other solutions - invoking the immeasurable, defamiliarization of the artistic object, resisting modernism and government - have all been used to create space in which the sacred idea can take its stand.

The concept of completion of Finlay's work is important in relation to that of limitation. Finlay has understood that "A garden is not an object, but a process" [18], which implies an acceptance that completion will never happen. On the other hand, he has also understood the position of the photograph as a way of achieving completion:

the Bird-Bath Carrier in the little cypress cove, could be made into an excellent photo - of a most exciting sort - if one increased the blackness of the cypress trees, and brought up the white of the stone in a stark Roman manner.
[19]

Of course, the hazard that the photograph will fail to deliver a satisfactory effect makes any such attempt at completion perilous. The garden (process) is enhanced in contrast, as a respite from such attempts. The equation of completion and limitation must therefore be a possibility, and in contrast liberating moments, usually early in the work on a project, of pure potentiality become the true antithesis of limitation. Nevertheless, by framing the view from its context, by isolating it in time, by dislocating the moment from other sensory data (although the image often carries a powerful synaesthetic charge) and, in the case of black and white prints, by suppressing tonal variation, the photograph presents the viewer with an opportunity to meditate upon the relations between the elements within Finlay's work and upon the way in which we perceive them, free of the sensory plenitude of the every-day. As in a dream, the neo-presocratic dislocation of the conventions of taxonomy

achieved in the photographs open further opportunities for consideration of the symbolic properties of the subject [20]. Thus a good photograph becomes an end, which answers the "vision from which the imagination began" [21], and completion through photographs can transcend limitation.

II. THE COMMISSIONS

Completion, and strategies for overcoming limitation, are equally important at the Villa Celle, near Pistoia in Tuscany, where Finlay's A Celebration of the Grove or Bosco Virgiliano, has recently been installed, though not in the form shown in the original proposal. The sign of the sacred element, a small tempietto of fluted Ionic columns, has not been built.

The work mediates between the formal garden of the Villa and the Virgilian countryside around it. In a grove of olives in the foothills of the Apennines, with a vineyard nearby, three pieces of sculpture have been placed which extend Finlay's characteristic thematic concerns. They are located within agricultural land that continues to be productive, workers having to move around Finlay's pieces to gather the olives. Nearest the vineyard, a primitive bronze plough (Figure 65) bears the inscription "The Day Is Old By Noon". The best commentary is again "Used tools moralise". The presence of the plough draws attention to the farming of

the landscape in which it is located, and celebrates the values which the scene demonstrates: hard work, country hours, and the civilisation of husbandry and agriculture.

Nearby, bronze plaques in Italian and English (Figure 66), fixed to olive trees, meditate on the analogical basis of understanding, and the presence of the potential in the actual, with the words, "The silver flute/The rough bark/The silver bark/The rough flute". "Flute" evokes not only ancient ("rough") and modern ("silver") musical instruments, but also decorative features of classical columns. The words therefore carry a simultaneous pastoral and neo-classical charge. At the same time "bark" distantly evokes the sea (barque), and provides a link to the third piece in the group.

A bronze basket of lemons is inscribed "Silence after chatter" and "The astringent is sweet" (Figure 67). The sensory effect immediately produced by such defamiliarization is to heighten our awareness of sound and taste. However, a full interpretation of this piece requires a cross-reference to Finlay's other work. On a black and white postcard of a fishing boat in harbour, Finlay has written words (the nouns "pips" and "stalk" and eight words describing colours) as labels which mediate between the image and the work's title, Still Life with Lemon (Detail). Thus we can view the boat as a lemon (and therefore the basket of lemons as an image of a haven of boats), but the card also functions (in part through

its title but also by imitating the sketching practice of painters and using the vocabulary of symbolism) as a comment upon the origin of modernism in painting, photography and poetry [22].

The bronze basket of lemons at Celle can now be understood to interact emphatically with its setting. The Villa Celle houses a collection of contemporary art, and within the giardino inglese there, which dates from c.1840, a group of modern environmental sculptures and pieces of land art has recently been collected. At the time it was conceived, Finlay's Grove was the only work to be located outside the wooded garden in the agricultural countryside. It was therefore deliberately distanced from "The Forest of the Avant-Garde" [23], on which it has, as it were, turned its back. The "chatter" for which the lemons, characteristic product of mediterranean agriculture, provide the astringent antidote, is therefore that of the modernist works in the rest of the collection. In common with the Sacred Grove at the Kroller-Muller, the Grove at Celle reveals an attitude to contemporary self-styled avant-garde art that is essentially adversarial [24].

The tempietto, inscribed "L'ombra medita sulla luce" ("shadows muse on light"), would have functioned within this arrangement as a mid-term. We are used to temples as garden features, and it would have evoked the pure ease associated with the garden (any garden). Yet the fluted columns would

have extended the reference of the olive-tree's plaques and in a sense brought the forms of the tree's bark (and with them the mediterranean idea embodied in the agriculture) to perfection in classical architecture [25].

The commission specified that "the new work will create a confrontation between the ancient park with its Land-Art, and the new space where vegetation will appear in the double-role of natural and artistic element" [26]. Finlay's grove at Celle manages to link, as antithetical terms, the agricultural world around and the art in the otherwise isolated ancient garden. The concerns with which he engages - Georgic, Pastoral, Neo-classical, marine, Symbolist, Modernist - are entirely characteristic, as is the mode of that engagement. The commission for the Grove was for a work which made plants themselves the main "raw material", and Finlay has simply adopted the existing plants to activate their powerful cultural associations by minimal intervention. In contrast to the land art of the park, the result is absolutely rooted in its context, at home on classic ground. Contesting modernism creates a space for classical perfection. The work could not exist coherently anywhere else.

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The problems of limitation/completion have recently reached

crisis point around Finlay's proposal (with Alexandre Chemetoff) for a garden to celebrate the Declaration of the Rights of Man at the Hôtel des Menus Plaisirs at Versailles. At the time of writing, for reasons outside Finlay's control, the project appears unlikely ever to be realised, and therefore to remain completed only in the form of a proposal [27].

The proposal is for a beautiful and convincing garden (Figure 69) that celebrates the Declaration of the Rights on Man by allegorising the principles of the French Revolution in a succession of visual and planting puns and allusions. The proposed garden would allegorise, in gardening terms, the principles expressed in the motto of the Revolution, "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité". Finlay and Chemetoff have therefore proposed a Tree of Liberty to represent Liberté. Planting such trees was a commonplace during the Revolutionary era, (from 1790), and several representations of them are visible in, for example, the Musée Carnavalet in Paris [28]. This is one of three ways in which areas of planting are used to evoke the revolutionary principles, and works by straightforward historicist reference.

Another way in which planting is activated depends upon the shape of a small pear orchard in one corner of the site, which employs an equilateral triangle to evoke the idea of egalite. This reading, which depends upon the recognition of emblematic meaning in geometry, is not included in Bann's

commentary, which avoids a simple duplication of material already in the designers' text. However, the third area of allegorised planting, poplar trees, representing fraternité, is the subject of more attention, being linked associatively, via Ermenonville's Ile des Peupliers, to Rousseau's impact on the Revolution. The poplars are also linked in formal terms with a building opposite, where a row of wooden timbers would mark the position of columns within the chamber where the Estates General met in 1789. Finally, the poplars are linked with the people by an association based on sound (peuple/peuplier). This would seem exhaustive, yet it constitutes only a selection from the possible ways in which poplars can be linked with the idea of fraternité. Further meditation might link the verbal association with a way in which the trees can represent fraternity by being sufficiently similar in shape and height to evoke the image of a group of people standing together in purely visual terms. Furthermore, the reason for this near uniformity among Lombardy poplars eclipses, in allegorical power, the admittedly rather tenuous visual analogy that has just been made; all Lombardy poplars are male clones of a single tree found growing in the characteristic way in Northern Italy in the early eighteenth century, and can therefore be thought of as fraternal in a quite literal sense [29].

These plants, together with the ring of Wild Cherry trees around the central lawn, the lawn and pool, constitute what is effectively the body of an emblem, and form one of two

major texts in the garden. The emblem's motto has been taken from the historian Michelet and would be carved on a series of very large stones which, ringing the lawn, would also serve as seats. The motto reads, NOUS VOULIONS GRAVER NOTRE LOI SUR LA PIERRE DU DROIT ETERNEL SUR LE ROC QUI PORTE LE MONDE L'INVARIABLE JUSTICE ET L'INDESTRUCTIBLE EQUITE. Thus a kinetic element is introduced into the design, the message unfolding as the visitor walks round the garden, in true eighteenth century fashion. The fact that the words are engraved on stone and the inscription refers metaphorically to that process provides an image which challenges the viewer with the idea that the Revolution has in some sense succeeded (albeit in a limited sense - the rocks are of course not actually those that bear the world); there is a concrete representation of what is written as virtual and metaphorical in Michelet's words. This defamiliarization simultaneously allows a subtle sacralization. The Old Testament episode of a (sacred) law engraved on tablets of stone is subliminally suggested, as is the moment when Christ "forecasts that his Church will be built on a rock" [30]. These are Michelet's allusions, and his text already carries within it "the stamp of eternity"; what Finlay adds is an "undeniably religious" effect through his use of huge unshaped (naturalistic) stone blocks to bear the words. Together with the words themselves, the sacred idea they couch comes nearer to concretion. "It is as if altars were being dedicated to the new religion of Humanity which was to be sponsored by the

French Revolution" [31]. The effect is also that of the genus deliberativum of classical rhetoric: between the sacralization, on one hand, and the image of a hitherto only limited success, on the other, an exhortation works on the visitor, in whom the desire for greater achievement can awaken.

The garden for the Hôtel des Menus Plaisirs is Finlay's fullest engagement to date with the implications of a garden as a commission. The trees (including the wild cherries planted between the stones) contribute as much to meaning as do the words, the shapes of various parts of the garden (the lawn demarcating the exact dimensions, and occupying the exact geographical spot once occupied by the original seating of the chamber of the Estates General in 1789) and the shape of the pool (square being traditionally the moral shape, the perfect man-created shape, and therefore a suitable image for a new society not based upon the monarchical tradition of divine right). Even the pears and cherries that the garden would produce contribute not only stimulus to the sense of taste, but an allegorical element ("The free availability of the pears and cherries may be thought of as an implicit and delicate little allegory of the document of Rights" [32]). There is a contrast here with Finlay's first foreign commission, for the Max Planck Institute, Stuttgart (1972-1973). There a series of poems and sculptures demonstrate the beauty and effectiveness of concrete poetry in an open-air context, without engaging urgently with the

surrounding vegetation.

* * *

The idea of the surpassing of limitation by Finlay in his commissioned work needs to be explored in another dimension. Employing the strategies for overcoming irony that we have identified, the work at Versailles, the Villa Celle and the Kroller-Muller all demonstrates close relationship with its context, and the works appear as inevitable conclusions to the message of the surrounding area, which they also call into being. This is also true of another recent work, the UNDA/NUDA stones for the Stuart Collection at the University of California at San Diego, which at the same time engages most dramatically with the other dimension.

On huge unfinished blocks of stone is inscribed a text which combines letters, words and the printers' correctional sign for transposition (Figure 69). The blocks are placed at the top of a cliff overlooking the Pacific Ocean. As the inscription is read from left to right, the two words which emerge from what is at first a jumble of letters are NUDA and UNDA, Latin for nude and wave. The first impression is that the transposition sign has in some way made sense of the letters, arranging them into words. However, what is more powerfully revealed in the inscription is a semiotic meditation on the word as sign. The transposition sign also functions as a diagram for the movement of water within a wave (vertical); while the letters/words imitate the forward

(horizontal) movement of the wave itself [33]. At first this relationship between the letters and waves is a purely symbolic one, which is retroactively transformed into an iconic relationship when the word UNDA finally emerges. Apart from a demonstration of the anatomy of a wave, what is involved is the arbitrariness of the relationship between the word and its referent (foregrounded by the apparently accidental first emergence of the word NUDA).

What anchors this work to its context is the view of the Pacific Ocean in the background, which serves as the ultimate referent for the Concrete poem on the stones. Another, purely sensual, element of the work is the correlation of landscape and the human form involved in the equation of the curves of a wave in the sea and those of a nude. However, the ocean's presence also works in other ways. The breathtaking immensity of the blue ocean far below, usually seen in bright sunlight, introduces the illimited most powerfully into Finlay's work. The scene also asks to be enjoyed at sunset, and forms (after Twickenham and Rievaulx Terrace) the final sunset that we shall be considering. At Twickenham sunset evoked the metaphysical distance separating Pope's mother from the world. At Rievaulx it introduced the Sublime. A marine sunset usually involves less of obscurity and a simpler beauty than that inland; the sun quickly slips, as it were, over the edge of the earth, and the waves, first emphasized in a now grey sea by the low rays, eventually fade from sight altogether. Equally in daylight or at sunset the

siting of the work is a classic case of borrowed landscape, where the sea's billows approach the inscribed poem as if to demonstrate its assertions; yet it also throws our discussion of limitation into another, sublime, dimension.

A comparison with an earlier commission can show this dimension clearly. A sundial designed by Finlay was installed in the High Street at Biggar in 1970. The inscription on it:

AZURE & SON
ISLANDS LTD
OCEANS INC

deliberately engaged with the commerce of the neighbouring shops and firms in the town, while subliminally (and humorously) suggesting the oceans of ink necessary to the conduct of modern business. Humour is used to distance seriousness: the main effect of the poem is to emphasize a kind of reduction which is being brought about upon the illimited regions of nature and poetry; we see a limitation being imposed upon them, not least by the activities of the multi-national corporation (OCEANS INC). At the same time the radiating dial beneath the poem introduces an elegiac note by forming a stylized icon of a sunset.

In A Sailor's Calendar (1971) Finlay added another dimension to the same work, making explicit within the process in question the decay of the sacred idea, by printing the poem over a drawing of an ancient Greek promontory

overlooking the sea. On the headland stands a ruined temple and on the ground lies a broken column. A Greek vessel (the Argo?) sails past in front of a low sun. The time when oceans were truly unexplored and vast, islands numberless and the air untraversed is successfully evoked. Yet the sailing vessel also introduces the impulses - to imperial expansion and to trade - which led Western societies to cover the globe, number the islands and (as Bernard Lassus has pointed out) in general reduce unexplored horizontal spaces all over the world. Western society has never been free of those impulses, and now they have succeeded to such an extent that we are confronted with a world in which there is no physical freedom from limitation [34]. Finlay's implication is that the decay of the sacred paved the way for this, and here the sacred becomes not so much a quality inherent in particular objects, as an attitude within the human breast. In Finlay's work as a whole, it is an attitude called forth by art, by revolution, and by nature, and its lack leaves a place which is filled by peril [35].

How then, to repeat an earlier question, can such limitation be overcome? The answer arrived at by Finlay's work at San Diego operates by invoking the illimited, essentially an imaginative dimension. The Pacific Ocean impresses in many ways: by its great size; by our perception of its physical properties, which gave it its name; by its power over swimmers and boats; by its depth: chiefly, in short, by its associations, which are imaginative and

poetic. Even our knowledge of geography is no impediment to this. As we look at the ocean from Finlay's stones, the knowledge that the sea ends and another continent begins on the other side of the planet tends to seem insignificant beside what we can see of its immensity, and beside the breeze from it which we feel and which we hear stirring the leaves of nearby eucalyptus and plane trees. The ocean as a place of mystery, as a symbol of the unconscious mind, as a symbol (for Pope in his Letters) of life, through which we voyage, cannot be measured. The ocean's poetic presence, evoking and playing upon literary or unconscious ideas, provides the desired element of the immeasurable in Finlay's work.

III. CONCLUSION

Finlay, Lassus (and James Pierce at Pratt Farm, Maine - see Appendix Two) have succeeded in bringing their art into locations for which they compete not only with other artists but with members of the profession of landscape architecture, and they show signs of rejuvenating modern views about gardens and public open space [36]. In England the landscape architecture profession has until recently been dominated by a particular ideology; we can detect it when a distinguished landscape architect discusses the "Life-cycle":

The response of human consciousness to scenery which expresses a balanced and enduring aspect of that cycle is therefore a normal instinct to be cultivated and refined to the fullest extent. [37]

In 1946 the Chairman of the New Towns Committee asserted that landscape architects participated in an intention "to conduct an essay in civilization by seizing an opportunity to design, solve and carry into execution for the benefit of future generations the means for a happy and gracious life" [38]. We learn that more recently the "emphasis of work" for landscape architects in Britain "has shifted to industry as industrialists seek to create a new "clean" image for their work, often in "industrial" or "science parks" (a true projection of irony) [39]. A recent paragraph entitled "Landscape architecture and garden design" concludes:

Garden design continues also at another level. Kings and princes have always expressed their wealth and power by creating palaces and their gardens, and this is now occurring in the burgeoning economy of the oil countries of the Middle East. Unfortunately, for security reasons, these gardens are carefully controlled, and they can rarely be illustrated. In addition there are the nouveaux riches of the late 20th c. in the West - sportsmen, entertainers, and, as always, businessmen - who seek through their houses and gardens to express their status and their aspirations.
[40]

Against the vagueness and naivety of the desire to cause people to be "cultivated", "refined" and "gracious", and the hapless fate of "expressing" the "wealth and power" of

capitalism (which depends so heavily upon the exploitation of two of the prime ingredients of a garden, people and nature), while being unable to generate innovatory ideas, Finlay's words stand in remarkably clear contrast: "The "pluralist democracies" . . . have reduced the art critic, art editor (etc) to functionaries of the state." "There is a total and as yet unacknowledged contradiction between the idea of a pluralist democracy and the state-aided art [because art serves the patron, and patronage is therefore a political question]" [41]. In his works, too, Finlay's belief and commitment erupt as forcefully as his words.

In the process of rejuvenating modern views about gardens and public open space, the sacred and the immeasurable have taken their place. It would be possible to define the sacred as part of the immeasurable - as one of the ways in which an imaginative response to landscape takes shape. Up to a point this definition has to be accepted; yet to assume that it is all that is involved would be an oversimplification. We have examined many ways in which the sacred idea occurs in gardens: metaphoric, metonymic, synecdochic, ironic, transumptive, analogic; only some of these manifestations exhibit close connections with the immeasurable. Pierce made his garden in the U.S.A. when he was unaware of the work of Lassus and only dimly aware, and evidently uninfluenced by, Finlay's work. Yet the sacred and the immeasurable emerge from his work as the most important areas of interest and impact. His example is therefore valuable in showing

that it is not only Finlay who, in a modern context, has an interest in the sacred; and, in addition, because classicism is for Pierce peripheral rather than central, he shows that the sacred is no longer simply a consequence of classicism. The occurrence of the themes at Pratt Farm suggests three possibilities: 1) they amount to constant archetypes of human thought in response to gardens and landscapes; 2) they are inherent in artistic culture of the twentieth century, which both Finlay and Pierce are highly aware of; 3) they are rooted in the eighteenth century tradition to which, in varying degrees, both Pierce and Finlay express loyalty.

In fact the sacred and the immeasurable can be seen developing independently within eighteenth century gardening. During the era in which the mapping of the horizontal dimension of the earth was rapidly accelerating [42], and, on the national level, many gardens were finding and fixing their own limits in relation to the countryside around them during enclosures, English gardens were celebrating or condemning sacred buildings and enshrining metaphors of the unlimited. The way in which this latter activity happened can be seen at Little Sparta in the Grotto of Aeneas and Dido (Figure 70). This celebrates an early grotto of the western literary tradition, in which Dido and Aeneas sheltered from a storm, and the lightning-flash placed between the letters A and D over the entrance signifies not only that storm, but the poetic charge in the legendary encounter within the cave, that has generated so many

representations in the years since. Dido's Cave in the gardens of Stowe House was one of those representations, and, in common with other eighteenth century grottos, intimates an awareness of the vertical as a limitless dimension. Pope's grotto had linked the awareness of this dimension to a display of the resources of the earth itself - "Approach. Great Nature studiously behold!" [43]. In connection with a feature that as strongly stimulated the visitor's imagination, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik showed how the immeasurable could overlap with the sacred to open a route into another world. Over his grotto at Penicuik was the inscription "Tenebrosa Occultaque Cave" ("beware of dark and hidden things"), and he described the effect of the cave in a letter:

To those who enter, therefore, first occurs the memory of the Cumean Sibyl, for the ruinous aperture, blocked up with stones and briars, strikes the eye . . . there comes upon the wayfarers a shudder, as they stand in doubt whether they are among the living or the dead . . . Suddenly the darkness disappears, as it were at the creation of a new world [44].

The sacred way provides for the visitor a release from the grip of the everyday. Clerk's grotto exemplifies the connections between the connotations of the sacred at large in society and the signs of the sacred arranged for delight in the private world of the garden. Such connections have provided the basis for this study, and it has attempted to show that the relationships governing them are essentially those of rhetoric.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Letter to Stephen Bann, 2/5/70.
2. Letter to Bann, 21/9/67. "There is only one art", letter to Bann of 29/6/70.
3. Letter to Bann, 31/1/68.
4. Stephen Bann, "A Description of Stonypath", p. 126.
5. From The Dancers Inherit the Party (1960), reprinted in Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay, p. 67.
6. Illustrated in Abrioux, p. 52.
7. The disputes have all revolved around the meaning of words. In addition to the Little Spartan War there has been the definition of the first edition of a book (dispute with Fulcrum Press, early 1970's), and the definition of a garden folly (dispute with the National Trust, mid-1980's). See also the card, "Pink Melon Joy" (1984: Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay p. 34) and "An Illustrated Dictionary of the Little Spartan War" (1983: Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay pp. 32-33.
8. The Third Reich Revisited was reprinted in New Arcadians' Journal 15, Autumn, 1984.

9. Illustrated in Art of the October Revolution ed. Mikhail Guerman, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1979) Plate 294.
10. Journal entry for 27 June 1953, in Earth House Hold (New York: New Directions Books, 1969) p. 12.
11. Lassus's approach is illustrated by his Introduction to Selected Ponds by Ian Hamilton Finlay and Dave Paterson (Reno, Nevada: West Coast Poetry Review, 1976) and by Lassus, "Uckange: Restructuration Urbaine" (Edité en 1988 par la Revue Urbanisme, no. 220) and "Le Jardin des Retours: Une image retrouvée pour Rochefort" (1982 Concours National pour le parc de la Corderie Royale de Rochefort-Sur-Mer) Urbanisme, Septembre 1988, no. 226/227. cf. also Stephen Bann, "The Landscape Approach of Bernard Lassus", Journal of Garden History Vol. 3 no. 2 (1983) pp. 79-107, and book review of Lassus's Jardins Imaginaires, Journal of Garden History Vol. 1 no. 1 (1981) pp. 108-110. (See Appendix Two for another garden that uses this dimension.) Minimal intervention is used by Lucius Burckhardt, cf. Burckhardt, "Minimal Intervention" in S. Cutts et al, The Unpainted Landscape pp. 96-109. Burckhardt's event at the 1988 Milan Triennale, entitled "Viaggio a Tahiti: esistono (ancora) nuovi paradisi" used minimal intervention to transform an industrial suburb of Milan into Tahiti, encouraging participants and spectators to meditate on relationships between city and colony and city and nature.
12. White is construing Foucault here, but the application of

rhetorical terms to the problem is his own. Tropics of Discourse, p. 255.

13. The concept was labelled ostranenie, defamiliarization, by the Russian formalist critics (expounded by Fredric Jameson in The Prison-House of Language (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) pp. 50 ff.). Nietzsche is doing no more (and no less) than recommending that the historian adopt strategies that have traditionally been those of poetry. cf. Finlay's letter to Bann of 7/7/78, "I was reading Nietzsche but this seems superfluous (in the sense that it often feels like reading me . .)" White discusses Nietzsche in Tropics, pp. 256-257.

14. Finlay refers to "Jekyll's masonry in a letter to Bann of 14/2/72.

15. Letters to Bann, 23/1/70 and 2/5/70.

16. Illus. in Abrioux, pp. 61, 219, 238.

17. "More Detached Sentences . ." p. 20.

18. "Unconnected Sentences on Gardening" in Abrioux, p. 38.

19. Letter to Bann, 1/5/73.

20. This applies especially to Dave Paterson's photographs in Selected Ponds, and the photographs of Andrew Griffiths (in, for example, New Arcadians' Journal 23).

21. Letter to Bann, 1/5/73.

22. Yves Abrioux's interpretation, to which I am heavily indebted here. (Abrioux, pp. 154-155, 161). The three phrases are "stalk (brown)", "pips (silver)", "azure blue".

23. This phrase is from the Villa Celle proposal, "A Celebration of the Grove" (Parrett Press 1984, no pagination).

24. Abrioux, "Dissociation: on the poetics of Ian Hamilton Finlay's tree/columns" Word & Image Vol. 4, no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1988) p. 339: "The Sacred Grove is intended to combat the surrounding modernism".

25. "A Celebration of the Grove" defines "Volute" as "a form subsisting in the tree-bark".

26. Ibid.

27. "Proposition pour un Jardin Commemorant la Révolution Française et les Droits de l'Homme, 1789-1989. Hôtel des Menus Plaisirs, Versailles" (Little Sparta: Wild Hawthorn Press, 1988) no pagination.

28. Reproduced for example in Alfred Cobban, ed. The Eighteenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson 1969) pp. 266, 267, 328. Two commentaries, by the designers themselves and by Stephen Bann, accompany the Versailles proposal.

29. Roger Phillips Trees in Britain (London: Pan Books, 1978) p. 168.

30. Stephen Bann, "A Revolutionary Garden in Versailles", in the "Proposition".

31. Bann, *ibid.*

32. "Proposition", commentary by Finlay and Chemetoff.

33. For a similar, though more complex, installation by Finlay in Livingston New Town, Stephen Bann proposes a reading in which the transposition sign moves from right to left through the letters as the icon of a wave (cf. the icon of waves in the concrete poem "Wave/Rock"): "le Talon de St Thomas", Revue d'Esthetique 3-4, 1977, pp. 121-133. Both readings foreground Finlay's use of the word as sign, and which is chosen will depend on which type of sign the viewer decides the transposition sign is - icon or diagram. The terminology of signs used here is that of C. S. Peirce.

34. cf. Lassus, *op. cit.*, esp. his "Introduction" to Selected Ponds. An essay by J. B. Jackson, "Agrophilia, or the Love of Horizontal Spaces", in Discovering the Vernacular Landscape pp. 65-70 is also relevant here. The image from A Sailor's Calendar is illus. in Abrioux, Ian Hamilton Finlay, p. 203.

35. Finlay, letter to Bann, 17/6/75: "the key lies in the secular and irresponsible aspects. They are certainly going to convulse the whole Age, on every level, I am convinced".

36. Pierce's work has occupied sites away from Pratt Farm at

the 30th and 32nd Arts Festivals of Atlanta (1983 and 1985), at Nantucket Island School of Design and the Arts (1984), and at galleries in and around Camden, Maine.

37. Brenda Colvin, Land and Landscape: Evolution, Design & Control (London: John Murray, 1970) (first ed. 1947) p. 379.

38. Lord Reith, quoted in the Oxford Companion to Gardens, p. 324.

39. *ibid.*, p. 324. s. v. "Landscape Architecture" by Michael Lancaster, William Douglas, Hubert B. Owens, pp. 322-326.

40. *ibid.*, p. 323. Both quotations are by Michael Lancaster.

41. Interview in Studio International, p. 61.

42. Admiral Anson's circumnavigation of the earth, particularly important for Shugborough and Hagley's "Tinian Lawn", took place in the 1740's; Cook's voyages of exploration in the 1770's. cf. Stephen Bann "From Captain Cook to Neil Armstrong: Colonial Exploration and the structure of landscape" in J.C. Eade, ed., Projecting the Landscape (Australia National University Humanities Research Centre Monograph no. 4) pp. 78-91.

43. Alexander Pope, "Verses on a Grotto by the River Thames at Twickenham, composed of Marbles, Spars, and Minerals", quoted in Mack, The Country and the City, p. 69.

44. cf. William Spink, "Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Landowner as designer", in Furor Hortensis, 31-40, letter quoted p. 37.

APPENDIX ONE

HORACE WALPOLE AND SACRED CLASSICAL LANDSCAPE

I stated in the Introduction that the landscape idea was predominant in England between the 1730's and around 1820. During that time it underwent several transformations. In its early manifestations, it was associated with people who demonstrated loyalty to the classical idea (either directly or via the relay of later Italian gardens): William Kent, Lord Burlington (and through him Castell and Morris), Pope (influential in his writings), Switzer, and the owner-designers, the Earl of Carlisle, Sir John Clerk, Aislable, Shenstone, Lyttelton, Hoare. As we have seen, the classical idea carried strong sacred associations.

In 1771 Horace Walpole published his The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening [1]. In this book Walpole used irony to reduce the importance of classical gardens as models for English gardening. We have already seen in the Introduction how the villa gardens of Pliny the Younger were an important inspiration for emergent ideas of English gardens fifty years before Walpole's book appeared. Walpole,

however, re-writes this link to deny the validity of the model:

What was the principal beauty of [Pliny's] pleasure-ground? Exactly what was the admiration of this country about threescore years ago . . . a Roman consul, a polished emperor's friend, and a man of elegant literature and taste, delighted in what the mob now scarce admire in a college-garden [2]

Pliny's absurdity, for Walpole, is that he did not make a late-eighteenth century landscape garden. While Robert Castell radically expanded Pliny in 1728, Walpole subjected him to a drastic reduction in 1771. Walpole similarly ridicules the gardens of Alcinous: when "divested of harmonious Greek and bewitching poetry", these turn out to have been "a small orchard and vineyard, with some beds of herbs and two fountains that watered them, inclosed within a quickset hedge. The whole compass of this pompous garden included - four acres" [3].

Walpole disallows the sacred idea as a motivation for design by censoring its conventional scriptural source (which was important, though mysterious, to Switzer in 1718). Of Paradise, he writes:

as every tree that was pleasant to the sight and good for food grew in it, and as two other trees were likewise found there, of which not a slip or sucker remains, it does not belong to the present discussion. After the fall . . . the poverty and necessities of our first ancestors hardly allowed them time to make improvements on their estates in imitation of it . . . A cottage and a slip of ground for a cabbage and a gooseberry - bush, such as we see by the side of a common, were in all probability the earliest seats and gardens [4]

(emphasis in original)

Once again garden history is re-written in contemporary English terms. When Eden reappears in Walpole's text it is in the form of Milton's descriptions which are contrasted with Stourhead, Hagley and the paintings of Claude Lorrain in an elaborate series of comparisons that shift the discourse to the opposition of Art vs. Nature [5].

There is a third element in Walpole's reductive strategy. He reduces classicism and the sacred, but at Sledmere we saw the garden buildings providing a signifying element, a "language of things". Walpole disallows even these, together with grottos and hermitages, in favour of "Prospect, animated prospect, is the theatre that will always be frequented" [6].

Walpole's book is not good history, is written from an extremely partisan point of view, and yet has been immensely influential, firstly upon the thinking of the picturesque school - particularly on Price [7] - and later by its "control over subsequent historians", which "continues to be enormous" [8].

The effect of Walpole's views is to suppress both classicism and the sacred idea, and to divide them. In his text we watch the ironic assault sacrifice classicism and the sacred on the altar of the picturesque and the "natural". While some sacred gardens continued to be made [9], landscape gardens were sundered from any origin in classicism, and in turn became much less important: "If any style went out of

fashion, it was that of the simple landscape garden: in Britain and on the Continent I can think of few attempts after Repton's death in 1818" [10].

I do not wish to diminish the importance of other factors in this decline. Purely economic changes, a growing eclecticism, the growth of botanical collections and arboreta, and the taste for exotic plants from abroad that could not possibly be assimilated to the classical tradition (unlike the native trees used by Capability Brown most of which are mentioned by Virgil) all contributed to the eclipse of sacred landscape. We have also seen the sacred idea to have had an urgent political support, stemming from the religious strife of the previous two centuries and taking particular form in the eighteenth century in relation to Roman Catholicism and Jacobitism. Once this political urgency faded, with the defeat of the '45, the accession of George III, and the death of the last Stuart, Cardinal York, in 1807, the sacred idea lost much of its importance. To analyze Walpole's influence in the middle of these powerful cultural changes would require a large amount of research. However, it is possible even in a brief preliminary survey to link Walpole's history with one specific contribution to change in gardening, in an area which he would have least predicted or enjoyed - the growth of the Gardenesque.

A paradigmatic moment in garden history occurred when J. C. Loudon, prolific and influential gardener and garden-writer,

became aware of Quatremère de Quincy's writings on the arts, and in particular Quincy's denial that landscape gardening could be allowed to be an imitative art at all [11]. Quincy's reasoning was that the materials of gardening were not distinguished from those of nature, and therefore could not offer the spectator the pleasure of comparing art with nature, which is the foundation of imitation in the fine arts [12]. As Loudon's biographer states, this should have been the occasion of a lively debate that would have clarified many issues of illusion and imitation in gardening and art. However, Loudon had little sense of the sacred [13] and no understanding of the landscape garden as a classicizing reflex. His views on landscape gardening had been entirely formed by those of Walpole [14], Price and Whately and he undoubtedly believed that the prime end of landscape gardening was indeed to efface the boundary between the garden and nature [15]. Once Loudon had accepted Quincy's premises, all he could offer the censorious French critic was a capitulation: he concluded that gardens must announce themselves more vigorously as works of art, by means of flower-beds in lawns, geometrical layouts, exotic plants, and so on.

The development of Loudon's gardenesque garden, or as some would have it, the demise of the English landscape garden, begins here. It . . . should have led to a clearer understanding of the essential purposes of landscape architecture. Some believe it led instead to mere chaos in the garden [16]

Loudon might have been able to oppose Quincy's theory by

reference to the ars topiaria, the art of place-making using plants and worked stone as materials, developed originally in late-Republic and Augustan Rome. However, to do so would have depended upon him viewing the landscape garden as a representation of classical landscape, rather than of "nature" - a possibility that Walpole had foreclosed upon.

NOTES TO APPENDIX ONE

1. First published as part of Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England (1771).
2. Anecdotes (3rd ed., 1786) Vol. IV, p. 255.
3. *ibid.*, p. 251.
4. p. 249.
5. pp. 268-270.
6. Grottos p. 302, hermitages, buildings and "prospect" p. 304.
7. Uvedale Price, Essays on the Picturesque, As compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful (3 Vols., 2nd ed., 1810) acknowledges Walpole in Vol. I pp. 230, 233.
8. Hunt and Willis, eds., The Genius of the Place, p. 311.
9. A good example is the garden of James Mellor at Hough-Hole in Cheshire (from 1840's): cf. R. C Turner, "Mellor's Gardens", Garden History, Vol. 15, no. 2 (Autumn 1987) pp. 157-166.
10. Christopher Thacker, The History of Gardens, p. 239.
11. The work in question is Quincy's Essai sur l'imitation (1823). cf. Melanie Simo, Loudon and the Landscape: from

Country Seat to Metropolis 1783-1843 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) pp. 172-173.

12. Simo, p. 13.

13. The Corporation of Southampton found Loudon's plan for their cemetery "not Christian" and therefore difficult to accept (Simo p. 283).

14. Simo, pp. 171, 173.

15. *ibid.*, p. 171. This belief is also evident in Loudon's early plans for landscape gardens: pp. 30-32

16. Simo, p. 13. Even this response shows Loudon to have misunderstood Quincy's theory. The "gardenesque" garden ceases to be an imitation; nor does it solve the essential problem that Quincy posed - that plants are not distinguished from the products of nature.

APPENDIX TWO

JAMES PIERCE'S PRATT FARM:

THE PLUNGE INTO THE IMMEASURABLE

Ian Hamilton Finlay's Little Sparta has been compared with the 17 acre garden of James Pierce, at Pratt Farm, Maine, U.S.A., that Pierce has been making since 1970. The two gardens roughly correspond in time, but the grounds for the comparison are that both garden-makers express a sense of loyalty to the English tradition of gardening in the eighteenth century [1]. In John Beardsley's view both gardens exemplify a modern application of Picturesque principles. Certainly Pierce's garden contains features - the British and French Redoubts (1971-2) and the Arnold Memorial (1977) - that refer to eighteenth century history, specifically the Anglo-French war in North America and the American Revolution (an early episode of which saw Benedict Arnold's expedition against Quebec pass up the Kennebec River that flows past Pratt Farm). By making these references, Pierce's earthworks can be linked to buildings in English gardens, such as the Temple of Concord and Victory at Stowe, and Keppel's Column

at Wentworth Woodhouse, which refer to the same campaigns. However, Pierce's features are not especially picturesque, and are instead distinctly primitive in form [2].

Comparison of Little Sparta and Pratt Farm is useful, but not in the terms Beardsley has used. Rather they show parallel responses to the possibilities of the garden as a work of art, and in them similar themes emerge in very different materials and from very different approaches. In particular, the presence of the sacred element in Pierce's garden is a useful reminder that a modern interest in that element is not peculiar to Finlay alone.

The sacred is present at Pratt Farm most obviously in two features. One is the Altar (1977), an imposing celebration of the male genitalia in one of Pratt Farm's woods (Figure 71). While the cruciform feature amounts to a play upon Christian associations, it proves also to be a fertility symbol, referring to:

the worship of stones among a Central Asian people, the Buriats, who, for the sake of agricultural fruitfulness, elevated on platforms certain stones that they believed had fallen from the sky [3].

The other feature in question is the Kiva (from 1970), modelled upon a type of sanctuary used by the native Americans of the south west U.S.A., and described by Pierce as "absolutely vaginal" (Figure 72) and as the setting for "rites of agricultural fertility" [4].

Both these spectacularly metonymic features have synecdochic equivalents nearby in the garden. The Suntreeman (1978) represents the earth's fertility responding to the life-giving power of the sun's rays (Figures 73 and 74). Its anthropomorphism reflects the tendency of human societies to represent in human shape what they have discovered to be a cosmic principle, while it also implicates a human involvement in the earth's fertility. The female equivalent, taking up where the Kiva leaves off (and owing her existence to that feature, being made out of soil derived from the Kiva) is Earthwoman (1976-1977), a synecdoche of the earth itself - "Earthwoman is the earth" [5]. The figure (Figure 75) is modelled upon an artefact from the very origin of human representation, the fertility figure known as the Venus of Willendorf, and proves to have a very intimate relationship with the sun. This time it is sunrise rather than sunset that introduces an effect only possible in a garden or landscape feature. At sunrise on the summer solstice the sun rises over Earthwoman's buttocks, the first rays of sunlight falling between her legs in a symbolic union of sun and earth implying fertilization (Figure 76). Sunrise embodies the power that ultimately gives life to any garden. Thus the figure is thematically central to Pratt Farm.

The successful transition from metonymy to synecdoche invites a psychoanalytic avenue of inquiry into Pierce's achievement by means of relations to partial and whole objects, particularly as this accompanies a shift in interest from

death (burial practices commemorated at Pratt Farm) to life (with a strong sexual elements) - the very stuff of psychoanalysis [6]. In her work about whole- and part-object relations, Melanie Klein specifies various ways in which the subject's anxiety, provoked by separation from the mother ("loss of the loved object"), can inhibit the task of undoing, with substitute objects, "the state of disintegration to which [the good object] has been reduced" [7]. The good object was enjoyed at the mother's breast; inhibiting a change from "a partial object-relation to the relation to a complete object" by means of the substitute objects are various anxieties: "anxiety about how to put the bits together in the right way and at the right time; how to pick out the good bits and do away with the bad ones; how to bring the object to life when it has been put together" and so on [8]. This is not confined to an infantile stage of maturation, but is a drama that the ego re-enacts.

This drama seems to be re-enacted at Pratt Farm in the Kiva and Earthwoman. The development of the Kiva has been slow and (uncharacteristically for Pierce) uncertain. It was the first feature to be begun (and is still in a sense unfinished), and a commentary states: "The interior will be darkened by a conical roof of tree trunks and sod forming a hollow hill rising out of the field" [9]. While this suggests a plan to transform the "vaginal" form into a breast-like "hollow hill", another fantasised completion suggests as strongly a penis in the mother's body: at one stage Pierce

was thinking of making a concrete lingam to be installed within the Kiva [10]. The uncertainty of these plans seem to exemplify uncertainty about "how to put the bits together". In contrast, Earthwoman's grassy reposeful bulk intimates that a successful relation to a complete object has been achieved, while her relationship with the sun (and the vegetation with which she is covered) amounts to a triumph over anxiety about "how to bring the object to life". Stephen Bann's application of the terms "metonymic reduction" and "synecdochic assimilation" to these processes fixes the relations in rhetorical terms [11].

However, the sacred figures also suggest, uncompromisingly, an anthropological interest being put to the service of art, and an obsession with the place in specific societies of archetypal objects and meanings. Pierce's attitude to his own creations is cheerfully polysemic ("I usually avoid specific questions from passersby about the meanings I had in mind" [12]) and this approach is carried into the making of the garden by avoidance of the directing precision of words: "the only words I can ever remember incorporating into a work at Pratt Farm are those on a penny which I buried in the Burial Mound as proof that it was not ancient" [13]. Pierce is proud of a double transumption that operates in his Turf Maze (a mizmaze - Figure 77) and this transumption opens a door onto classic ground: "[Turf Maze is] perhaps the first of its kind in the New World . . . an ancient type of maze mentioned by Pliny the Elder . . . the legions of Rome may have

carried the custom to Britain" [14]. Pliny distinguishes between a Daedalian labyrinth and a mizmaze: "ut in pavimentis puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus" [15]. Yet in the same commentary Pierce encourages many other interpretations. The maze is:

an allegory of time and life, . . . life as a journey . . . [beginning] with searching sperm, from insemination to birth, . . . a womb, . . . a Hell-mouth, a Paradise garden, a wilderness, tapis vert, mandorla, mandala, and sundial, a leaf- and snow-collector, a star-pointer by night and a cloud-catcher by day. It is a still point in a world of change. [16]

Thus we would be obliquely authorised by their maker to view the Altar and the nearby ithyphallic Monk's Post (derived from an object used by Siberian monks to scare away female demons [17]) as varieties of Priapus, the fertility god who in Roman gardens was used to ward off the evil eye, birds and thieves, and who was often reduced to a crude log [18]. The relationship of Earthwoman and the sun could be cast as classical mythology, an encounter between Phoebus Apollo and Isis, the earth-mother. The Burial Mound can continue this process. At the moment it is simply a representation, but the tumulus is intended by Pierce to become his own grave. "Although only four feet high, the mound is a marked feature of the landscape when lit by the sun against the shadows of the grove" (Figure 78). While "At midday in summer, the mound, covered with grasses and flowers, is clearly seen across the fields from the farmhouse", it is also subject to mysterious dematerialization through effects of light: "at

dusk it is lost in shadow" (Figure 79) [19]. It is as though, like the soul of the interred, the mound itself passes beyond the confines of the physical world. Nearby is a Stone Ship, made of glacially-deposited boulders arranged around a sod platform in an outline forty feet long and twelve wide, "the size of a Karv, or coastal trading vessel" of the Vikings, who "explored the northeast coast of North America a millenium ago" (Figure 80) [20]. Leaving the ship a ruin, Pierce dramatizes the lapse of time between the Viking and modern epochs, but also, "completely conscious of eighteenth century artificial ruins", he was "leaving much more to the viewer's imagination". In this abruption the absence of intervening terms (boulders), as in transumption, generates imaginative power. The ship sails through the turf, pointing "across the great rolling field at Pratt Farm toward the pole star, guide in the final voyage to the afterlife" [21]. Here the immeasurable dimension of death can be seen as a species of transumption, a far-projecting, where the final term of the transumption is only dimly and imperfectly perceived. As a Viking ship stands ready to bear his soul away, Pierce might think an analogue with a specific Norse model, such as the mound of Gunnar of Hlidarendi in The Saga of Burnt Njal [22], is the most appropriate for his burial mound. Yet he would not rule out viewing it as a tomb in Arcady, the equivalent of Daphnis's "tumulus".

We quickly gain access to a level on which mythologies merge and cross-reference as archetypes of human thought. While he

has a Janus in his garden (Figures 81 and 82), Pierce does not devote to classicism a position of primary importance (the shape of Janus is modelled upon an Olmec head Pierce liked). His garden obviously occupies a boundary between the classical and many other cultural traditions, and therefore becomes a point of departure away from the classical tradition. The movement in art that it exemplifies most strongly is expressionism, and Pierce cites Paul Klee as the artist whom he admires more than any other [23].

Pierce used a phrase from Klee to characterise the original life-giving feature of the garden, the Kiva: "deep down to the secret source of all" [24]. The Kiva concentrates many of the garden's themes and preoccupations. In his commentary on it Pierce wrote: "A continuous concrete bench will follow the curve of the chamber and a seemingly bottomless hole will be dug in the center" [25]. What exactly does this "seemingly bottomless hole" signify?

Cultural cross-referencing enables a very precise answer to be given. Bernard Lassus first formulated his theory of the immeasurable in terms of a vertical dimension. His interest in this was in an unexploited direction to contrast with the progressive conquest of the earth's surface (horizontal). Lassus gave this specific illustration in his exhibit The Well, in 1972 [26]. Later this idea was developed most fully in his proposal for the Parc de la Villette project, "The Garden of the Planets", which features an extensive

subterranean section:

the path of the Abysses would open up . . .
the pathway would arrive at the measureless
verticals . . . At the lowest point, with a
dull growling, there would be section models
of volcanoes . . . bordering on a bottomless pit
[27]

Pierce's "seemingly bottomless hole", part of his sacred feature, finds a precise equivalent in Lassus's "bottomless pit", a dramatisation of the imaginative dimension. Another remark by Pierce enables the definition to be extended further. He says of his art, "I have tried to create a well of living waters" [28]. Taken with his invocation of Klee in regard to the feature, this suggests that what is ultimately celebrated in the Kiva is not only the fertility of the earth, but that of the unconscious mind, itself the source of art, which Pierce here imagines lodged in its source, the fertility of women, and locates in what may be termed its seat, the womb.

While Little Sparta adopts a militant cultural position and attempts to efface personality in the way the works are made and from the materials of which they are made, Pratt Farm engages with the human psyche by employing artefacts in which psychological concerns impinge upon cultural habits. In the societies upon which Pierce has drawn for his models, we judge that there was no boundary between private psychological pattern and sacred ritual or social interaction: the individual spirit was in a synecdochic

relationship to the larger workings of society. Perhaps this state represents a kind of ideal for Pierce, or at least the expression of it provides a stimulus for his artistic endeavour. Modern Western society does not operate in this way, and limitation is imposed from outside. Pierce sees an increasing threat to Pratt Farm not only through the activities of vandals, but in the possibility of the garden being swamped by industrial or suburban development - the precise fate of Twickenham. Pierce describes this as a "nightmare", and it has literally started to appear: a paper-mill built three miles up the Kennebec during the 1970's is visible over Pratt Farm's trees [29]. The conflict involved with Pierce's garden - between the gardener's authority and the movement of society (specifically, here, the slow growth of industry and population) - is a perennial one. In providing the site for Pierce's art, Pratt Farm occupies the ambiguous boundary between a sacred and private art and society.

NOTES TO APPENDIX TWO

1. John Beardsley, Earthworks and Beyond: Contemporary Art in Landscape (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984) pp. 65-78.
2. Pierce says that the primitive is involved with his "first consciousness of art" (conversation with the author, 28/6/89).
3. Beardsley, p. 67.
4. "vaginal": conversation with the author, 29/6/89.
"fertility": from a series of postcards of works, each bearing a commentary on the reverse side, which constituted the brochure for Pierce's exhibition at Mercer University, Macon, Georgia, in January 1976 (hereafter MPC), The Kiva. What would have been in some ways the most spectacular sacred feature, another metonymy entitled "The eyes of God", and consisting of two giant circles of boulders staring heavenward, has not been made: it was converted into an Edenic "Serpent".
5. Conversation with the author, 28/6/89.
6. cf. Melanie Klein, Contributions to Psycho-Analysis 1921-1945. Pierce's works of death and war at Pratt Farm include British and French Redoubts (1971-1972), the Motte

(1975 - from Norman castles in Britain), Tree Burial (1975-1977), Burial Mound, Stone Ship, Shaman's Tomb (1977) and Arnold Memorial. Pierce reports an "unconscious" shift from death to life in his themes in a typewritten essay entitled "Description", dated June 1978, supplied by Pierce to the author.

7. *ibid.*, pp. 283, 290.

8. p. 289.

9. MPC, The Kiva.

10. Lingam: conversation with the author, 30/6/89. *Penis: Klein* pp. 258-259.

11. The Clothing of Clio pp. 93-111.

12. Letter to the author, 6/3/89.

13. Letter to the author, 6/3/89.

14. MPC, The Turf Maze. Pierce is using the Romans as a framing device for this work.

15. Pliny the Elder, Natural History XXXVI 13(19), "mazes formed in the fields for the entertainment of children" (Pierce's translation). 16. Pierce, "Pratt Farm Turf Maze", Art International XX, 4-5, April/May 1976, pp. 25-27.

17. Conversation with the author, 28/6/89.

18. Virgil, Georgic 4, ll. 110-111; W. F. Jashemski, The

Gardens of Pompeii, p. 175.

19. MPC, Burial Mound.

20. MPC, Stone Ship, and Beardsley, p. 67.

21. Artificial ruins: conversation with the author, 28/6/89.
Pole Star: MPC.

22. Njal's Saga, trans. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Palsson
(London: Penguin Books, 1960) pp. 172-173.

23. Conversation with the author, 28/6/89. Pierce's book on
Klee appeared as Paul Klee and Primitive Art (New York:
Garland Publishing, 1976).

24. Conversation with the author, 28/6/89.

25. MPC.

26. cf. Bann, "The Landscape Approach . ." pp. 81, 91-92.

27. Essay by Lassus in *ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

28. "Statement" in Beardsley, p. 135.

29. Conversation with the author, 28/6/89. To deal with the
lesser threat of vandals, Pierce plans a ha-ha ditch and
thorn hedge to prevent them bringing wheeled vehicles onto
Pratt Farm's "Great Field".

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THE IDEA OF THE SACRED

IN NEOCLASSICAL BRITISH GARDENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH

AND LATE TWENTIETH CENTURIES

by

Michael Charlesworth

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the
University of Kent at Canterbury

JULY 1990

VOLUME II: ILLUSTRATIONS

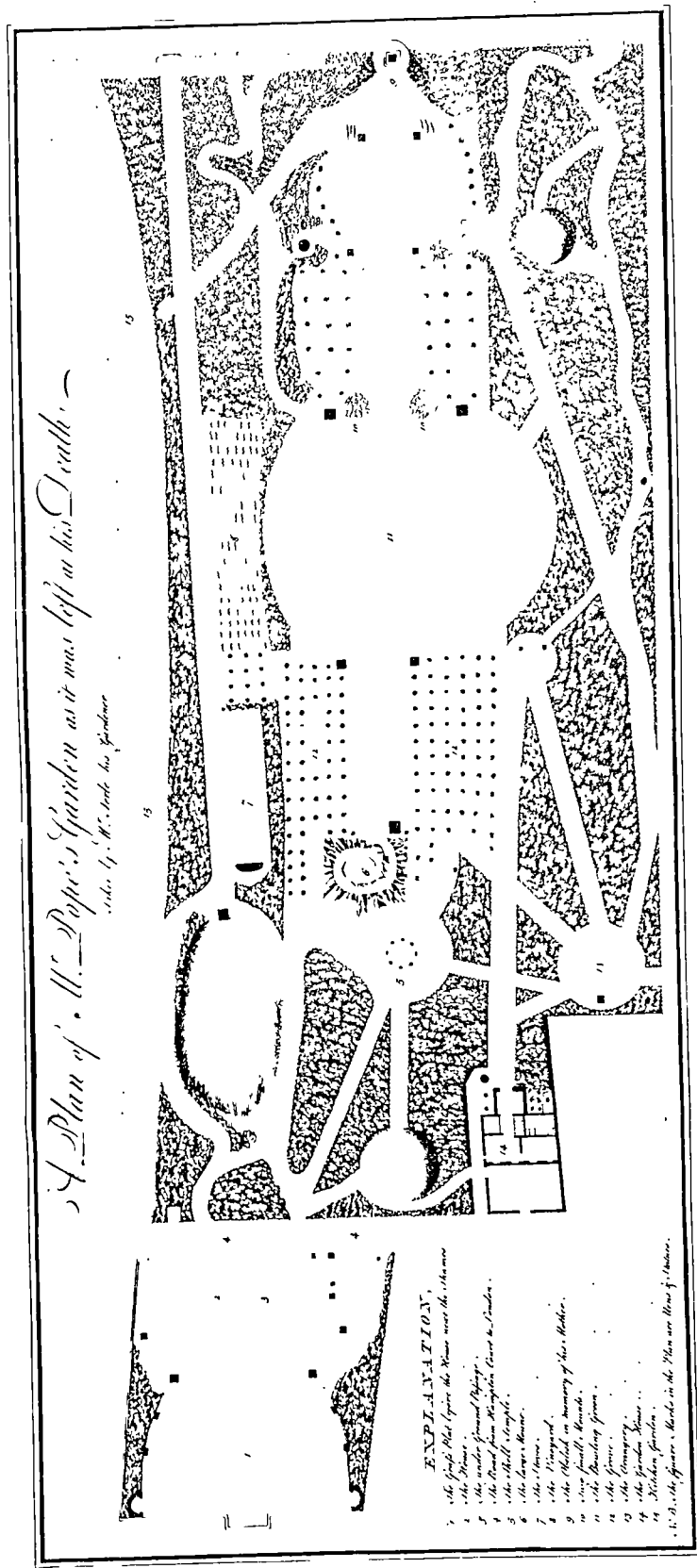


Figure 1: Alexander Pope's garden, Twickenham: John Serle's plan (1745)

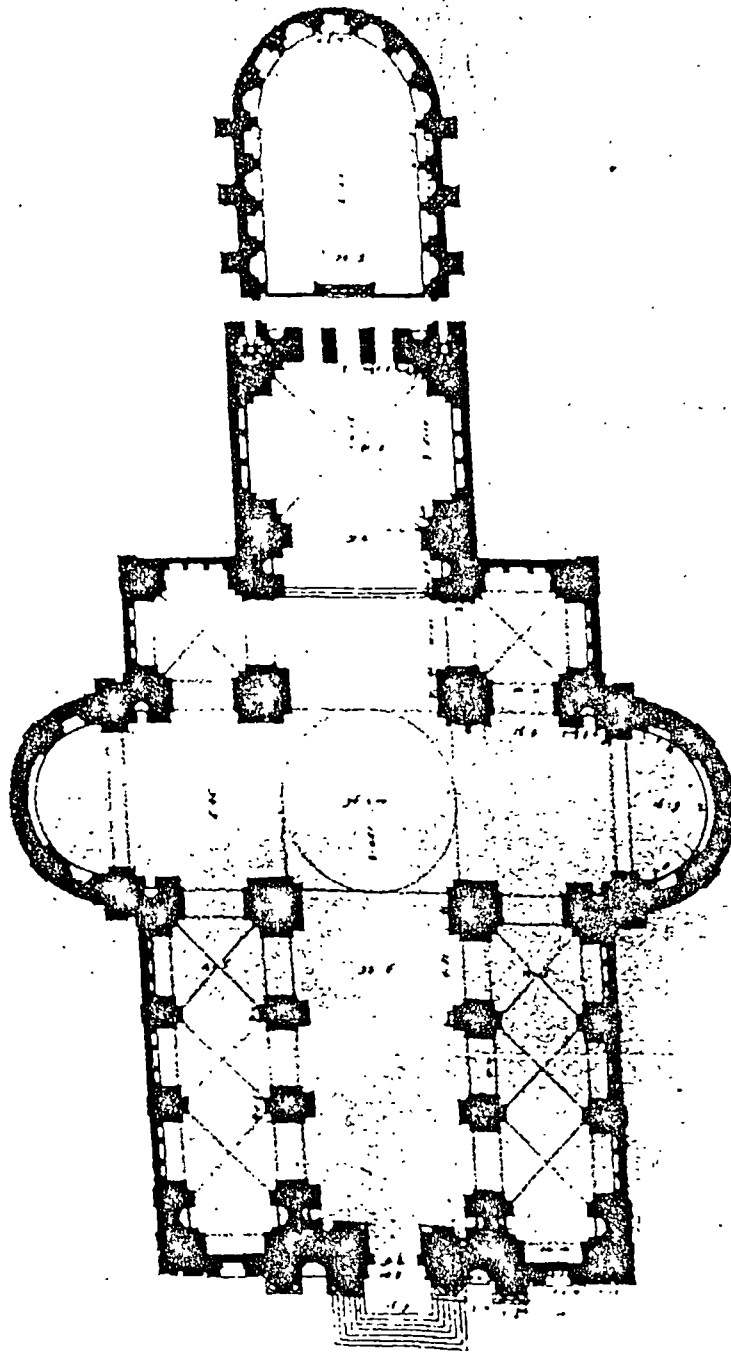


Figure 2: Andrea Palladio's ground-plan for the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.

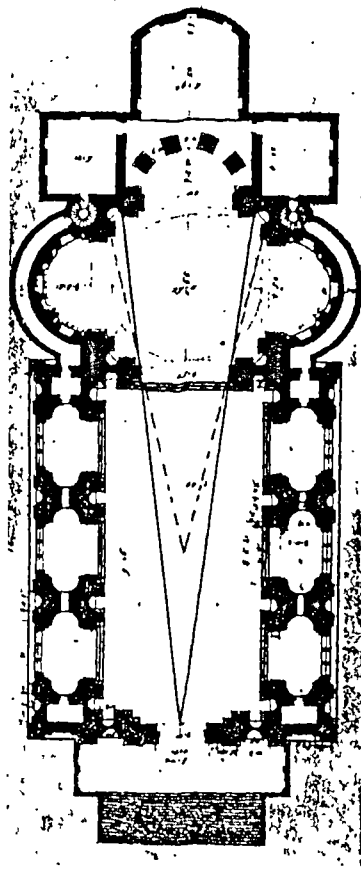


Figure 3: Palladio's ground-plan for the church of Il Redentore, Venice

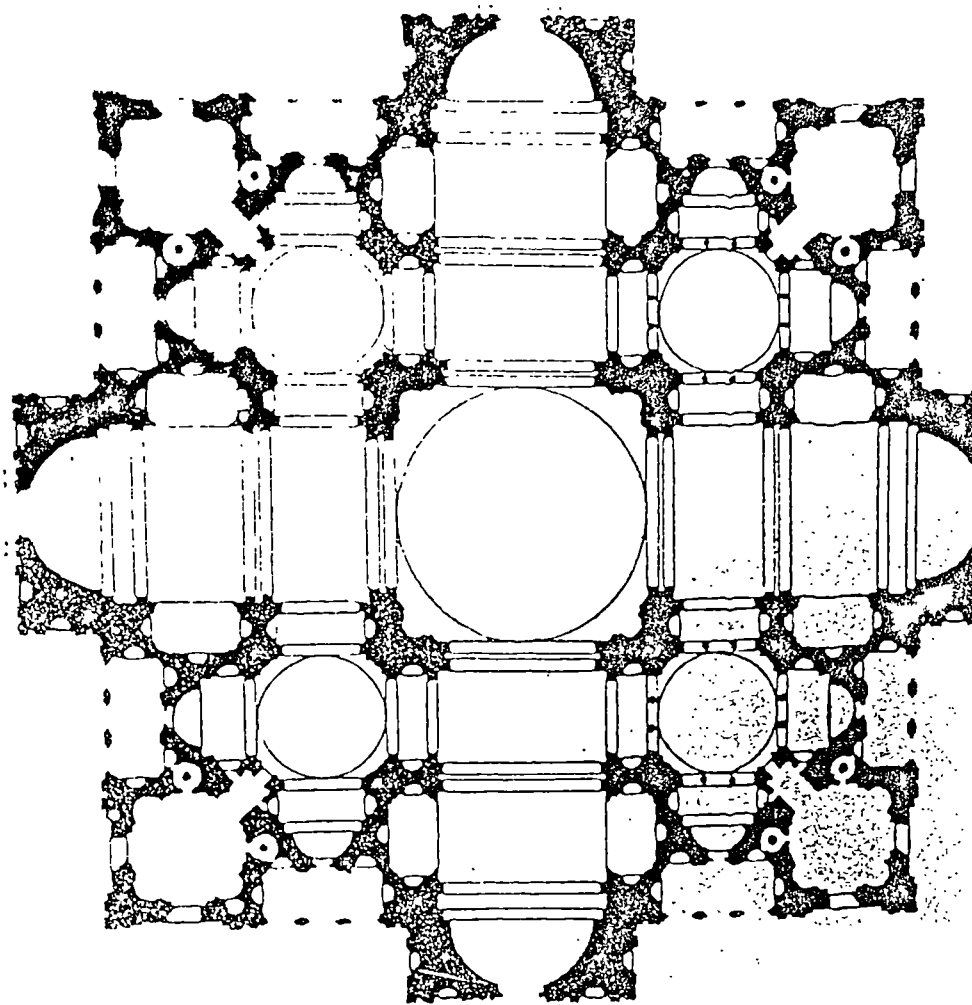


Figure 4: Bramante's unexecuted design for the cathedral of St. Peter's, Rome

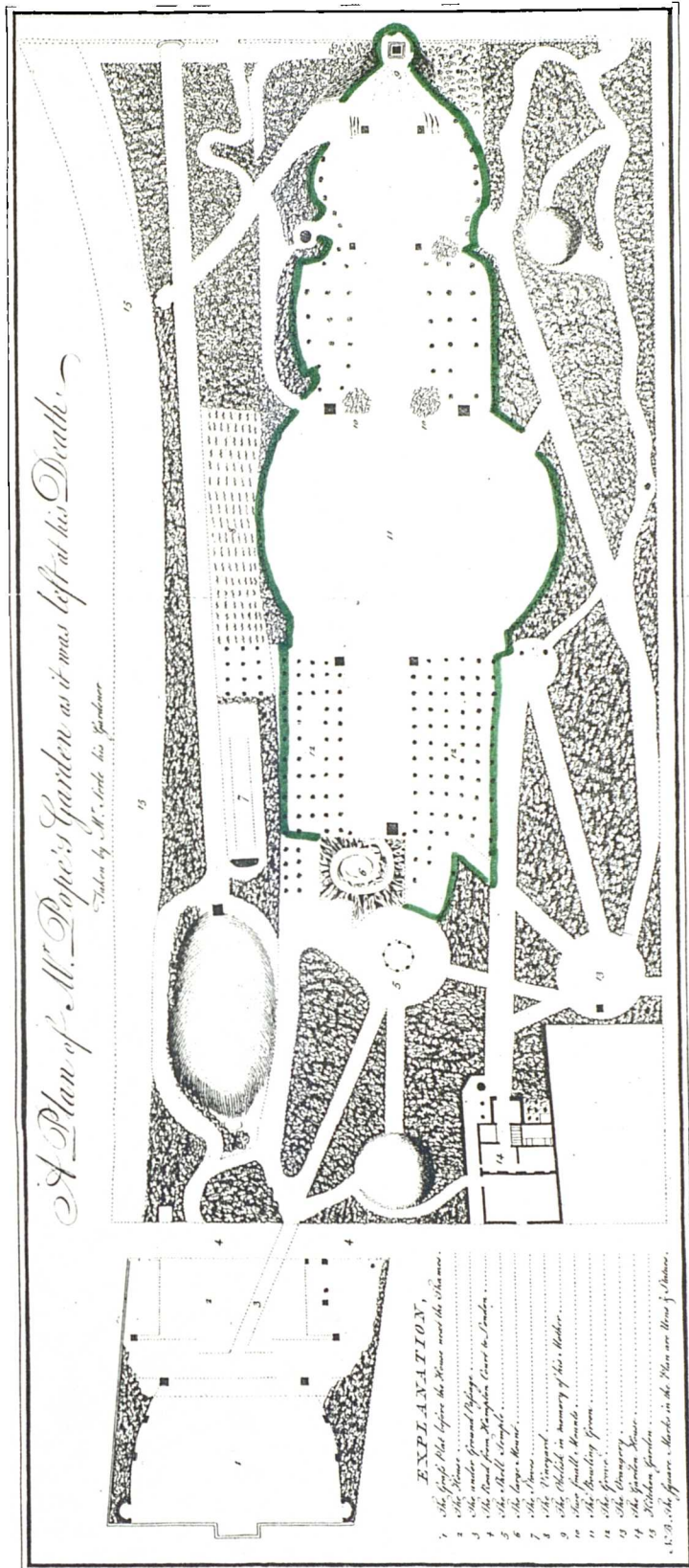


Figure 5: Twickenham: Serle's plan showing Pope's architectural bosquet

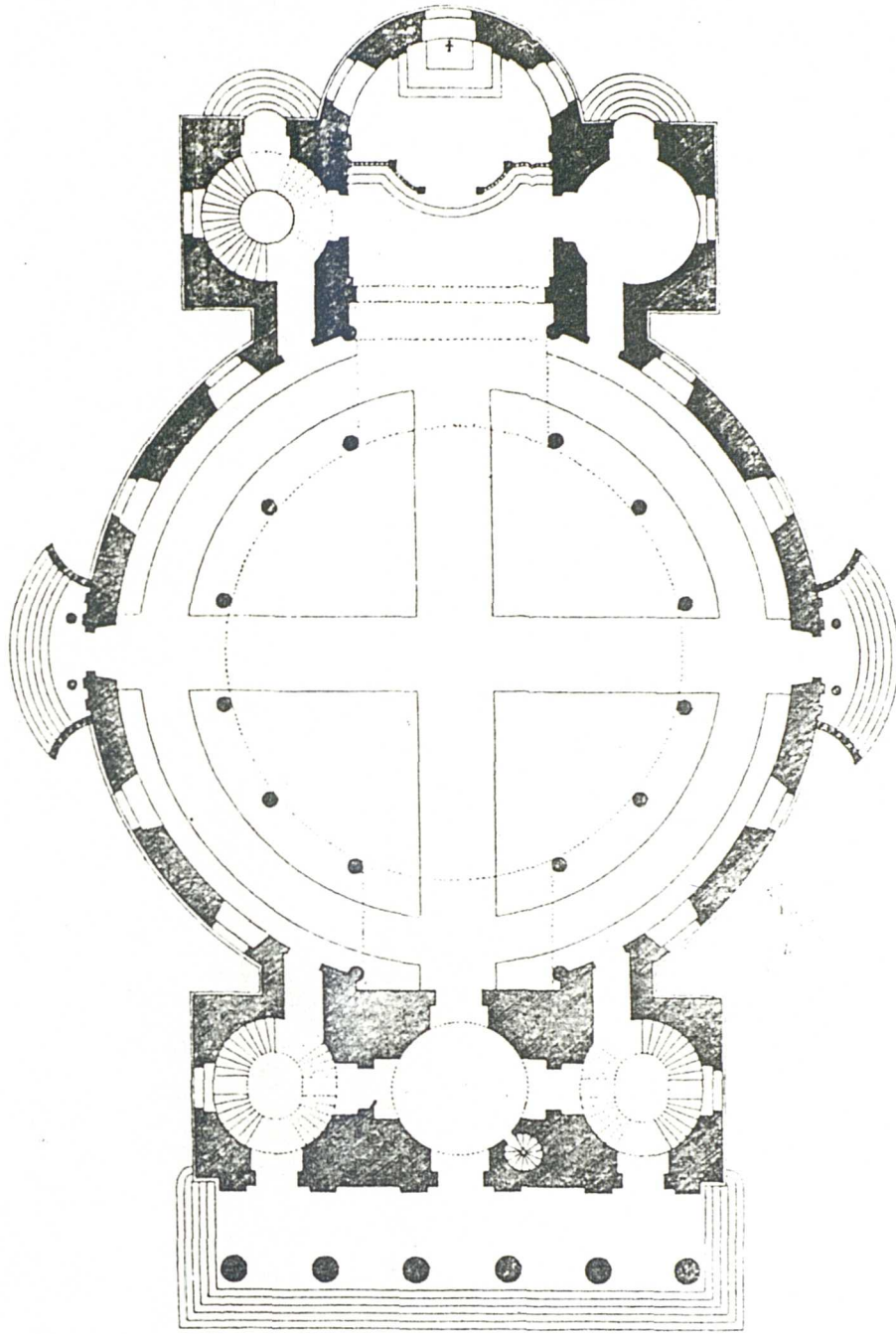


Figure 6: James Gibbs' first (unexecuted) plan for the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, London, 1721-1726. From Book of Architecture (1728)

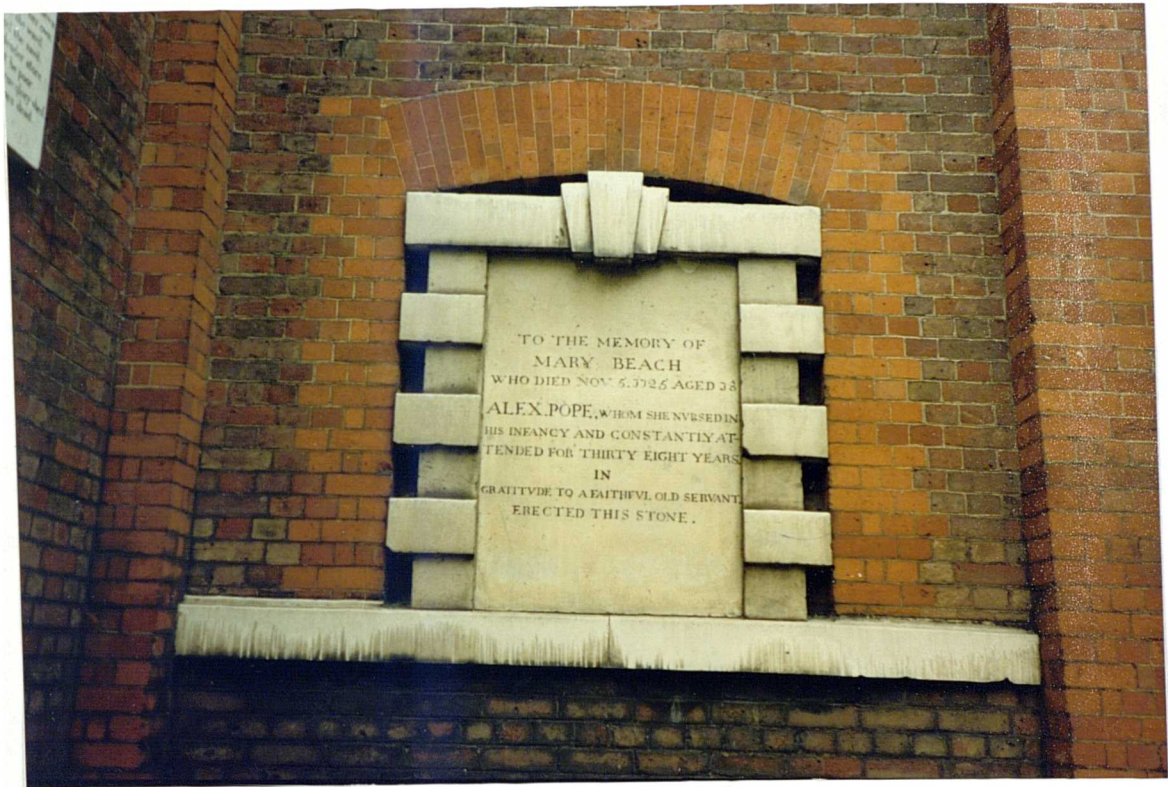
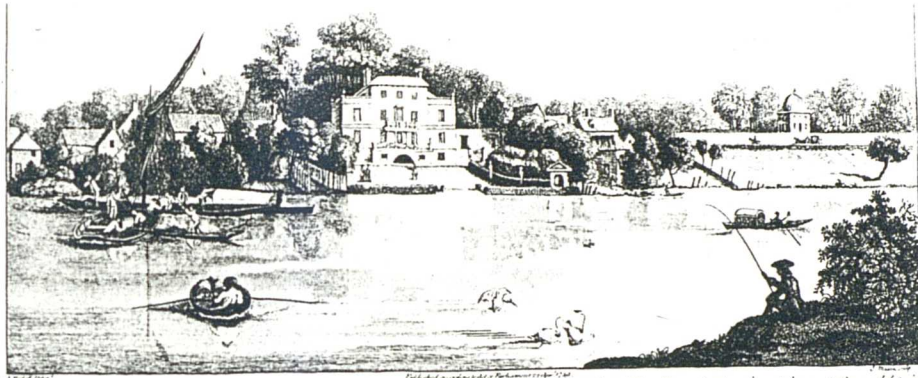


Figure 7: Pope's monument to his wet-nurse, Mary Beach, on the east wall of Twickenham church, showing "Gibbsian blocks"



Handwritten text in Latin script, likely a dedication or inscription, located below the engraving.

Figure 8: View of Pope's house (1749) showing disembarkation point, busts on tall pedestals and the entrance to the grotto.

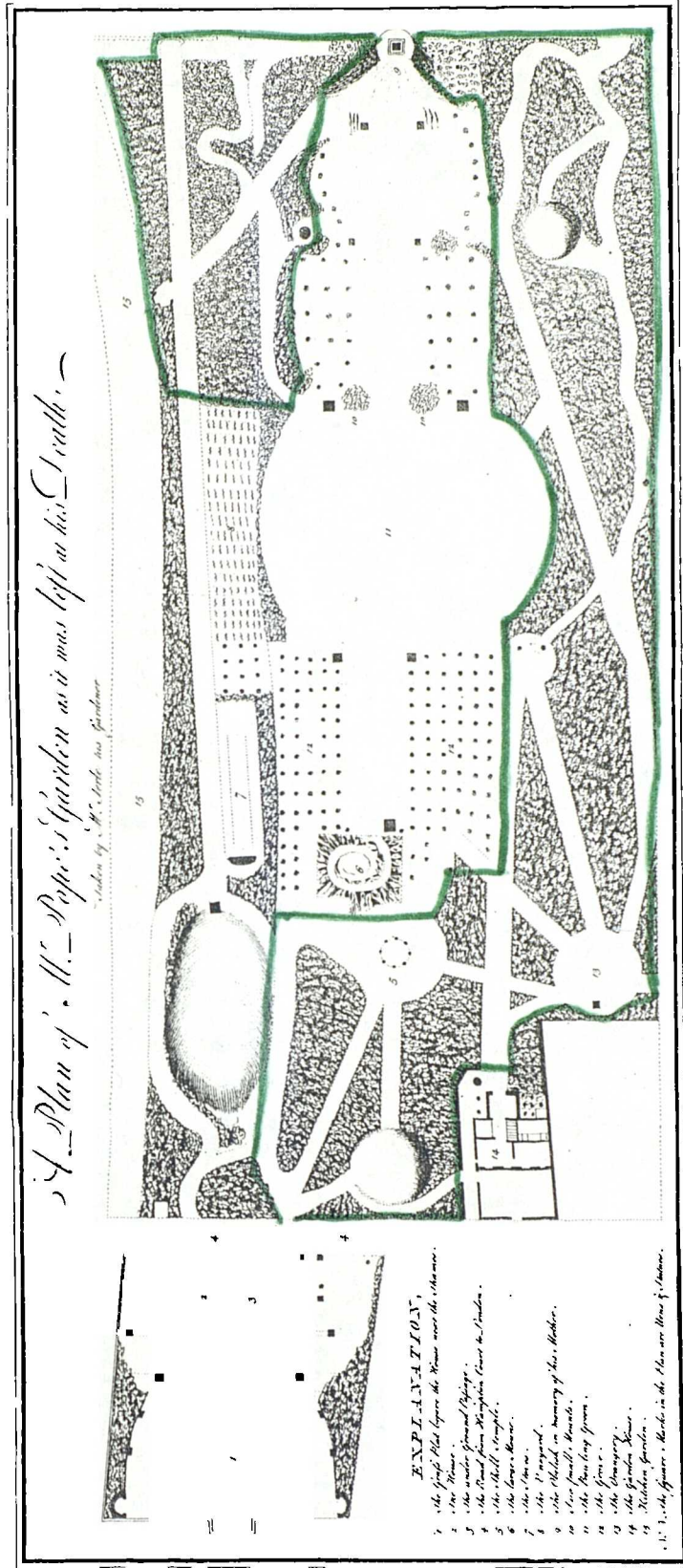


Figure 9: Twickenham: Serle's plan with Pope's Wilderness outlined

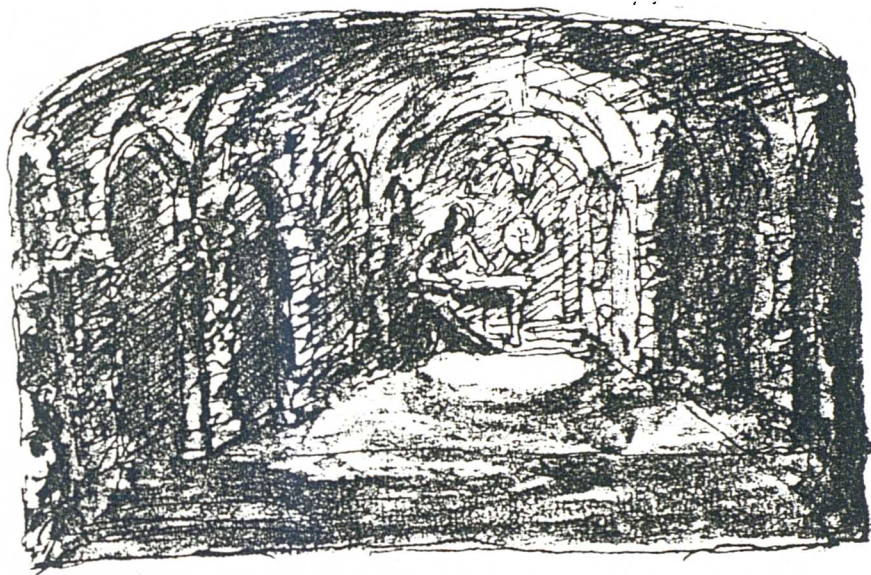


Figure 10: Twickenham: drawing of Pope in his grotto by William Kent showing arcades and vaulted roof



Figure 11: Monument to Pope's parents and himself at the east end of the north gallery of Twickenham church



Figure 12: Edith Pope, from a drawing by Jonathan Richardson (1731)

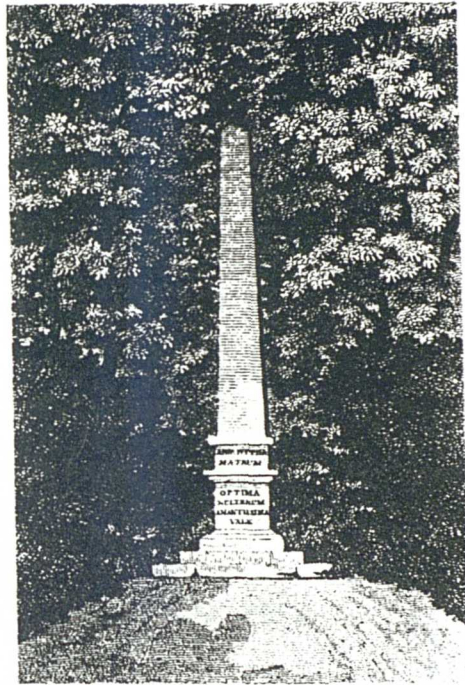


Figure 13: Twickenham: Pope's Obelisk to Mrs. Pope (engraving of 1797)

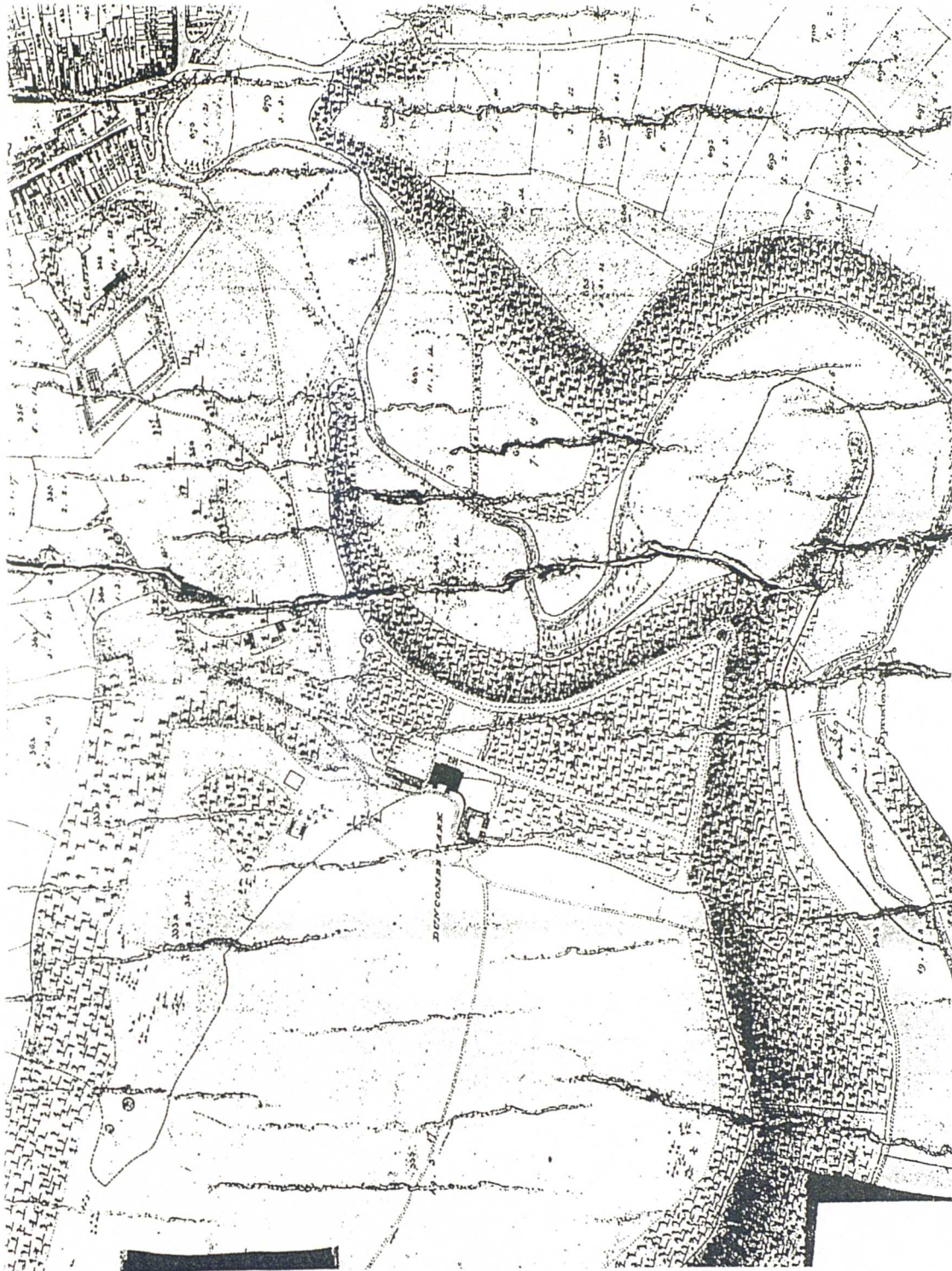


Figure 14: Duncombe Park: garden and part of the park (1822)
(N.Y.C.R.O., Northallerton)

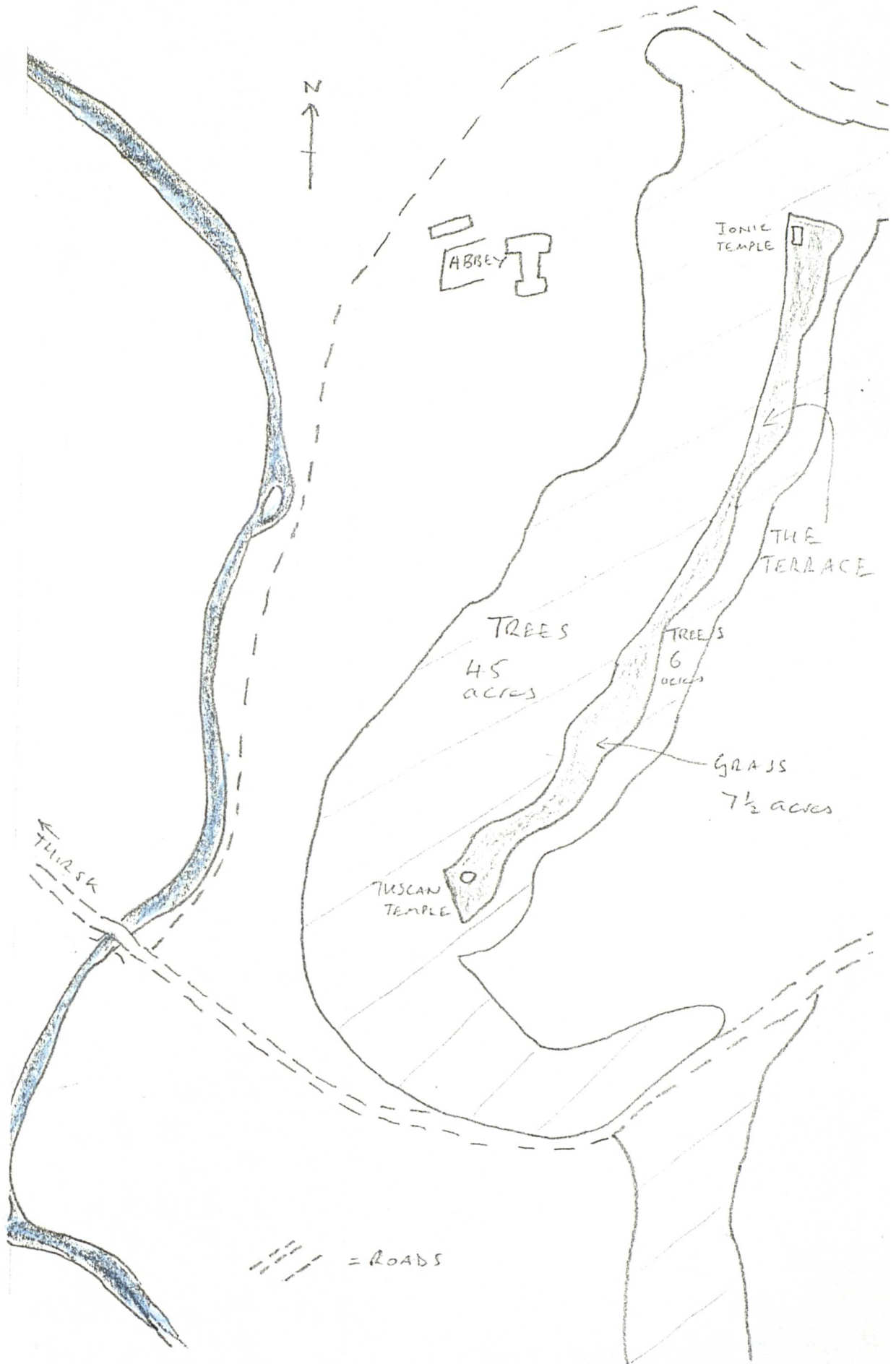


Figure 15: Rievaulx Terrace: sketch map of layout (after map of 1822)

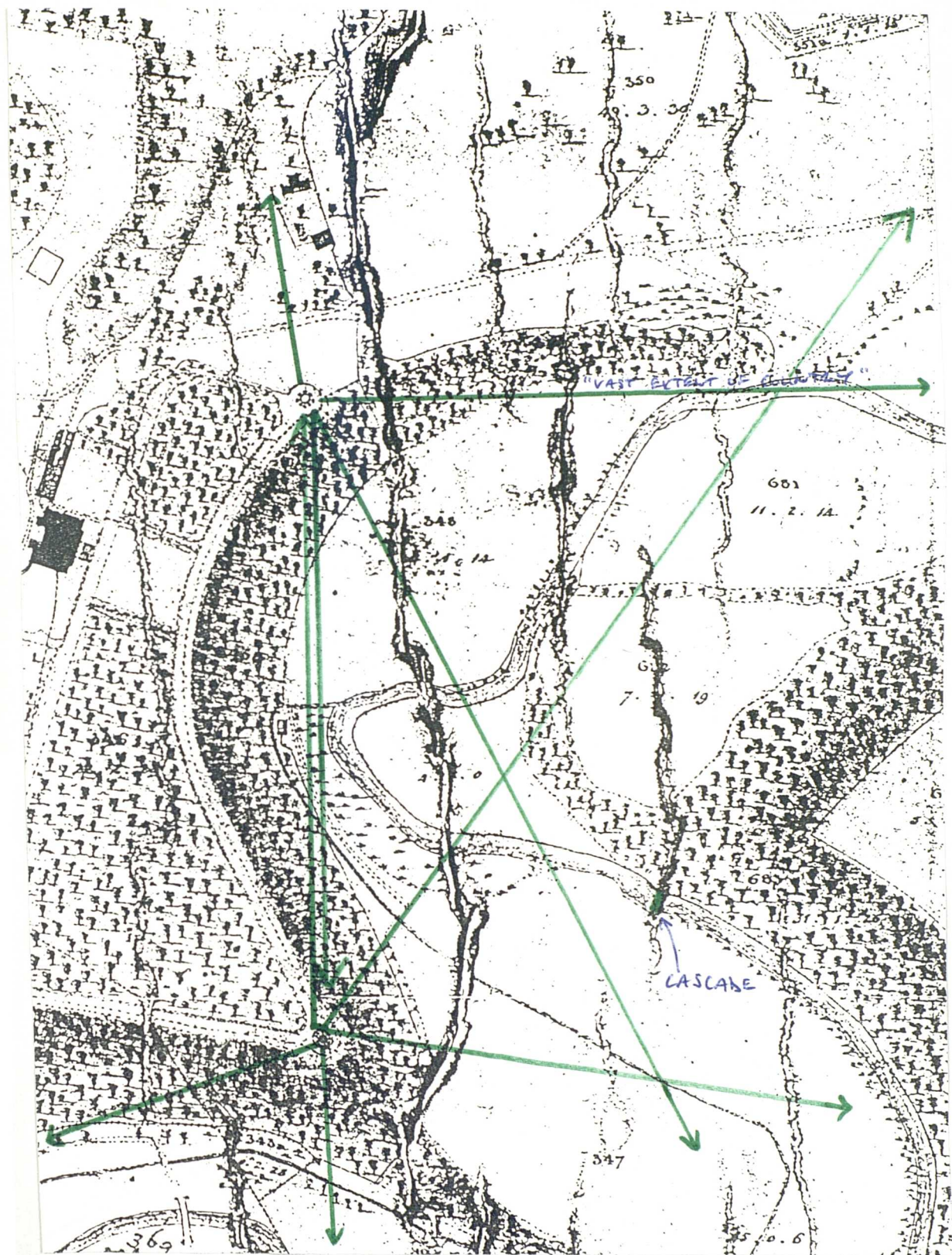


Figure 16: Duncombe Park: Map showing views enjoyed by Young in 1768

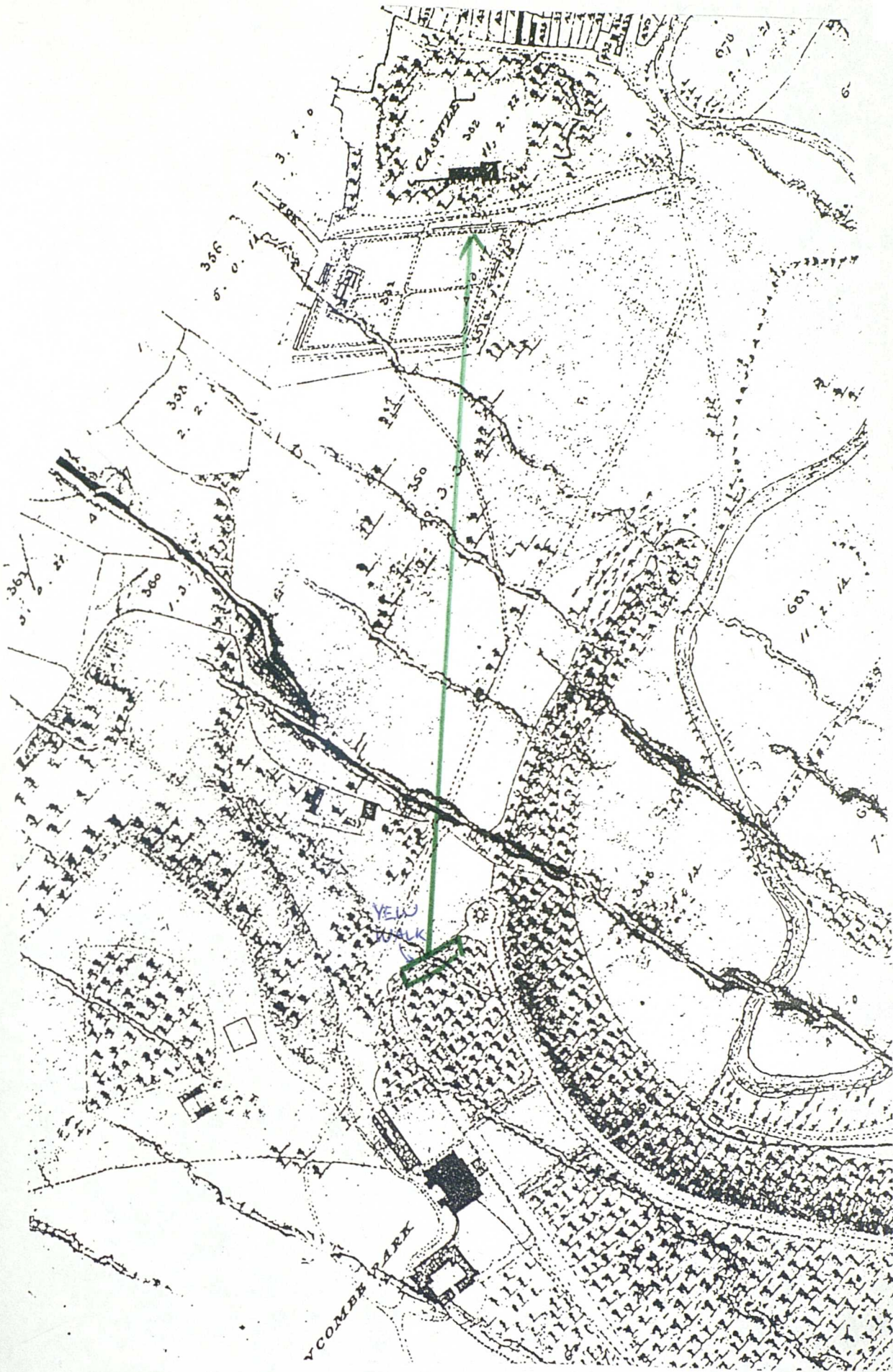


Figure 17: Duncombe Park: The Yew Walk and view to Helmsley Castle



HELMSLEY CASTLE

25128

Figure 18: Helmsley Castle



Figure 19: Duncombe Park: dramatising the passage of time;
Time consulting a sundial (attributed to Jan Nost)



Figure 20: "Rievaulx Abbey", photograph by Roger Fenton (1854)

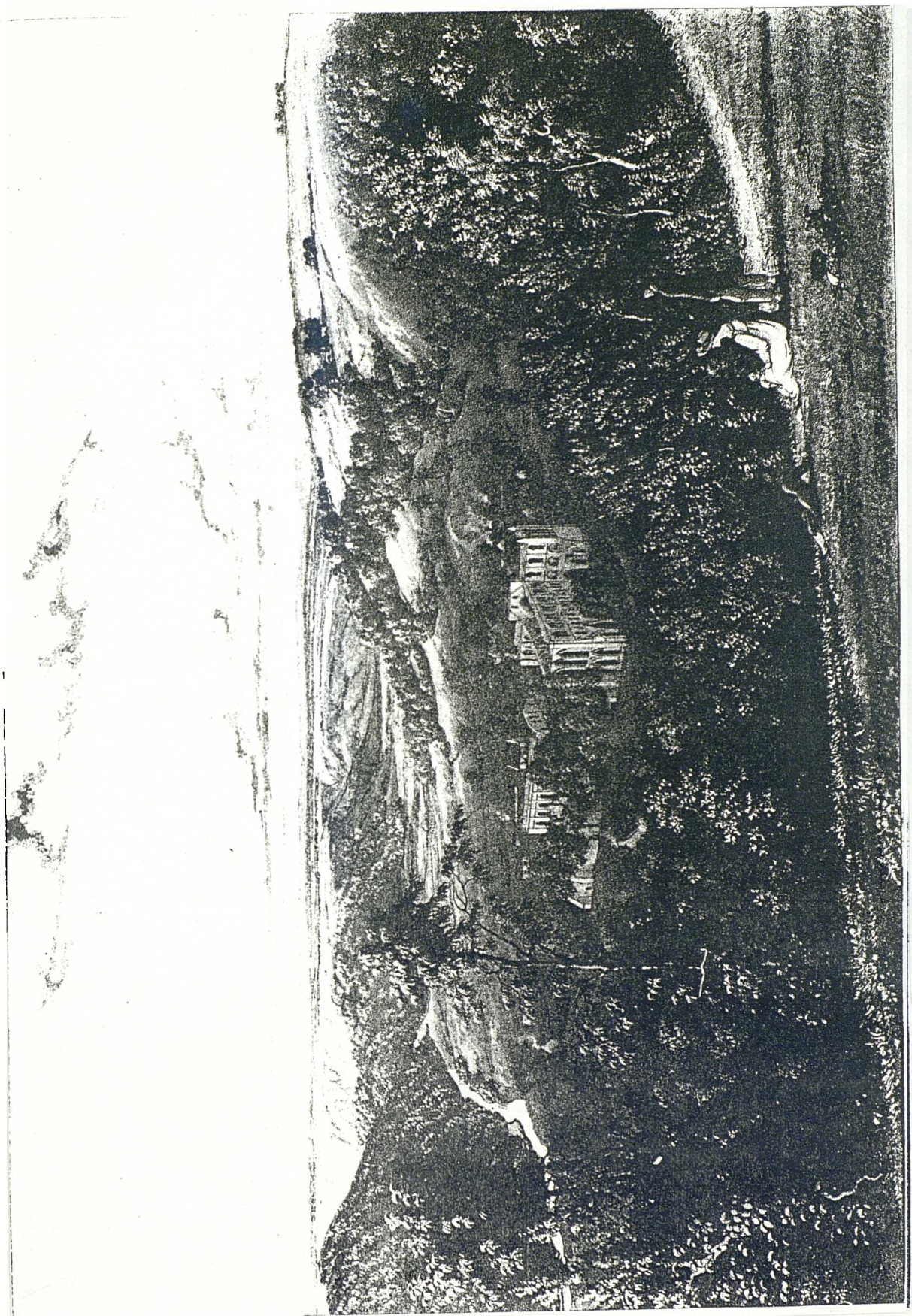


Figure 21: William Westall: Sunset from Rievaulx Terrace (1819)



Mr. Garrick in the Character of Richard the 3^d

Figure 22: Duncombe Park: "Mr. Garrick in the Character of Richard the 3d" by William Hogarth (engraving after the painting of 1745)



Figure 23: Rievaulx Terrace: The Ionic Temple



Figure 25: Duncombe Park: Giovanni-Domenico Desiderii (attr.), "Morning" or "Landscape with Mill" (33" x 47")



Figure 26: Duncombe Park: Giovanni-Domenico Desiderii (attr.), "Summer Evening" (33" x 47")



Figure 27: Detail of Figure 25, "Morning", showing an image of Tivoli's Temple of the Sibyl, centre left



Figure 28: Detail of Figure 26, "Summer Evening", showing a ruined rotunda



Depredations.



WHEREAS Depredations have of late been frequently committed in the Woods, near the MANSION HOUSE, and on other Parts of the Estate of CHARLES DUNCOMBE, ESQUIRE, by cutting down, destroying, and stealing the Trees and underwood growing therein ;

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,
That STEEL TRAPS and SPRING GUNS are now placed in the said Woods, to prevent, if possible, the Repetition of these daring Offences ; and a Reward of

Five Guineas

is hereby offered to any Person or Persons, (except the guilty Parties,) who will give Information against any Offender or Offenders, to be paid on Conviction.

*Duncombe Park, }
October 27, 1812. }*



(R. Cooper, Printer, Kirkby.)



Figure 30: Authorities in an emptied landscape: Sledmere House (right) and Sledmere church (left), April 1989. The church was rebuilt in gothic form in 1893.

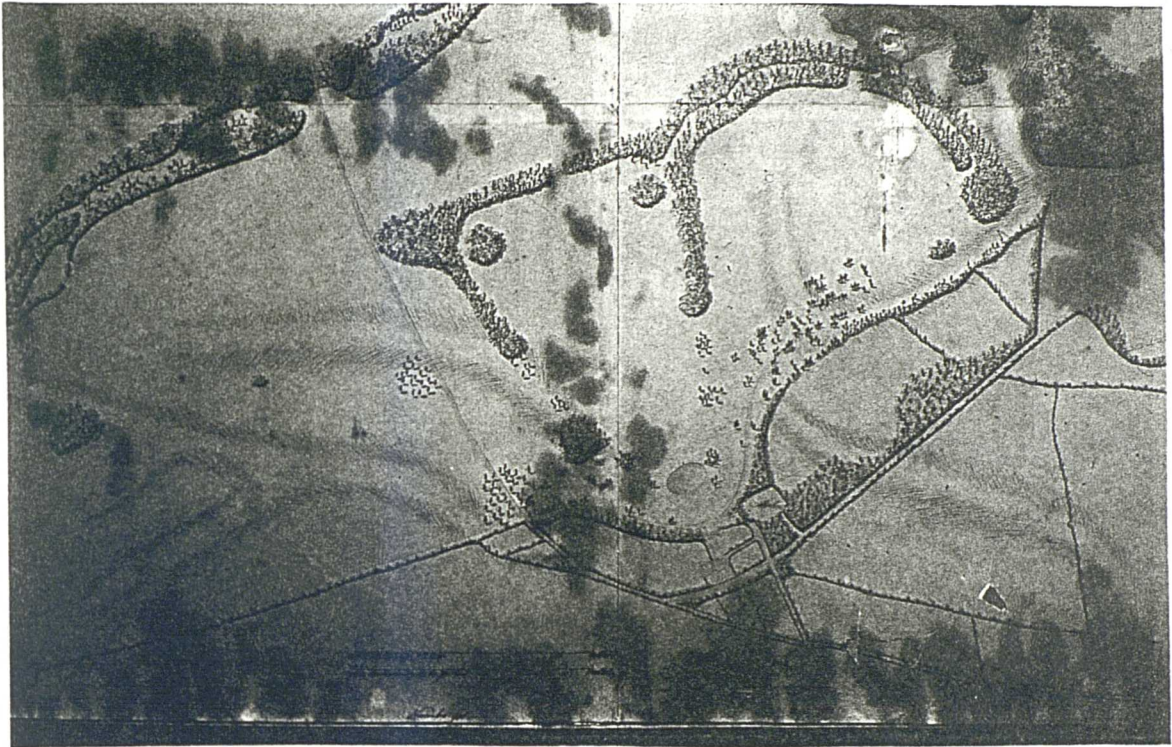


Figure 31: Sledmere: detail of Capability Brown's map (1778) showing church thickly hedged round with trees



Figure 32: Sledmere: Detail of Thomas White's plan for improvements (1776) showing hedged church (arrowed) and "chief ride" to Fimber (in green)

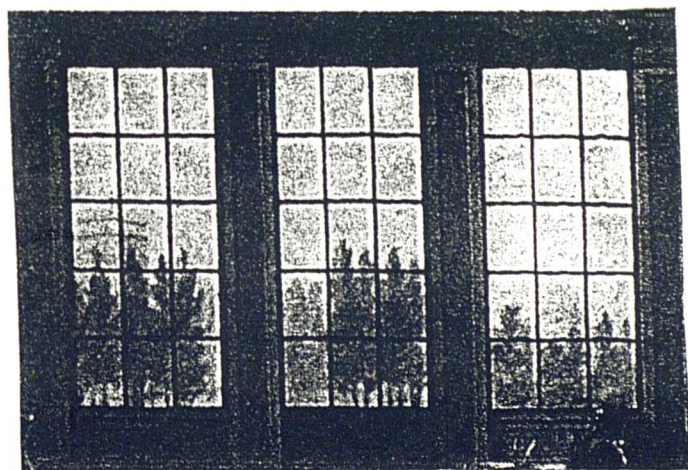
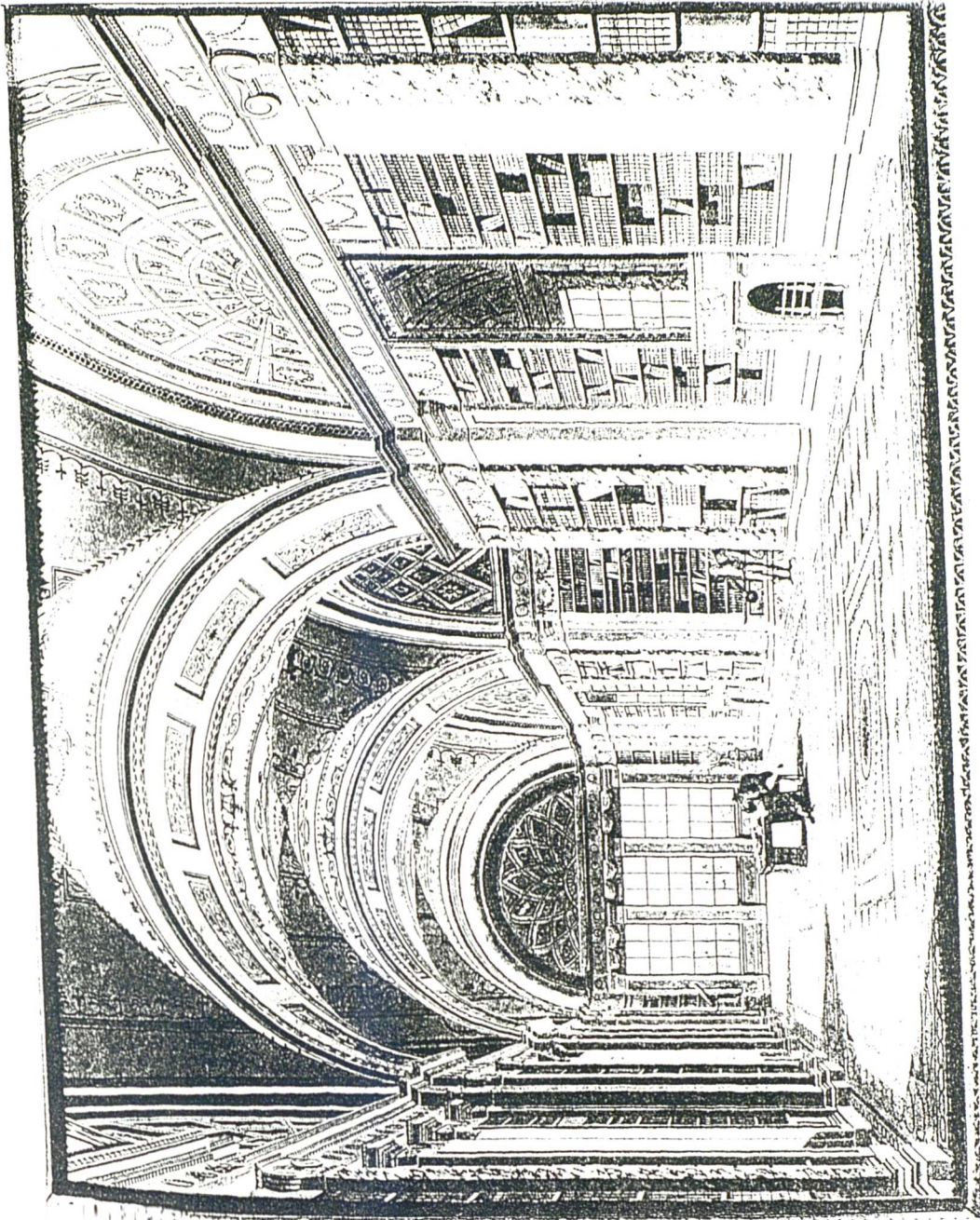


Figure 33: Thomas Malton, Library of Sledmere House (detail): through the library windows can be seen the church (left window) opened up to the landscape and three clumps of trees



Figure 34: Capability Brown's map of proposed alterations (1778)

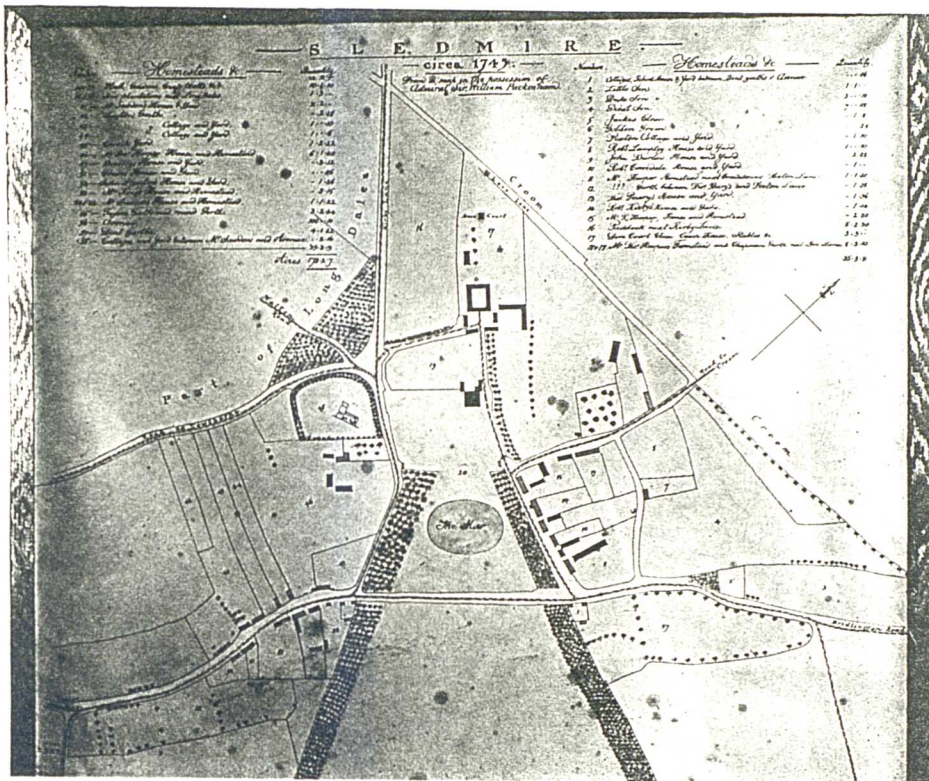


Figure 35: Sledmere: copy (1912) of map showing the village of Sledmere as it was in 1751



Published as the Act Direct Dec^r 1777.

Figure 36: "Reflection" (right) and "Innocence" (left) from George Richardson, *Iconology* (1779), engravings by Eric Halpass



R É F L E X I O N .

Cette parole signifie proprement le retour d'une chose vers le côté d'où elle est partie. Par analogie à ce sens elle exprime aussi l'action de l'esprit, occupé particulièrement à considérer quelque sujet. C'est pourquoi on la représente sous la figure d'une Matrone assise, & abandonnée à ses pensées. Elle tient un miroir sur ses genoux, sur lequel frappe un rayon de lumière qui part de son cœur, & qui réfléchit à son front. Cet emblème signifie que la réflexion de l'esprit corrige les pensées du cœur.

R I F L E S S I O N E .

Questa parola significa propriamente il ritorno d'una cosa verso la parte dond'è partita. Per analogia a questo senso esprime anco l'azione dello spirito, inteso a considerare qualche soggetto in particolare; e però qui si rappresenta in aria di Matrona, assisa, e pensosa, con uno specchio sulle ginocchia, sopra il quale cade un raggio di luce, che parte dal cuore della figura, e va a riflettere sulla fronte della stessa. Questo emblema intica, che la riflessione dell'anima corregge i pensamenti del cuore.



Figure 38: Kedleston church, sundial, photographed from a window in the principal apartment.



Figure 39: Sledmere church as rebuilt in classical form by 1758.

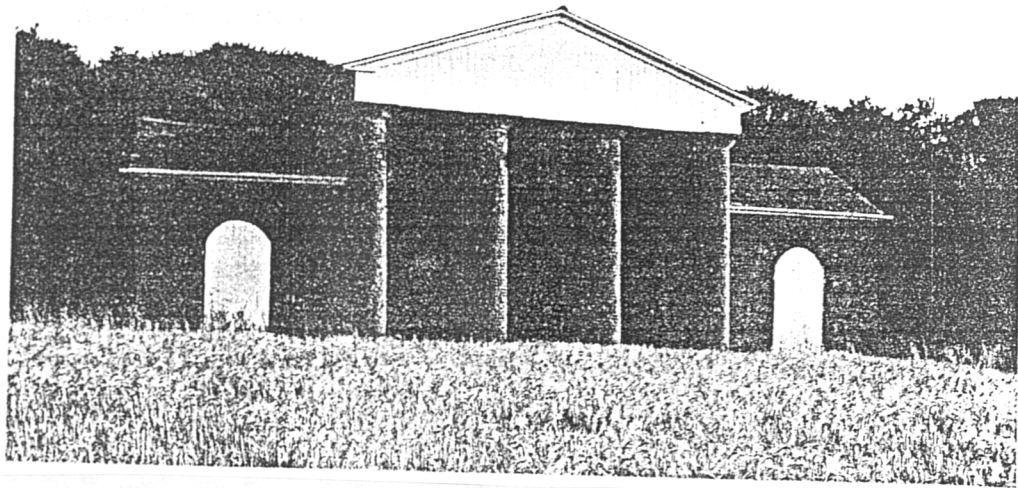


Figure 40: Sledmere: Greek Doric Deer Shed (1792).

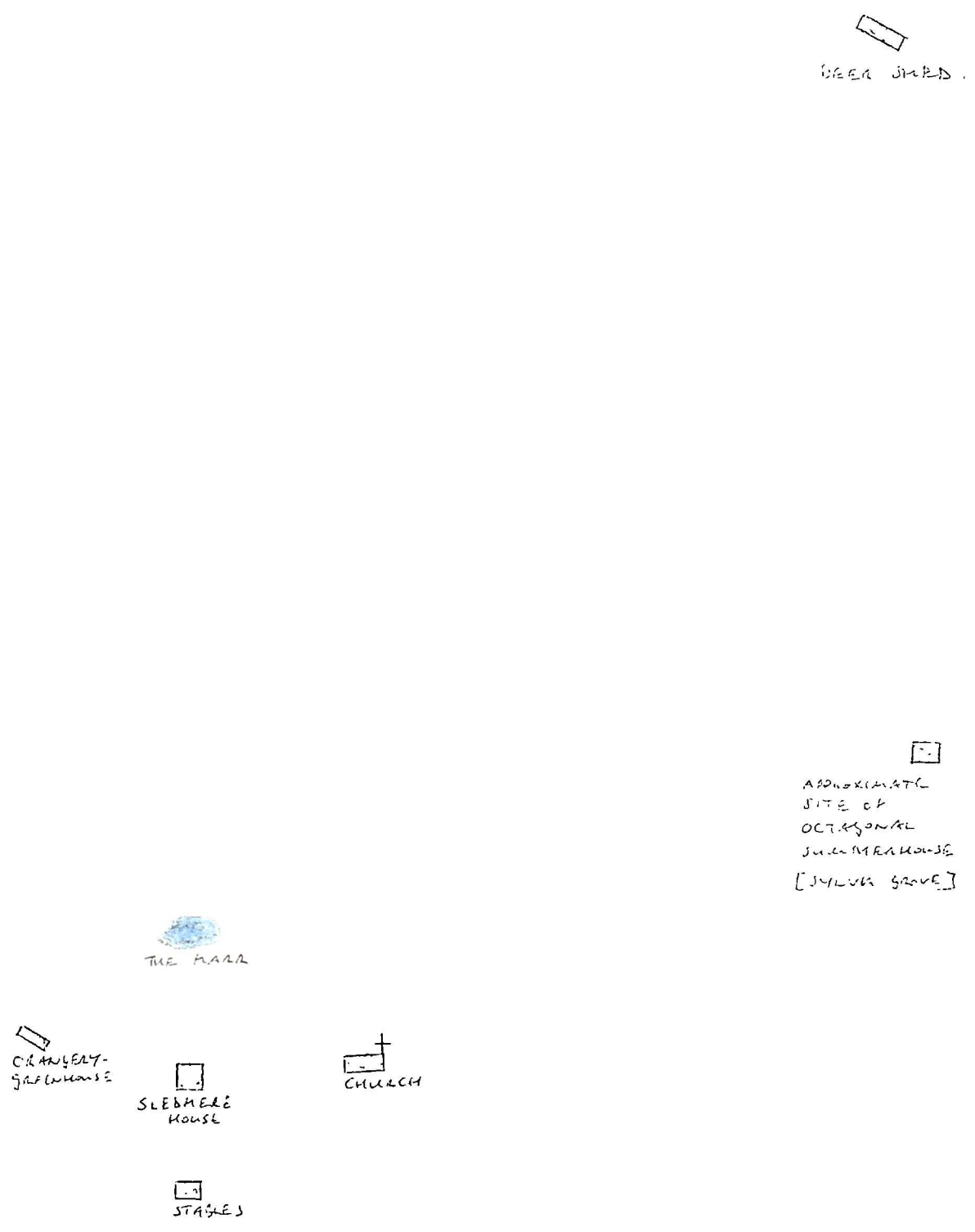


Figure 41: Sketch-plan of Sledmere to show principal buildings in park and garden by 1800.



Figure 42: Sledmere: William Hamilton, a scene from "Gray's Elegy" (1799) (86" x 106")

LXX.

HOSPITALITY.



Figure 43: William Hamilton (inv.), "Hospitality" from Richardson's Iconology

THE END.



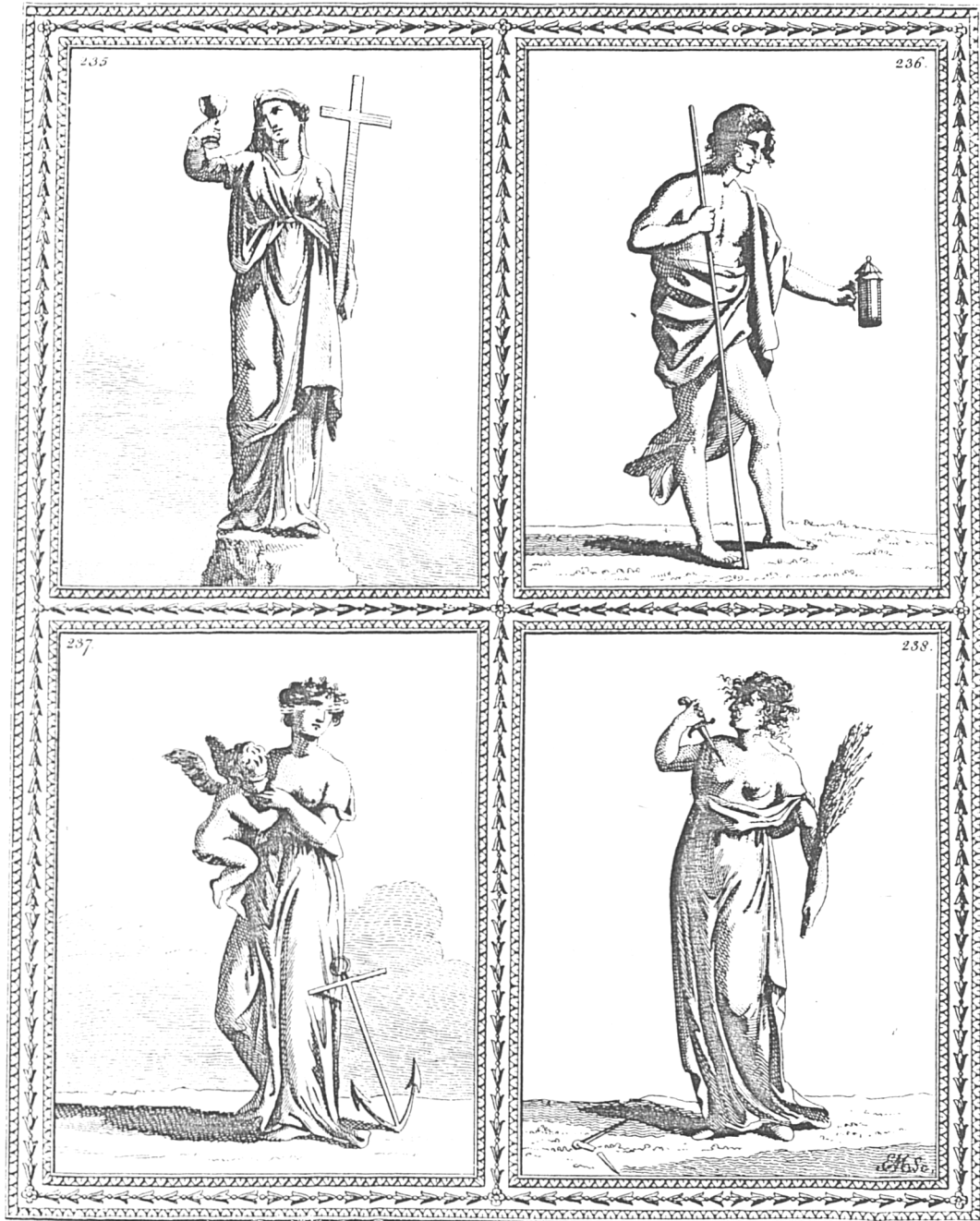
Published in the 1st Number 17th April 1779.

Figure 44: Hamilton (inv.) "The End" from Richardson's Iconology

FAITH

LXII

DOUBT



HOPE

DESPAIR

Published at the Age Three 12th Dec^r 1778

Figure 45: "Hope" (bottom left) and "Doubt" (top right) from Richardson's Iconology



Figure 46: Nicolas Poussin, Arcadian Shepherds, c. 1638, (Louvre).



Figure 47: J. Baptist Cipriani Ancora in Arcadia Morte (engraving).



Figure 48: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mrs. Bouverie and Mrs. Crewe (1769).

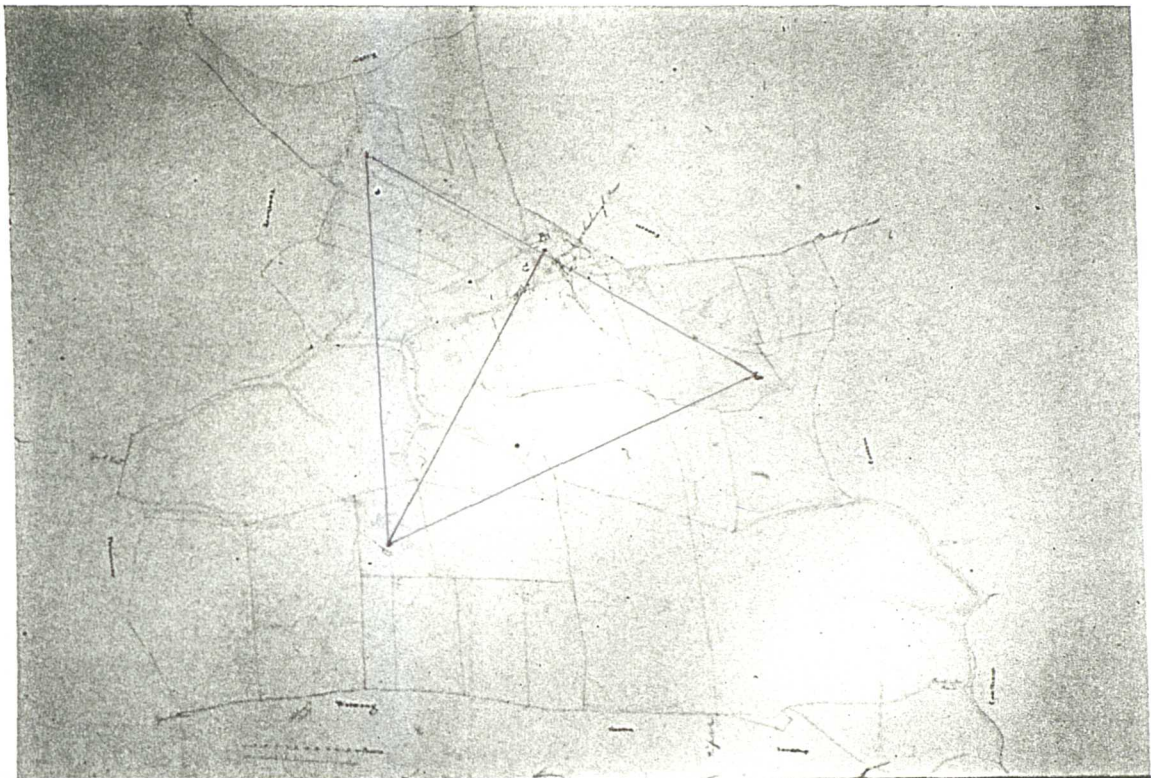


Figure 49: Sledmere: map used for planning the new landscape in the 1770's, and showing a large isosceles triangle pencilled on to link the "3 large farms" (enhanced).

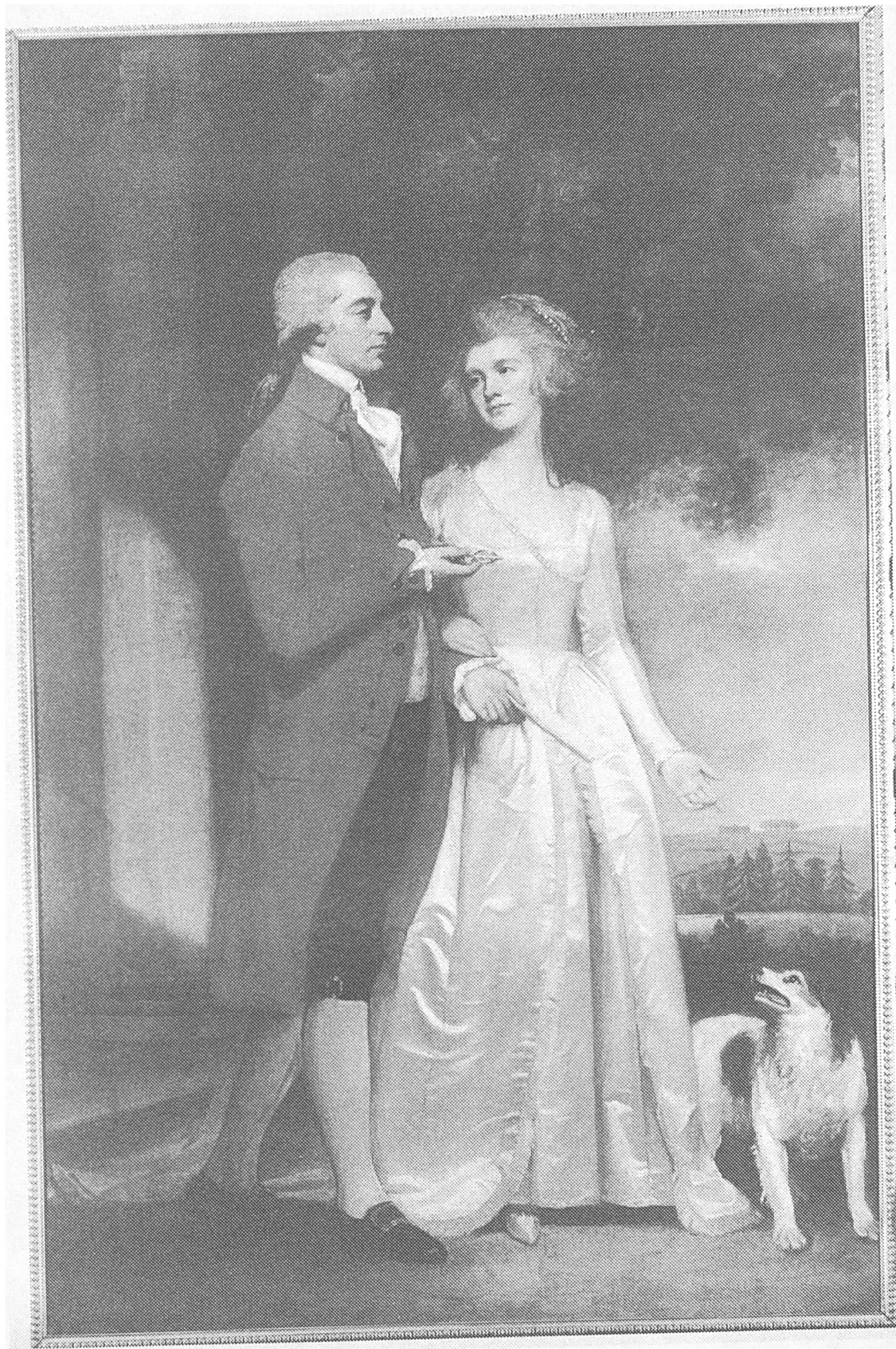


Figure 50: Founding the new landscape in productive agriculture: "Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes" by George Romney (1793)

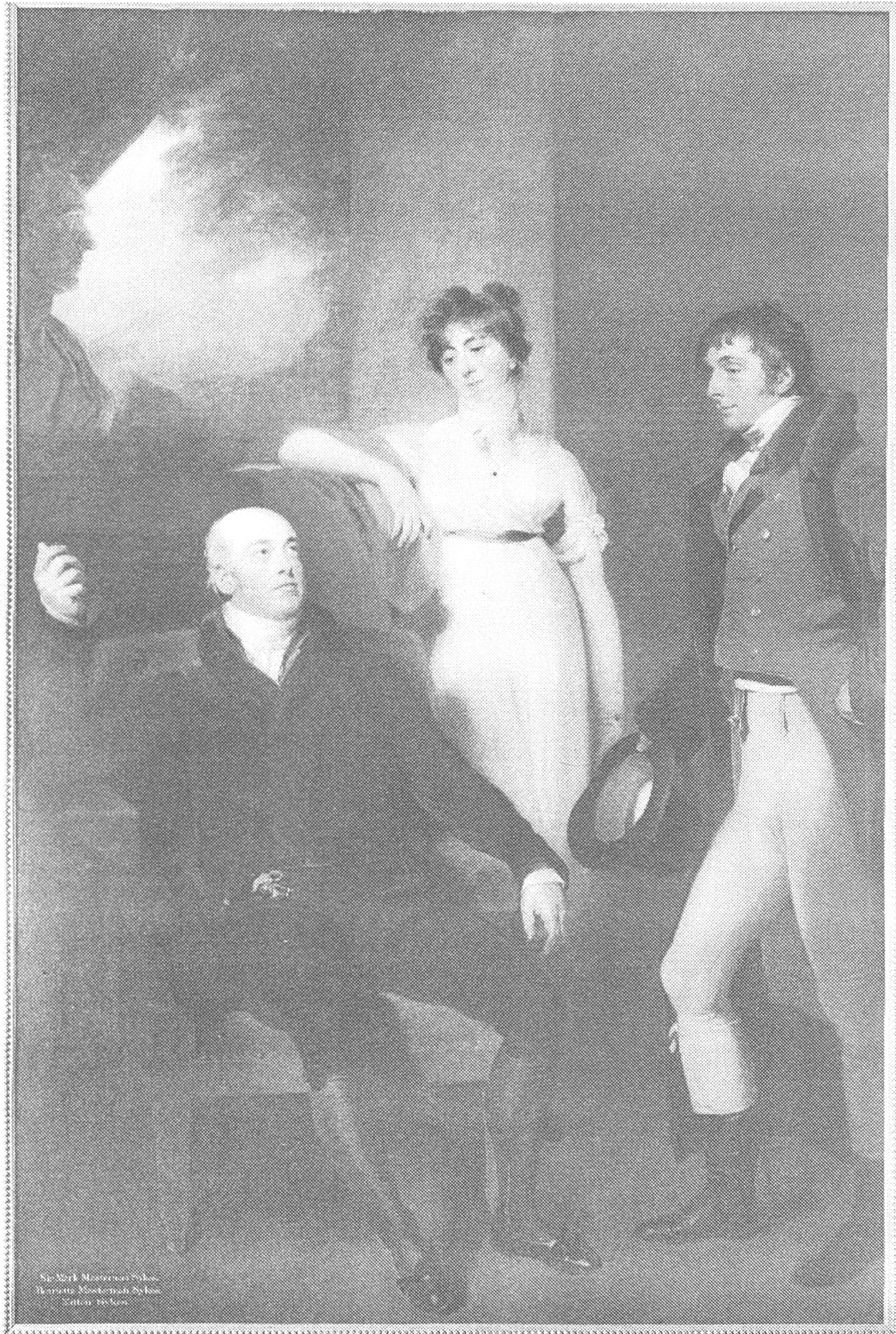


Figure 51: Acknowledging paternal example: "Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, Lady Masterman Sykes and Tatton Sykes", by Thomas Lawrence. Sir Mark gestures towards Nollekens' bust of his father, Sir Christopher Sykes



Figure 53: Little Sparta: the Sunk Garden



Figure 54: Monument to the First Battle of Little Sparta



Figure 55: Georg-Frederic Mayer, drawing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau at Ermenonville (1778)



Figure 56: Georg-Frédéric Mayer, Ermenonville, looking south from the house. Rousseau (left of centre) can be recognised by his attributes (staff and flowers), and is accompanied presumably by Amable, de Girardin's fourth son



L'ISLE DES PEUPLIERS

Figure 57: J. Merigot fils, the island of poplars, Ermenonville (engraving).



Figure 58: Little Sparta: the lararium



Figure 59: Little Sparta, Temple of Apollo: interior (July 1988)

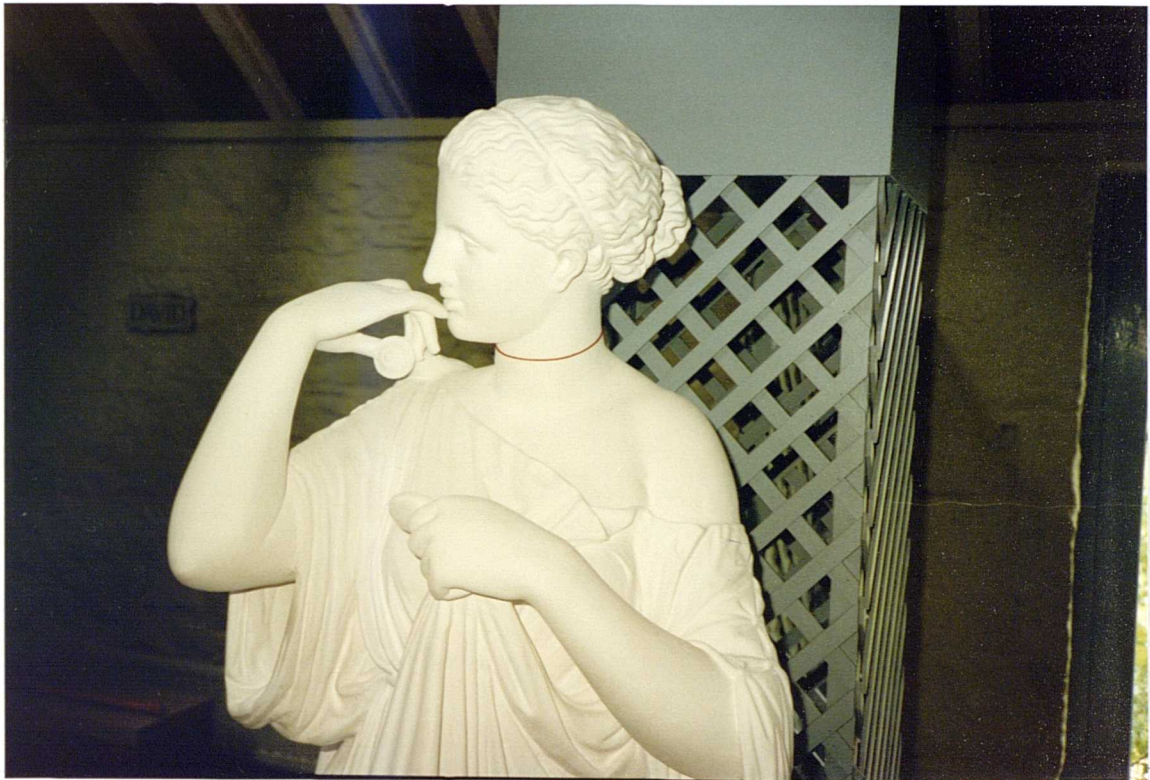
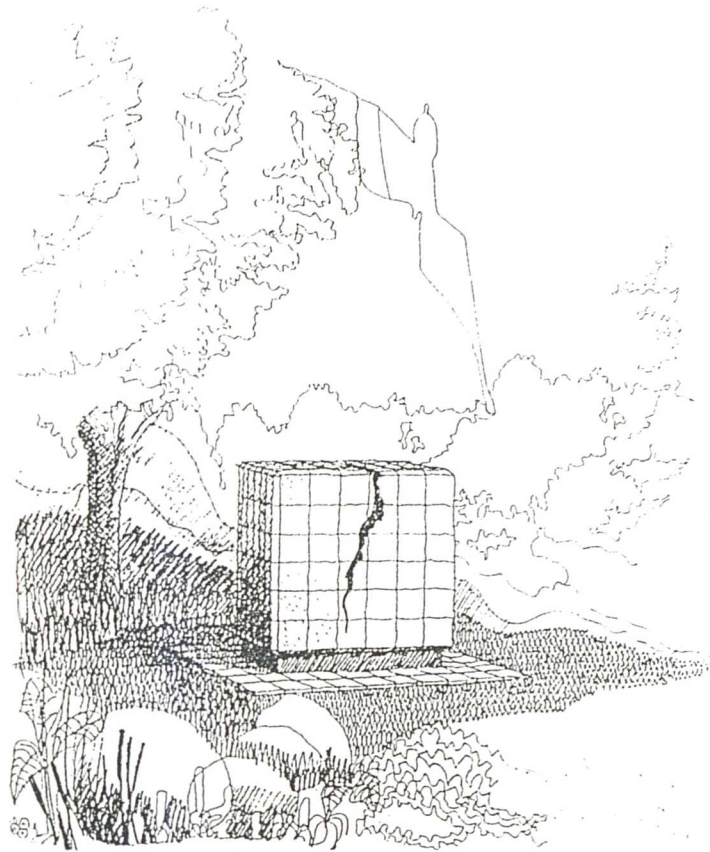


Figure 60: Little Sparta, Temple of Apollo: interior (July 1988)



Figure 61: Little Sparta: Aircraft-carrier bird bath



Regular Solid, Princes Street Gardens

Figure 62: Ian Hamilton Finlay, "Regular Solid, Princes Street Gardens", from Third Reich Revisited (1984)



Figure 51: Little Sparta: garden ornament, 1: classical capital



Figure 64:
fragment

Little Sparta: garden ornament, 2: transumptive



Figure 65: Ian Hamilton Finlay's "Bosco Virgiliano", Villa Celle, Tuscany: the Roman plough



Figure 66: Finlay's "Bosco Virgiliano", Villa Celle: the plaques



Figure 67: Finlay's "Bosco Virgiliano", Villa Celle: the basket of lemons

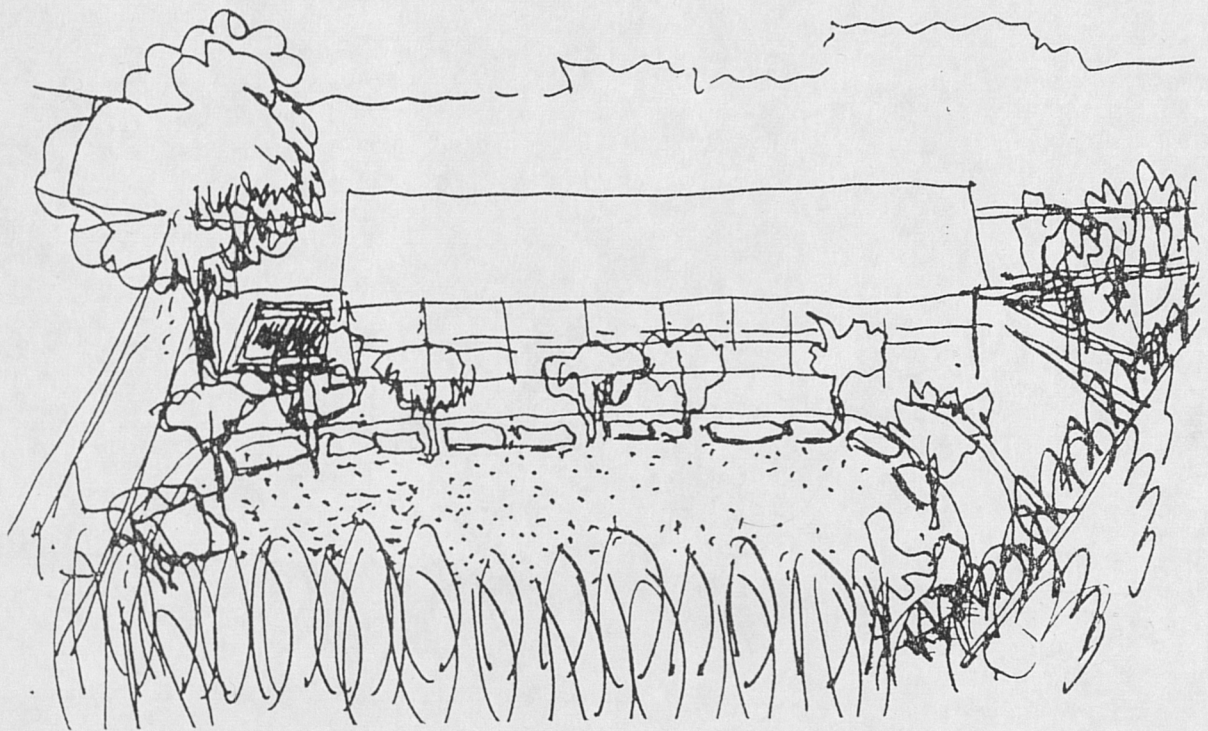


Figure 68: Finlay, Proposed Garden of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Hotel des Menus Plaisirs, Versailles: from Finlay and Chemetoff's "Proposition"



Text/Poem: U N A D U D N A N U D A U N D A

Figure 69: Finlay, "Unda/Nuda Stones", Stuart Collection, University of California, San Diego



Figure 70: Little Sparta, Grotto of Aeneas and Dido

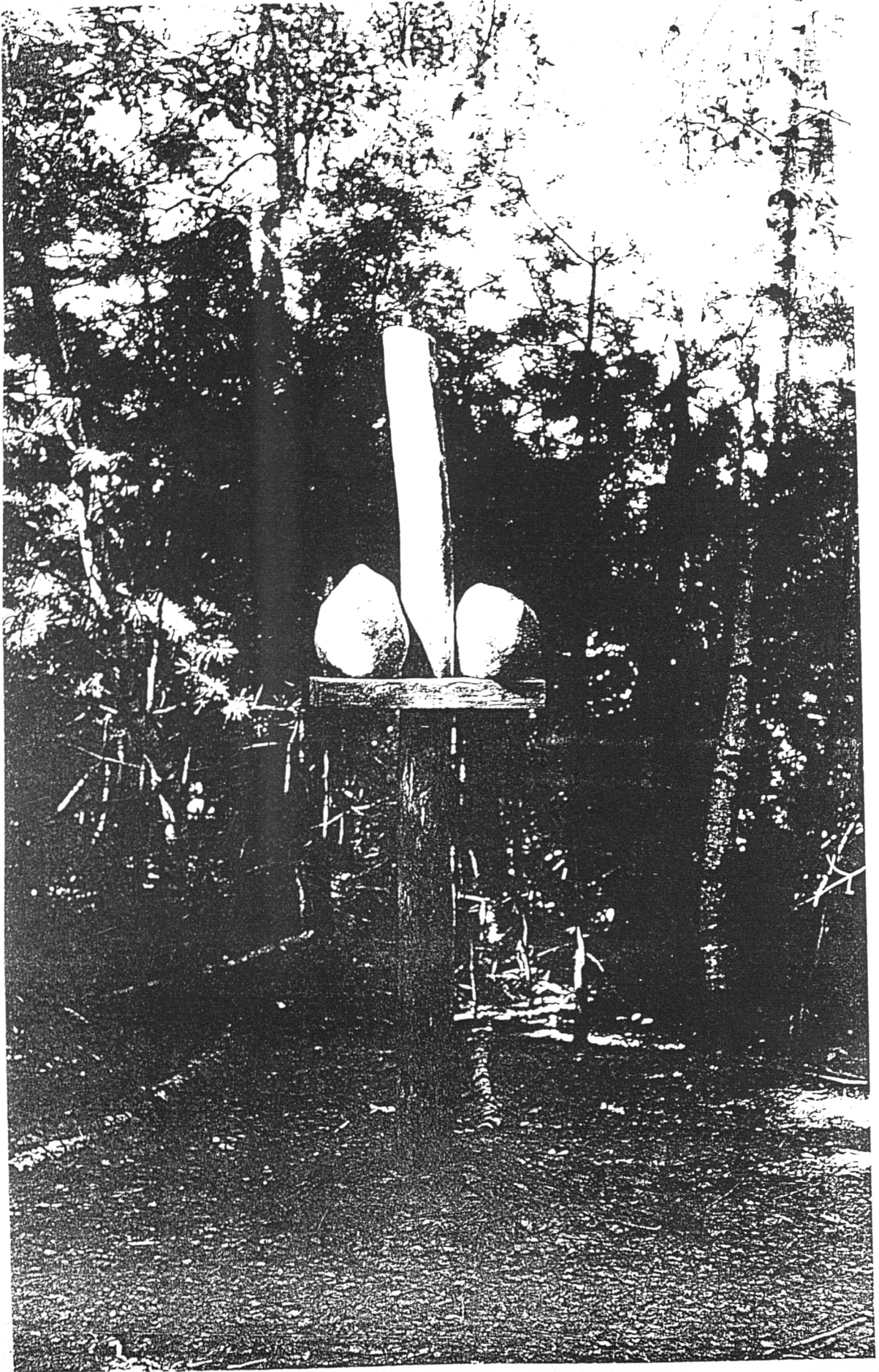


Figure 71: Pratt Farm, Altar (1977)



Figure 72: Pratt Farm, Kiva (1970-)

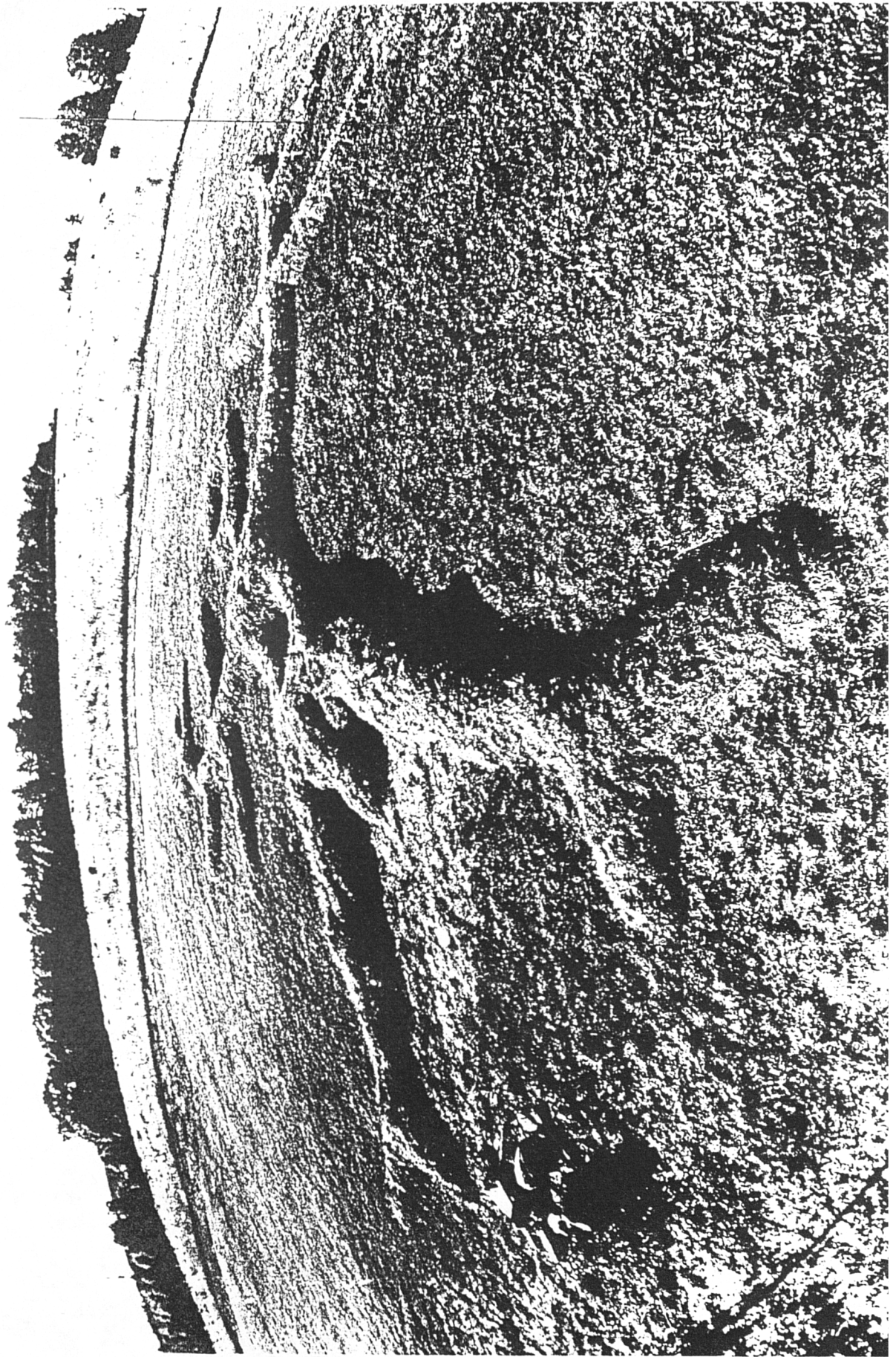


Figure 73: Pratt Farm, Suntreeman (1978)



Figure 74: Pratt Farm, Suntreeman (detail)



Figure 75: Pratt Farm, Earthwoman (1976-1977)

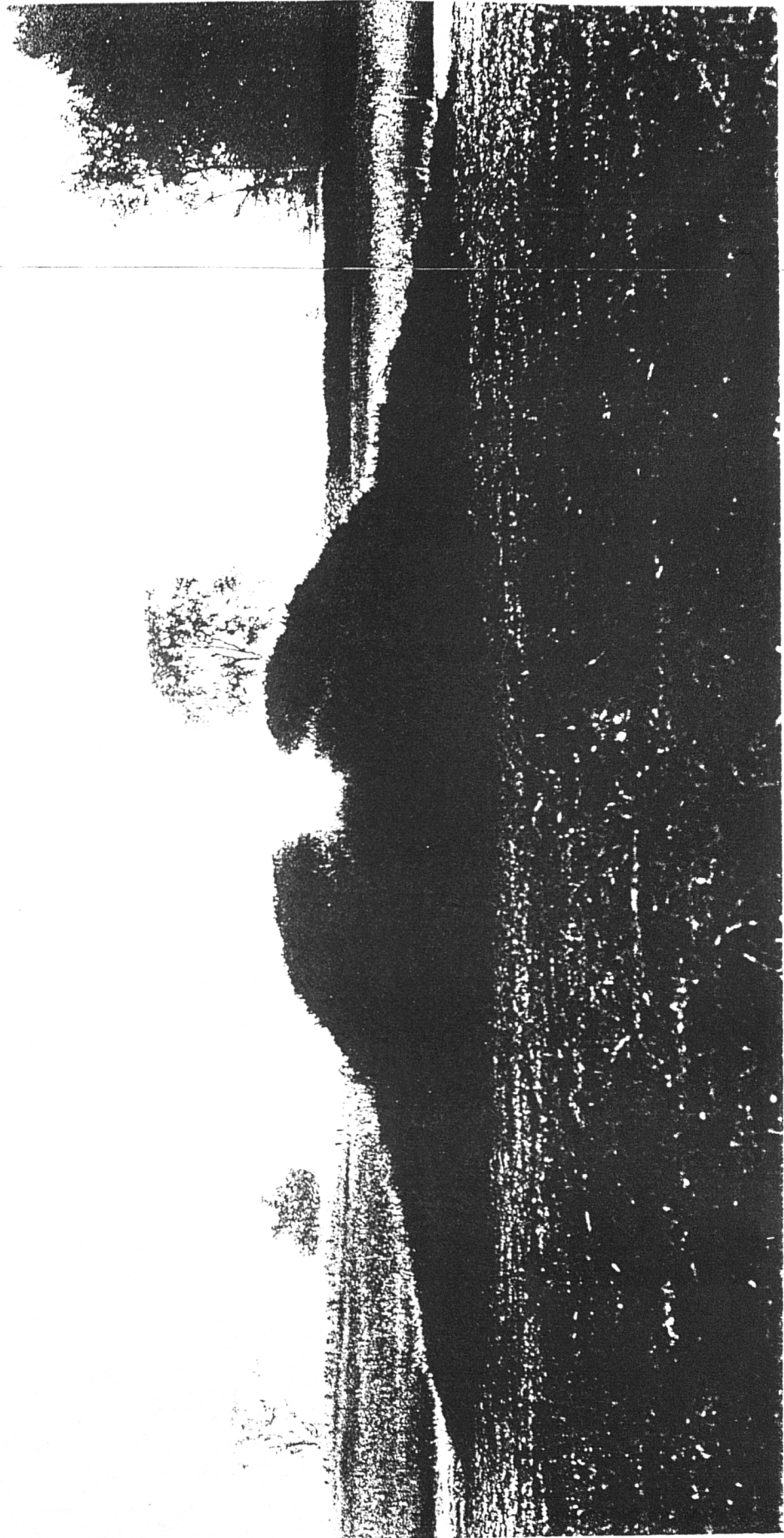
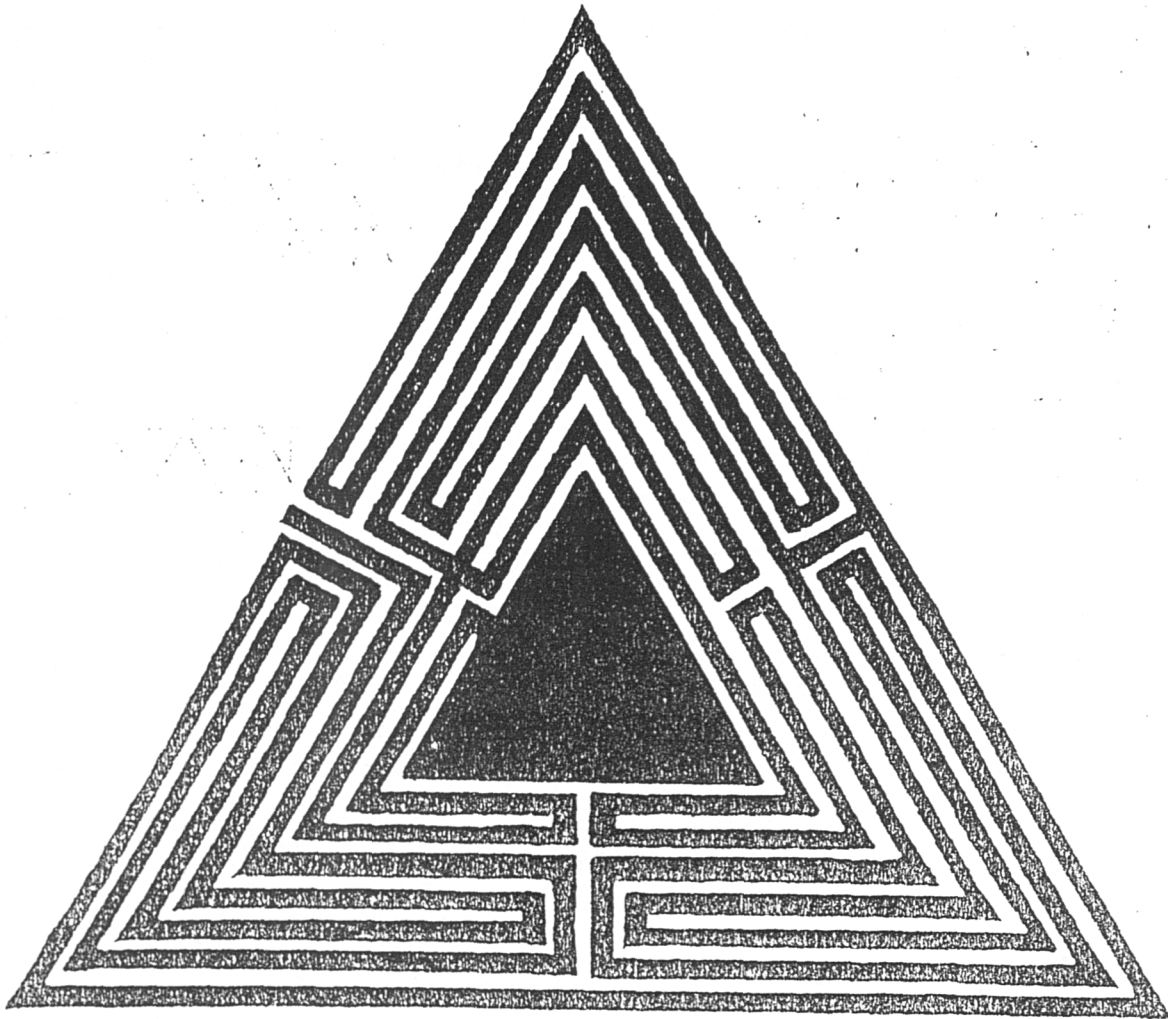


Figure 76: Solstitial sunrise over Earthwoman

PRATT FARM TURF MAZE



PATHS ARE INDICATED IN BLACK. LAY OUT PATHS WITH GREEN TAPE.

Figure 77: Pratt Farm, Maine: Turf Maze (1972-1974) - plan by James Pierce



Figure 78: Pratt Farm, Burial Mound (1971)



Figure 79: Burial Mound in shadow

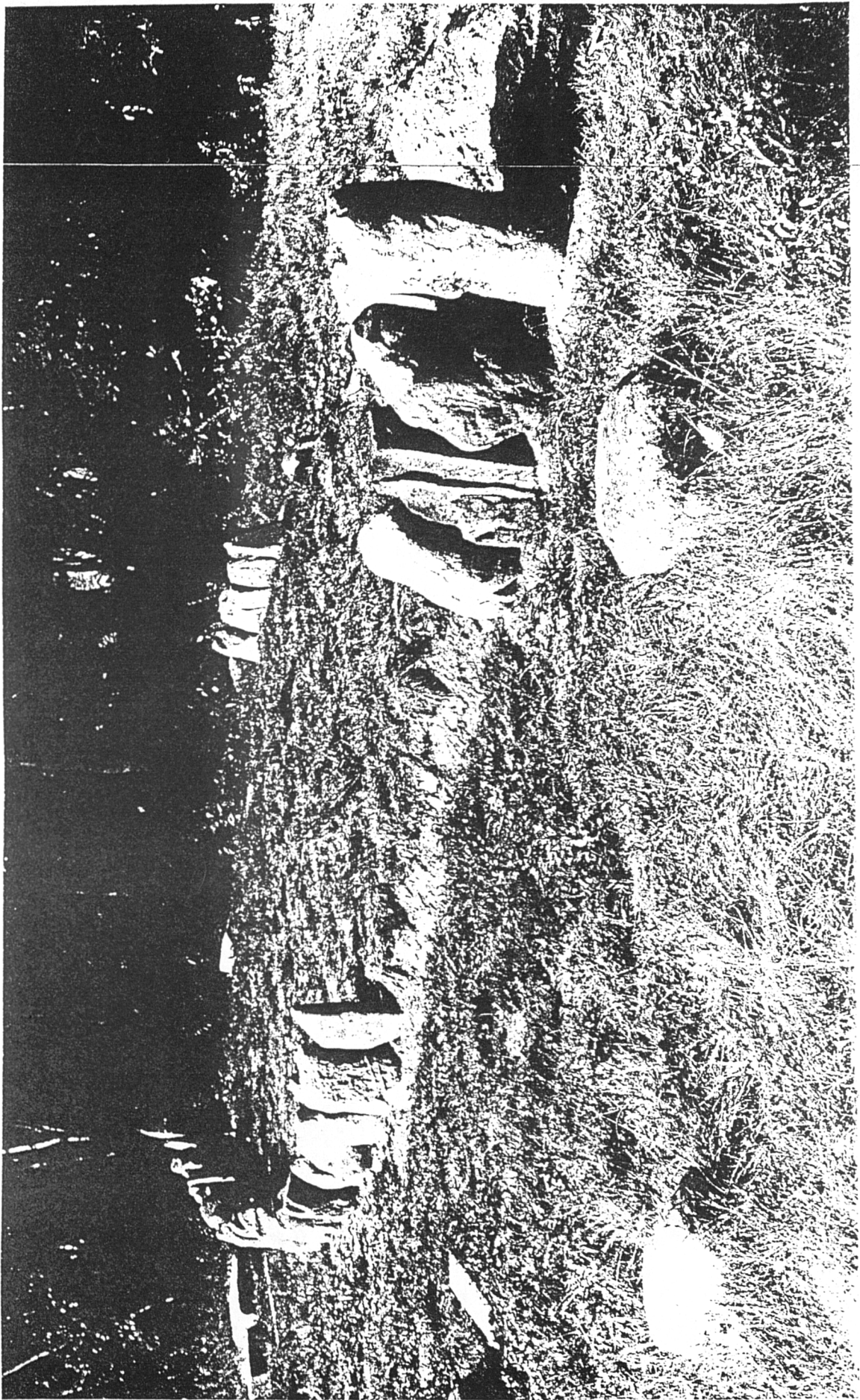


Figure 80: Pratt Farm, Stone Ship (1975)



Figure 81: Pratt Farm, Janus (1978-1982)

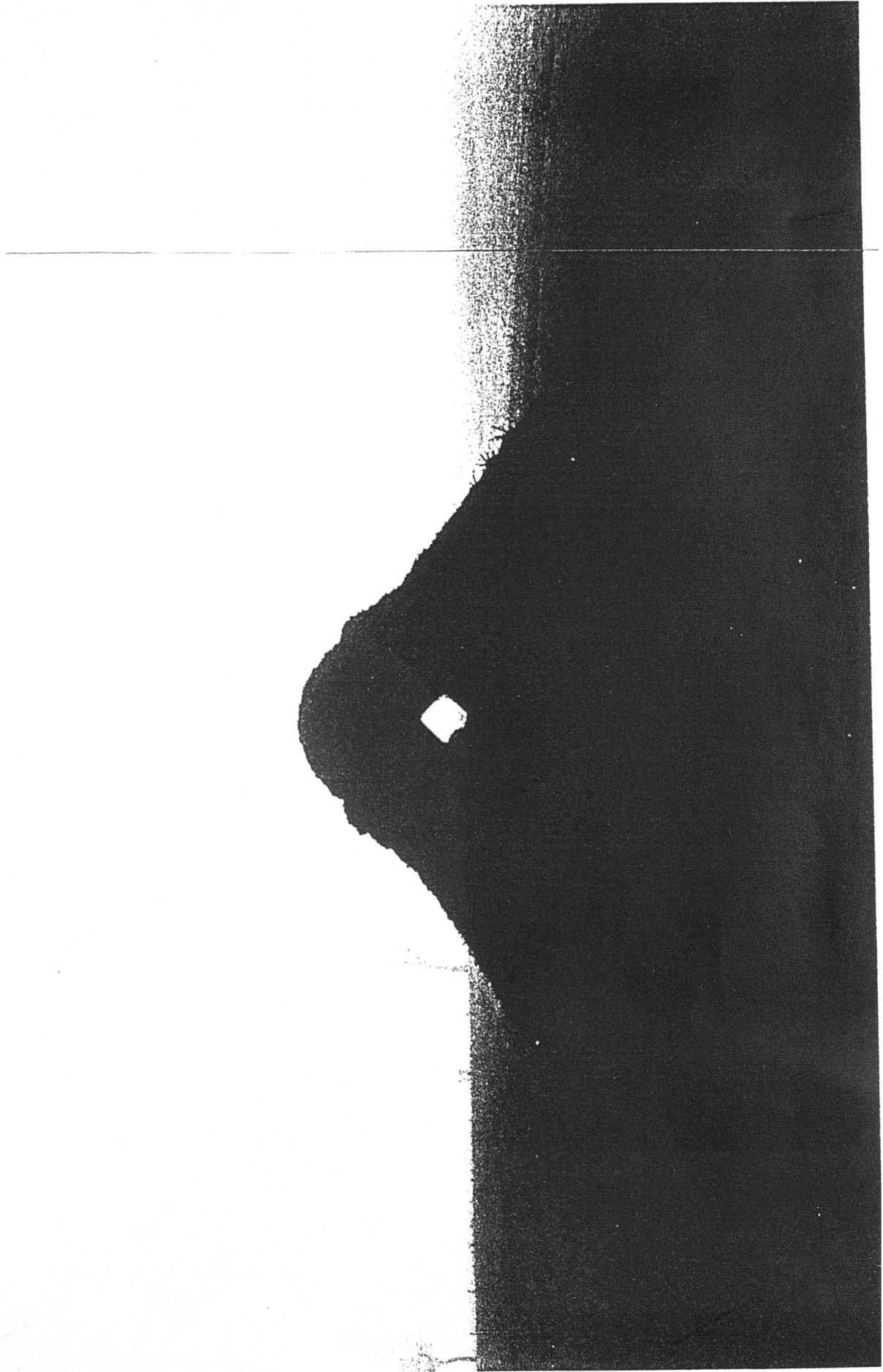


Figure 82:

The eye of Janus

