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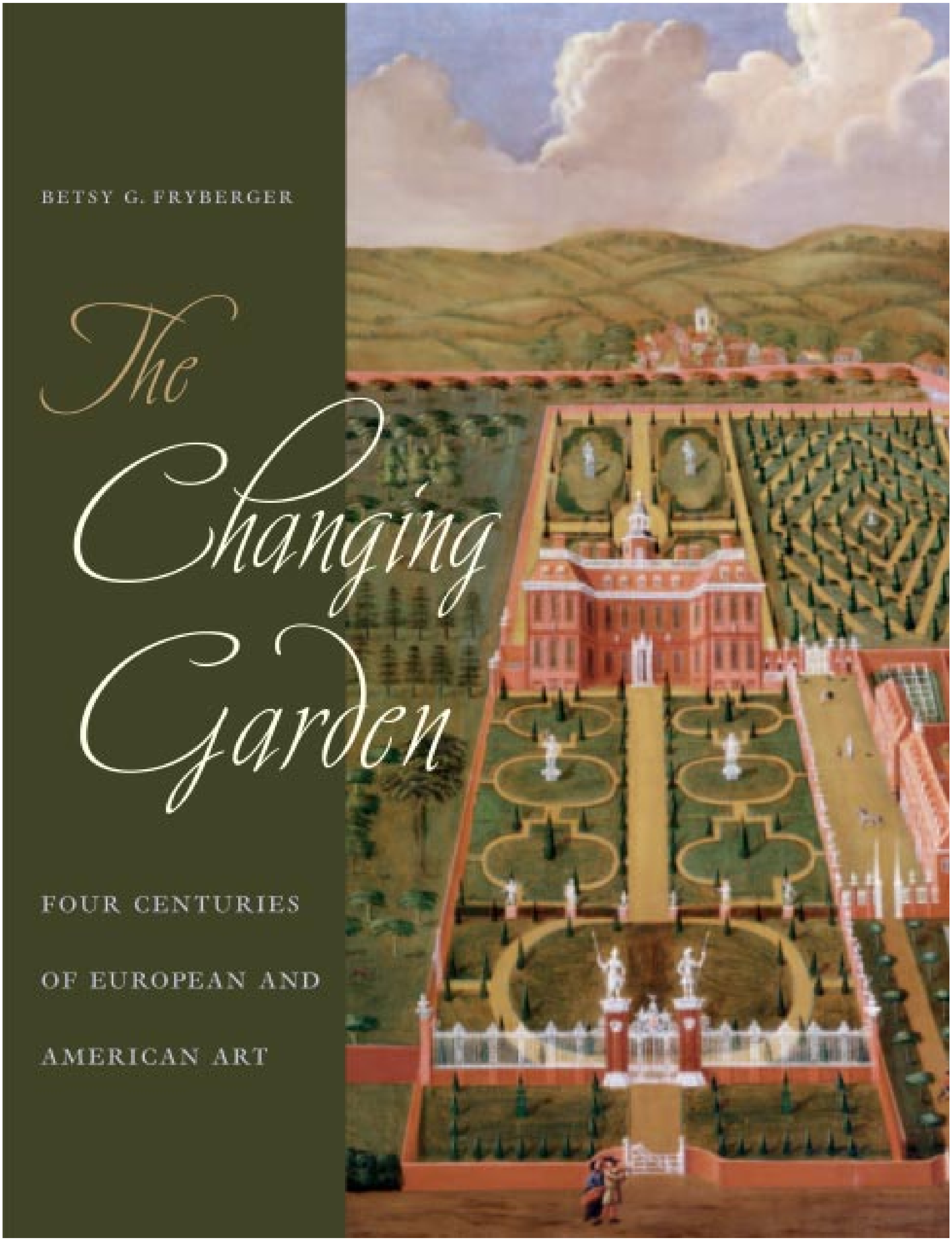

BETSY G. FRYBERGER

The Changing Garden

FOUR CENTURIES
OF EUROPEAN AND
AMERICAN ART

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The Artist and the Changing Garden

BETSY G. FRYBERGER

Artists have long observed gardens. Their diverse representations confirm the changing character and history of gardens from the privileged courts of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli and Versailles to the democratic spaces of New York City's Central Park and San Francisco's newly reconfigured Crissy Field. *The Changing Garden: Four Centuries of European and American Art* brings together close to two hundred prints, drawings, photographs, and paintings of gardens.

With a subject so rich and visual evidence so varied, inevitably any selection cannot include all that one might wish. This catalogue emphasizes the innovative sequential contributions made in Italy, France, Britain, and the United States. There are relatively few drawings included by garden designers, because this is not an examination of the practicalities of design. The focus is on the garden and its changing character as perceived and experienced by artists.

[DETAIL] Pieter van der Heyden, *Spring* (after Pieter Bruegel the Elder), 1570 (cat. 46).

Garden experiences are endlessly diverse. No two gardens are alike, and even a single, familiar garden changes with the light of a particular moment, the mood of each season, and the longer cycles of renewal and decay. To these physical changes must be added the weight of memories and associations. More than thirty years ago, in escaping from a Chicago winter while reading *Diaries and Letters of Harold Nicolson*, I discovered the world of gardens and garden literature.[1] Entering through a side gate that led from my apartment into the world of the writer Vita Sackville-West and her diplomat husband, Harold Nicolson, I was transported back to the 1930s, when they purchased a property with ruins of a Tudor castle and a derelict barn in Sissinghurst in Kent. I followed these two strong-minded individuals of opposing temperaments and convictions as they created what has become an icon of the artistic garden. Much has been written about Vita and her garden, but the extent of her husband's contributions is less well known. As designer and planner of the garden's "bones," he wrote letters to Vita making clear his deep attachment in practical suggestions and anxieties about her impulsive decisions. I went on to read an anthology of her gardening columns and, a few years later, visited Sissinghurst. Knowing about their collaboration added to my growing appreciation of the complex layering of garden experiences.

Over time, as my development as an amateur backyard gardener became grafted onto the stronger branch of curatorial expertise, I began to investigate the visual evidence of garden history. Within its larger compass, works of art offer insights enhancing the fuller documentation of the written record. The significant visual medium has been prints, rather than drawings or paintings, because prints have been far more influential as a vehicle for the transmission of information. From the sixteenth to the mid–nineteenth century, thousands of prints depicting gardens were published. In this massive archive, general views predominate. Detailed images of plantings occur less frequently, sometimes with many individual botanical illustrations in horticultural magazines.

Printed garden views enjoyed a wide popularity, not only for their information but as decoration and as souvenirs. On the one hand, they constitute an invaluable reference tool for designers and gardeners; on the other, their pleasant scenes enhanced the reputation of the garden owners, who often commissioned them. Offering enjoyment for viewers, they could be seen as a form of entertainment, at times theatrically altered to heighten such effects. By the 1860s, with the advent of photography, this multiple role essentially ended; photographs became the primary source of visual documentation. From about 1885 to 1910, however, a veritable Indian summer occurred in paintings of modern life set in private gardens and public parks.

Then followed the long chill of winter. In the aftermath of World War I, with its severe economic disruptions and shortages of labor, many large gardens were abandoned. Moreover, with twentieth-century art moving into nonrepresentational stylistic avenues, garden subjects were of little interest. Even as the peace and prosperity of the late twentieth century brought gardens ever widening popularity with homeowners and readers, they vanished as subjects for most artists. They are, however, photographed endlessly as glossy color illustrations, but few photographers have looked with perception.

I want to encourage garden lovers to dig deeply into the nourishing literature. Historically, garden literature has ranged from essays and poetry to diaries, travel notes, and treatises. Anthologies of such garden writing are rewarding because they enlarge our frame of reference through the descriptions, metaphors, memories, or fantasies of the authors. Sir Roy Strong's literary anthology, *A Celebration of Gardens*, includes Geoffrey Chaucer, John Evelyn, Alexander Pope, Jane Austen, and Virginia Woolf.[2] Betty Massingham's anthology features the British designers Joseph Paxton, William Robinson, Gertrude Jekyll, and Vita Sackville-West.[3] In several anthologies of American authors and designers, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson Downing, and Frederick Law Olmsted make expected appearances, but then such editors as Allen Lacy, Bonnie Marranca, and Diane Kostial McGuire choose quite differently. Lacy has organized his book by such topics as fragrances, native plants, and lawns.[4] McGuire has chosen excerpts from the landscape architects-designers Thomas Church, Garrett Eckbo, and Fletcher Steele.[5] Marranca includes the *Washington Post* columnist Henry Mitchell, who described the beginnings of Sissinghurst as "brambles and bracken and dock, maybe broken up by patches of stinging nettles. Amenities include the remains of an old pig sty. You convert it, let's say, into one of the sweetest gardens in the world, with roundels of clipped yew and a little alley of lindens. . . ."[6]

The Roman poet Pliny the Younger wrote for his contemporaries, but two thousand years later we still read him for his love of gardens.[7] His villas, one in the Tuscan hills, the other on the water near Rome, were catalysts for the design of Renaissance gardens. Among travel diarists, the enthusiasm of John Evelyn in the seventeenth century for Italian gardens—their statuary, fountains, and water tricks—remains infectious.[8] Evelyn helped create the taste for Italianate gardens in England. Two hundred fifty years later, in 1904, Edith Wharton wrote in *Italian Villas and Their Gardens* about rediscovering the same villas and introduced Americans to their splendors.[9] Recently, Vivian Russell described retracing Wharton's steps.[10] Wharton's influential book was preceded by that of a young American artist, Charles A. Platt, who later developed into an architect and garden designer.[11] His impressionistic text, while no match for Wharton's insight and clarity, coupled with his sketches and photographs, showed his precocious comprehension. Wharton designed a garden for herself in the Berkshires near Lenox, Massachusetts; Platt planned his garden in Cornish, New Hampshire—both were Italianate in character. Sadly, their lives were brief, but efforts are under way to restore Wharton's estate. Gardens are inherently fragile and unlikely to survive. Those that do have been changed by nature's cycles in subtle and more obvious ways: intermittent disasters of high winds or severe frosts, political or economic disruptions, and evolving social usage.

Garden preservation and restoration often involve detective work as well as dedication and perseverance. Shortly before 1910 Gertrude Jekyll created a garden at Upton Grey in Hampshire, a fine example of her mingling the formal with the informal, and of her impressionistic borders of annuals and perennials, chosen with an artist's eye for color and texture. Jekyll's many articles and books, esteemed in her day, were largely forgotten, and then reprinted in a cycle that parallels the fate of the garden at Upton Grey.[12] In 1983, when Rosamund Wallinger and her husband bought the old manor house, no evidence remained of Jekyll's garden. Wallinger has written a book tracing her adventurous journey beginning with a reference in a London library to the satisfaction of finding the plans for Upton Grey at the University of California at Berkeley. She details the hard months of demolition, relocating the old garden's lines, rebuilding, and planting, with the rigors of continuing maintenance.[13] Several of Jekyll's plans for Upton Grey and photographs of its current state have been included in this catalogue (cats. 7, 8). With increased preservation efforts, a more precise vocabulary has emerged, as has clarification of what constitutes reconstruction, rehabilitation, and true preservation. But, even as we understand more about these issues, we need to read and learn more.

Garden history has gained the attention of cultural and interdisciplinary scholars, as well as its more expected academic allies in architecture and art. Each year, the number of scholarly publications grows, among them those documenting the proceedings of the annual symposia at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. Increasingly, universities offer courses on garden history. At the University of Pennsylvania, the garden historian John Dixon Hunt continues his distinguished academic work as the preeminent author and editor, instrumental in establishing *The Journal of Garden History* (now *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*).

In the last two decades, as American museums have begun to explore garden history, new material has been highlighted in such exhibitions as *Gardens on Paper* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., *Gardens of Earthly Delight: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Gardens* at the Frick Art Museum in Pittsburgh, and *Fountains: Splash and Spectacle* at the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, in New York.[14] To these, the Cantor Center's exhibition adds a broader perspective, embracing design, historical, and social points of view.

The first section of the catalogue of the exhibition focuses on principles of garden design, moving from general views and plans to modifications of the natural terrain, then to choices of plant material and sculptural or architectural features. This demonstration of the diversity of ideas and strategies allows us to comprehend the vocabulary from which gardens have been created. The second section highlights specific historical examples of innovative design and enduring influence with visual comparisons from the time of construction to later periods of neglect, and the gardens' present state. Gardens once designed for the Medici or Louis XIV later became public parks; other parks were conceived of as public spaces. The third section focuses on activities that take place in garden settings—from public ceremonies and festivities to private repose and conversation.

THE ART OF GARDEN REPRESENTATION

Sixteenth Century

The first prints representing actual gardens were published during the last decades of the sixteenth century, a period that witnessed the construction of what we still regard as some of the most splendid of Italian gardens: those at the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, the Villa Farnese in Caprarola, and the Villa d'Este in Tivoli. These villas, built in the hills around Rome, are among the fortunate survivors; although altered by time, the originality and power of their design can still be appreciated by today's visitors. In the 1570s several publications, including one of the Villa d'Este, heralded a new printmaking speciality. In conception and transcription these prints drew from disparate artistic and intellectual sources: architectural and garden surveys, single general views, and scenes of garden activities. Geographically they hailed from the major publishing centers of their day—Antwerp, Rome, and Paris.[15]

Early printed garden views were most often represented in an architectural vocabulary. Thinking of the area closest to the residence as an extension of the building, the architect considered the garden as one element within the overall design. In contrast to the number of surviving architectural studies, however, there is far less evidence of the garden's design. This may point to its lesser importance for the architect-designer—or it may suggest that much was not formally designed on paper but rather composed in the garden. Although early prints show such major features as the parterre (the flat terrace next to the residence usually planted in decorative patterns), paths, fountains, pools, formal groves, even an orchard area, generally the plantings were so schematically rendered that identification of specific plants is difficult. With recent research in estate inventories, however, precise information about plant material is becoming better known.[16]

About 1550 an ambitious French architectural survey was undertaken by the architect and draftsman Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau. While visiting many châteaux, he made ink drawings on vellum that became the basis for the engravings published in *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*, in 1576 and 1579.[17] Androuet Du Cerceau understood gardens in architectural terms and presented them as nature that has been regularized. He depicted the parterre compartments from earlier in the century, when the garden began to expand from its small medieval confines. However, by the date of his publication that Renaissance style was already becoming obsolete.

Etienne Dupérac, a French printmaker and architect, published in 1573 a general view of the Villa d'Este in Tivoli (still being built), showing that garden's innovative design (cat. 53). The engraving's widespread influence is evident in its reissue and the many copies that soon followed, as Elizabeth S. Eustis describes in her catalogue essay. Such general views, or prospects as they were called, although loosely based on architectural and mapping techniques, did not include measurements. Instead, a legend identified the major areas.

While some artists found the decorative aspects of the garden beguiling, others were attracted by its activities. A third example from the 1570s of a printed garden subject originated in the eye and imagination of the painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder. In *Spring* Bruegel humanizes the garden, celebrating the hard work of digging, planting, and pruning—the physicality of labor that is rarely portrayed (cat. 46).

By the late sixteenth century, garden images broadened to encompass diplomatic and festive occasions. Catherine de' Medici is shown receiving the Polish ambassadors in the Tuileries in 1573 in a drawing by Antoine Caron (Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass.); in another scene he depicts a mock naval battle staged at Fontainebleau, with the participants costumed as Roman soldiers (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh).[18] Such exhibition battles continued to be popular entertainments (cat. 102A).

The powerful patrons who commissioned gardens sometimes also commissioned portraits of their gardens, as did the Medici of their villas in and around Florence, which Claudia Lazzaro examines in her catalogue essay. Occasionally, garden features were brought inside the palazzo, as at the Villa d'Este, where fountains and grottoes decorate the interior, as do frescoes of river gods and nymphs.

Seventeenth Century

Only a privileged few saw such frescoes, but many more had access to prints. In Rome, several generations of the Rossi family figured among preeminent publishers. Many of the city's gardens were featured in their *Li giardini di Roma* (c. 1675) with views by the architect and printmaker Giovanni Battista Falda. Using an (unrealistically) high vantage point allowed him to include in the overview the individual palazzo's architectural features, the abundance of garden statuary, and such major features as parterres, clipped hedges, fountains, and rows of cypresses.

With recently constructed aqueducts bringing a far greater water supply to Rome, many fountains were erected. The four volumes of *Le Fontane di Roma* and *Le Fontane della Ville de Frascati*, *nel Tusculano*, also published by Rossi with views by Falda, celebrate fountains in gardens and as urban features (cat. 26A). However, it was not Falda, but his successor, Giovanni Francesco Venturini, who composed the charming views of the Villa d'Este included in this publication (cat. 55). Where Falda concentrates on topographic and architectural description, Venturini evokes an actual garden experience. The engraved inscriptions on Venturini's plates not only identify him as the artist but also help make clear the other contributions within the dictates of commerce and the politics of censorship. Generally on such engravings, the painter (*pinxit*) or designer (*delineavit* or *invenit*) and printmaker (*fecit* or *sculpsit*) are cited to the left; to the right appears information about the privilege to publish with the name of the publisher (*excudit*).

Although one is tempted to read such visual evidence as fact, caution is necessary. Most workshop engravers had little or no direct experience of the site, and even those who clearly had visited the gardens, including Dupérac, Falda, and Venturini, altered, exaggerated, and invented to some degree, often including parts of the garden still unbuilt—and sometimes never completed. Since two-dimensional views cannot depict either the full extent or specific detail of a threedimensional garden, attempts to compress information result in compromises and liberal interpretations. Also problematic are the changing attitudes toward accuracy; in some early publications actual views were combined with imagined reconstructions of ancient gardens. Often the publication was commissioned by the patron whose desires were influential: since he wanted his property to be shown at its best, the views were selective, emphasizing fashionable visitors and minimizing workers or any disorder. Visual evidence must be used in conjunction with archaeological data and checked against other documentation such as maps and estate archives.[19]

Accuracy also depends on firsthand information: surveying and mapmaking techniques are the essential tools. How can a garden be pictured except by experiencing it, walking and measuring the lay of the land and its boundaries? The garden designer needs such information for calculations in reconfiguring the terrain —whether leveling it for a terrace or excavating for a sunken area, channeling a local river into a canal or enlarging it into a lake. Mathematics and engineering, therefore, were integral to garden design. The same publishers who commissioned printed views often specialized in maps as well. A map was often essential, particularly for sets of views of such extensive grounds as Versailles.

During the seventeenth century, as domestic garden scenes became more frequently portrayed, they also reached a wider audience. Some scenes were presented within such allegorical contexts as the Four Temperaments or Twelve Months, as in Abraham Bosse's sets of the *Four Seasons* and *Five Senses* (cat. 115). In contrast, a design for a print by David Vinckboons depicts a court reception in which participants stroll, dance, boat in Venetian gondolas, listen to music, and dine in an immense garden (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).[20] The garden was generally still shown within the tradition of a prospect, as in Jacques Callot's etching *The Parterre of the Palace at Nancy* of 1625, which boasts a large cast on a parterre stage, with the background set of architecture (cat. 98). Both Cal-

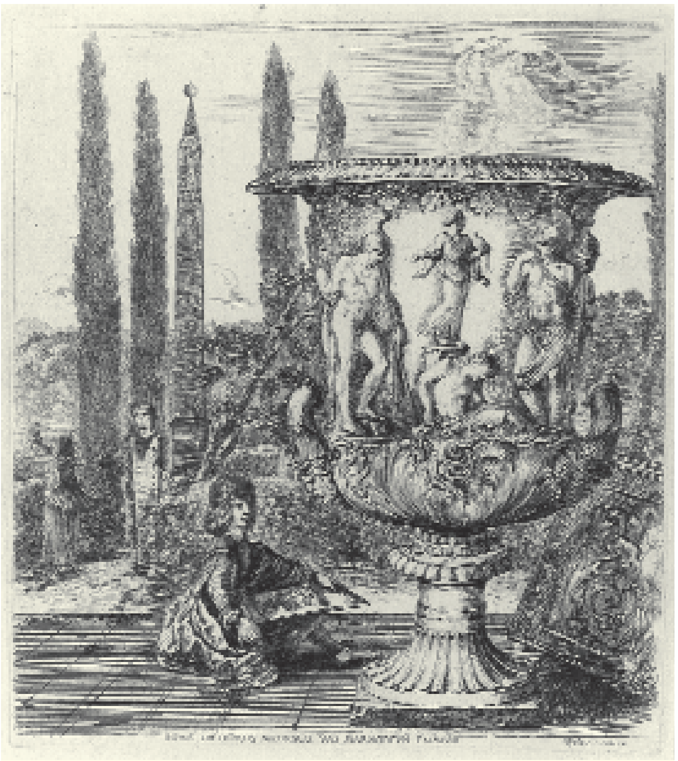

FIG. 1. Stefano della Bella, *The Young Cosimo III Drawing the Medici Vase*, 1656. Etching. Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University. (Cat. 33)

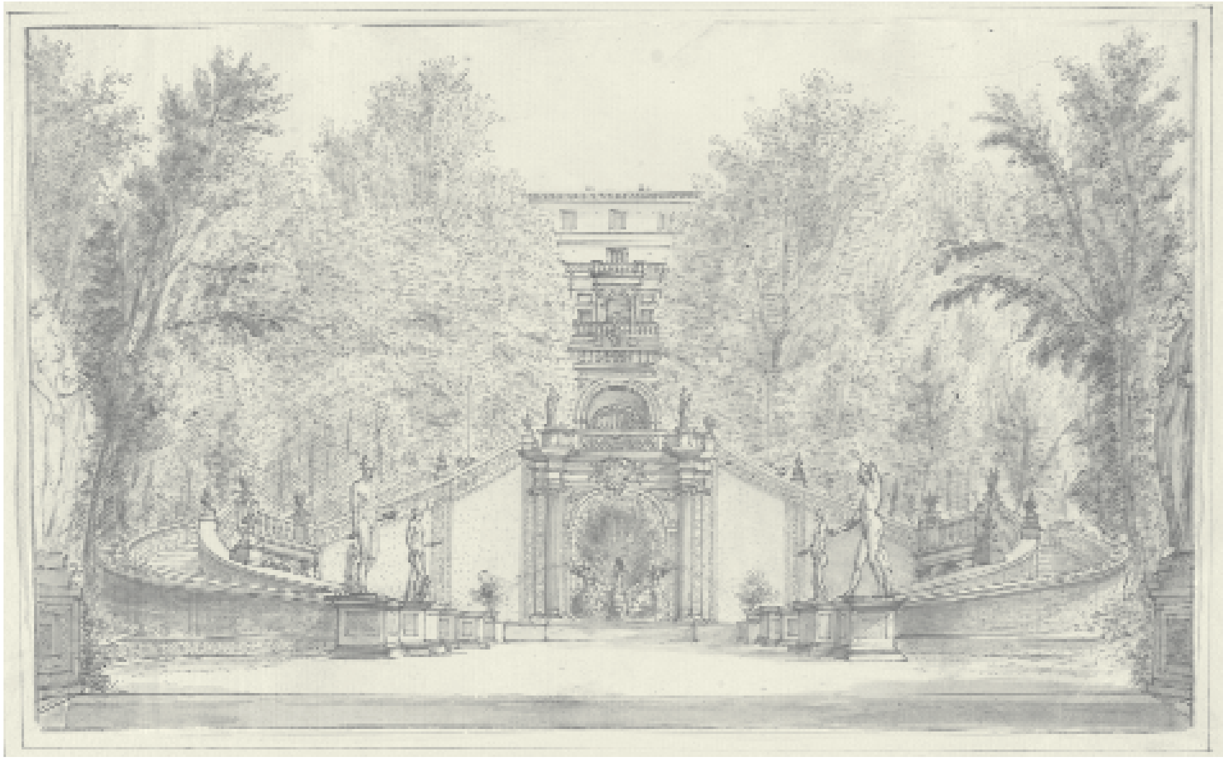

FIG. 2. Israël Silvestre, *The Villa d'Este: Fountain of the Dragons*. Pen and brown ink, graphite, with pink and brown washes. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. (Cat. 54B)

lot and the younger Stefano della Bella worked at the Medici court in Florence. Della Bella helped design and record their celebrations in the Boboli Gardens (cat. 99). He also drew views of the family's gardens in Rome (fig. 1) and at Pratolino (cat. 52). In the 1660s for Louis XIV at Versailles, the elaborate court celebrations were duly recorded by artists observing from a discreet distance (cat. 100).

The prime example of the increasing importance of printed garden views is found in the work of Israël Silvestre, who visited and recorded more gardens than any of his contemporaries, and whose many etchings were officially distributed through the French court. In the 1640s as a young artist in Italy, he drew at the Villa d'Este (fig. 2). By the 1660s back in France, he sketched at Vaux-le-Vicomte, the lavish new estate of Louis XIV's finance minister Nicolas Fouquet, the first of the great gardens designed by André Le Nôtre. After Fouquet's downfall, Le Nôtre and later Silvestre joined Louis XIV's court staff. At Versailles, symbol and manifestation of Louis XIV's absolute monarchy on which Le Nôtre labored for more than thirty years, Silvestre recorded ongoing alterations. In a plan of 1674, Silvestre shows the Upper Terrace near the château with many small compartments. In that of 1680 the area has been greatly enlarged, the old parterre replaced by the addition of the two long reflecting pools seen today.[21] As Le Nôtre designed or reconfigured gardens at other royal châteaux, Silvestre sketched.

Silvestre represented a garden's changing vistas through a sequence of views, much like strolling through its grounds. Starting from a general view taken at a distance, the artist then moved closer, portraying the front facade, the side, sometimes the orangery and kitchen garden, before entering the major area behind the château with its decorative parterre and fountains, and finally arriving at the cascades and canals. Silvestre animated his scenes with strolling couples, horseback riders, and carriages, but only occasionally a gardener. Variants of this sequence were employed by other French view makers.

The royal châteaux were located within a day's travel of each other in the Ile-de-France, several situated along the Seine between Versailles and Paris. At Saint-Cloud and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Le Nôtre enlarged the formal areas and created grids of intersecting tree-lined paths, which visually and symbolically established the dominance of the monarch's garden over difficult, irregular terrain.

Le Nôtre came from a family of royal gardeners who lived on the grounds of the Tuileries. In addition to his firsthand garden experience, he studied painting in the studio of Simon Vouet, who was also knowledgeable about architecture. Seventeenth-century painting did not aspire to imitate nature's imperfections, but rather to correct them. The same philosophical orientation lay behind Le Nôtre's designs, as is clear in an annotation on a plan of Versailles of 1693 that reads, "remedying the defects that Nature had left there by the utmost efforts of Art."[22] Le Nôtre, using the more accurate surveying tools that had been developed, was able to create optical tricks and perspectives that made his gardens seem even grander than they were and to introduce subtle variations and visual surprises.

As Le Nôtre's success grew, he collected paintings by prominent seventeenth-century artists, among them Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin, as well as some twenty albums of prints. (Claude's landscapes depicted a more naturalistic landscape; Poussin's carefully constructed compositions offer a closer analogy to Le Nôtre's designs.) In 1665 Le Nôtre guided the brilliant Italian sculptor and architect Gianlorenzo Bernini on tours of his gardens. On seeing the Grand Cascade at nearby Saint-Cloud, Bernini demurred that "one should disguise art more and seek to give things a more natural appearance, but in France, generally speaking everyone seeks the opposite."[23] When Le Nôtre visited Rome in 1679, Bernini referred to prints (probably by Silvestre or members of the Perelle family), saying that "they [their design] partook of a rare genius." Even the pope asked about the views of Versailles that he "had heard so much about."[24] Antoine-Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville's treatise, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage* (1709), offered an interpretation of Le Nôtre's ideas and designs, with plans and elevations.[25] Of great influence, it was reprinted and rapidly translated into English. For pictorial information, however, the views of Silvestre, the Perelle family, Pierre Aveline the Elder, and others played a crucial role. By the mid–seventeenth century, Paris was becoming the major European publishing center, and from there the style of Le Nôtre glorifying the power of Louis XIV was disseminated to courts in England, Holland, Germany, and Sweden, where similar, if more modest, gardens soon flourished.

Eighteenth Century

Concurrent with the major shift in garden aesthetics from rigid geometry to a more naturalistic informality that was originating in England, the print trade experienced changes of character and production. Publishing ventures became more international with the growing tourist audience in mind. Often editions were printed in several languages, most often in French and English, sometimes in German as well. Publications were issued in larger editions, whose views were increasingly produced by stables of topographic printmakers after designs by others.

Prints played an important role in the first French encyclopedia, organized under the joint auspices of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. The text was published in seventeen volumes (1751–65). The separate illustrations were gathered in eleven volumes (1762–72); gardening was grouped with agriculture (*Agriculture et Jardinage*). Diderot, whose breadth of learning made him the more influential of the partners, took great interest in the quality and production of the twenty-five hundred engravings designed to elucidate the various processes and crafts (cat. 49).[26] Articles were gathered under three main headings: the sciences, the liberal arts, and the mechanical arts. The text included more than two hundred entries by Dézallier d'Argenville, many derived from his earlier treatise.

In England, a newly prosperous country gentry, eager to display its wealth, supported publications that mapped its estates. This market was more diverse and less regulated than that in France under Louis XIV. Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) and the third volume of the architect Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725) included country estates laid out in formal patterns, even as that style was beginning to wane.[27] England, with little indigenous printmaking tradition, had to import workers to help produce these books. At first, the newly arrived Dutch and French printmakers recorded views of the older garden style but soon helped to introduce the new landscape park. Such was the case of the French Huguenot Jacques Rocque, who within a few years of his arrival in London was active as a surveyor, printmaker, and occasional publisher, as well as executing royal commissions for work at Richmond and Kew. Rocque's varied talents found expression in a distinctive format of a map framed with vignettes of pavilions and temples (cat. 37).

English landscape designers began to reject formalism in favor of a seemingly naturalistic landscape, a revolution that can be clearly followed at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, the most famous landscape park of its day. Its sophisticated patron, Lord Cobham, engaged Charles Bridgeman, whose original layout at Stowe emphasized well-placed structures and monuments. In an unusual circumstance, it was not Lord Cobham but Bridgeman (probably to spread his reputation and attract new clients) who commissioned Jacques Rigaud to record the grounds. Rigaud's preparatory drawings (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and engravings show the garden being enjoyed informally by Cobham, his wife, and friends (cat. 80). As in his earlier French views, *Les Maisons royales de France*, Rigaud staged scenes: figures are clustered in the foreground with the garden as the setting. Bridgeman died before Rigaud's views were published, and control of the garden rapidly passed to William Kent. Trained as a landscape painter, Kent, who had traveled in Italy, sought to frame the landscape in successive views reminiscent of the Roman Campagna. Where an earlier garden had opened onto a separate woods (once a deer park for hunting), the new landscape enveloped and domesticated it with small monuments and follies. In addition to a classical temple, obelisk, and Gothic ruin, there arose monuments to Modern Virtue and to the British Worthies—references to contemporary politics. In 1741 Lancelot "Capability" Brown added his contributions to Stowe in a new area, the Grecian Valley. Buildings, which continued to proliferate, included several designed by Kent and an early interpretation of a Chinese house. Stowe became popular and much visited by "polite society." Thomas Rowlandson's lively watercolors were either directly observed or cleverly adapted from other sources (cat. 82B,C). Elsewhere, while some owners followed the new path taken by Cobham at Stowe and used their gardens to express a political or philosophical stance, many more owners of smaller estates continued to use designs in the older, geometric grids.

English designers, with Kent as a leading proponent, looked back to the spirit of antiquity. This was transmitted through paintings, in particular Claude Lorrain's bucolic scenes of classical ruins in a "natural" (but artfully composed) landscape. Further, it is probable that Kent's knowledge of certain engravings of Chinese gardens led to his landscaping effects of clumping trees, creating small mounds and serpentine paths. The French adapted Kent's ideas in their Anglo-Chinese gardens and cited him in their literature.[28] As his influence spread throughout Europe, such radical ideas resulted in the widespread and rapid destruction of formal gardens to create a greener, more natural look. These alterations were not minor: parterres were destroyed, hedges, allées, and canals removed, and reflecting pools reconfigured into streams or lakes.

Changes made in the name of "naturalism," however, must not be taken as absolute, for that notion evolved from one generation to the next.[29] The grandeur of the initial conception shrank to a more popular picturesque interpretation.

The poet Alexander Pope's garden at Twickenham, outside London, paid homage to his Roman predecessor Horace, who had advocated a simple life, away from politics, but surrounded by friends. Pope's Palladian villa was set on a lawn sloping down to the Thames; in its nearby grotto he meditated and wrote. The philosophy of garden design became a touchstone for other authors: the garden was perceived by some as Nature's Perfection. Horace Walpole grandly characterized England's contribution, "We have given the true model of gardening to the world; . . . original by its elegant simplicity . . . softening Nature's harshness and copying her graceful touch."[30] The poet William Cowper described Kent's fellow revolutionary, Capability Brown: "omnipotent magician, Brown, appears. . . . He speaks. The lake in front becomes a lawn; woods vanish, hills subside, and vallies rise."[31]

While innovative designs and spirited garden rhetoric, tinged with nationalism, flourished in England, the situation in France was subdued, for Louis XIV's vast military campaigns and his building and garden expenditures helped push the country to the point of bankruptcy. Coupled with the decline in construction and in maintenance, there rose a greater appreciation for earlier gardens. After Jean-Antoine Watteau arrived in Paris in 1712, he became a frequent visitor to the garden of his patron Pierre Crozat at Montmorency. Originally designed by Le Nôtre, its formality softened by neglect, the garden set the mood for Watteau's elegiac paintings. Another ruin from an earlier time, the prince of Guise's garden at Arcueil, attracted a number of artists, including François Boucher and Jean-Baptiste Oudry. The latter made eloquent studies in black chalk, heightened with white, on bluish gray paper (fig. 3). Much as a conductor leads an orchestra, Oudry balanced his instruments—the soft, shifting canopy of trees played against clipped hedges, trelliswork, paths, stairs, balustrades, and fountains, under a changing sky. Traditionally thought to depict only Arcueil, the location of many of these studies cannot be firmly identified; further, a contemporary noted Oudry's outings to gardens at Saint-Germain and Chantilly.[32]

While Oudry drew gardens in the Ile-de-France, students in Rome at the French Academy were out sketching the Roman Campagna, a practice initiated by Nicolas Vleughels when he was director and continued by his successor, Charles Natoire. Among other nearby picturesque sites, the Villa d'Este in Tivoli was a favorite, its decay adding to its attraction for students familiar with Roman ruins. During the summer of 1760 the abbé de Saint-Non rented the villa for over a month; Jean-Honoré Fragonard joined him, making some of his finest, most fluid garden evocations (cat. 56). It is probable that his friend and fellow artist Hubert Robert also visited there.[33] During the decade Robert spent in Rome, he became known as "Robert des ruines" for his paintings of ruins. In Paris, however, connoisseurs began to collect his drawings, preferring the lighter tone of his Italianate garden sketches to the heavier architectural paintings.

A decade later, Giovanni Battista Piranesi's view of the Villa d'Este offers a dark interpretation of the garden, emphasizing its remaining statuary (cat. 57). Fascinated by Roman architecture, Piranesi had a workshop near the French Academy and was known to have gone sketching with Robert. On more than one occasion, Natoire sent groups of Piranesi's etchings back to Paris, and they were avidly collected by British tourists. No doubt, Piranesi's etching of the Villa d'Este coincided with a trip to nearby Hadrian's Villa, where he was educating himself about its statuary. Representing the Villa d'Este from the garden's lowest level, Piranesi looked up its steep hillside, balancing the rhythm of the ascending paths with the oversize antique statues on the lower level. Nature played only a supporting role in Piranesi's powerful conception.

Robert, who returned to France in 1765, remained attracted to rich, layered historical associations and,

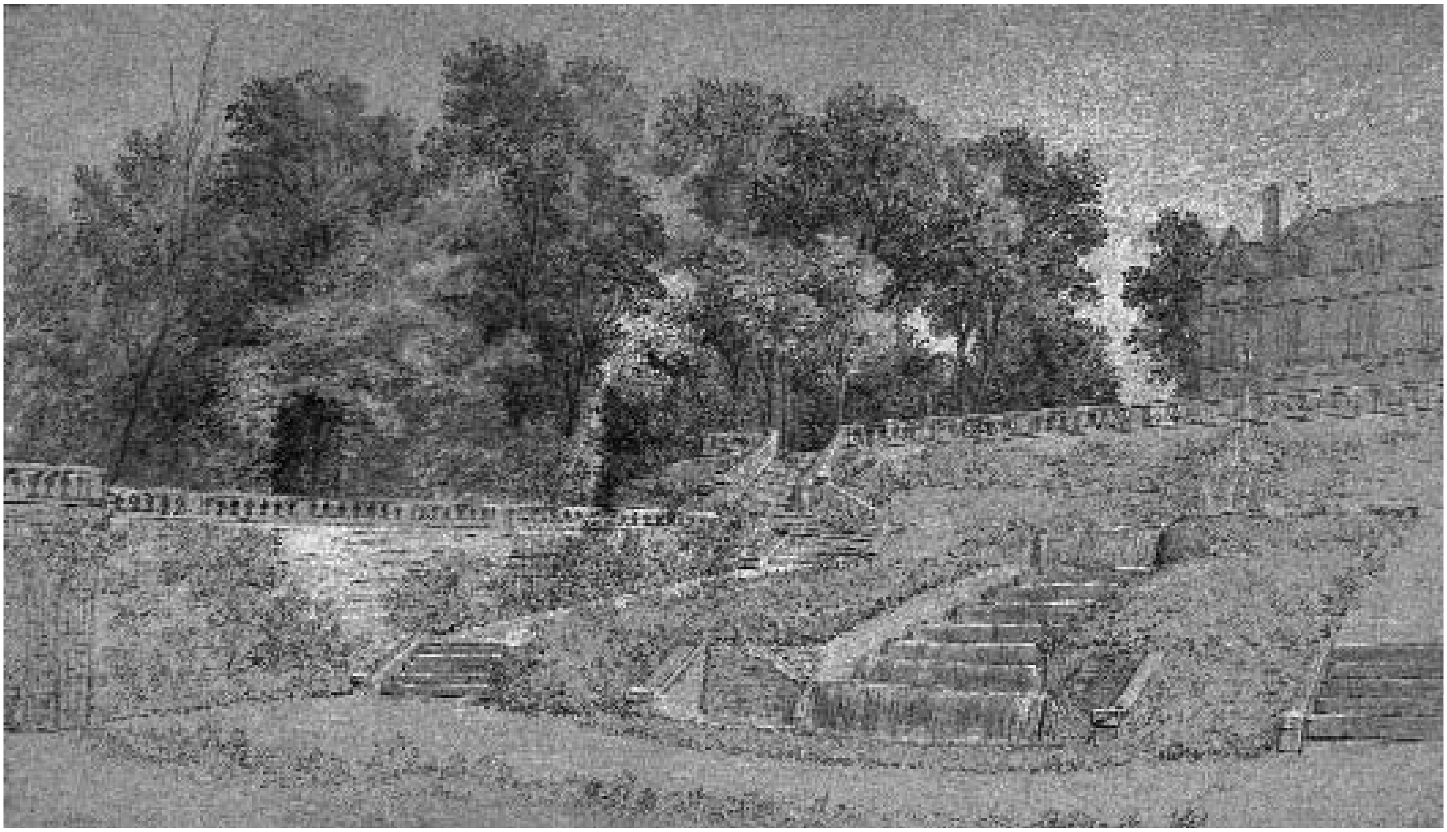

FIG. 3. Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *View of a Château in the Park of Arcueil*, c. 1745. Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue-gray paper. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts. (Cat. 15)

while continuing to paint Italianate landscapes, became involved in garden design. At Versailles from 1774 to 1776, he painted its desolation as hundreds of the original trees, old and diseased, were cut down. One destroyed area had housed the white marble sculptures of the Baths of Apollo. Robert's plan for a new setting for the statuary was accepted, and his cavernous grotto in the English manner was completed in 1778. Its repudiation of Louis XIV's style still shocks in the garden's formal setting. As the first Designer of Royal Gardens since Le Nôtre, Robert worked further at Versailles at the Trianon, collaborating on the Hamlet, where Marie-Antoinette played at farming. Rustic buildings were becoming part of the new garden vocabulary. For some, they offered escape and the fantasy of a simple life; for others, however, they represented serious philosophical ideas that joined man and nature in harmony and productivity.

As early as 1757 the English architect William Chambers, who had spent almost ten years in China, published a book about Chinese buildings and gardens. He continued his advocacy of that style in his designs for and book about Kew Gardens (1763), where his 165-foot-high pagoda attracted much attention.[34] Among Chambers's projects in the Chinese style is a proposal for a bridge at Sanssouci in Potsdam (cat. 45). Chambers endorsed the principles—not merely the decorative value—of Chinese gardens. Although critics have contested the accuracy of his descriptions, he was nevertheless of considerable influence. The French, in particular, respected his approach. In the 1780s a French visitor found Kew "the most interesting [garden] that I have ever seen; the most skilful art cannot be better disguised; every thing breathes nature and freedom; every thing is grand, noble and graceful. . . . How aukwardly [*sic*] and ridiculously have we imitated the En-

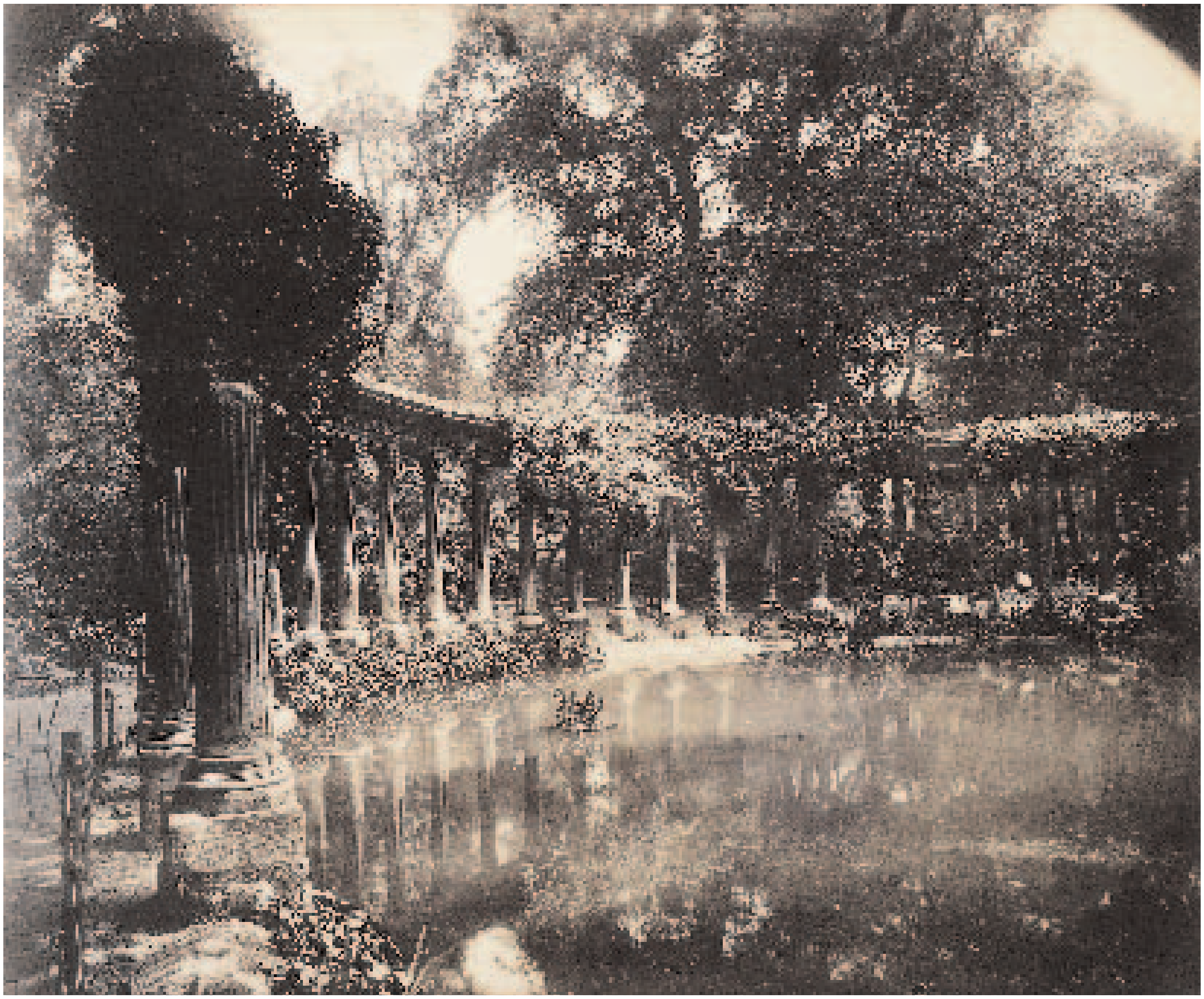

FIG. 4. Eugène Atget, *Roman Colonnade*, *Parc Monceau*, *Paris*, 1911. Gelatin-silver print. Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal. (Cat. 41)

glish gardens, with our little divisions, our ruins, . . . our affectation of gloominess, that assemblage of contradictions and monuments only fit to be laughed at!"[35] Where the English favored Gothic ruins and a hermit's hut, the French preferred more exotic follies.

In the mid-1770s, Louis Carrogis (called Carmontelle), a designer of theatricals and elegant small portraits who worked for the Orléans family, planned an eccentric garden for the duke of Chartres, just north of Paris, near Monceau. He reproduced its itinerary in a twelve-foot watercolor, which was unrolled and viewed through a peep box (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles). The garden was entered through a Chinese gate; visitors were escorted by servants costumed as Turks. The itinerary included a merry-go-round, Dutch windmill, Turkish tent, Egyptian obelisk, and Roman colonnade (fig. 4). With its many follies, it has, perhaps inevitably, been compared with Stowe. Parc

Monceau, however, has generally been understood to have been a make-believe, even an operatic, world. Yet some critics have noted that the duke was a mason and have seen Masonic symbols in the design. The park has survived in a reduced, less eccentric form; rescued and refurbished in the 1860s, it is now in the fashionable eighth arrondissement (cat. 44).

As the last volumes of the Diderot and d'Alembert *Encyclopédie* appeared, Georges-Louis Le Rouge, a publisher of maps, was undertaking a comprehensive survey of the new Anglo-Chinese style of garden.[36] For over a decade, from 1776 to about 1787, *Détail des nouveaux jardins* appeared, beginning with the English examples of Stowe and Chiswick, where Kent worked, as well as Chambers's pagoda at Kew. The remarkable German garden Weissenstein (later called Wilhelmshöhe) near Kassel, which drew inspiration from Kew, was also included, as well as plates copied after Chinese engravings of the emperor's gardens. Le Rouge's publication offered close to five hundred engravings, ranging from general views to details or diagrams with measurements. In spite of the uneven and relatively low artistic quality of the engravings, the lack of a substantial text, and an incoherent sequence (with the general index appearing halfway through the twenty-one portfolios), it stands as a unique visual document of the garden as an enlightened patron's private, philosophical retreat. The most illustrated garden was the eccentric Désert de Retz, published in twenty-six views, with its Chinese house specially featured (cat. 86B). A diagram of Parc Monceau showed a hothouse, grotto entrance, and dining area in a rocky cavern. A generic plan for a green theater included details for a raised stage, clipped hedges as wings, and a generous seating area. Unlike the temporary theaters erected for Louis XIV, many private eighteenth-century gardens had their own green theaters, where spectators watched and sometimes performed.

One of the last gardens built in France before the Revolution of 1789, and one of the most ambitious, was at Méréville (cats. 91–92), which Diana Ketcham discusses in her catalogue essay. Robert contributed to its creation, as he had done earlier at Ermenonville (cats. 88–90). After the Revolution, the building of Anglo-Chinese gardens ceased, as did any demand for lavish garden publications. An exception was a book about those very gardens by Alexandre Laborde, son of Méréville's patron.[37] Finally published in three languages in 1808, its illustrations show gardens whose follies were no longer isolated curiosities but integrated into the landscape.

Eighteenth-century garden printmaking was mainly dominated by large surveys of topographical prints. French painters such as Oudry, Fragonard, and Robert interpreted deserted and decaying gardens, glimpsed through the veil of history. On the other hand, English artists painted family portraits, or conversation pieces, as they were called, which were clearly set in the new, larger landscape.

Late in the century, prints of people enjoying public gardens in London and Paris proliferated. In the 1760s Gabriel-Jacques de Saint-Aubin, the chronicler of Parisian life, sketched the Tuileries, with throngs crowding its paths and competing for chairs (cat. 107).[38] In London, Thomas Rowlandson took the pulse of the pleasure garden at Vauxhall in one of his finest satires (cat. 105). In Paris, Philibert-Louis Debucourt critiqued a fashionably attired crowd (cat. 106). Elsewhere in Europe new public gardens opened: one in Milan in 1787, and another in Munich in 1791, a nine-hundred-acre park designed in the English style known as the Englischer Garten. In the words of the garden historian Virgilio Vercelloni, the garden itself had become "the theater of life."[39]

Nineteenth Century

In the 1820s changes made to the British royal estate at Windsor Great Park were indicative of the direction of garden activities of the general public as well as those more affluent. The intellectual concepts and political agendas of eighteenth-century gardens, which found expression in temples and follies, gave way to less exalted goals, which were realized in more practical structures. At Windsor Great Park's lake, Virginia Water, the king called for designs for a boathouse and fishing temple. Even as George IV and the royal family relaxed at Windsor Great Park, parts of Virginia Water were being opened to the public. In London, in 1833, an urgent plea for urban parks was made to Parliament by the Select Committee on Public Walks and Places of Exercise. In Paris, as former estates of royalty and nobility passed to the government, many allowed the public entrance. Finally, the railroad brought mobility to many who had never before left home; their travels encouraged gardening in new directions.

Increased access to gardens was accompanied by changes in published views and their audience. Most eighteenth-century garden representations (regardless of medium—painting, drawing, or a print) were created primarily for an elite audience. In the nineteenth century as that market contracted, demand for popular prints expanded. For example, among illustrated calendars and fashion publications, women's seasonal outfits with broad-brimmed hats and parasols for summer were shown in gardens (cat. 110B). In the 1820s George Cruikshank caricatured the parade of fashionable excesses on display in London's parks (cat. 109).

Underlying the growing pressure for additional public space was the recognition that cities were becoming increasingly crowded, dirty, unhealthy, and polluted. "Green belts" were thought to improve general health and considered an important component of urban design. Not all public spaces were reserved as parks; common land included tree-lined boulevards, malls, even cemeteries. Among the first to perceive the need for such "breathing spaces" was John Claudius Loudon, founder and editor of *The Gardeners' Magazine*. Loudon addressed topics of interest for owners of small gardens as well as promoted the social good of gardening. Recognizing the pressure brought about by London's rapid growth (its population had doubled between 1800 and 1830), Loudon was prominent in saving Hampstead Heath's two hundred acres as an open space, rather than developing them. Loudon believed that "Garden design, Gardening, in all its branches, will be most advantageously displayed where the people enjoy a degree of freedom."[40]

Although parks were mainly landscaped areas, some also functioned as pleasure gardens offering entertainments from concerts to sports. Others included educational botanical gardens. Urban design was chosen and implemented through layers of committees—not by a single patron or designer. This major shift in the decision-making process was accompanied by a significant change in goals: design was no longer determined by aesthetic considerations alone. Practical and utilitarian concerns came to the fore—and still hold firm today.

In Great Britain, the designer and author Humphry Repton, who coined the term "landscape gardener," advocated the garden as a place for enjoyment, but also as a civilizing influence on the lower classes. Over his long career, Repton's design proposals—presented in before-and-after comparisons initially in his Red Books, then synthesized in published works—gained a large following. Distrustful of the idea of a garden as an ideal landscape, in 1816 Repton wrote: "The Scenery of Nature, called Landscape and that of a Garden, are as different as their uses: one is to please the eye, the other is for the comfort and occupation of man: one is wild, and may be adapted to animals in the wildest state of nature; while the other is appropriate to man in the highest state of civilization and refinement."[41]

In France, Gabriel Thouin's *Plans raisonnés de toutes les espèces de jardins* (1820) was a pioneering effort to categorize garden design by a method similar to that used in plant classification.[42] His book, initially published in installments and paid for by subscription, proved so popular that it was reissued in 1823 and 1828. Thouin first divided gardens by function into vegetable, orchard, botanical, or *plaisance ou d'agrément* (pleasant or agreeable), then further separated the pleasant garden into natural, exotic, formal, and so forth. Thouin's plans, although intended for private gardens large enough to accommodate a pattern of serpentine paths, could easily be adapted to smaller public parks. A reader could choose not only a garden plan but also such practical and decorative additions as bridges, gates, swings, benches—all generously illustrated after the author's designs (fig. 5). Thouin, like Repton, considered "orderly and regular" gardens more practical and useful, in contrast to "irregular" ones, which he considered more beautiful.[43]

The concept for a new public garden integrated into the city lay behind John Nash's design for Regent's Park in London. Nash, who had earlier worked with Repton, followed some of his ideas in developing and redesigning London's parks. Built between 1811 and 1826, Regent's Park was lined by a handsome band of residences, also designed by Nash, whose owners' leaseholds helped cover its costs—an early example of fiscally driven urban planning. The park included a zoo that attracted large crowds. However, Thomas Shotter Boys's *London as it is* (1842) featured St. James's Park and Hyde Park (cat. 93). Both dated back to the sixteenth century, when Henry VIII designated the areas as deer parks. Both were redesigned by Nash in the 1820s.

Joseph Paxton, when he died in 1865, was recognized as one of the greatest gardeners of his time. Working for the duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth in the 1830s, he designed an innovative glass house. Later he refined this glass-and-steel technology, most famously for the Crystal Palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851. His ideas and innovations impressed a young American visitor, Frederick Law Olmsted, who in 1850 visited Birkenhead Park in a suburb of Liverpool, which Paxton had designed. Olmsted later wrote that he "was ready to admit that in democratic America there was nothing to be thought of as comparable with this People's Garden." He further noted that he "was glad to observe that the privileges of the garden were enjoyed about equally by all classes."[44]

The influential American architect, landscape designer, and author Andrew Jackson Downing also advocated the importance of green, open space. Writing in 1849, he praised the concept of rural cemeteries and their natural beauty, citing Mount Auburn in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Greenwood in Brooklyn; and

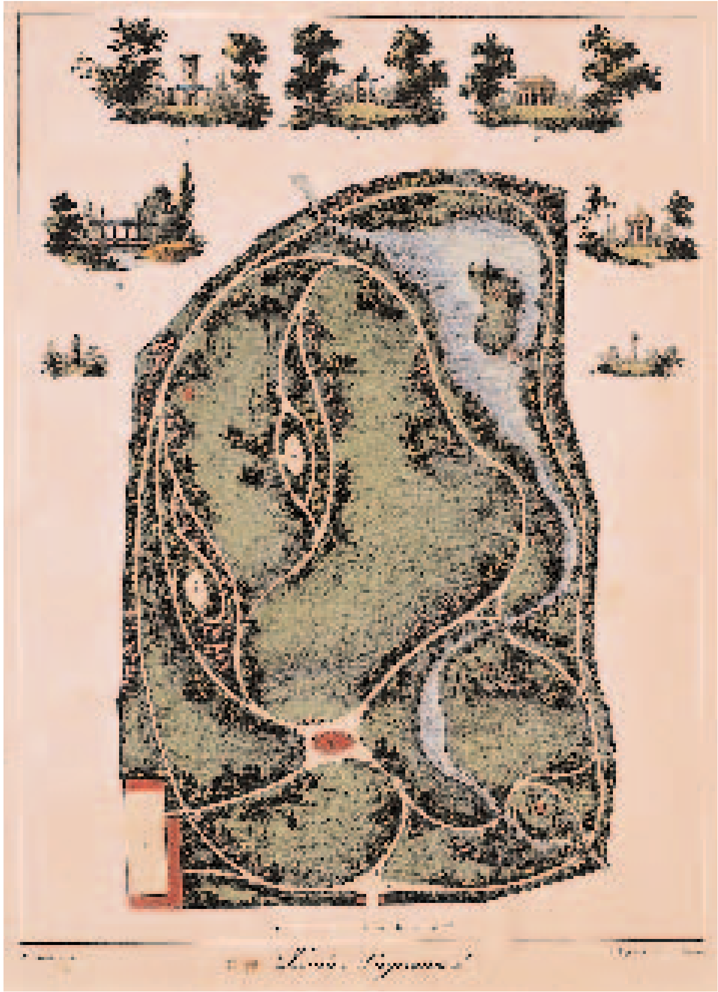

FIG. 5. Gabriel Thouin (France, 1717–1829). *No. 43 Jardin d'Agrement*. From *Plans raisonnés de toutes les espèces de jardins* (Paris, 1820). Lithograph, colored by hand, printed by C. Motte. Private collection.

Laurel Hill near Philadelphia. These cemeteries were much visited, since most American cities did not have large parks. Downing's belief in parks as a force to help civilize the populace was followed by Olmsted, who spoke of the public park as a "common, spontaneous movement, of that sort which we conveniently refer to as the Genius of Civilization."[45] Olmsted and Calvert Vaux's 1858 proposals for Central Park in New York addressed Downing's ideals and incorporated what Olmsted had learned on his travels (cat. 95). Olmsted wrote extensively, presenting ideas and plans for many public parks. He was challenged to turn swamps and marshland into parks in Buffalo and Chicago, and to accommodate a mountain in Montreal. Among his largest private commissions was the Vanderbilt estate, Biltmore, in North Carolina (cat. 25).

In Paris, public parks assumed increased significance during the reign of Napoleon III. Baron Haussmann's extensive renovations of the 1860s were not limited to improving traffic congestion and to serving preemptive military needs during political or civil disturbances. He aimed to transform the city into a modern and progressive entity, as evidenced in many new tree-lined boulevards whose handsome street lamps contributed to both beauty and public safety. Adolphe Alphand, in charge of plantings and parks, had a powerful voice in the new order, establishing many parks and refurbishing others, including Parc Monceau (cats. 41, 44). A major project was the substantive redesign of the Bois de Boulogne, which had been laid out in the seventeenth century. Charles Marville set up a temporary studio in the Bois to photograph the project (cat. 94). Alphand, in his comprehensive publication, *Les Promenades de Paris* (1867–73), included illustrations of the many new gatehouses and cafés in the Bois, as well as crowds enjoying a theater performance at the Pré Catalan or night ice-skating.[46]

In the 1860s this hugely popular winter sport was pictured in scenes of the Bois, Regent's Park, and New York's Central Park (fig. 6). Olmsted, whose vision was of open space unencumbered by buildings or sports facilities, did not favor specialized sporting areas. However, belief in the importance of sports and their health benefits brought mounting pressure to provide such spaces in New York and elsewhere. Similar pressure continued into the early twentieth century and still exists. For example, in Germany an association for parks for the people (Deutscher Volksparkbund) declared that parks "must not in the future be equipped mainly or only for walking, with few areas set aside for other activities. To fulfill their primary function they must provide large spaces for games of all sorts, which must be available to all."[47] By the end of the nineteenth century in the United States, park activities had expanded to include folk dancing, handcrafts, and areas set aside for community gardens, children's playgrounds, and baseball diamonds.

For private gardens Americans increasingly chose flowers as the focal point. Alice Morse Earle promoted the old-fashioned garden in her articles and books about colonial America. Writing in *Scribner's Magazine* in 1896, she praised their "crowding abundance, the over-fullness of leaf, bud and blossom."[48] Mariana Griswold van Renssalaer stressed the relationship of art to gardening in *Art Out-of-Doors: On Good Taste in Gardening* and the desirability of native "American" plants.[49] For Earle, certain plants were important for past associations: boxwood hedges not only provided structure and "unique aroma" but also recalled early New England gardens. Earle preferred perennials to annuals and compared them to "long-established neighbors, like old family friends, not as if they had just 'moved in' and didn't know each other's names and faces."[50] The 1876 Centennial celebration in Philadelphia spurred interest in historic gardens, and Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition featured an old-fashioned garden. Such exhibits were widely illustrated on postcards, stereo views, and other souvenirs collected by visitors.

During this prolonged period of American prosperity, which stretched from after the Civil War up to the Great Depression, newly wealthy financiers, industrialists, and railroad tycoons were building large estates. New Yorkers constructed lavish summer homes on

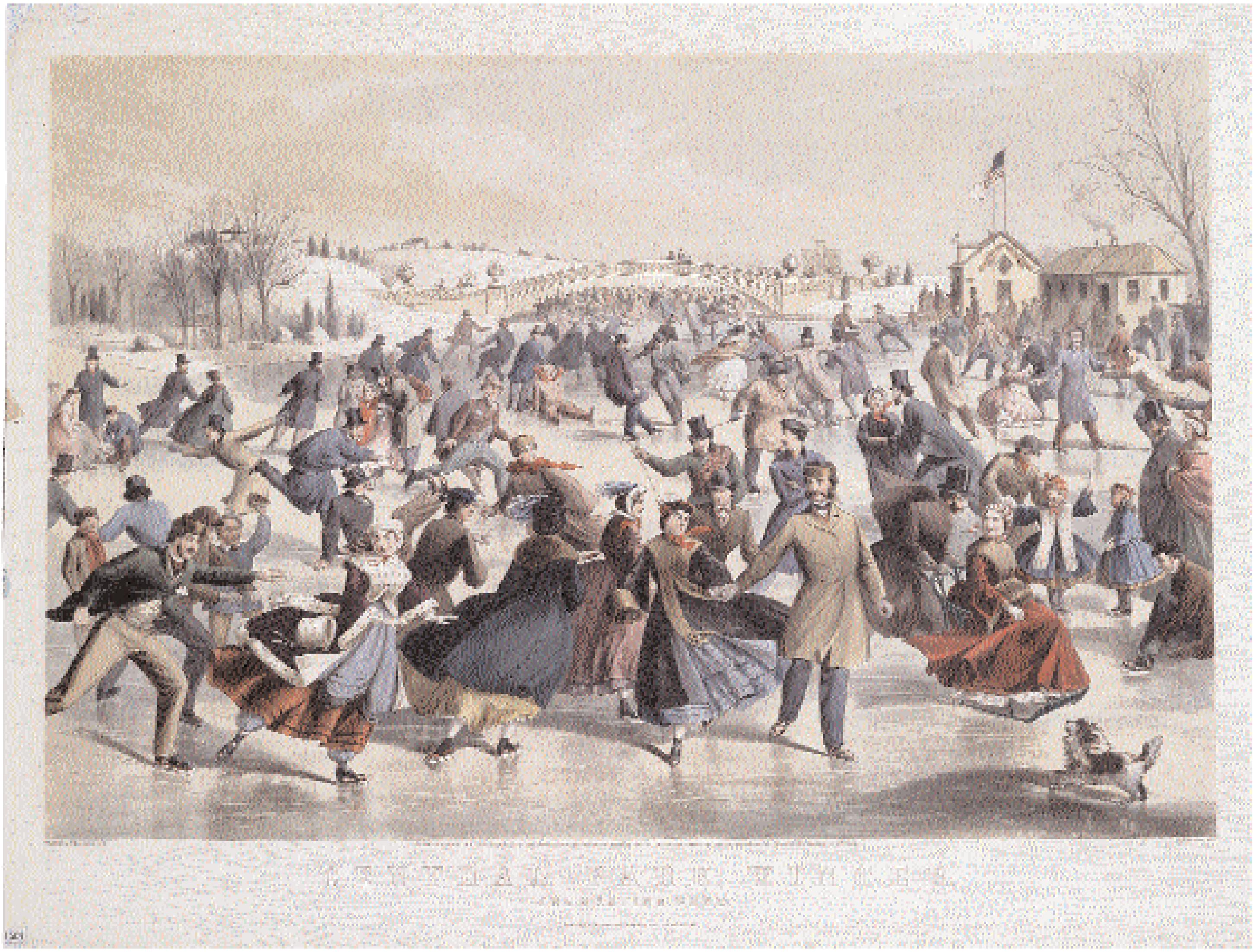

FIG. 6. After Charles Parsons, *Central Park*, *Winter: The Skating Pond*, 1862. Lithograph, colored by hand. Published by Currier and Ives. The New York Public Library. (Cat. 132)

Long Island, Bostonians along the North Shore and in Maine, and Chicagoans in Lake Forest or Lake Geneva. Among San Franciscans who built summer homes south of the city on the warmer peninsula was Milton Latham (cats. 24, 122). Both Latham and his neighbor Leland Stanford on his Palo Alto Stock Farm exhibited two extremes: a dry Arizona Garden and a large lawn (see fig. 28, p. 70). These Arizona Gardens featured large specimens of cacti and succulents in densely arranged scalloped beds or long ribbons in the prevailing Victorian taste. Rudolph Ulrich designed these private gardens as well as the grounds at the Hotel del Monte in Monterey and the Hotel Raymond in Pasadena, which became tourist attractions with people posing amid the giant saguaro (cat. 23).[51] But fashions, such as that for Arizona Gardens, fade. After the Stanford family's garden became part of the university's grounds, it endured decades of neglect; only recently have efforts at restoration been undertaken.

As the century progressed, in this country and especially in Great Britain exotic gardens gained favor. Specialized nurserymen were required to provide the plants and larger staffs of gardeners to maintain them. The fashion for a Blue Garden, Rhododendron Dell, tender annuals, scented geraniums, cacti or succulents, old-fashioned perennials, topiary, parterres, rockeries, ferneries, bamboo, and Japanese maples—all required considerable sums of money. The hybridization of exotics, cannas with vividly striped leaves from South America, for example, demanded increasingly high prices. Maintenance on bedding gardens was intensive; watering and weeding were time-consuming. Conservatories and lathe houses were essential (cat. 39). With such a wealth of plant material, bouquets were brought indoors for display. The cut flowers contributed to the aesthetic of excess that dominated Victorian interior decoration.

Behind the desire for novelty or one-upmanship, more serious gardening subtexts were surfacing. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, the French, in a nationalistic mood, rediscovered the beauty, structure, and logic of Le Nôtre's grand designs, and a generation of *nouveaux riches* purchased run-down seventeenth-century properties and renovated them. Attempts to restore Le Nôtre's plan at Vaux-le-Vicomte illustrate the vicissitudes of such undertakings. It took almost fifty years of off-and-on restoration before Vaux's great parterres were finally restored by Henri and Achille Duchêne, who consulted Silvestre's seventeenth-century prints and other historic documents. Today, these parterres—Le Nôtre as interpreted by Duchêne—are among the glories of Vaux (cat. 65).[52] In Italy, as different regions vied for political power in the long struggle for a national identity, there was a resurgence of interest in their Renaissance and Baroque gardens, many of which had, during the eighteenth century, been made over in the "English" style. And, in the United States, middle-class gardeners chose old-fashioned "grandmother's" flowers, with their patriotic associations (but not until the more recent bicentennial was there widespread interest in historic American gardens).

Artists increasingly preferred the stimulus of painting in the open air. Country fields and haystacks, as well as modern urban streets and parks, were no longer painted in subdued browns, grays, and blacks, but in lighter, more vibrant tonalities. Working rapidly, artists painted "impressions" of contemporary life. They frequented and painted public parks, private gardens, cafés, and the theater. By the 1890s, among Parisian artists delighting in such plein-air subjects were Edouard Vuillard and Ker-Xavier Roussel (cats. 125, 126). Probably the most celebrated representation of people enjoying a park is Georges Seurat's painting of 1884–86, *Sunday at the Grande Jatte* (Art Institute of Chicago).

Artists not only depicted gardens but also established their own—as did Claude Monet at Giverny. In his paintings he re-created its intense and colorful realm of iris beds and pond with water lilies. Among other French artists who portrayed their gardens, Gustave Caillebotte painted his family relaxing and gardeners at work among the vegetables.

James McNeill Whistler, while living in Paris in the 1890s, frequently drew in the Luxembourg Gardens (cats. 118, 124).[53] He also enjoyed sketching in his small garden on the rue de Bac, as he had earlier done in his London garden. His contemporary James-Jacques-Joseph Tissot often pictured his garden in London with its pergola and reflecting pool (cat. 131). Describing the view of the Tuileries from his window on the rue de Rivoli as "superb," Camille Pissarro began a series of paintings during 1899 and 1900 (cat. 6).[54] Pissarro found painterly interest in Le Nôtre's enduring design framed by an urban skyline, a scene at once new and old.

From before 1900 into the 1920s Eugène Atget documented Paris, its streets and parks, including Parc Monceau and the courtyard garden of today's Musée Carnavalet (cats. 17, 41). Unlike Marville, who was commissioned to photograph the Bois de Boulogne, Atget worked from personal dedication. At Versailles, early in his project, he portrayed its vast collection of statuary (cats. 70–73, 77). In later views of Versailles and Saint-Cloud, he focused less on details and more on the garden's character. In contrast to the animated

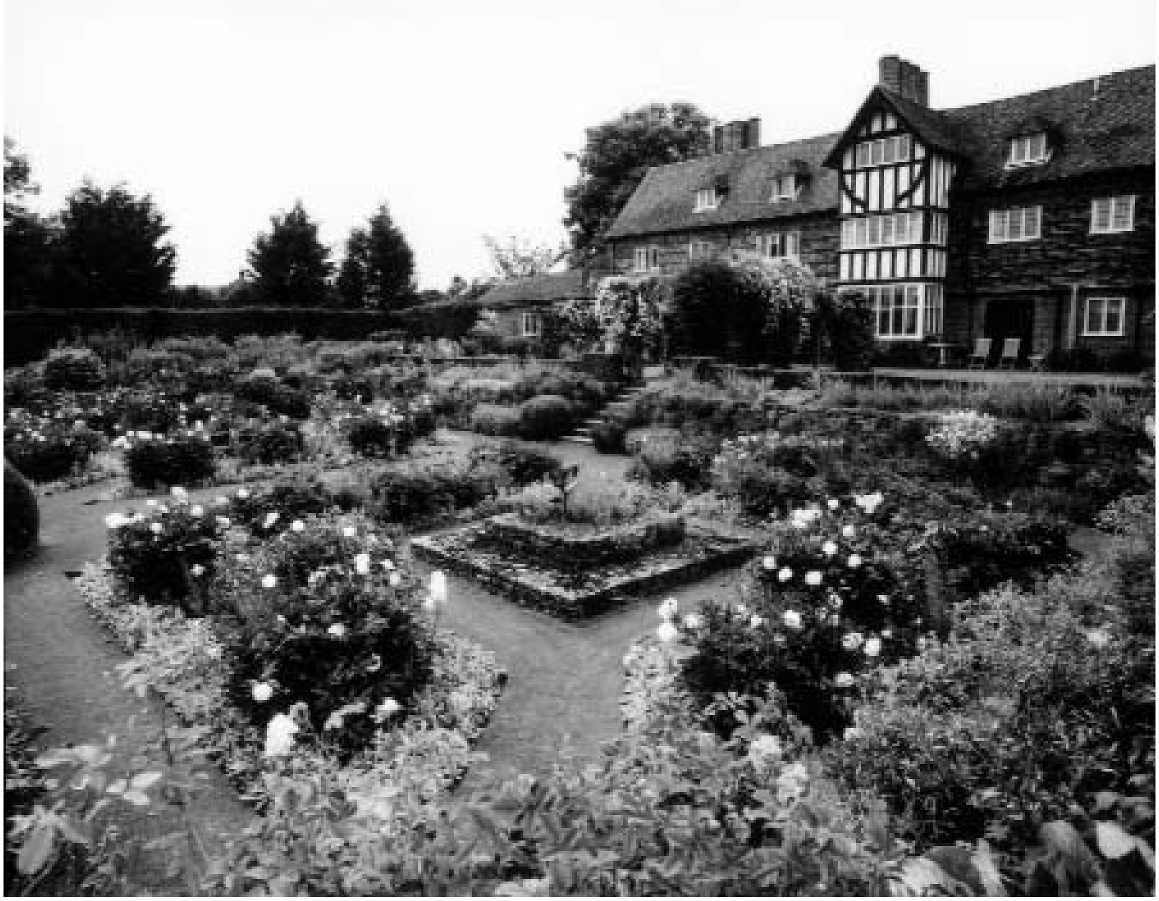

FIG. 7. Becky Cohen, *Upton Grey: The Formal Garden in Front of the Manor House*, 2000. Gelatin-silver print. Becky Cohen. (Cat. 8A)

groups enjoying parks depicted in Impressionist paintings, Atget's later images portray deserted gardens, whose austere geometry has been softened by leaves and falling branches. Their melancholy mood recalls that of Oudry and Fragonard.

Twentieth Century

As the century dawned, women emerged as independent and influential garden designers. In London, Gertrude Jekyll took a firm stand against Victorian planting schemes. Jekyll, trained as an artist, was attracted to William Morris's floral designs and was well read on the theory of color harmony (which was crucial to the subtle crescendos of her borders). After her failing eyesight prevented her from doing needlework and painting, from 1890 into the 1930s, she designed many private gardens, such as Upton Grey (fig. 7).[55] Her harmonious, impressionistic perennial borders—still highly admired—show her sensitivity to the interplay of textures and structure (cats. 7, 8).

Jekyll adjusted her palette seasonally: for spring, soft pastel colors and whites in bulbs, roses, clematis, and wisteria; for early summer, robust reds and yellows in annuals and perennials; and for late summer and approaching autumn, the muted tones of daisies, asters, and chrysanthemums. These borders were her most original and artistic contribution. Of the many rambling roses she used, her favorite was the Garland, with its small, white blossoms and draping habit. Recognizing the dynamics of whites and grays, textures and scale, Jekyll often punctuated the end of a bed with the spike of a yucca. In her many published essays and books, she offered knowledgeable horticultural descriptions and advocated the use of native plants. In the decades after her death, her influence waned, but has since revived with the reprinting of her books. Jekyll's current audience includes many suburban gardeners.

In 1907 in Sussex, Frances Wolseley opened a College for Women Gardeners, with the names of Miss Jekyll, Mrs. Earle, and Miss Ellen Willmott listed as patrons on the prospectus. Although the emphasis was practical, instruction had a higher purpose: that gardening should be socially acceptable for women and make a positive contribution to the greater community. The program included classes on horticulture, maintenance, and greenhouses, as well as visits to Gravetye, the garden of the influential William Robinson, who, earlier than Jekyll, had espoused naturalistic plantings.

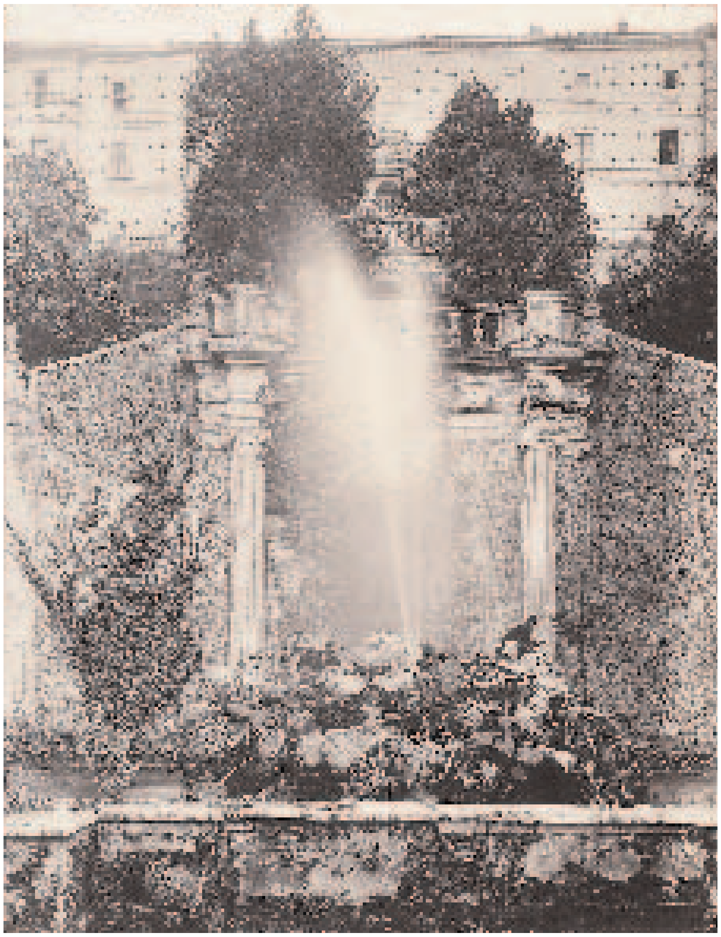

FIG. 8. Gustave Eugène Chauffourier, *The Villa d'Este: Fountain of the Dragons*, c. 1871–73. Albumen-silver print. Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal. (Cat. 60B)

Americans turned for ideas, not to Robinson or Jekyll, but to older, more architectural Italianate gardens, which they found more desirable as models. Edith Wharton's well-phrased praise brought the Italianate style to the attention of a wide audience when she wrote, "The inherent beauty of the garden lies in the grouping of its parts—in the converging of the lines of its long ilex-walks, the alternation of sunny open spaces with cool woodland shade, the proportion between terrace and bowling green, or between the height of a wall and the width of the path."[56] Her 1904 book on Italian gardens was generously illustrated, with photographs and reproductions of paintings by Maxfield Parrish, who visited the same gardens Wharton did, but not at the same time. John Singer Sargent's many watercolors and paintings of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese gardens capture the interplay of nature and art in scenes bathed in light (cats. 28, 31, 130). Late in his career, the American painter William Merrit Chase regularly summered in Florence, where he painted his handsome garden (cat. 19).

At home, American artists continued to depict gardens, both public and private, as gathering places. Maurice Prendergast's pageants of parks and beaches celebrate the delights of everyday outings, especially those of children (cat. 103). Whether in Paris or New

York, William Glackens sketched and painted children playing games, rolling hoops, skating, and sledding (cat. 133). Glackens, George Bellows, and John Sloan, artists associated with the so-called Ash Can School because of their gritty urban scenes, took occasional note of the pleasurable experiences of strolling or playing in Central Park and the more working-class Union Square (cats. 114, 127).

World War I did not devastate the United States as it did Europe. The prosperity of the 1920s resumed the pattern of the halycon days before the war. Americans, now traveling rapidly by the new steamships, flocked to Europe. They returned to create such gardens as Pierre du Pont's Longwood, outside Philadelphia, with its conservatories and fountains—inspired by trips to Vaux-le-Vicomte, Versailles, and the Villa d'Este (fig. 8). On the San Francisco Peninsula, James Duval Phelan's Italianate Villa Montalvo was conceived of and continues to be used as an artistic center with music and theatrical performances in a garden setting. Farther south along the mountainous coast, William Randolph Hearst's spectacular castle San Simeon rose, situated amid citrus and Roman statuary. Santa Barbara's warm climate, hilly terrain, and nearby Santa Inez mountains were sought out by eastern and midwestern industrialists, who escaped winter's hardships via private railroad cars. Their villas, replete with echoes of the Villa Lante and the Villa d'Este, included Spanish notes as well—Islamic pools, for example, with small jets of water.

In 1899, when the American Society of Landscape Architects was organized, Beatrix Jones (later Farrand) was the only female founding member. A niece of Edith Wharton, Jones moved in high social circles. Gardening came to her early at her grandmother's estate at Newport, Rhode Island. Among her commissions were designs for retreats at Bar Harbor and Seal Harbor, as well as year-round gardens in Connecticut and on Long Island. John D. Rockefeller and J. Pierpont Morgan were among her clients.

Farrand lacked Jekyll's artistic sensitivity to color, but her extensive library and collection of prints (now at the University of California at Berkeley) demonstrates her thorough study of historical gardens. Her most famous design, created over many years, was for Robert Woods Bliss and his wife, Mildred, at Dumbarton Oaks, their estate in Washington, D.C. The history of that garden provides a useful example of how gardens must adapt in order to endure. Farrand divided the hilly site into a succession of balanced, differentiated areas, which flowed together gracefully, some linked by paths lined with unclipped boxwood, as she had seen in Medici gardens. Having overseen the garden for many years, she helped plan its evolution from private residence to public space, when Mildred Bliss gave the property to Harvard University. Anticipating changes, Farrand expressed her concern to keep its "seclusion"; worried about replanting trees, she suggested that it might be useful to start "a small nursery for Box, Yew, Holly, Oaks, and other plants which are costly to buy in large size."[57] Among later changes, the original tennis court became a shallow, pebbled reflecting pool. Farrand also acted as a garden consultant to such universities as Princeton, Yale, and Chicago. In contrast to these large projects is her proposal for a small suburban garden (cat. 9).[58]

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed a profusion of American gardens built in historic styles. In France, however, the emerging art styles of Cubism and Art Deco helped shape the modernist garden. Emphasizing clean lines and bright colors, such plans featured unexpected placements of diagonal paths and shrubbery planted in angular configurations. The brothers André and Paul Vera combined their talents for architecture with design in their geometric garden patterns (cat. 12). Their books, *Le Nouveau jardin* (1911) and *Les Jardins* (1919), provided handsome illustrations for ideas not easily adapted.[59] The American designer Fletcher Steele was influenced by their modernist interpretations. His 1938 designs for Mabel Choate's Naumkeag in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, included a bold staircase, the Blue Steps, with white curved Art Deco railings silhouetted against surrounding birch trees.

The Great Depression and World War II brought a halt to gardens designed on a grand scale. Instead, in this country people were encouraged to help raise their own food by planting Victory Gardens. The glory days when gardens and parks attracted artists had drawn to a close.

APPROACHING THE PRESENT

During the closing decades of the twentieth century, the concepts of garden and park acquired new connotations and reconnected with earlier meanings. The rise of the sculpture garden, for example, while recalling statuary collections of Roman and Renaissance models, is a welcome contemporary development. At the Kröller-Müller Museum's Sculpture Garden, set in wooded sand dunes in Otterloo, the Netherlands, discovery is part of the unfolding experience, as individual pieces gradually emerge or suddenly appear at a turn in the path. In this country as corporations became major architectural patrons, they also commissioned gardens and sculpture gardens. The interaction of sculpture and the larger landscape can be seen at Storm King on the Hudson River in New York State, which spreads over a hilly terrain. In contrast, the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden is bound by a freeway, the Walker Art Center, and the Guthrie Theater. Imaginative in design, this sculpture garden offers a welcome wit in Claes Oldenburg's *Spoonbridge and Cherry* fountain and Frank Gehry's oversize glass-scaled fish (fig. 9, cat. 35). Several recent urban sculpture gardens feel restricted by their spaces, for example, those of the Hirshhorn Museum and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. In contrast, the small enclosed garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, as originally designed in the 1950s by Philip Johnson, was a model of elegant repose and restraint in which a few sculptures were well placed among trees. As the landscape designer Laurie Olin noted, the experience offered "clarity and intensity."[60]

The word "park," now used in conjunction with theme parks, recalls that use in earlier pleasure parks —Vauxhall in London, the Prater in Vienna, and the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen—but without their seamier elements. Reincarnated in Disney's sanitized theme parks, the point is still entertainment—at a price. Yet another variant can be seen in the wildly ambitious garden plantings and musical fountains that sprout almost overnight in Las Vegas—attempts to upstage the Villa d'Este and Versailles.

Artists, however, have had little to do with these commercialized entertainments. Their recent involvements have been in the direction of land art, or site-specific sculpture. Christo and his wife and collaborator, Jeanne-Claude, have organized many projects that have temporarily transformed the landscape. Their proposal for a Central Park project has recently been revived. The Minimalist Robert Irwin has designed a surprisingly textured and densely planted garden for the Getty Center in Los Angeles (cat. 18). Irwin has described his design as a "sculpture in the form of a garden aspiring to be art."[61] Ian Hamilton Finlay, in his Little Sparta garden in southern Scotland, has introduced into the landscape words and phrases, engraved in stone, such as Saint Just's, "The present order is the disorder of the future." The inscriptions are at once innovative but also recall earlier inscriptions at Bomarzo in Italy and Ermenonville in France (cat. 90B). The artist Niki de Saint-Phalle built a tarot garden for herself in Tuscany, and even if one cannot see it, one should visit its irresistible website.[62]

Gardens continue to be reconfigured or newly built. In Great Britain, Lord Rothschild commissioned a design for a millennium parterre in rainbow hues for Waddesdon Manor.[63] Established public gardens are better maintained as more is understood about the importance of timely replanting for future generations. Issues of restoration versus innovation are increasingly fine-tuned, as priorities and vocabularies are refined to distinguish between what is desirable and what is possible through restoration, rehabilitation, and reinvention. For example, in Paris the new axis from the Pyramid at the Louvre to the Arc de la Défense has encouraged interpretations that, while acknowledging multiple layers of the past, seek expression in a contemporary form. In the Tuileries, for example, rows of new hedges have been planted in diagonals, between which Aristide Maillol's sculptures have been placed.[64] Maillol had bequeathed these works to the government and they had formerly been placed in, then removed from, and now returned to the Tuileries. The renewed conjunction of sculpture and plantings offers an imaginative reinterpretation of France's distinctive tradition of classic formality.

As cities grow and change, unexpected areas are being reclaimed as parks. In Paris, the site of an old Citroën factory has been reborn as the Parc André Citroën. Children dance on its water parterre, glass buildings house exotics, formal paths lead through handsome plantings of trees and hedges, and on a great meadow balloon rides are offered—in short, something for everyone, and located at the end of a métro line. In California, along the San Francisco Bay, as municipalities fill up their garbage quotas, they have created parks on top of the fill. Palo Alto's Byxbee Park, designed by George Hargreaves, features a field of poles and other site-specific art.[65] It is frequented mainly by walkers, joggers, and bird-watchers. Neighboring Mountain View's Shoreline Park hosts an amphitheater, golf course, artificial pond, and lawn. It is enjoyed by families picnicking, playing games, boating, or windsailing. In San Francisco, an old military installation, Crissy Field, has been transformed by Hargreaves from an ageing asphalt strip into a naturalistic shoreline, whose configuration changes with the tides. The diversity of such parks is welcome.

Photography has become the ubiquitous mode for representing gardens. Images of improbably intense colors flood popular magazines; individuals record the splendor of their hybrid tea roses on appropriately brightly contrasting film. During the last decades of the twentieth century, however, a few photographers have examined gardens closely, often working in black-and-white with subtle tonalities. Michael Kenna in *Le*

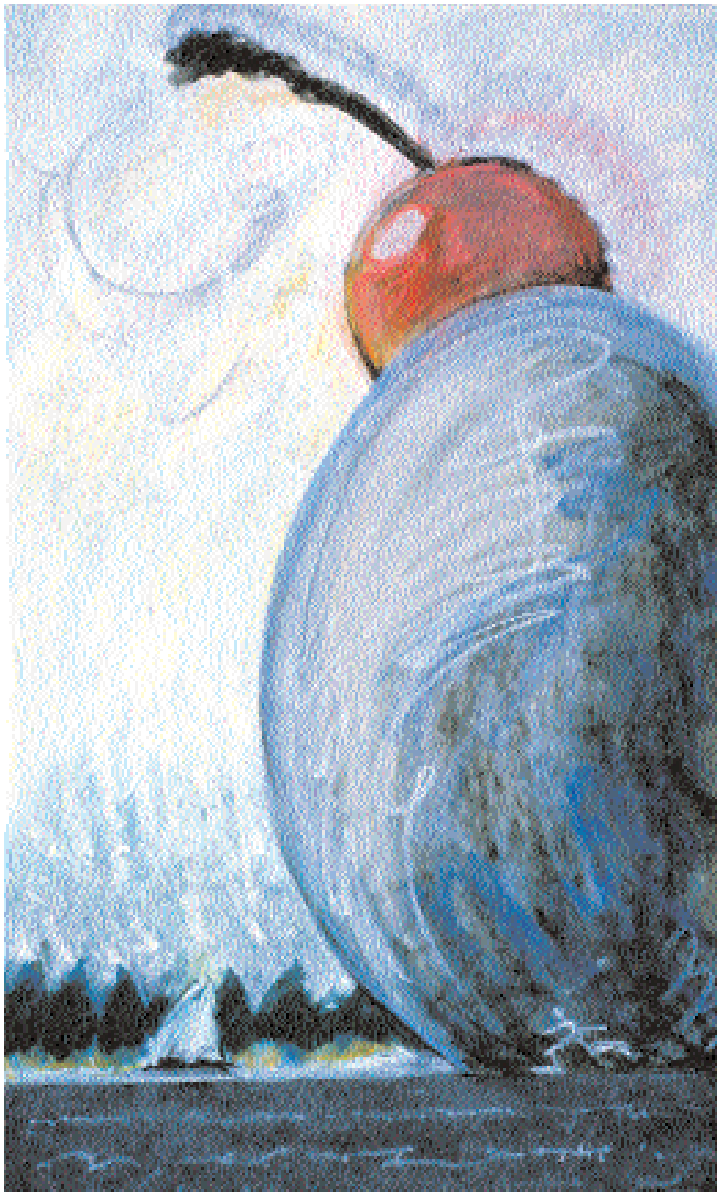

FIG. 9. Claes Oldenburg, *View of Spoonbridge and Cherry, with Sailboat and Running Man*, 1988. Pastel and paper collage on paper. Collection Walker Art Center. (Cat. 30B)

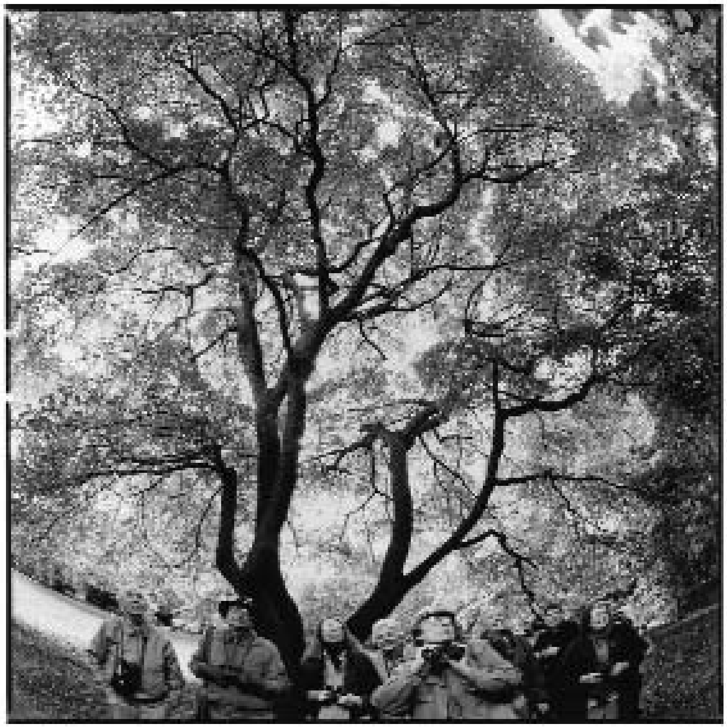

FIG. 10. Bruce Davidson, *Untitled* (Bird-watchers under the Tree Canopy). Gelatin-silver print. Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University. (Cat. 135C)

Nôtre's Gardens (1997) has found the structure and textures of French formal gardens compelling and chooses images that surprise (cat. 64).[66] *Viewing Olmsted: Photographs by Robert Burley, Lee Friedlander, and Geoffrey James* (1996), organized by the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal to celebrate Olmsted's designs, includes New York's Central Park, as well as private estates (cats. 97, 25).[67] Bruce Davidson has photographed Central Park from a more personal perspective, examining its role in the lives of New Yorkers, from East Side matrons to the homeless. In *Central Park* (1995), he has observed people riding, in-line skating, sunbathing, and bird-watching, as well as recording the landscape's rocky heights and the park's pigeons and songbirds (fig. 10).[68]

Just as gardens inhabit the same changeable space over time, this catalogue's essays represent different temporal and disciplinary perspectives. The art historian Claudia Lazzaro, with her special expertise in Italian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gardens, writes about the prints of that period. The garden print historian Elizabeth S. Eustis focuses on the political control exercised in the time of Louis XIV over the publication of prints. The architectural and garden historian Diana Ketcham relates her firsthand explorations of several little-known late-eighteenth-century French gardens and, in particular, the role played by the painter Hubert Robert in the design of Méréville. The art historian and museum curator Carol M. Osborne describes how American artists depicted the garden as a social setting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The editor and journalist Paula Deitz's concluding essay describes George Hargreaves's creative reuses of urban spaces. These differing perspectives contribute to a richer understanding of the significance of gardens not only to artists but to all of us. For as the French critic Michel Le Bris has written, "Gardens are not innocent playthings; they are the landscape within us, constantly registering our relationships with our fellow men, with the world and with God."[69]

NOTES

1. Harold George Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters of Harold Nicolson*, ed. Nigel Nicolson (New York: Atheneum, 1966–68). For many years Vita Sackville-West wrote gardening columns, which have been collected in various editions. The following two are organized by seasons: Vita Sackville-West, *A Joy of Gardening* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958) and, more recently, Sackville-West, *The Illustrated Garden*, intro. Robin Lane Fox (New York: Atheneum, 1986).

2. Roy Strong, ed., *A Celebration of Gardens*, with decorations by Julia Trevelyan Oman (London: HarperCollins, 1991).

3. Betty Massingham, ed., *A Century of Gardeners* (London: Faber and Faber, 1982).

4. Allen Lacy, ed., *The American Gardener: A Sampler* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1988).

5. Diane Kostial McGuire, ed., *American Garden Design* (New York: Macmillan, 1994).

6. Henry Mitchell, "On the Defiance of Gardeners," quoted in Bonnie Marranca, ed., *American Garden Writing* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 72.

7. Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, trans. and intro. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969).

8. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

9. Edith Wharton, *Italian Villas and Their Gardens* (New York: The Century Co., 1904).

10. Vivian Russell, *Edith Wharton's Italian Gardens* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1997).

11. Charles A. Platt, *Italian Gardens* (1894), reprinted with an overview by Keith N. Morgan (Portland, Ore.: Sagapress/Timber Press, 1993).

12. Gertrude Jekyll, *Wood and Garden* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899; Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1981), and Jekyll, *Colour Schemes for the Flower Garden* (London: Country Life Ltd., 1908; Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1982).

13. Rosamund Wallinger, *Gertrude Jekyll's Lost Garden* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Garden Art Press, 2000).

14. Kahren Hellerstedt, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Gardens*, exh. cat. (Pittsburgh: Frick Art Museum, 1986); Virginia Tuttle Clayton, *Gardens on Paper: Prints and Drawings, 1200–1900*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990); and Marilyn Symmes, *Fountains: Splash and Spectacle*, exh. cat. (New York: Rizzoli and Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, 1998).

15. Elizabeth S. Eustis has shared a trove of useful information about early printed garden views based on her research at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, as well as at other collections. I have further benefited from numerous stimulating conversations with her, and she has generously made available "The First Century of Etched and Engraved Garden Views: 1573 to 1673," her 1998 thesis, Masters Program in the History of the Decorative Arts, Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, and Parsons School of Design, New York.

16. Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History* (London: Pavilion, 1997); Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 323ff.

17. Françoise Boudon notes that careful study of the drawings is needed because the rather crude engravings do not fully convey Androuet Du Cerceau's detailed observations. The drawings are preserved mainly in such collections as the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Vatican Library in Rome, and the Morgan Library in New York. See Boudon, "Illustrations of Gardens in the Sixteenth Century: 'The Most Excellent Buildings in France,'" in *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, ed. Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 100–102.

18. Annette Dixon, *Women Who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses and Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art*, exh. cat. (London: Merrell; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 2002), 56, no. 21. For the drawings at Harvard and in Edinburgh, see William Howard Adams, *The French Garden: 1500–1800* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), 34–36, figs. 27, 28.

19. Dianne Harris, "Landscape and Representation: The Printed Views and Marc'Antonio dal Re's Ville de Delizie," in Mirka Benes and Dianne Harris, *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 178–206.

20. Clayton, *Gardens on Paper*, 48, no. 29 (ill.), n. 20. The highly finished drawing of about 1602 was engraved by Nicholaes de Bruyn. See also John Dixon Hunt, *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 170, fig. 109, for the painting by Lucas van Valkenborch.

21. F. Hamilton Hazlehurst, *Gardens of Illusion: The Genius of André Le Nostre* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1980). Hazlehurst illustrates many prints and drawings by Silvestre, the Perelles, and anonymous printmakers, as well as plans by Le Nôtre, Claude and Pierre Desgots, Silvestre, and anonymous hands. Drawings by Le Nôtre are in the collections of the Institut de France in Paris and the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, in the Tessin-Hårleman-Cronstedt Collection. In his Appendix II Hazlehurst lists some one hundred gardens attributed to Le Nôtre but

cautions that there is little substantiated evidence for many of these. See also Pierre-André Lablaude, *The Gardens of Versailles*, trans. Fiona Biddulph (London: Zwemmer, 1995), for a generous selection of prints, drawings, and paintings of Versailles. See also Thomas F. Hedin, "The Petite Commande of 1664: Burlesque in the Gardens of Versailles," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4 (December 2001): 651–85. Hedin describes earlier projects by Charles Perrault and his brother Claude for statuary at Versailles that displayed a rustic humor. The statues were soon removed and burlesque was replaced by grandeur. Prints made at the time of the earlier statues not only are indispensable for understanding their appearance but help prove their existence.

22. Translated in Hazlehurst, *Gardens of Illusion*, 59.

23. Translated in Hazlehurst, *Gardens of Illusion*, 286 n. 26. A design for the cascade by Le Nôtre is illustrated on 287. The cascade that was built was designed by Antoine Le Pautre.

24. Thierry Mariage, *The World of André Le Nôtre*, trans. Graham Larkin, foreword by John Dixon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 97–99, 98 n. 13, quotation from Père Desmolets of Le Nôtre's 1679 visit.

25. Antoine-Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage....* (Paris: J. Mariette, 1709). Editions followed in 1713 and 1747; it was translated into English in 1728.

26. Terence M. Russell and Ann-Marie Thornton, *Gardens and Landscapes in the Encyclopédie of Diderot and D'Alembert*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). The text of the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers, par une société de gens de lettres* included some 260 entries signed "K," for Dézallier d'Argenville, the garden theorist (many derived from his earlier treatise). A long entry by Diderot, signed *, began: "Tree: the gardener is concerned with the selection, preparation, planting, propagation, and maintenance of trees. We will look briefly at the general rules. . . ." An entry on water signed "K" began: "To water: nothing is more useful than watering plants: it is the only remedy for the midsummer heat and spring winds."

27. Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, *Britannia Illustrata* (London: David Mortier, 1707), and Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British Architect*, vol. 3 (London: the author, 1725).

28. Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 34–35.

29. For a discussion of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century garden theories, see Georges Teyssot, "The Eclectic Garden and the Imitation of Nature," in Mosser and Teyssot, *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, 359–70.

30. Quoted in Roger Turner, *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 7.

31. Quoted in ibid., 8.

32. Hal Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1983), 190, cats. 68–70. Opperman credits the 1950 study by A. Desguine as the best effort to reconcile Oudry's drawings with documents and other descriptions of the property at Arcueil. Its grounds were largely destroyed by 1752, but an aqueduct establishes the location. *Jardins en Ile-de-France / Dessins d'Oudry à Carmontelle*, exh. cat. (Sceaux: Musée de Ile-de-France, Orangerie du Château de Sceaux, 1990), 80, cats. 30–36; several are dated 1744, 1745, and 1747.

33. Victor Carlson, *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolors*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1978), 38, cat. 6. Also Jean Cayeux, *Hubert Robert et les Jardins* (Paris: Herscher, 1987); and Jean Cayeux, "The Gardens of Hubert Robert," in Mosser and Teyssot, *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, 340–43.

34. William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings . . . Temples, Houses, Gardens, &c.* (London: the author, 1757), and *Plans . . . of Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surrey....* (London, 1763).

35. Quoted in Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France*, 236 n. 77.

36. Georges-Louis Le Rouge, *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode anglo-chinois....* [also known as *Des Jardins anglo-chinois*], 21 cahier (Paris: Le Rouge, 1776–87?).

37. Alexandre Laborde, *Description des nouveaux jardins de la France et de ses anciens châteaux* (Paris: Imprimerie de Delance, 1808–15).

38. Victor Carlson and John Ittmann, *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1985).

39. Virgilio Vercelloni, *European Gardens: An Historical Atlas* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 81.

40. Quoted in Alessandra Ponte, "Public Parks in Great Britain and the United States: From a 'Spirit of the Place' to a 'Spirit of Civilization,'" in Mosser and Teyssot, *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, 373–86, at 384 n. 23.

41. Quoted in ibid., 376 n. 8; Stephen Daniels, "On the Road with Humphry Repton," *Journal of Garden History* 16, no. 3 (autumn 1996): 170–91.

42. Gabriel Thouin, *Plans raisonnés de toutes les espèces de jardins* (Paris: Thouin, 1820). See also Vercelloni, *European Gardens*, pls. 145, 166–67.

43. Quoted from Repton's *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1816, in Ponte, "Public Parks," 377.

44. Quoted in ibid., 383 n. 19.

45. Quoted in ibid., 386 n. 29.

46. Adolphe Alphand, *Les promenades de Paris....* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1867–73).

47. Quoted in Marco De Michelis, "The Green Revolution: Leberecht Miggi and the Reform of the Garden in Modernist Germany," in Mosser and Teyssot, *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, 409 n. 1.

48. Quoted in May Brawley Hill, *Grandmother's Garden: The Old-*

Fashioned American Garden, 1865–1915 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 78.

49. Mariana Griswold van Renssalaer, *Art Out-of-Doors: On Good Taste in Gardening* (1893), quoted in ibid., 65.

50. Quoted in ibid., 80.

51. [Julie Cain,] "The Stanford Arizona Garden," *Ex Libris* (News from the Associates of the Stanford University Libraries) 11, no. 1 (spring–summer 1999): 10–13.

52. *Henri et Achille Duchêne/Le Style Duchêne*, intro. Michel Duchêne (Paris: Editions du Labyrinthe, 1998).

53. *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, ed. Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi, 2 vols. (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1998).

54. Richard R. Brettell and Joachim Pissarro, *The Impressionist and the City: Pissarro's Series Paintings*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

55. Judith B. Tankard and Michael R. Van Valkenburgh, foreword by Jane Brown, *Gertrude Jekyll: A Vision of Garden and Wood* (New York: Abrams, 1989).

56. Quoted in Eleanor M. McPeck, "A Biographical Note and a Consideration of Four Major Gardens," in Diana Balmori, Diane Kostial McGuire, and Eleanor M. McPeck, *Beatrix Farrand's American Landscapes: Her Gardens and Campuses* (Sagaponack, N.Y.: Sagapress, 1985), 23 n. 28.

57. Quoted in Balmori, "Campus Work and Public Landscape," in Balmori, McGuire, and McPeck, *Beatrix Farrand's American Landscapes*, 190 n. 74.

58. Now part of the extensive archive, called the Reef Point Collection, that Farrand donated to the University of California at Berkeley. Its library includes books by Repton, Robinson, and Jekyll; prints by Silvestre, Rigaud, and others; and as many of Jekyll's drawings and albums of photographs that Farrand was able to save.

59. Dorothée Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); André Vera, *Le Nouveau jardin*, illustrated by Paul Vera (Paris: Emile-Paul, 1911), and *Les Jardins* (Paris: Emile-Paul Frères, 1919).

60. Laurie D. Olin, "The Museum of Modern Art Garden: The Rise and Fall of a Modernist Landscape," *Journal of Garden History* 17, no. 2 (summer 1997): 140–62.

61. Quoted in Karen L. Dardick, "Babylon Revisited? The Getty Gardens Are Creating a Buzz in Both Art and Gardening Circles," *The American Gardener* 77, no. 5 (1998): 51.

62. The website of Niki de Saint-Phalle is Nikidesaintphalle.-com/biography.html.

63. Bernard Lassus, "The Landscape Approach of Bernard Lassus, Part II," trans. and intro. by Stephen Bann, *Journal of Garden History* 15, no. 2 (summer 1995): 67–106. The garden belongs to Lord Rothschild; see Michael Hall, *Waddesdon Manor: The Heritage of a Rothschild House* (London: Abrams, in association with Waddesdon Manor, 2002), 286, 292 (ill.).

64. Stephen Bann, "The Tuileries: A Reinvented Garden (1900)," *Journal of Garden History* 15, no. 2 (summer 1995); Marc Treib, "Sculpture and Garden: A Historical Overview," *Design Quarterly* 141 (1988): 44–58.

65. Reuben M. Rainey, "Environmental Ethics and Park Design: A Case Study of Byxbee Park," *Journal of Garden History* 14, no. 4 (1994): 171–78.

66. Michael Kenna, *Le Nôtre's Gardens*, photographs by Michael Kenna, text by Eric T. Haskell (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAM Publications, 1997).

67. *Viewing Olmsted: Photographs by Robert Burley, Lee Friedlander, and Geoffrey James*, ed. Phyllis Lambert (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1996).

68. Bruce Davidson, *Central Park*, preface by Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, commentary by Marie Winn (New York: Aperture, 1995).

69. Quoted from Michel Le Bris, *Les paradis perdu* (Paris, 1981), in Monique Mosser, "Henri and Achille Duchêne and the Reinvention of Le Nôtre," in Mosser and Teyssot, *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, 446 n. 1.