Of Rectangles and Centuries. A History of the Use of a Garden Pattern from Romanesque Europe to Nineteenth-Century New Orleans

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OF RECTANGLES AND CENTURIES.
A HISTORY OF THE USE OF A GARDEN PATTERN FROM
ROMANESQUE EUROPE TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ORLEANS

A Thesis
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requirements for the degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture

in
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by
David Dwayne Lewis
B.L.A., University of Arkansas, 1991
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MANUSCRIPT THESES

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ABSTRACT

Settlers of New Orleans brought with them ideas of gardens that influenced the way they shaped gardens in the colony. Although the influence of those ideas has been acknowledged in studies of New Orleans gardens, specific connections between the ideas and gardens in New Orleans have not been made. To illuminate some of those connections, this study focuses on one garden pattern -- a composition of long, rectangular planting beds -- that is common to at least fifty gardens in New Orleans and to European gardens dating from the ninth century. A developmental history that chronicles the use of the garden pattern from ninth-century Europe to nineteenth-century New Orleans is constructed and used to show that the group of New Orleans gardens which contain the pattern can be identified as a distinct garden tradition. In the past New Orleans gardens containing long, rectangular beds have been grouped with other gardens containing geometric garden patterns and have been described with such terms as formal, French formal, or parterre. This study shows that the use of long, rectangular beds predates the development of formal and parterre gardens and suggests that through the more careful use of such terms it is possible to identify other traditions of gardens in New Orleans that also have connections to European ideas of gardens.
CHAPTER ONE

A SEARCH FOR RECTANGLES

Early colonists in this country necessarily sought to make the New World habitable by recreating domestic spaces, including gardens, similar to what they had known back home.¹

Using traditions they had carried from home, the early settlers of New Orleans made gardens in a land that was unfamiliar. They knew how to form garden elements and they knew how to arrange elements into garden patterns because they had seen or had used the forms or patterns before. They understood them and knew what they meant. The settlers shaped new gardens using ideas of gardens that they had carried from the Old World to adapt forms and patterns from cultural and environmental contexts that were familiar to new ones that were not; to plant Old World roots, but in new soil, in a new environment, in the New World. Those roots grew, however, and as they grew they evolved to better suit new contexts of environment, place, culture. This process is described by Suzanne Turner, a landscape historian and preservationist who has studied Louisiana landscapes over the past twenty years:

New Orleans garden designers of the nineteenth century attempted to create places that either resembled their homelands or symbolized

wealth and status. They sought to alter and remove the look of the indigenous and hostile Louisiana landscape to conjure the feeling of a more civilized homeland or region of origin. And yet, over time the natural processes of the New Orleans environment transformed these imported ideas into living, growing gardens directly related to this wet and lush landscape.²

The results of this process were new gardens and new traditions of gardens based in both Old World ideas and a New World place.

To fully understand the developmental history of gardens in New Orleans, therefore, it is important not only to study gardens within the context of the general history of the city but also to study gardens within contexts of European ideas of gardens.³ Although the influence of European ideas has been acknowledged in


³The concept of context here is adopted from that of art historians Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson who consider a context not as a given thing or set of things that inherently exists around an object but as a construction, by an interpreter who identifies a combination of factors which together form a sphere of influences within which an object was formed. See, Mieke Bal and Normal Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” The Art Bulletin 73, no. 2 (June 1991): 175.
previous studies, specific connections between gardens in New Orleans and ideas of
gardens from Europe have not been made. This study identifies some of those
connections by focusing on the use of one garden pattern -- a composition of long,
rectangular planting beds -- that is common to at least fifty gardens in New Orleans
and to European gardens dating from the ninth century. A developmental history
that chronicles the use of the garden pattern from ninth-century Europe to
nineteenth-century New Orleans is constructed and used to show that the group of
New Orleans gardens which contain the pattern should be considered a unique
garden tradition. In the past those gardens have been grouped with other gardens
containing geometric garden patterns and have been generically described with such
terms as *formal*, *French formal*, or *parterre*. This study shows that the use of the
pattern of long, rectangular beds predates the development of *formal* and *parterre*

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*Important studies of New Orleans gardens include: Douglas, 87-110; Shingo
Dameron Madard, editor, *A New Orleans Courtyard, 1830-1860* (New Orleans:
Christian Woman’s Exchange, 1996); Turner, “Roots of a Regional Garden
Tradition: The Drawings of the New Orleans Notarial Archives,” 163-190; Stephen
(master’s thesis, Louisiana State University, 1982); and John Sidney Steele, “The
Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carré (1718-1860)” (master’s thesis,
Louisiana State University, 1976). Although not specifically focused on gardens or
garden history, the works of architectural historian Samuel Wilson, Jr. are also
important, especially *The Vieux Carré, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its
Architecture* (New Orleans: Historic Demonstration Study, Bureau of Governmental
Research, 1969) and *The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana. Collected Essays of Samuel
Wilson, Jr., F.A.I.A.*, ed. Jean M. Farnsworth and Ann M. Masson (Lafayette, La.: The
Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1987).
gardens and suggests that through the more careful use of such terms it is possible to identify other traditions of gardens in New Orleans that also have connections to European garden ideas.

The Garden Pattern

The garden pattern is associated with seven types of European gardens that date to the Romanesque period. Three of the garden types, the kitchen garden (Fig. 1), the medicinal garden (Fig. 2), and the botanic garden (Fig. 3) are identified by the functional use of a garden as a place to grow plants for food or for healing. Two of the garden types, the herb garden (Fig. 4) and the pleasure garden (Fig. 5) are identified by both the functional uses of a garden as a place to grow food and/or herbs and the social uses of a garden as a place to stroll, to have gatherings, or to make courtly love. Two of the garden types are identified by ideological use of a garden as a symbol: a specific hortus conclusus, the garden of Mary (Fig. 6) in which a garden is used to symbolize religious ideals and the hortus deliciarum, the garden of love (Fig. 7) in which a garden is used to symbolize secular, romantic love.

One of the earliest depictions of the garden pattern in New Orleans was by François Benjamin Dumont de Montigny, c. 1730, in a drawing entitled Logement de l'auteur a la Nouvelle Orléans (Fig. 8). In Dumont's drawing, the premier jardin, the garden closest to the dwelling is composed of long, rectangular beds that are arranged along a central path covered by a trellis or arbor. The grand jardin in the same
Fig. 1. *Hortus*, Plan of the monastery at St. Gall, Switzerland, c. 816. In the *hortus* or kitchen garden, a peripheral path completely surrounds the two rows of long, rectangular planting beds arranged bilaterally along a central path. One plant name is written in each planting bed. The passage written in the central path translates as, "Here the planted vegetables flourish in beauty." (Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St Gall: A Study of Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), vol. 2, 204, fig. 426.)
Fig. 2. *Herbularius*, Plan of the monastery at St. Gall, Switzerland, c. 816. The pattern in the *herbularius* or medicinal garden is similar to that in the *hortus*, except that peripheral beds surround the entire garden. One plant name is written in each bed. (Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St Gall: A Study of Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), vol. 2, 182, fig. 414.)
Fig. 3. Botanical Garden at Leiden, from Overadt’s *Hortorium viridariorumque ...formae*, 1655. In the botanic garden at Leiden, the four-square pattern, which dates to the Persian paradise gardens and which was common among monastic cloister gardens, is combined with the pattern of long, rectangular planting beds to create a hybrid garden pattern common among kitchen gardens of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The early botanic gardens, associated with medical schools, were adaptations of the monastic medicinal gardens. (Therese O’Malley, “Art and Science in the Design of Botanic Gardens, 1730-1830,” in *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992), 285, fig. 7.)
Fig. 4. Herb Garden, Piero de’ Crescenzi, *Livre des proffits ruraux*, book VI, France, c. 1485. An herb garden, a garden context typically included in patrician gardens – large gardens that were compositions of various garden contexts that were connected but functioned as internally focused units – is depicted with a series of rectangular planting beds. Illustrations included in various editions of Crescenzi’s treatise, the first widely translated agricultural treatise, reflected the gardening practices common to the area where the edition was produced. The herb garden, a secular adaptation of the monastic medicinal garden, was one of the most widely depicted garden types in the Middle Ages. (Robert G. Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), fig. 11.)
Fig. 5. Pleasure Garden, fifteenth century garden miniature. A pleasure garden was often included in patrician gardens. In this pleasure garden two garden rooms contain the garden pattern, one in which a series of long rectangular beds are enclosed with a fence and a second in which raised rectangular beds contain trellis supports for pinks or roses. (Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. Flowery Medes* and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages... (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 1, fig. 102.)
Fig. 6. *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, Hans Fleming, Flanders, Bruges, c. 1465. The mother and child are seated in front of an enclosed garden, a *hortus conclusus*, composed of long rectangular beds. This garden is a specific *hortus conclusus*, the Garden of Mary, and is like others incorporating biblical imagery and secular garden settings. The Garden of Mary is based on the garden described in *Song of Songs* 4:12, a locked garden that came to symbolize chastity, purity, Mary, or the Church as bride of Christ. A secular adaptation of the Garden of Mary was the garden of love. (Marilyn Stokstad, “The Garden as Art,” in *Gardens of the Middle Ages*, ed. Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1983), fig. 10.)
Fig. 7. Gardens of Love, from J. Reynolds, *The Triumphs of God's Revenge against the Crying and Execrable Sin of Murther*, 1679. Three illustrations of gardens of love contain gardens which serve as background to images and narration which communicate the story. In each garden the garden pattern is used in a different way. The garden of love, the *hortus deliciarum*, was an adaptation of the Garden of Mary used as the setting for poetry and literature written in the later Middle Ages. (Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. Flowery Medes* and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages... (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 1, fig. 199.)
Fig. 8. *Logement de l’auteur a la Nouvelle Orléans*, François Benjamin Dumont de Montigny, New Orleans, c. 1730. This illustration of the place where Dumont lived while in New Orleans contains the first depictions of long, rectangular planting beds in the colony. The *premier jardin*, the garden closest to the dwelling, is similar to the *herbularius* on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall, except that the central path in the *premier jardin* is covered with a trellis or arbor. The *grande jardin*, the larger garden is a modified four-square pattern with a central, circular feature. Both gardens are enclosed by palisade fences. (Samuel Wilson, Jr., “The Drawings of François Benjamin Dumont de Montigny,” in *The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana. Collected Essays of Samuel Wilson, Jr., F.A.I.A.*, ed. Jean M. Farnsworth and Ann M. Masson (Lafayette, La.: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana), 106, fig. 1, also in Douglas, 89, fig. 1 and in Samuel Wilson, Jr., *The Vieux Carré, New Orleans: Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture* (New Orleans: Historic District Demonstration Study, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1969), 34, fig. 31.)
drawing is a modified four-square pattern with a central circular feature in which each quadrant of the four-square is subdivided by rectangular beds of various sizes arranged in various orientations.\(^5\) Nineteenth-century drawings of over fifty gardens containing some manifestation of the garden pattern are housed at the New Orleans Notarial Archives. The collection contains measured drawings — executed by surveyors and engineers, of over 5,500 lots, houses, and tracts of land in the French Quarter, the Garden District, and other urban and suburban precincts — that were originally used as official advertisements for judicially ordered sales, such as successions and bankruptcies, and as surveys of streets and public squares.\(^6\)

According to architectural historian Sam Wilson, the large drawings were hung in

\(^5\)The four-square garden pattern is the pattern most commonly depicted in early illustrations of gardens in New Orleans. The pattern, dating to ancient Persia, is discussed throughout the history of the pattern of long, rectangular planting beds beginning in chapter two.

\(^6\)Multiple water colored drawings of a property, such as plans showing the location of the property within the city and/or details of the structures and the site, elevations, and/or perspectives, were arranged on large sheets. The original documents are housed at the New Orleans Notarial Archives as are the original notary books, many of which are in French, that contain written accounts relating to the properties; black and white reproductions of the drawings are kept at the Historic New Orleans Collection. See, Turner, “Roots of a Regional Garden Tradition: The Drawings of the New Orleans Notarial Archives,” 165. The collection has been utilized by other scholars investigating the history of design in New Orleans. Of particular interest are Frederick S. Starr, *Southern Comfort: The Garden District of New Orleans, 1800-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989); and the series by various authors and editors *New Orleans Architecture*, 7 vols. (Gretna, La.: Friends of the Cabildo and Pelican Publishing Co., 1971-1989).
the auction rooms when the properties were to be sold or were attached to acts of sale or building contracts in the notary’s records.\textsuperscript{7} Drawings of gardens containing the pattern include the 1858 entry garden of a cottage in which the pattern is used in a similar way as in Dumont’s premier jardin (Fig. 9); the 1848 rear garden of a cottage in which an element is added along the axis separating the rows of rectangular beds (Fig. 10); the 1866 drawing in which the pattern is used in a composition of patterns that also includes four-square patterns with central elements (Fig. 11); and the 1882 vegetable garden in which the planting beds are more square-like (Fig. 12). The pattern exists today in the courtyard garden of the Hermann-Grima House in the French Quarter where it has been maintained since the 1830s (Fig. 13).

An Interpretation Of Rectangles

The history of the garden pattern is constructed around a chronology of the dates of production of illustrations containing the garden pattern, the dates of publication of garden treatises containing descriptions of the garden pattern, and the dates of period manuscripts containing descriptions of the garden pattern. The chronology serves, as suggested by cultural geographer D. W. Meinig, as a principal organizing system which is not in itself history but the scaffold upon which history

\textsuperscript{7}Samuel Wilson, Jr., introduction to \textit{A New Orleans Courtyard, 1830-1860}. \textit{The Hermann-Grima House}, 1.
Fig. 9. New Orleans Notarial Archives; Plan Book 48, Folio 64; Morales between Frenchmen and Elysian Fields backed by Urquhart; Torne and de L’Ise; 7 June 1858. The garden pattern is depicted in a garden in front of a gabled, dormered cottage.
Fig. 10. New Orleans Notarial Archives; Plan Book 106, Folio 45; St. Claude between Barracks and Bayou Road backed by Rampart; Allou D’Hemecourt; 18 February 1848. The garden pattern is used in a rear garden of a gabled cottage. Peripheral beds surround the two rows of long, rectangular beds and a feature has been added along the central axis. The central axis that divides the two rows of beds does not clearly relate to the entrance of the garden.
Fig. 11. New Orleans Notarial Archives; Plan Book 37, Folio 53; Annunciation between Benjamin and Edward backed by [?]; J. N. Pouilly; October 1866. The garden pattern of long, rectangular beds is combined with four-square patterns with central features in a large garden.
Fig. 12. New Orleans Notarial Archives; Plan Book 101, Folio 7; 4th Corner St. Patrick backed by 3rd and St. Denis; L. C. Reizenstein; 2 October 1882. A pattern of more square-like, rectangular beds are used in a garden labeled “Vegetables.”
Fig. 13. Courtyard Garden, Hermann-Grima House, French Quarter, New Orleans, John Sidney Steele, c. 1974. The courtyard garden of the Hermann-Grima house which dates to the 1830s contains six long rectangular, planting beds. The garden, which has been preserved in its original form, is similar to other nineteenth-century gardens depicted in drawings housed at the New Orleans Notarial Archives. (John Sidney Steele, “The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carré (1718-1860)” (master’s thesis, Louisiana State University, 1976), 72, fig. 12.)
is constructed. The history is interpreted from meanings associated with the uses of the gardens that are depicted or described in period documents, documents which serve, as suggested by art historian Virginia Tuttle Clayton, as direct reflections of the places that the gardens held in the popular imagination at the moments in history when they were produced.

The use of meanings to interpret the history positions this study within a recently expanded field of garden and landscape studies in which a garden or a landscape is viewed as a symbolic structure which may be interpreted to reveal social, political, and cultural meanings. That expanded field is based on the

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9 According to garden historian John Dixon Hunt, use can be conditioned by environmental, social, and economic factors and can be identified as intellectual, ideological, contemplative, and functional. See Hunt, introduction to Regional Garden Design in the United States, 3-4.


11 Denis Cosgrove, “Landscape Studies in Geography and Cognate Fields of the Humanities and Social Sciences,” Landscape Research 15, no. 3 (Winter 1990): 3. Though other disciplines, particularly cultural geography, have established methodologies for interpreting meanings of landscapes, those methodologies have not yet been clearly adapted for garden history. The appendix of this study contains a working methodology that was formulated as a preliminary step in this investigation. Though not complete, as yet, it is presented as a link to the works that have influenced the interpretations in this study.
scholarship of W. G. Hoskins and John Brinckerhoff Jackson who began in the 1950s to view the landscape as a storehouse of representations of the values and beliefs of the people who shaped it. For Hoskins, landscape study was a sub-field of history. He studied the landscape as an aerial composition, looking for organizational patterns -- forms and their relationships to one another -- and for incongruities among those patterns that served as clues to earlier patterns reflective of different sets and contexts of activities. Jackson believed that the landscape was, in the broadest sense, symbolic -- reflecting the society which brought it into being -- and that studying the landscape required looking at the vernacular to understand how forms and patterns came into being. Subsequent scholars have expanded on the idea of landscape as a legible record of culture and have developed ways to view that symbolic archive. In a 1990 survey of the developments in landscape studies, cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove suggests that the landscape has become a central concept in discussions of social meaning across a substantial part of the academic humanities and social sciences and that the changes in the study of landscape are characterized by the significant re-evaluation of the meanings of basic concepts; the acceptance of multiple and sometimes incongruent, theoretical and methodological positions; a greater willingness to use an expanded range of sources; and an increased interaction

among the formally distinct disciplines of geography, social and cultural history, art history, and anthropology.\(^\text{13}\)

Within the expanding field of landscape studies, garden historians are interpreting the information from traditional studies of gardens by asking new types of questions such as: What are the roles that gardens play within sociocultural tradition? What are the meanings that may be associated with gardens and garden forms? How are garden ideas, forms, patterns, and practices diffused and transferred?\(^\text{14}\) Traditional studies, such as the existing ones of gardens in New Orleans, identify the physical characteristics of individual gardens or establish the chronologies of development and change of individual gardens or garden types and require tedious, time-consuming, and detailed research. New studies expand the

\(^{13}\)Cosgrove, 1. For further discussion of the expanding field of landscape studies see D. W. Meinig, introduction to *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, 1-7.

understanding of gardens developed in traditional studies by interpreting gardens within larger contexts of culture and landscape based on the premise that a garden embodies, as perhaps nowhere else in human technology or art, a cluster of conscious and unconscious ideas and aspirations.15 A garden represents in three-dimensional form in real-time and real-space, the expression of one sociocultural unit – the garden-maker as individual, family, or other institution – within the larger landscape which is the conglomerate expression of many sociocultural units.16 The garden expresses the garden-maker’s position among culturally established ideas of garden, landscape, and world.

**World, Landscape, Garden**

Yet they remind us of an important truth: that we always need a word or phrase to indicate a kind of environment or setting which can give


16*Real-time* and *real-space* are used throughout the text as descriptives of the time continuum and the geographic location of an experience. They are in contrast to other time continuums or spatial positions represented in literature, art, etc. For example, an individual experiences a garden in real-time and real-space when that individual walks into a space and realizes that that space is a garden. The same individual may experience the same garden by viewing a photograph (or a drawing) of the garden. The individual, however, experiences the photograph (drawing) in real-time and real-space, not the garden.
vividness to a thought or event or relationship; a background placing it in the world.\textsuperscript{17}

The world, as a whole, as a unit, is beyond the immediacy of an individual existing in real-time and in real-space. An individual, restricted by biological constraints as a member of the human species, is limited to a physical encounter of only a small portion of the world, an experiential field within which that individual positions, recognizes that position, interprets the meaning of that position within an immediate and a long term narrative, makes decisions based on that interpretation, and progresses forward in time to a different position. This is a process which is, in essence, the choreography of life -- a continuous connecting, disconnecting, reconnecting with the place of existence, the landscape of the world.

Since it is not possible for an individual to know the whole world through direct experience and self-accrued knowledge founded in that experience, the world exists as an idea. The idea of the world. The idea of the world landscape. This idea of world is a map of sorts that is completed and maintained by culture and passed to an individual who interprets it; applies it; evaluates it; modifies, translates, transposes it; and passes it on.\textsuperscript{18} The idea of world exists beyond the limits of direct


experience; gains its form, texture, and descriptives from culture; and serves to locate an individual within a stable continuum of culture, landscape, and time.

Because an individual can only be conscious of a limited amount of information at any given moment in real-time and -space, the recognition of a physical position is limited to a reading of only some of the physical characteristics of that position. A physical landscape is experienced not as a series of snapshots of everything that is immediate, but rather as a construction made up of a sampling of the available information combined with knowledge collected from prior experiences. According to psychologists Stephen and Rachel Kaplan, experience is more and less than what is objectively present, more since it is deeply grounded in prior knowledge and less since it is based on only a small sample of the information potentially available in the environment at a particular moment. Recognizing an object within a physical setting requires an idea for that object that turns on in some sense when the object is present and generally does not when it is not. This internal representation is generalized to stand for a class of objects and is something of a

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19 For example, when driving a car, an individual cannot continuously be conscious of the steering wheel and the gas pedal when the light turns green at the same instant that a child on a bicycle enters the crosswalk.

paradox, at the same time concrete and abstract.\textsuperscript{21} Events and objects that are encountered frequently are stored as internal representations in a component of memory that includes not merely an experiential record of events but some generalizations about spatial relationships. In addition to serving as a means of recognizing objects, making it possible to see clearly even when the available information is not clear, internal representations constitute a basis for knowledge when they are connected to each other in an assemblage known as a cognitive map. A cognitive map provides a link between the human thought process and the physical environment and serves as an individual's idea of an immediate, experiential landscape.\textsuperscript{22} An idea of world is a cognitive map constructed mainly from culturally transferred information synthesized by the individual. An idea of landscape is a cognitive map constructed from self-accrued knowledge gained from direct experience of a portion of the world. An idea of garden is a cognitive map of a particular type of landscape.\textsuperscript{23} For an individual there is a continuous drama


\textsuperscript{23}As is an idea of home, parking lot, neighborhood, etc. Home and the landscape of home have been of particular interest to recent scholars. See David E. Sopher, "The Landscape of Home: Myth, Experience, Social Meaning," in \textit{The
involving a real-time and real-space experiential landscape and ideas of garden, landscape, and world. Within this drama, episodes are linked sequentially by real-time, the chronology of which is perhaps the only linear element -- even in mental flashbacks or in dreams, there is a real-time continuum that moves forward. Within episodes elements repeat, and it is through the repeated elements that an understanding of focus and position is created. Repeated elements are associated with meaning; the linkage of those elements becomes a narrative of landscape. Consciousness of focus or position within an episode depends upon the activities at hand.\textsuperscript{24} The physical landscape pushes to the fore, the idea of landscape to the background; an idea of world pushes to the fore, an idea of landscape to the background, etc. But regardless of the degree of consciousness of focus or position, there is always a connection. With each shift of position, there is a relocation within


\textsuperscript{24}For example, in rock climbing one must be extremely aware of the immediate physical setting, in planning a shopping trip one need not necessarily be aware of the immediate physical setting but must be conscious of the potential experiential landscape, in listening to a piece of music written in India one need not be conscious of physical setting or potential experiential landscape but may focus on how the music of a foreign land that has never been directly experienced fits into an idea of the world.
a physical setting in real-time and -space, within an idea of landscape, and within an idea of world.

Ideas of landscape are of crucial importance in the living of everyday life. They articulate particular things, places, events; facilitate positioning in a physical environment by providing a map of what is actually or potentially in that environment; and provide a basis for interpreting and communicating what is encountered. It is through interpretation that value judgments are made and meaning is associated with objects and patterns. According to cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan:

> When we look at a landscape and see a church spire at the end of a tree-lined road, our eyes have automatically combined visual data to form a stereoscopic image, and our mind has integrated, with little conscious effort, diverse clues and experiences to give a rich meaning to that image.25

Meanings are stored in memory, providing a basis for knowledge helpful in future valuations. Via this process, one female is seen as mother, one house is seen as home, a piece of the landscape a garden. Ideas of landscape at all levels influence and are influenced by the process of interpretation. When an individual marks a piece of the physical landscape – as when a garden-maker shapes a garden – an idea serves as a point of reference and provides a basis for making decisions about what form that

mark will take. The individual may choose to follow the idea and thereby maintain it or to counter it in some way by transforming, transposing, or replacing it. The mark represents a personal response to the idea and the making of a personal place within the cultural landscape. The form of the mark will depend on many factors including the limits of the physical landscape upon which it is made, the resources at hand, as well as the method by which the individual learned the idea.26

As a mental construct, an idea of world, landscape, garden, etc., exists beyond the limits or boundaries of the physical landscape upon which it is based. Once formed, it is no longer directly tied to that physical position, but is carried with the individual as part of a personal archive of knowledge. The individual can record the idea in other symbolic forms and thus communicate it to others as a verbal description, a drawing, a painting, a written description in a letter, a diary, a story. The idea is mobile whereas the physical landscape is not: The individual cannot carry a garden to share it with another individual but can carry a drawing or a written description. Those receiving the communication or the recording can accept

26Translation would have to occur, for example, if the mark were a parterre garden like one at Versailles and the physical landscape a 10' x 10' lot – direct reproduction of the idea would be impossible; or if the mark were again to be a parterre garden like one at Versailles and the physical landscape an identically sized space, but the idea had been learned from a written description rather than an image or a direct experience. John Dixon Hunt discusses the translating of forms in general in “Reading and Writing the Site,” introduction to Gardens and the Picturesque (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), 10-13 and the translation of forms from Italy to England in the eighteenth century in “The Garden as a Cultural Object,” 25.
or reject the idea, can adopt or ignore it, can re-communicate or re-record it, translate it into different forms, diffuse it among the others with whom they communicate. If the idea is recorded and communicated over a period of time, then the idea has meaning to the group and is archived as part of the shared culture of the group. The recordings, as artifacts of the culture, become much of the archival record of the history of the idea, are important as carriers of the meaning of the idea, and, according to cultural geographer David Lowenthal, are more durable than the physical landscape as documentation of that meaning and the idea:

But what we can remember potentially includes everything that has happened, whereas what we can see of the past in physical relics is highly selective, because materials decay and because later structures on a site necessarily displace earlier ones....the present-day landscape may evoke many pasts, but can never display any period in its entirety, let alone reveal the whole of the past.²⁷

Because ideas are associated with meaning, a study of the landscape cannot only be an identification of the marks made upon it. Scientific, technical, or even aesthetic evaluations of the actual marks tell little of their meaning. Since a mark is an individual expression, without exact and truthful commentary from the maker of the mark, any discussion of the idea behind the mark is, in a sense, speculation.²⁸


²⁸Even if a complete commentary from the maker of the mark exists, it is probably not a complete explanation of the mark. It is very difficult, if not
Original commentary is rare and seldom complete, thus much of the study of the landscape is speculation, accomplished by studying each mark on the landscape within the context of the culture in which the mark was made in an attempt to understand the mark within a milieu as told by the artifacts of the culture: the mark itself, the landscape surrounding it, and other forms of communication including art, music, literature, folklore, diaries, letters, etc. Interpretation involves working from a mark on the landscape through the milieu in which it was created to identify the idea that the mark represents and subsequently the meanings that are associated with it. Or, as is the case in this study, interpretation involves working from a representation of a mark through the milieu in which the representation was created, to the mark and through the milieu in which the mark was created to identify the idea and the meanings that can be associated with the idea.29

impossible, for anyone to completely identify all of the influences active in any action.

29 In terms of cultural analysis, this is thick description: describing an element within a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which the element is produced, perceived, and interpreted, and without which it would not exist. "Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape." See Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 7 and 21.
CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORY OF RECTANGLES

Whether sacred or secular, medieval manuscript illumination tends to present us with conceptual garden motifs rather than with images of real, living gardens. And yet, these motifs, however fanciful or allegorical, frequently offer wonderful insights into the medieval dream of perfect horticultural bliss, gorgeous enclaves resplendent beyond anything in our earthly experience.³⁰

Because of the lack of surviving period landscapes for first-hand study, developing an understanding of gardens of the Middle Ages involves weaving together threads of information from historical records and period agricultural treatises with images of idealized gardens presented in art and literature.³¹ Ideas of gardens from the Middle Ages, therefore, are more clearly understood than are gardens. Ideas of gardens survived passage from antiquity and were maintained throughout the Middle Ages because gardens had both functional and ideological uses. Functional gardens served vital daily needs by providing fruits and vegetables for food and herbs for healing. Ideological gardens represented in art and literature symbolized both secular and religious ideals. Gardens symbolizing biblical gardens

³⁰Clayton, 15.

³¹According to Sylvia Landsberg, manuscript illustrations are invaluable for an understanding of the detailed construction of garden features, though they are mainly of continental origin and available in realistic detail only from the late fourteenth century onwards. See Sylvia Landsberg, The Medieval Garden (n.p.: Thames and Hudson, n.d.), 7.
spread across Europe with the diffusion of Christianity; gardens symbolizing earthly pleasures were utilized by writers as settings for lyric poetry.\textsuperscript{32} Gardens from two very different cultures and from Christianity inspired gardens in the medieval world. From Persia came the royal park and the pleasure garden; from classical Greece, through Rome, came the \textit{loecus amoenus}; and from the Bible came the symbolic garden of the Fall and the garden of earthly paradise.

\section*{Images From Antiquity}

Despite the lack of an authentic late Roman garden, there can be no question that the idea of a garden, howsoever differently it may have been executed, survived the political and economic turmoil consequent upon the dissolution of the Roman Empire.\textsuperscript{33}

The origin of the word \textit{paradise}, a central concept of many gardens in the Middle Ages, is in the Old Persian word \textit{pairidaeza} which referred to the park, enclosure, or orchard of the Persian king. The word signified a specific natural place with a special, royal character,\textsuperscript{34} and the park with which it was associated was a

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{32}According to A. Bartlett Giamatti, this poetry, with its site or symbol a bower or garden or grove, ranged from allegorical and didactic treatises to the lyrics and epics of courtly love. See A. Bartlett Giamatti, \textit{The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic} (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), 48-49.

\textsuperscript{33}Jerry Stannard, “Medieval Gardens and Their Plants,” in \textit{Gardens of the Middle Ages}, Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1983), 38. Italics by Stannard.

\textsuperscript{34}For an extended discussion of the development of \textit{paradise} and its association with the garden see, Giametti, 11-15; for a very brief discussion see Marilyn Stokstad, “Gardens in Medieval Art,” in \textit{Gardens of the Middle Ages}, 24-25.
\end{flushright}
place for the ruler to demonstrate his mastery over wild animals while enjoying the royal sport of hunting and, therefore, symbolized royal power, luxury, and ease. According to garden historian Christopher Thacker, royal parks were taken over by Alexander when he invaded the Persian empire c. 330 B.C. Greek translators of the Old Testament called the Garden of Eden *paradeisos*, paradise, from the Persian *pairidaeza*. The *paradisus*, from the Greek *paradeisos*, was a place set aside for the growing of choice plants and trees for shade and for fruit, a garden dispersed with the spread of Christianity.

The pleasure garden, the second influential garden from Persia, was a place of sensuous luxury, a walled rectangular enclosure divided by four streams of water – a four-square garden – with cypress and plane trees, pomegranates and date palms, roses and lilies. In Persian art and poetry the significance of the garden as a place of both spiritual and erotic aspiration was accepted and harmonized. Pleasure gardens were stylized in garden carpets (Fig. 14) which show the ancient motif of the four quarters of the universe separated by four great rivers. The controlled forms characteristic of these gardens were adopted by the Imperial Romans and were passed

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35Stokstad, 24-25.


37Stannard, 40.
Fig. 14. Persian garden carpet, c. 1700. Within multiple layers of trees and flowers, the garden is quartered by four rivers and subdivided into further regular sections. This pattern, the four-square, was common among Persian pleasure gardens and was maintained throughout the Middle Ages in monastic cloister gardens and later in the early botanic gardens and early Renaissance gardens. The element in the center of the carpet suggests the pattern of a floral canopy over a chabutra or central platform. At the center-corners of the carpet are four chenar, the oriental plane, symbolic of the shade-giving Tuba tree in the Koran. (F. R. Cowell, The Garden as a Fine Art From Antiquity to Modern Times (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978), 68.)
on to inspire gardens of the Middle Ages, particularly the monastic cloister garden (Fig. 15), and gardens of later periods including the early botanic gardens and early Renaissance gardens. The Arabs, upon invading Persia in the seventh-century, absorbed rather than destroyed the civilized lifestyle of the Persians and transferred facets of that lifestyle to Europe as they invaded southern Spain. The Persian pleasure garden survived almost unchanged in the traditional Islamic garden as described by historian James Corner:

The same depth of symbolic content, though of a completely different sort, can be seen in the Persian paradise gardens and later in the enclosed Moorish gardens of Granada: the Alhambra and the Generalife. Here, the sensual qualities of sight, sound, taste, and touch were controlled in such a way to give bodily pleasure and poetic delight, but they were still primarily understood as a representational iconography of a greater Islamic cosmos, idealized and embodied. The rich sensuality of these beautiful gardens was understood to be Allah himself -- celestial paradise on earth.38

A literary garden, the *loecus amoenus* or lovely place, was passed from classical Greece into the Middle Ages by the Romans. In contrast to the patterned and controlled Persian garden, the *locus amoenus* was natural and open, a meadow with a running brook and beautiful trees where the season was always spring and the breezes were always gentle (Fig. 16). The garden is described by art historian Marilyn Stokstad:

Fig. 15. Cloister Garden, Plan of the monastery at St. Gall, Switzerland, c. 816. The pattern of the cloister garden is similar to that of the Persian pleasure gardens: a square, quartered by paths with a central feature at the intersection of the paths. The cloister garden played an important role in creating the appropriate setting for the \textit{vita contemplativa} and was a self-contained \textit{claustrum} within the enclosure walls of the monastic compound, doubly insulated to eliminate distractions. These gardens were usually rectangular spaces with a central lawn (\textit{viridarium}) bisected or quartered by paths of sand, gravel, or smooth river-washed pebbles. In the center of the space a fountain could symbolize the \textit{fons vitae}. In secular adaptations of this pattern, the spring or fountain in the center of the garden became identified with the source of life and was one of the first garden features to be elaborated. (Walter Horn and Ernest Born, \textit{The Plan of St Gall: A Study of Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), vol. 1, 257, fig. 203.)
Fig. 16. *Van den proprieteyten der dinghen*, Dutch edition of *De Proprietatibus rerum*, Bartholomaeus Anglicus (fl. 1220-1240) Holland, in Haarlem by Jacob Ballaert, 24 December 1485. Through the images and symbols of the *locus amoenus* this landscape depicts the flower-studded meadow which was carried from ancient Greece into Northern Europe by the Romans. (Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard, ed., *Gardens of the Middle Ages* (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1983), 130, fig. 17.)
Fertility and vegetation gods, such as Flora, Venus (to whom the apple and rose were sacred), Bacchus – and the occasional nymph and shepherd – enjoyed these gardens. The fertility god Priapus and the god of boundaries Terminus protected and defined the area of the garden, although they were not specifically garden deities.39

The topos of the *locus amoenus* became the flowery meadow or woodland glade (Fig. 17), a magical setting for adventures described by painters and writers of the medieval period.40 The classical, pagan *locus amoenus* was transmuted by the Christian belief in, and search for, an earthly paradise (Fig. 18) and made possible the kind of garden described in the literature and depicted in the art of the High Middle Ages.41 According to garden historian Naomi Miller, Eden became the *loecus amoenus* of the medieval garden, and the memory of the prelapsarian garden – the terrestrial paradise and its central feature, the fountain reaching to the four corners of the earth – was perpetuated and transformed in the Middle Ages.42

In contrast to the gardens from Persia and Greece which were associated with both spirituality and eroticism, gardens spread by Christianity developed because of the confrontation, conflict, and irony of those opposing forces. According to

39 Stokstad, 25.
40 Ibid., 25.
41 Stannard, 42.
Fig. 17. *The Lady and the Unicorn*, fifteenth century tapestry, French or Flemish School. The flowery scene here represents a new version of the Annunciation scene which first appeared in German paintings at the turn of the fifteenth century and began an iconographic fashion that became especially popular in tapestries and other more domestic art forms later in the century and that continued in use for two hundred years. In these scenes, Mary is represented in richly flowering gardens, surrounded by a curious array of biblical and secular objects. Biblical imagery could include a small, hexagonal fountain; a golden urn; an open spring or well; a row of sticks or rods, with the middle one in flower; a square, decorated chest, sometimes with a pitched lid that makes it resemble a small church; a bush, sprouting flames, sometimes with a human figure peering out from the top and usually with a man kneeling before it; a newly sheared fleece, spread on the ground, usually with a knight in armor kneeling by it; and several recognizable flowering plants, such as lilies, violets, and roses. Secular symbols could include the lion, the phoenix, and the pelican which were associated with aspects of works on natural history and the work of Christ in medieval bestiaries; and the unicorn, often with his head resting in Mary’s lap. (Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. Flowery Medes” and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages...* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 2, fig. L. For discussion of the iconography of such scenes, see Brian E. Daley, “The “Closed Garden” and the “Sealed Fountain”: Song of Songs 4:12 in the Late Medieval Iconography of Mary,” in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 256-257.)
Fig. 18. Earthly Paradise, Miniature from *Chants royaux sur la conception*, surmounted by the Puy de Rouen, 1519-1528. Two gardens are included in this earthly paradise, one combining the central fountain and four rivers of the Persian pleasure gardens with the imagery of the *locus amoenus* and a second, enclosed garden which contains the pattern of long, rectangular beds. (Germain Bazin, *Paradeisos. The Art of the Garden* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1990), 49.)
historian Michael Niedermeier, since the dawn of Christianity, the relationship between landscape and love on the one hand and culture on the other has always been tense, although the images and modes of expression used to describe this relationship changed over time, depending on the intended audience, and on artistic language and moral and theological circumstances. The garden of the Fall was a perilous place full of seductive pleasures that brought about destruction, and became a symbolic garden based in the chaotic and dreadful character of nature in the Garden of Eden (Fig. 19). The same Garden of Eden was transformed into another symbolic garden, the terrestrial paradise, which retained beauty but was more ambiguously spiritual. This garden, depicted in the Old Testament Song of Songs, is the garden of chastity and purity, which eventually symbolized Mary, the soul, or the Church as bride of Christ.

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44 This nature is in contrast to the lyric naturalness of the Garden of the Sun in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* was composed in Sumaria around 3000 BC and is the oldest existing epic literature. According to Norris Brock Johnson, the garden ontologically exists apart from human agency in both the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and in Genesis: “A garden is a prelapsarian arena in which humans happen to find themselves, or in which humans are placed by God. The same can be said for most European gardens.” See, Norris Brock Johnson, “Geomancy, Sacred Geometry, and the Idea of a Garden: Tenryu-ji Temple, Kyoto, Japan,” *Journal of Garden History* 9, no. 1 (January-March 1989), 1.

45 Derek Pearsall, “Gardens as Symbol and Setting in Late Medieval Poetry,” in *Medieval Gardens*, 237.
Fig. 19. The Garden of the Fall, Book of Hours known as the Warburg Hours. Adam and Eve are depicted in one of the two interpretations of the Garden of Eden, the garden of the Fall. (William Howard Adams, Nature Perfected. Gardens Through History (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 16.)
an earthly paradise garden enclosed and secure against a hostile world and the wilds of untamed nature, an earthly paradise. The *hortus conclusus* became the symbol of the church, a source of great sensual comfort and delight, giving testimony to heavenly joy through religious symbols and configuration (Fig. 20). The *hortus conclusus* inspired the secular garden of love, the *hortus deliciarum*, which retained the symbolism of the religions garden, but used it to represent the pleasures of the world, the security and comfort of Eden but in an imagined earthly paradise (Fig. 21).  

**Gardens Of The Middle Ages**

Gardens during this time provided a kind of cosmic "quarry," gravid with histories and myth. They were a lens through which culture could view itself and share in a collective comprehension of the cosmos.  

There is little information about actual gardens in the West from the period following the dissolution of the Roman Empire until the reign of Charlemagne. In 795, one of three existing documents articulating gardening practices was generated. The *Capitulare de villis vel curtis imperii*, which contained regulations for the administration of the towns in Charlemagne’s empire, stipulated the plants and estate style which should be established throughout his empire, much of what is

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47 Corner, 64.
Fig. 20. Hortus conclusus, Miniature from the Tableaux et chants royaux de la confrerie du Puy-Notre-Dame d'Amiens, a book given to Louise de Savoie in 1517. A hortus conclusus is depicted as an enclosed garden composed of square-like planting beds such as those in depictions of herb gardens of the patriciate. This hortus conclusus is a Garden of Mary. (Germain Bazin, Paradeisos. The Art of the Garden (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1990), 55.)
Fig. 21. The Pleasure Garden, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Flanders, c. 1485. The pleasure garden of the *Roman de la Rose* is a hortus deliciarum, a garden of love, symbolizing the pleasures of the world within a secure and comfortable earthly paradise.

(Marilyn Stokstad, “Gardens in Medieval Art,” in *Gardens of the Middle Ages*, ed. Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1983), 18, fig. 1.)
today France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Northern Italy, and Austria. The document gave an agricultural and horticultural unity to leading households and monasteries by listing seventy-three plants and fruit trees that had to be grown. According to garden historian Sylvia Landsberg, Charlemagne's regulations represent one of two major forces unifying Europe in the Middle Ages, a period in which the definition of nationhood was so fluid that it is not possible to think in terms of distinctive national garden styles. The two other documents of gardens dating to the early ninth century contain representations of gardens with rectangular beds: the plan of the monastery at St. Gall, c. 816, and Liber de cultura hortorum, c. 845, a Latin poem describing the making of a garden, written by monk Walahfrid Strabo (809-849) of the monastery at Reichenau.

The plan of the monastery at St. Gall is a labeled drawing that has been housed in the library of the monastery since the early ninth century (Fig. 22). The dedicatory legend of the plan is addressed to "Gozbertus," believed to be Gozbert, Abbot of the Monastery at St. Gall from 816-836. The plan has been studied

[48]Thacker, 81.

[49]The other major influence Landsberg mentions is the seventh-century Arab invasion of Persia and subsequent spread of ideas across Europe through the transference of pharmaceutical texts. See Landsberg, 4-5.

Fig. 22. Plan of the monastery at St. Gall, Switzerland, c. 816. The *herbularius* is in the upper right corner and the *hortus* is in the lower right corner. (Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. Flowery Medes* and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages... (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 2, fig. CCXXIV.)
extensively, but its purpose and use are yet unknown. Scholars of the plan Walter Horn and Ernest Born suggest that the plan was prepared at the Abbey of Reichenau to guide Gozbert’s building program initiated c. 830 to reconstruct the monastery but also suggest that the plan was an ideal scheme meant not for a particular site but rather to demonstrate what buildings an exemplary Carolingian monastery should be composed of and in what manner they should be arranged.\(^51\) Historian Paul Meyvaert, however, suggests that the plan was not a paradigmatic model, but was simply a private document sent to Gozbert to provide some ideas for the reconstruction of the monastery.\(^52\) The plan is the earliest document from the Middle Ages that graphically depicts gardens. Two of the four gardens shown on the plan contain the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds: the \textit{hortus} or kitchen garden (Fig. 1) and the \textit{herbularius} or medicinal garden (Fig. 2).\(^53\)

The Kitchen Garden

The \textit{hortus} on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall is a rectangular space containing eighteen equally-sized rectangular beds each of which contains the name of one plant. According to Horn and Born, the rectangular plot is 52'6" wide and

\(^{51}\)Horn and Born, vol. 2, 21.


\(^{53}\)The other two gardens on the plan are the cloister garden (see Fig. 15) and the orchard/cemetery (see Horn and Born, vol. 2, 210, fig. 430).
82'6" long and is surrounded by a fence on three sides and the gardener's house on the fourth. An inscription written on the central path translates as "Here the planted vegetables flourish in beauty." In monasteries like the one at St. Gall, approximately 250 people had to be fed each day. Crops from the kitchen garden were supplemented with crops from larger gardens and from fields outside the walls of the monastery that were managed by the monks. Later illustrations of monastic complexes show extensive gardens (Figs. 23 and 24). Many monastic establishments, especially the Cistercians, rented portions of their land and, in return, received fixed amounts of money and/or produce. Some of the larger of such gardens were almost small farms in which cereals replaced kitchen vegetables as a cash crop and in which the labor-intensive practices of the typical kitchen garden were giving way to commercialized practices of agribusiness. According to Stannard this represents the first perceived separation of horticulture and agriculture and did not happen quickly, in some regions not occurring until the nineteenth century.

The kitchen garden is perhaps the oldest and most basic type of garden. The most striking characteristic of the kitchen garden is its functional use for the growing of vegetables for food. Because of its function, the kitchen garden was probably the

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54 Horn and Born, 203.

55 Ibid., 208.

56 Stannard, 49.
Fig. 23. The Benedictine abbey of St. Benigne at Dijon, 1674. The grid of trees at the left is the *Viridarium*, a clipped turf, the two large squares and six smaller rectangles in the lower portion are the *Hortus inferior*, and long rectangular beds just above the wall at the very bottom are the *Hortus superior*. (Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe. The Architecture of the Orders* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 77, fig. 62.)
Fig. 24. Bird's-eye view of Clairvaux, C. Lucus, engraving, 1708. The large block of rectangles at the right above the grid of trees (labeled *Viridaria*) is labeled *Hortus major*. The three blocks of rectangular beds near the bottom of the drawing are labeled *Hortus Infirmitory*. Other gardens with rectangular beds are not labeled. (Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe. The Architecture of the Orders* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 81, fig. 66.)
most common garden type in the Middle Ages, but because of its utilitarian nature, it was the least common garden type depicted in illustrations of gardens. Meyvaert suggests that even at monasteries where the most literate individuals were and where many of the illustrations were produced, particularly in the early centuries of the Middle Ages, the practical knowledge of gardening associated with the kitchen garden was passed directly from one generation to the next:

Every monastic library had manuscripts containing treatises on plants and gardens, but in all probability they were very seldom consulted by the monastic gardener. What these books contained was a literary tradition having little or nothing to do with the practical side of horticulture.57

According to J. B. Jackson, farm land almost exclusively provided grains throughout most of Europe in the Dark and even the Middle Ages. It was necessary to supplement those grains with a reliable supply of vegetables. Gardens, in the horticultural sense, developed as enclosures where vegetables and fruits were grown to meet the needs of a family.58 Jackson describes an early hortus:

There were small beds of those vegetables which needed frequent attention and were part of the daily diet: lentils, cabbage, onions, turnips and others, beds of herbs, either for flavoring or for medicine

57Meyvaert, 31.

58J. B. Jackson, “Nearer than Eden,” in The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics, 22. Sylvia Landsberg suggests that kitchen gardens also contained plants for strewing on floors, making hand waters, quelling insects and other household purposes. See Landsberg, 27.
-- parsley, mustard, chives, sage, dill, and possibly marjoram and basil. Somewhere in the enclosure was likely to be a beehive, and almost always a stand of fruit and nut trees. Flowers were rare and were grown either for medicinal purposes or for good luck.  

Vegetable and herb plots were next to the house because, by tradition, the women of the house tended and used them; beyond the vegetables and herbs, at the rear of the enclosure was the orchard, with its own fence or hedge (Fig. 25). The sense of order, barely detectable in the early *hortus* was formalized and became characteristic of the traditional garden.

In the Middle Ages kitchen gardens ranged from small, crudely tilled plots adjacent to peasants’ hovels to extensive pieces of land associated with larger religious houses, the patriciate, or, toward the end of the Middle Ages, urban commercial gardens. They were practical gardens, especially the smaller peasant gardens (Fig. 26) and had little ornament that did not serve some purpose. Stannard suggests that the general plan and content of kitchen gardens can be constructed with some degree of certainty because the medieval diet is well known; because kitchen gardens tend to be conservative, so post-medieval gardens are useful models; and because one of the four gardens depicted on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall is a

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59 Jackson, “Nearer than Eden,” 23.

60 Ibid., 23-24.

61 Stannard, 46-49.
Fig. 25. Garden with wattle fence and trees, 1435. This garden is similar to the early hortus described by J. B. Jackson. (Frank Crisp, Medieval Gardens. "Flowery Medes" and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages... (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 1, fig. 9.)
Fig. 26. Wilton, Wiltshire, England, c. 1565. The vegetable plots, orchards, thorn hedges, and various types of farmsteads shown would have been typical of towns and villages of a hundred years earlier. (Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (n.p.: Thames and Hudson, n.d.), 47.)
kitchen garden. By comparing the hortus on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall, with the written description of making a garden in Liber de cultural hortorum, the other early ninth century document representing gardens, and illustrations of later gardens, the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds can be strongly associated with kitchen gardens dating into the nineteenth century.

The Medicinal Garden

As an independent garden, the medicinal garden was associated with early monastic compounds. Though medicinal herbs were grown by many, having a plot solely for the growing of only herbs was not common. Herbs were more commonly grown among the plants in other gardens or were obtained, when needed for healing, from monks, who were the most educated in their medicinal uses. According to Paul Meyvaert, the development of monastic herb gardens is linked with the monastic interest in medicine, and no monastery of the later Middle Ages lacked an herb garden. On the plan of the monastery at St. Gall, the medicinal garden, herbularius, is located next to the infirmary, and according to Horn and Born, is a small intimate garden (37'6" by 27'6") surrounded by a wall or a fence. Eight long rectangular beds are arranged bilaterally along the central path as in the hortus on the plan; one plant name is given in each bed. Unlike the hortus, however, there are also

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62 Meyvaert, 39 and 41.
eight beds around the periphery of the garden, just inside the enclosure wall; one plant name is given in each.\textsuperscript{63} On larger estates such as the monastery at St. Gall and the monastery at Clairvaux (Fig. 24), the medicinal garden was physically separated from the other gardens which reflects the different uses and purposes for the different gardens. The medicinal garden was enclosed to ensure protection for the plants and to restrict access to authorized persons because the preparation of medicaments required that certain portions of the plants be collected at specific times of the year.\textsuperscript{64} According to Jerry Stannard, the medicinal garden played a practical role throughout the Middle Ages second only to the kitchen garden:

Medieval medicine, almost synonymous with drug therapy, depended heavily on medicaments of plant origin, a tradition that continues to the present day in folk medicine. It was the ingredients of plant origin such as rue, tansy or the mints, that imparted the characteristic taste, color, and odor associated with the various medicaments.\textsuperscript{65}

Herbal medicine was studied and practiced throughout the Middle Ages at monasteries where classical herbalist texts by writers such as Dioscorides, Theophrastus and Pliny were housed and translated. Meyvaert suggests that the

\textsuperscript{63}According to Horn and Born, Wolfgang Sorrensen suggests that this seemingly insignificant rearrangement of beds in relation to the wall is the first step away from the “utility garden” (Nutzgarten) toward the “pleasure garden” (Ziergarten). See, Horn and Born, vol. 2, 181.

\textsuperscript{64}Stannard, 50.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 50.
serious practice of medicine, not only for the needs of a particular monastic community but also on a much wider scale, seems to have been a result of the Carolingian revival and resulted from large monastic houses preserving and copying classical medical treatises^66 and establishing *xenodochia* – hospices to receive strangers and pilgrims visiting the monastic church and its relics or shrine as well as the poor and needy who came seeking food and comfort.\(^67\) The widespread practice of medicine by monks continued through most of the Middle Ages. According to historians E. Charles Nelson and Eileen McCracken, the role of monastic foundations as centers of learning began to diminish in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and new communities of teachers and students formed which initially trained young men for vocations in the Church, but later instructed students in law and medicine, and were the forerunners of modern universities.\(^68\) With the formation of medical schools, the practice of medicine became more and more the pursuit of a professional class and was ultimately forbidden to monks.\(^69\)

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\(^66\)The oldest catalogue of the library of the Abbey of St. Gall lists no fewer than six medical treatises. See Horn and Born, vol. 2, 178.

\(^67\)Meyvaert, 42.


\(^69\)Meyvaert, 42.
other pharmaceutical texts, introduced into Europe by the Arabs, were translated into Latin and introduced European medical practitioners trained at these medical schools to long lists of medicinal plants and to the concept of the garden as a place of refreshment, conducive to health through both repose and exercise. Medical men attending royalty and nobility throughout Europe and scholars traveling between medical schools and monasteries spread the ideas throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{70} From the monasteries the use of herbs spread to the nobles and the peasants, and the medicinal garden, originally associated almost exclusively with monastic communities, evolved into two different types of secular gardens: the herb garden, associated with the patriciate, which was the forerunner of the herb garden as it is understood today as the source of mainly fragrant and culinary herbs, and the botanic garden initially associated with the early universities.

Gardens Described: Strabo And Crescenzi

The first written description of raised planting beds in the Middle Ages is in \textit{Liber de cultura hortorum}, the Latin poem written by monk Walahfrid Strabo, c. 840s, which was dedicated to Grimald, the abbot of St. Gall, who had earlier been Strabo's teacher at the abbey of Reichenau.\textsuperscript{71} The opening section of the poem is a description of how to make a small garden in which Strabo explains that to keep the

\textsuperscript{70}Landsberg, 4-5.

\textsuperscript{71}Thacker, 81.
soil from washing away, rectangular beds should be raised higher than the level of the ground and edged with planks:

Then my small patch was warmed by winds from the south
And the sun’s heat. That it should not be washed away,
We faced it with planks and raised it in oblong beds
A little above the level ground. With a rake
I broke the soil up bit by bit, and then
Worked in from on top the leaven of rich manure.72

When considered as almost contemporary with the plan of the monastery at St. Gall, Strabo’s description of “oblong beds” strengthens the association of the pattern of rectangular beds with kitchen and medicinal gardens as depicted on the St. Gall plan.73 Horn and Born suggest that the beds in both gardens were raised above the


73This is further reinforced by Strabo’s mentioning nine of the sixteen plants included in the medicinal garden on the plan. According to historian Carmelia Opsomer-Halleux, Strabo describes a total of twenty-four alimentary, condimental, or medicinal plants, giving the healing properties of each. See, Carmelia Opsomer-Halleux, “The Garden’s Role in Medicine,” in Medieval Gardens, 99. According to Horn and Born, the plants listed in the St. Gall herbularius could be raised in the warm climate of the island monastery of Reichenau, and all of them, with the exception of pumpkin and melon, had medicinal value: “In the cultivation of these gardens and the medical uses to which they were put, the monks leaned heavily on the classical tradition. But they did not expand just the traditional medical use of plants and herbs; the benefits they brought to the art of cooking may have surpassed the contributions their gardens made to medicine.” See Horn and Born, vol. 2, 183.
level of the walks and were framed in by planks held in place by stakes as in Strabo’s *Liber de cultura hortorum*.

The use of raised beds dates to Palladius, the Roman writer on agriculture who, around the fourth century in *Opus agriculturae* (Book I), recommended the raising or lowering of beds in the vegetable garden to improve drainage. The framing of those beds with planks as described by Strabo, however, is a new and important detail that, according to Christopher Thacker:

... is fascinating, for once manuscripts or early printed books begin to show pictures of gardens, their flower and vegetable beds always have raised edges, usually of planks, and in Europe the practice of making “raised beds” in formal gardens continues until the early eighteenth century.

The practice of making raised beds is chronicled in illustrations in various editions of an agricultural and gardening treatise published throughout the later Middle Ages: *Livre des proffits ruraux*. The treatise, written c. 1304 by Piero de’ Crescenzi who paid tribute to Palladius and other classical authors in the text, became one of the most frequently republished works on gardening and agricultural practices, appearing in 57 editions in less than one hundred years. In addition to the commissioned translation into French by Charles V of France in 1373, there were 15 editions in Italian between 1478 and 1564, 15 editions in French between 1486 and

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74 Horn and Born, vol. 2, 203

75 Thacker, 81-82.
1540, 10 editions in German between 1490 and 1583, and 2 editions in Polish in 1549 and 1571. According to historian Margareta Jean Darnall, Crescenzi was born in Bologna in 1230, was trained as a lawyer and, because of his Ghibelline background, spent most of his life in exile as counsel to various kings including those of southern Italy where he became familiar with gardens that reflected Roman and Moorish ideas. He returned to Bologna in 1299 and began his treatise *Livre des proffits ruraux*, which was made public in 1305. One book of the treatise is devoted to ornamental gardens and includes discussion of small gardens as well as large gardens for kings and other wealthy men. According to Darnall, Crescenzi recommends that large gardens should be symmetrical and arranged as a level *parterre* to the north of the house (which faces south); that a dense wood well stocked with animals should be located beyond the *parterre*; and that the kitchen gardens should be off to one side. Darnall explains that Crescenzi’s work is important to the history of the theory of garden design:

76Robert Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” in *Medieval Gardens*, 160. According to Margareta Jean Darnall, *On Rural Accommodation* was first translated into Italian and published in Florence in 1478, and it is after this date that Crescenzi’s ideas became most efficient in the planning of villa gardens; and that while Alberti approaches the subject of garden design from the viewpoint of the artist-architect in his *Ten Books on Architecture*, he in no way contradicts Crescenzi’s recommendations. See, Darnall, 226.

77Darnall, 226.

78Ibid., 226.
His treatise was the only agricultural work of any import produced during the Middle Ages. The work spans the gap between the Roman agriculturists and those of the Renaissance. It also serves to link the Roman gardens, the mediaeval Moorish gardens of southern Italy and Sicily, and the Renaissance villa gardens as they emerged in the central Italian hills in the fifteenth century. One must remember that the early villa was the center of a working farm and that Crescenzi’s work was unrivaled as an agricultural guide until the sixteenth century. The book devoted to ornamental gardens set forth commonsense principles of villa layout based on the premises of the Romans and tempered by experience in southern Italy. These ideas were followed with slight variations by garden designers throughout the Renaissance.\(^7\)

Richly illustrated editions of Crescenzi’s treatise prepared in the fifteenth century contain depictions of raised beds in herb gardens of the patriciate, gardens that were secular adaptations of earlier monastic medicinal gardens.\(^8\) The 1470 edition prepared in Bruges and probably decorated by the atelier of the Master of Margaret of York, c. 1470, shows an herb garden with raised beds (Fig. 27), as does the 1485 French manuscript (Fig. 4). According to garden historian Robert Calkins, these illustrations depict gardens common to the region and time period in which the manuscript was prepared and though not necessarily true to the early fourteenth-century text are important in understanding actual gardening practices:

> Although the Morgan manuscript [c. 1470, Fig. 27] shows raised beds, the text specifies only irrigation ditches between the plots, reflecting what may have been an Italian rather than a Northern European tradition. The Flemish miniaturists, therefore, were representing the

\(^{7}\text{Ibid., 226.}\)

\(^{8}\text{Calkins 158-159.}\)
Fig. 27. Herb garden, Piero de’ Crescenzi, *Livre des proffits ruraux*, Book VI, Flanders, Bruges, c., 1470. The square beds in this herb garden are raised above the level of the paths. (Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard, ed., *Gardens of the Middle Ages* (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1983), 151, fig. 28.)
practices observed around them and typical Flemish architecture, translating the description into indigenous Northern European imagery.\textsuperscript{81}

These herb gardens were included in large patrician gardens which were compositions of various small gardens that served both utilitarian and social uses. According to Stannard, patrician gardens were composed of various smaller gardens, each devoted to a specific purpose, for example an orchard of fruit and/or shade trees, a pleasure garden, or an herb garden.\textsuperscript{82} They were also private gardens, with access restricted to the owner, his family, and guests by walls and locked gates:

But judging from the references to such gardens in contemporary literature of all kinds, and when coupled with the iconographical evidence, the very nature of the garden was the enclosed interior. Whether brick or stone wall, severely clipped hedges or a tangled profusion of roses, it was all for the sake of containment and, by the same token designed to isolate its occupants from the less tamed world outside. This is the basis of the well-known hortus conclusus immortalized by poets and painters alike.\textsuperscript{83}

In the patrician garden, each small garden was introverted and enclosed by walls. Uses and meanings were focused inward, within the individual garden contexts. Most illustrations of gardens from the later Middle Ages are of these patrician

\textsuperscript{81}Ibid., 164.

\textsuperscript{82}Stannard, 53.

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., 54.
gardens because their owners were the patrons of artists. Patrician gardens were the forerunners of the large, formal gardens of the Renaissance.

According to Calkins, the herb garden is one of the most widely represented forms in medieval art and is generally depicted as a pattern of square-like, rectangular beds within a wall near the residence. This corresponds to Crescenzi’s description of an herb garden in Book VI of his treatise.\textsuperscript{84} According to Opsomer-Halleux, Book VI is an alphabetical herbal of both alimentary and medicinal plants deriving from Albertus Magnus and indebted to the herbal tradition of monastic medicinal gardens.\textsuperscript{85} An illustration from the 1485 French edition of \textit{Livre des proffits ruraux} (Fig. 28) shows a manor house under construction. The garden in the background of the illustration contains the pattern and is similar to the \textit{herbularius} on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall (Fig. 2). Peripheral beds completely surround the space, except at the entries, just as in the \textit{herbularius}; but, the interior beds that are arranged bilaterally along the central path are more square-like than rectangular, a characteristic common among other illustrations of herb gardens in other editions of Crescenzi’s treatise. An herb garden is depicted in the 1470 edition (Fig. 27) with square-like, rectangular beds and no peripheral beds. The urban herb garden in the

\textsuperscript{84}Calkins, 164.

\textsuperscript{85}Opsomer-Halleux, 102.
Fig. 28. Manor house under construction, Piero de' Crescenzi, *Livre des proffits ruraux*, Book II. The garden under construction in the background, probably an herb garden, is similar to the *herbularius* on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall. (Robert G. Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), fig. 6.)
1485 French edition (Fig. 4) is depicted with square-like beds in the center of the garden and very narrow beds along the walls at the periphery.

Also illustrated and described in Crescenzi’s treatise are pleasure gardens, small gardens specifically for social uses in patrician gardens. Pleasure gardens were physically separate from other small gardens such as the kitchen, medicinal, or herb gardens, and because they served no utilitarian purposes, were a luxury of the nobility. According to Stannard, the pleasure gardens were collections of whatever was thought to delight the senses: a *viridarium* or clipped turf, raised planting beds, fences, benches or turf seats. In book VIII of his treatise, Crescenzi discusses pleasure gardens of three different sizes: small gardens of herbs, medium gardens for people of moderate means, and large gardens of kings and rich lords. According to Calkins, the section of Crescenzi’s treatise on small gardens is copied from a description by Albertus Magnus, and both Magnus and Crescenzi describe traditional layouts which they observed being used around them and which appear to have been in continual use into the fifteenth century. The c. 1485 French edition of

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86 According to historians Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, castle gardens, insignificant during the early part of the medieval period, developed along with the more ordered and leisured society in the twelfth century. See, Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World* (London: Paul Elek, 1973), 27.

87 Stannard, 59.

88 Calkins, 164.
Crescenzi’s treatise shows the pleasure garden as a composition of irregularly sized, raised, rectangular beds (Fig. 29). In the text Crescenzi suggests elements that should be included, such as turf seats and water features, but does not recommend the use of a particular garden pattern or construction method.\(^8^9\)

The Garden of Mary and the Garden of Love

Because the nobility furnished the audience and patronage of poets and artists, the pleasure garden was often depicted in literature and art. These depiction of gardens, often containing religious symbols or symbols of secular, romantic love, are important, according to Virginia Tuttle Clayton, because they illustrate abstract ideas that reflect heightened concerns for the spiritual rather than the natural world as well as habitual association of certain devotional images and their profane counterparts with garden settings.\(^9^0\) Two symbolic gardens are associated with the garden pattern, the garden of Mary and the garden of love, both of which are based on the Garden of Eden. The Garden of Eden was translated into two gardens types, the garden of the Fall which was a perilous place and the terrestrial paradise which retained beauty and was more ambiguously spiritual. The terrestrial paradise became the hortus conclusus, an enclosed garden that was an earthly paradise, secure

\(^{89}\)A translation of the three chapters of Book VIII on the pleasure garden are included in Calkins, 171-173.

\(^{90}\)Clayton, 15 and 38.
Fig. 29. Pleasure Garden, Piero de' Crescenzi, *Livre des proffits ruraux*, Book VIII, France, c. 1485. The irregularly sized, rectangular beds in this pleasure garden are not raised above the level of the paths. (Robert G. Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), fig. 11.)
against the hostile world and the wilds of untamed nature. The *hortus conclusus* became the symbol of the church and the garden of Mary developed as a specific type of *hortus conclusus* through interpretation of the locked garden described in the *Song of Songs*: “A garden locked is my sister, my bride; a garden locked, a fountain sealed...”

91 This garden of chastity and purity eventually symbolized Mary, the soul, or the Church as bride of Christ, a process described by Marilyn Stokstad:

The sensuous garden imagery of the *Song of Songs* became a symbol for the relationship between Christ and the Church, and soon the Virgin Mary also came to be identified with Solomon’s Beloved as well as the Church. As the litany of the Virgin incorporated images from the Canticles, the enclosed garden, the well of living waters, and the sealed fountain were all symbols of the Virgin who was represented seated in flower-filled grass or under a rose arbor within a walled garden. The enclosed garden became the Marian garden, and the rose, once sacred to Venus, became Mary’s special flower.

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According to historian Brian Daley, after the beginning of the thirteenth century Mary was often represented either as the Virgin of the Annunciation or simply as the Madonna enthroned with her child, but shortly after 1400, allegorical paintings of Mary were produced that placed her within the enclosed garden of the *Song of Songs*. 93 Illustrations were produced that included symbolism of Mary in gardens

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91 *Song of Songs* 4:12 quoted in Brian E. Daley, “The “Closed Garden” and the “Sealed Fountain”: Song of Songs 4:12 in the Late Medieval Iconography of Mary,” in *Medieval Gardens*, 258.

92 Stokstad, 21.

93 Daley, 267 and 273.
containing the garden pattern, such as Hans Fleming’s *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, c. 1465, in which the enclosed garden in the background contains long, rectangular beds (Fig. 6). Symbolic gardens are also depicted in two images of fortified houses. In the first, by Dierick Bouts of c. 1460, a mother and child are on a turf seat in front of a garden composed of raised rectangular beds (Fig. 30); in the second, a fortified manor house in the Netherlands of c. 1490, a group including a mother and child is seated in a flowery mede in front of a garden composed of square-like, rectangular beds (Fig. 31). An illustration in the c. 1520 *Hours of the Virgin* (Fig. 32) shows a small garden with rectangular beds similar to the *herbularius* on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall.

The Marian garden, according to garden historian Kenneth Woodbridge, became the garden of love, the setting for lyric poetry, as songs in praise of living chatelaines were added to songs in praise of the Virgin:

> From the poetry of the French troubadors [sic] and German minnesingers to the thrilling, amorous adventures of courtly Romances and bourgeois moral tales and fables, the garden as the only private place in the very public life of the castle and manor house, provided a setting for innocent conversation and amorous dalliance. The chance discovery of a magical place in the forest or of ladies in their bower, the prisoner in a tower spying on a beauty walking in her garden, became cliches of courtly literature from the *Roman de la Rose* to Boccaccio to Chaucer.⁹⁴

⁹⁴Stokstad, 23.
Fig. 30. Garden of Mary, Dierick Bouts, c. 1460. This Garden of Mary, a hortus conclusus symbolic of the Virgin Mary, contains a mother and child seated on a turf seat in front of an herb garden which contains raised rectangular beds. (Frank Crisp, Medieval Gardens. "Flowery Medes" and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages... (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 1, fig. 35.)
Fig. 31. Garden of Mary, Netherlands, c. 1490. A Garden of Mary is here depicted in a garden at a fortified manor house. The group, including a mother and child, is seated in a flowery mede in front of an herb garden which contains rectangular beds. (Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (n.p.: Thames and Hudson, n.d.), 14.)
Fig. 32. Garden of Mary, *Hours of the Virgin*, School of Simon Bening, Flanders, Bruges, c. 1520. A noblewoman, carrying a child, and her attendants oversee workmen planting trees. In the background in an enclosed garden with rectangular beds. (Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard, ed., *Gardens of the Middle Ages* (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1983), 165, fig. 35.)
The garden of love did not become an established pictorial tradition until the fifteenth century, although it is frequently referred to in earlier medieval literature and is occasionally represented in some fourteenth century ivory carvings and paintings.⁹⁵ According to Pearsall and Salter, the garden of love accommodated the classical traditions of the locus amoenus, still an active part of rhetorical teaching, the realities of the castle walled-garden, and the symbolic paradise of love.⁹⁶ The garden of love was normally locked, as was the hortus conclusus, and adjacent to the main dwelling as described by Chaucer in The Merchant’s Tale:⁹⁷

‘Com forth, now, with thyne eyen columbyn!
How fairer been thy brestes than is wyn!
The garden is enclosed al aboute;
Com forth, my white spouse! out of doute
Thou hast me wounded in myn herte, o wyf!
No spot of thee ne knew I al my lyf.
Com forth, and lat us taken our disport.’⁹⁸

The pleasure garden of the c. 1485 edition of Le Roman de la Rose, has a fountain in the center and is located next to a garden with raised planting beds (Fig. 21) and is located next to a garden that contains long, rectangular beds. The text, written in the thirteenth century by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, is the

⁹⁵Calkins, 166, n. 30.
⁹⁶Pearsall and Salter, 27.
⁹⁷Stannard, 53.
most famous of all garden poems of the Middle Ages, according to Pearsall and Salter, and is a work in which all the descriptive conventions of the twelfth century, from whatever sources, medieval or directly classical, are gathered up, and re-expressed in an allegory of man and the enclosed garden. According to historian John Fleming, the one essential truth about the garden of the *Roma de la Rose* is that its poetic garden is an important recapitulation, imitation, or parody of the Garden of Eden.  

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99 Pearsall and Salter, 83. See also, John V. Fleming, “The Garden of the *Roman de la Rose*: Vision of Landscape or Landscape of Vision?” in *Medieval Gardens*, 199-234. According to Michael Niedermeier, the authors narrate the dream of their protagonist, Amant: “One morning in May Amant wakes up just outside the gates of a town and catches sight of a garden protected by a high wall. The garden seems like Paradise to him. It is utterly enclosed: hate, meanness, malice, grief, age, greediness, hypocrisy, envy and poverty – all are banned. Class barriers as well as cultural barriers between Amant and she whom he loves (a personified rose) seem to vanish all of a sudden, as if Christian morality and the code of discipline that demanded full commitment to ‘courtly love’ were suspended....The garden is entirely devoted to Pleasure and Idleness, and the society living in it consists of the allegorical incarnations of Gaiety, Courteousness, Generosity, Noble-mindedness, Sociability, and Beauty. The most important figure to be found in this garden, though, is the God of Love, Amor. Against the arguments of Madame Reason Amant follows Amor. However, Mistrust, Anxiety, Shame, Resistance and Slander create a fortress around the rose (which has yet to blossom), whose entire love and desire are devoted to the dreamer. The fortified garden is then laid under siege, and Nature bitterly complains that people do not follow Amor and Venus, their servant and friend. Genius, the preacher, explains God’s will, according to which men should multiply. Sexual love, however, should not be contingent on being married. Venus, who, like Priapus, has been a garden deity since antiquity, finally sets out to storm the fortress by shooting an arrow through one of the towers’ embrasures (symbolizing the female genitalia). She sets fire to the place with a torch, which makes the defenders run away. Amant then climbs up to the embrasure and penetrates it with his staff while his sack remains outside. He then breaks through a fence and disperses some seeds. Then he is able to pick the rose that has blossomed, and he awakes.” See Niedermeier, 187-188.
of Eden, the greatest of all gardens in Western literature, a point insisted upon by Guillaume de Lorris and exploited for rich poetic purpose by his continuator, Jean de Meun.\textsuperscript{100}

In the text there is little about the garden that is specific, tactile, or visual, however. All that Amant, the Lover and first-person narrator of the \textit{Roman de la Rose}, actually has to say about the garden is, "I saw a large and roomy garden, entirely enclosed by a high crenelated wall."\textsuperscript{101} A few lines later Amant adds two more specific facts, that the garden walls are absolutely square and that entrance to the garden is gained only by means of a little wicket or gate.\textsuperscript{102} According to Fleming, what is presented is not a \textit{vision} of a garden -- since the Lover presumably cannot see through the high wall -- but an intuition or a presupposition of a garden.\textsuperscript{103} According to Niedermeier, the garden of the \textit{Roman de la Rose} is a dreamlike paradise of love and desire, a designed landscape in which man purposefully recreated a natural environment, assuming, however, that nature itself

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\textsuperscript{100}Fleming, 201.
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\textsuperscript{101}Charles Dahlberg, \textit{The Romance of the Rose} (Princeton, 1971), lines 130-131, quoted in Fleming, 201.
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\textsuperscript{102}Fleming, 201-202. Italics by Fleming.
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\textsuperscript{103}Ibid., 201-202.
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had pre-conceived it -- an environment in which the seasons appeared to have been nullified:

The garden represented a far more basic feeling regarding ideal nature, despite or maybe even because of the fact that it was a cultural item designed by human ingenuity. Since that time in central Europe, the Oriental, Classical and the exotic foreign garden generally has also served as the symbol of an erotic place in which one is free to experiment. This tradition evolved mainly with the help of the fine arts -- sculpture, painting, drawing, lyric, drama and epic, even music -- which combined with garden art.  

Illustrations of other gardens of love containing the garden pattern were included in Frank Crisp’s *Mediaeval Gardens. ‘Flowery Medes’ and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages* published in 1924. Four from a 1566 edition of Sansovino’s *Cento Novelle scelte da piu Nobili Scrittori della lingua rolgare*, each of which depicts a garden, enclosed with palings, that contains long, raised, rectangular planting beds (Fig. 33) and three from J. Reynolds, *The Triumph of God’s Revenge against the Crying and Execrable Sin of Muther*, 1679, each of which contains an enclosed garden with the garden pattern. (Fig. 7). According to Niedermeier, in the Renaissance the garden of love became a garden that could be a masterpiece of

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104 Niedermeier, 188.

Fig. 33. Garden of Love, in F. Sansovino’s *Cento Novelle scelte da piu Nobili Scrittori della lingua rolgare*, Venetia, 1566. This garden of love is one of four from the 1566 edition of Sansovino’s text that were included in Frank Crisp’s *Mediaeval Gardens*. In each of the four illustrations, a garden enclosed with palings is depicted with long, rectangular, raised beds. (Frank Crisp, *Mediaeval Gardens*. “Flowery Medes” and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages... (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 1, fig. 221. See also Fig 219, 220, 222.)
architecture characterized by clarity and lucidity, a layout that was cultivated, artificial.\textsuperscript{106}

\textbf{Into the Renaissance}

Elaborate gardens based on the traditions of patrician gardens were depicted by Flemish architect Hans Vredeman de Vries in \textit{Hortorum Viridariorumque elegantes et multiplices formae, ad architectonicae artis normam affabre delineatae} first published in Antwerp in 1583 (Fig. 34). Architect to Rudolph II of Hapsburg, Vredeman de Vries documented a variety of gardens composed of individual garden contexts, containing elaborate patterns including the pattern of long, rectangular beds.\textsuperscript{107} Contemporary with these illustrations are engravings of early French formal gardens by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau prepared between 1576 and 1579 and included in various editions of \textit{Les plus excellents bastiments de France}. Du Cerceau's engravings record gardens laid out during the opening decades of the sixteenth century and document the early developmental stages of the French formal garden. The gardens at Fountainebleau, established by Francois I 1528-1547 became the model for new gardens which did not yet reflect the Renaissance idea of fully

\textsuperscript{106}Niedermeier, 189.

Fig. 34. *Dorica* sub-series, plate 2, Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Hortorum Viridariorumque elegantes et multiplices formae, ad architectonicarum artium normam affabre delineatae*, Antwerp, 1583. An early Renaissance garden contains small, elaborate gardens surrounded by walls. One of the gardens, in the upper left, contains long, rectangular beds. As Renaissance methods of axial planning became more popular, the walls between the small gardens were removed, and the new, large garden became a composition of garden patterns. (Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Hortorum Viridariorumque elegantes et multiplices formae, ad architectonicarum artium normam affabre delineatae a Iohanne Vredmanno Frisio* (1587, reprint, with an introduction by P. A. F. van Veen, Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980, also in Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. "Flowery Medes" and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages...* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 2, fig. XXXII.)
integrated house and garden (Fig. 35). One of the gardens at Fontainebleau is a four-square garden in which long, rectangular beds are used in two of the four quadrants.

The early gardens of the Renaissance such as those depicted by Vredeman de Vries and Du Cerceau, according to garden historian Elizabeth Blair MacDougall, were primary static and could be viewed in entirety from a fixed point of view:

To borrow from literary terminology, it had a unity of space and time. The gardens after the 1520s consisted of a series of successive spaces, isolated from each other physically and visually. They could only be experienced through movement, and the relationship between spectator and garden became active rather than passive.... It might be termed a form of narrative with continuity provided by the spectator confronting different experiences in time succession.

As Italian Renaissance ideas of axial planning spread across Europe, the enclosure walls separating individual garden contexts were removed. According to John Dixon Hunt, this resulted in a new kind of garden in which a more self-conscious, vital human control over space became evident in axial organization, in the unity achieved between house and garden, and in the elaborate disposition of space within the garden – a new garden which showed the affluence of its owner by

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Fig. 35. Fontainebleau (established by Francois I, 1528-1547), Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Le Beuxieme Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France*, Seine-et-Marne, France. The garden at Fontainebleau became the model for formal gardens in France being constructed at new chateaux. In the lower four-square garden, two of the quadrants are composed of long, rectangular beds. (William Howard Adams, *Nature Perfected. Gardens Through History* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 121.)
devoting space and expense to nonproductive ends and which garnered formal and aesthetic admiration that was put at the service of political and social myths of emergent nationhood. The new garden served multiple functions according to garden historian Eugenio Battisti:

As part of its ability to play with the human senses, the Renaissance garden is an intriguing conceptual system. The code for interpreting it is complex and highly ambiguous. The garden is a place of pleasure, the locus amoenus, filled with joy, but it resounds in love laments of poets; it is a refuge for private meditation; it is a place for feasts, entertainment of friends, a place, according to Boccacio, of sexual and intellectual freedom, a setting for philosophical discussions, and a restorative for both the body and the soul. It is a measured and well-ordered model of the universe, an experiment in immortality, a never-ending apparition of spring. It assumes the function of a sculpture gallery, a pinacotheca, a horticultural encyclopedia in vivo, a center of botanic and medical research, and a theater for fantastic imitation, competing with nature on nature's own terms and conditions. Finally, it is a perpetual source of moral instruction.

Renaissance garden makers, according to garden historian Malgorzata Szafranska, moved away from weighty ethico-religious metaphors to discover new spheres of subject matter, and gardens came to be considered as models of specific spaces: cities, regions, the world, the Cosmos:

In the Renaissance, the topos of the garden assumed new meanings which took into account the interpretation of reality offered by natural philosophy. The grotto, in particular, turned out to be excellent material as an allegorical

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111 Eugenio Battisti, “Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis,” in The Italian Renaissance Garden, 4-6.
outlet for the student of nature. Ideas drawn from natural philosophy, natural magic, and alchemy, were well known both to the intellectual elite of the court and to the pedagogues and students of the universities, which had botanical gardens attached to them.112

According to Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Renaissance artists depicting scenes within these gardens took delight in secular subjects and depicted garden settings with a keen verisimilitude, portraying, for the first time, actual gardens and scenes of everyday life in garden contexts.113 Literary descriptions of gardens also changed in Renaissance literature. According to MacDougall, starting in the fifteenth century, the garden began to play an active role in furthering the action and exposition of narrative and by the second decade of the sixteenth-century elements of nature were even given speaking roles.114 Tomasi notes that the late Renaissance garden sometimes assumed a moralized significance as well, identified with the interpretation of the Garden of Eden as the garden of the Fall, reduced to an enclosure of sin, in which the instruments of passion took the place of the vegetable essences.115 An unpublished English manuscript from the late sixteenth century contains an illustration of a moralized garden depicted as a square garden containing

112Szafranska, 84.
113Clayton, 11.
114MacDougall, 49-50.
the garden pattern as in the *herbularius* at St. Gall. In the peripheral beds of the moralized garden are written the Cardinal virtues and in the beds in the center are written the other virtues (Fig. 36).

As the walls surrounding individual garden contexts were removed, the garden pattern was merged with other patterns into compositions of patterns (Fig. 37 and Fig. 38) or into new hybrid patterns (Fig. 39). The meanings associated with the individual garden pattern were diluted and the garden as a whole, a unit, became the carrier of meanings, meanings associated with power – the power of man over nature, the economic or political power of man over man. The epitome of these gardens were the formal gardens designed in France by Andre Le Notre in the seventeenth century such as Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles. Meanings continued to be associated directly with the garden pattern in botanic gardens dating to the mid-eighteenth century and in garden treatises, dating to the nineteenth century, containing illustrations of and instructions for the making of rectangular planting beds in kitchen gardens and flower gardens.

**Botanic Gardens**

The first botanic gardens were contemporary with advances in science and with renewed interest in the classification of plants and natural products used in herbal medicine and were constructed at universities at Pisa in 1543, at Padua and Florence in 1545, at Bologna in 1567, at Leiden in 1587, at Heidelberg and
Fig. 36. Plan of a Moralized Garden, Unpublished English manuscript, late sixteenth century. The late Renaissance garden sometimes assumed a *moralized* significance, identified with the interpretation of the Garden of Eden as the garden of the Fall, reduced to an enclosure of sin, in which the instruments of passion took the place of the vegetable essences. An unpublished English manuscript from the late sixteenth century contains this illustration of a moralized garden depicted as a square garden containing the garden pattern as in the *herbularius* at St. Gall. In the peripheral beds of the moralized garden are written the Cardinal virtues and in the beds in the center are written the other virtues. (Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “Geometric Schemes for Plant Beds and Gardens: A Contribution to the History of the Garden in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *World Art. Themes of Unity and Diversity*. Edited by Irving Lavin, vol. 1 (University Park, Penn. and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 217, fig. 5.)
Fig. 37. *April*, half of a combined picture of *March* and *April* in a view of a Roman garden painted in the style of Paul Brill, c. 1615. In the garden, two garden patterns have been combined, the pattern of long, rectangular beds and the modified four-square pattern that has a central, circular feature. The combination is similar to that in the 1866 garden depicted in New Orleans Notarial Archive Plan Book 37, Folio 53 (Fig. 11). (Thomas Hill, *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, ed. Richard Mabey (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 22, also in Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. 'Flowery Medes' and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages...* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 1, fig. 142.)
Fig. 38. John Gerard *Herbal*, 1597. The garden is a composition of garden patterns including the pattern of long, rectangular beds. (Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens. "Flowery Medes" and Other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs Grown in the Middle Ages...* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1924), vol. 2, fig. XXXVII.)
Montpellier in 1593, at Oxford in 1621 and at Paris in 1626. The original intent of these gardens was to provide living specimens of medicinal plants for use in the instruction of medical students who were being trained at universities. The design of these gardens, however, went beyond strictly instructive purposes. The monastic medicinal garden with its separate, ordered beds provided a model, but other associations were added to the pattern of long, rectangular beds found in the herbularius at St. Gall. According to O’Malley, the earliest botanic gardens were often intended as re-creations of the Garden of Eden, and because of their


117 According to historian William Stearn, there were no firm distinctions between medicine, herbalism, pharmacy and botany and what would now be termed a botanic (or botanical) garden was then accordingly termed a hortus medicus, hortus botanicus, garden of simples, apothecaries’ garden or physic garden. See, William Thomas Stearn, “Botanical Gardens and Botanical Literature in the Eighteenth Century,” in Catalogue of Botanical Books in the Collection of Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt vol. 2, part 1 (Pittsburgh, Penn.: The Hunt Botanical Library, 1961), xlv.

118 Nelson and McCracken, 4. According to garden historian Therese O’Malley, arguments have been made that monastic medicinal gardens cannot be regarded as prototype botanic gardens because of the indiscriminate inclusion of plants based on the doctrine of signatures and not science, but she suggests that it was the tradition of collecting and displaying plants begun in the monastic medicinal garden that led to the scientific and educational functions of the later botanic gardens. See, O’Malley, 279.
encyclopedic character, they symbolized the recovery of knowledge by man as well as man's power over nature, the two gifts that had been lost in the garden of the Fall:

Just as Adam had named every living creature in Paradise, botanists named all the plants brought together in the botanic garden. By naming them, men could communicate their properties and render them serviceable. Once named, plants were organized into rectangular beds, called "order beds," which did just what their name implied: imposed order on the chaos of unnamed nature.119

The pattern of long, rectangular planting beds was combined with the square or rectangle in a pattern based on the cardinal points of the compass, a four-square very much like those found in monastic cloister gardens. The square was a symbol of the earth and its elements, according to Tomasi, and the square plan, subdivided into various sections, could be doubled in size and turned into a rectangle and was easily adapted and extended; the geometrical designs of these gardens facilitated the organization of their medicinal species but also reflected the traditions and beliefs associated with astrology, which played a role in the development of the natural species.120 According to historian Michel Foucault, the construction of squares as the

119 O'Malley, 283-284.

120 Tomasi, "Botanical Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 81. According to Tomasi, the magical-hermetic tradition accompanying the birth of modern science found a fertile field in the study of the secret virtues of plants and in the alchemy studies associated with these: "Within the realm of the botanico-magico-astrological literature, it is possible to discern an abiding interest in the planetary plants and in the interpretation of the virtues acquired by herbs under the influence of the stars, not to mention the magical properties inherent in the nature of the plants themselves." Tomasi concludes that although the obscurity and elusiveness of
method of systematizing botanical and zoological gardens was one of the main preoccupations of scientific technology, and the square was simultaneously an exercise of power and a method of knowing. Gardens of this type were constructed about the same time in places as far apart as Padua (Fig. 40), Leiden (Fig. 3), Oxford (Fig. 41), and Florence (Fig. 42). At Padua and Leiden it became customary to label the plant-beds systematically with letters of the alphabet and the plants themselves with numbers that corresponded to the names of the herbs transcribed in orderly lists. This practice paralleled developments in the natural sciences in which new systems of classification were being constructed and debated to include new plants that were arriving from the New World.

Magico-astrological texts of the period rendered them inaccessible to all but the initiated, few garden architects could resist making reference to them: "However, the process by which these mysterious images were transposed into the context of garden plans were rarely made manifest. For example, Jacques Boyceau de La Barraudiere dedicates the preface to his Traité du Jardinage of 1638 to a discussion of the problems of alchemy, recalling the influence of the planets on terrestrial bodies; and Claude Mollet, in his Traité d'Astrologie pour la culture des Jardins, published posthumously in 1652, invited the wise gardener to take into consideration the influences of the stars." See, Tomasi, "Geometric Schemes for Plant Beds and Gardens: A Contribution to the History of the Garden in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 213.

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Fig. 40. *Padua Botanical Garden*, A. Tosini, 1854. The botanic garden at Padua is a four-square garden in which each of the four quadrants contains a different pattern and in which the entire four-square is surrounded by a ring of long, rectangular beds. This drawing depicts an eighteenth century renovation of the garden in which the quadrants of the four-square pattern were simplified. One of the new patterns included was the pattern of long, rectangular beds. (Else M. Terwen-Dionisius, "Date and Design of the Botanical Garden in Padua," *Journal of Garden History* 14, no. 4 (October-December 1994): 224, fig. 16).
Fig. 41. *Hortus Botanicus*, David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675. The botanic garden at Oxford is a large four-square garden in which each of the four quadrants is further subdivided. Each of the four large squares contains long, rectangular beds. (Therese O’Malley, “Art and Science in the Design of Botanic Gardens, 1737-1830,” in *Garden History. Issues, Approaches, Methods*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992), 287, fig. 8.)
Fig. 42. Plan of the botanical garden of Florence, P. A. Micheli, Catalogus plantarum, 1748. The botanic garden at Florence is a four-square garden in which each quadrant is bisected with a diagonal path. Three of the four quadrants contain long, rectangular planting beds. (Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “Botanical Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in The Architecture of Western Gardens. A Design History from the Renaissance to the Present Day, ed. Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1991), 82).
After 1730 changing perceptions of the natural world, landscape aesthetics, and the history of ecological sciences influenced a transformation of botanic gardens. According to O’Malley, during the century after 1730 a shift from a narrow, static view of what has been called the *Great Chain of Being* and the fixity of species, to the development of a more inclusive, preevolutionary perception of the complexity of the natural world, occurred that effected the form of botanic gardens:

Greater knowledge about the natural habitats of plants, the ability to recreate environmental conditions, as well as the desire to see nature unrestrained by artistic devices converged to influence garden design in general, and botanic gardens specifically.¹²³

The shift resulted in the association of new garden forms and garden patterns with botanic gardens.

**Garden Treatises**

Garden treatises dating from the sixteenth century associate the making of long, rectangular, planting beds with kitchen, herb, and flower gardens. The treatises also contain recommendations for raising the beds, particularly in the herb and flower gardens, to provide proper drainage as well as access to the plants grown in the beds. An illustration from the 1530 *Lustgarten und Pflantzungen* depicts raised beds being formed with planks and stakes (Fig. 43). Thomas Hill in his 1563 *A Most Briefe and Pleasaunt Treatyse, Teachynge Howe to Dress, Sowe, and Set a Garden*

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¹²³ O’Malley, 279.
describes the size of the beds, making direct reference to Paladius. According to the text, the size and shape of the beds are determined by functional concerns - each bed must be narrow enough so that the middle of the bed can be reached from the paths and the beds must be raised one foot or higher for proper drainage:

And when the harbers be set about the walke of the garden (then the ground new dygged) must be devysed into borders and beddes, leauing apart that roume and space whiche you wyll bestow vppon walkes and bowlyng allies: the which allies and walkes you shall sift over with the finest sand, least by rayne or showers the earth should cleave and clogg on thy fete. And this done, thou shalt level thy beddes, and borders even of height and breadth by a lyne that the weders may easilier reach to the middle of the beds to wede the herbes, least that in weadying the herbes, they treade downe the herbes and yong sede commyng vp: Wherefore let them goe by the pathes and alleyes, and wed one halfe fyrste, and the other after. And the beddes, (sayth Paladius) muste be made longe and narrow, that is XII fote in legth, and fyve in breadth and (the space betwene) the larger, than the bedes may the better be weded cleane on eche syde. And let the borders or edges of the beds be raysed two fote high in moyst or wathery places, but in drye places, it shal be sufficient to raise them one fote high.\(^{124}\)

In the text of The Gardener's Labyrinth published in 1577, Thomas Hill again describes the raising of the beds to provide proper drainage:

In a moist and watry Garden plot this skilful Neapolitane willeth, that the beds in the same Garden be reared two foot high, for the better prospering of the seeds commit to the earth, and the plants come up. But in a dry ground, the edges of the beds raised a foot high, shall wel suffice. The pathes trodden out between the beds ought to be of good depth and even, whereby the water sprinkled gently forth by a water-

pot on the upper face of the beds, and falling into the pathes, may the
easier enter into the beds, to the better moistning and feeding of the
roots of the plants, and the rest superfluous to run the easier into other
Allies or pathes needing this moisture, which by this easie running
along the pathes, shall proceed a speedier moistning, and far better
watering of all the beds, yea the superfluous water in the end, lying stil
in the pathes, may through a slope gutter made in the midst of them,
be directed forth into a convenient place made for the purpose, of
some distance from the beds.125

The Gardener's Labyrinth became the first popular gardening manual published in the
English language. It was reproduced in several editions which contained illustrations
of raised beds formed with planks (Fig. 44) and patterns of rectangular beds similar to
those on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall. (Fig. 45). Hill describes the
dimensions of the beds, paying homage this time to Columella, another Roman
writer on agriculture:

The quarters well turned in, and fatned with good dung a time before,
and the earth raised through the dunging, shall in handsome manner
by a line set downe in the earth be troden out into beds, and seemly
borders, which beds (as Columella witnesseth) raised newly afore with
dung, and finely raked over, with the clods dissolved, and stones
purged forth, shall be artly troden out, into three foot of breadth, and
into what length the owner or Gardener will: but to such a breadth
especially troden forth, that the weeders hands may wel reach unto
the midst of the same, lest they thus going to the beds, and weeding
forth the unprofitable herbs and grasse, may in the mean time tread
down both the seeds shooting up, and plants above the earth. To the
help of which, let the pathes between the beds be of such a reasonable

125 Thomas Hill, The Gardener's Labyrinth (1652; reprint, edited by Richard
Fig. 45. Thomas Hill, *The Gardener’s Labyrinth*. In an illustration Thomas Hill used to demonstrate the use of the dibble, rectangular beds are arranged in a pattern similar to those in the *hortus* of the plan of the monastery at St. Gall. (Thomas Hill, *The Gardener’s Labyrinth*, ed. Richard Mabey (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 85.)
breadth (as a man's foot) that they passing along by, may freely weed the one half first, and next the other half left to weed.\textsuperscript{126}

William Lawson in the 1617 \textit{The Countrie Houswifes Garden} describes the difference between the kitchen and flower garden:

Herbs are of two sorts, and therefore it is meet, (they requiring divers manners of Husbandry) that we have two Gardens; a garden for flowers, and a Kitchin garden; or a Summer garden: not that we mean so perfect a distinction, that we mean the Garden for flowers should or can be without herbs good for the Kitchin, or the Kitchin-garden should want flowers, nor on the contrary; but for the most part they would be severed: first, because your Garden-flowers shall suffer some disgrace, if among them you intermingle Onions, Parsnips, &c. Secondly, your Garden that is durable, must be of one form: but that which is your Kitchins use, must yield daily Roots, or other herbs, and duffer deformity. Thirdly, the herbs of both will not be both alike ready, at one time, either for gathering, or removing.\textsuperscript{127}

In a later section entitled, “Of the Kitchen Garden” Lawson discusses the garden forms appropriate for the flower garden and the kitchen garden and suggests that the planting beds in the flower garden must be raised, but the beds in the kitchen garden need not be raised:

Though your Garden for flowers doth in a sort peculiarly challenge to itself a perfect, and exquisite form to the eyes, yet you may not altogether neglect this, where your herbs for the pot do grow: And therefore some here make comely borders with the herbs aforesaid;...you need not here raise your beds, as in the other Garden, because Summer towards, will not let too much wet annoy you, and

\textsuperscript{126}Ibid., 48. Italics by Hill.

these herbs require more moisture: yet must you have your beds divided, that you may go betwixt to weed, and somewhat of form would be expected: To which it availeth that you place your herbs of biggest growth, by walls, or in borders, as Fennel, &c. and the lowest in the middest, as Saffron, Strawberries, Onions, &c.\textsuperscript{128}

In an illustration in William Lawson’s 1648 \textit{A New Orchard and Garden} one compartment of the kitchen garden contains long, rectangular beds. The arrangement of the beds, however, is different from earlier examples of kitchen gardens – the pattern of long, rectangular beds is combined with another pattern (Fig. 46). In the text, Lawson lists elements to be considered for inclusion in the garden such as squares, borders, walks, seats, bowling greens, etc., and discusses the cultivation of plants in the orchard and kitchen garden, but he only discusses garden form in terms of squares:

The goodnesse of the soil and site, are necessary to the well-being of an Orchard simply; but the form is so far necessary, as the owner shall think meet. For that kinde of form wherewith every particular man is delighted, we leave it to himself, \textit{suum cuique pulchrum}. The form that men like in general, is a square: for although roundnesse be \textit{forma perfectissima}, yet that principle is good where necessity by Art doth not force some other form. If within one large square, the Gardener shall make one round Labyrinth or Maze with some kinde of Berries, it will grace your form, so there be sufficient roomth left for walkes, so will foure or more round knots do, For it is to be noted that the eye must be pleased with the forme. I have seen squares rising by degrees with stays from your house-ward, according to this forme which I have, \textit{crassa quod aiunt Minerva}, with an unsteady hand, rough hewen,

\textsuperscript{128}Ibid., 12-13.
Fig. 46. William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 1648. The kitchen garden (D) is shown with two compartments, one of which is composed of rectangular beds. The pattern in the kitchen garden is not bilaterally symmetrical like the pattern in the hortus on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall. (Kate Doggett Boggs, *Prints and Plants of Old Gardens* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1932), 32, plate IV, also in Thomas Hill, *The Gardener’s Labyrinth*, ed. Richard Mabey (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 33.)
for in forming country gardens, the better sort may use better formes, and more costly worke.129

Mazes and knots were commonly used during the sixteenth and seventeenth century to lay out squares – the subdivisions of larger gardens, such as the quadrants of the four-square pattern (Fig. 35).

According to Christopher Thacker, John Rae in Flora (1665) reduces the height of raised beds to a minimum, but describes the beds as formed of plank edges fastened with posts.130 Leonard Meager in his 1697 The New Art of Gardening also describes the use of boards and stakes to form even elaborate forms:

Conveniency will admit; but as for special Forms, in the better Gardens, they are divided into many, and particularly Squares; and of these Knots, and other Fancies, there are as many Devices as the Gardeners Invention will admit of; for which the Skilful are to be commended in bringing with them Boards nailed to Stakes driven well in the Ground into various curious Figures, or to do it naturally by setting of Box, Hysop, Privet...131

Meager distinguishes the kitchen garden from the herb and flower gardens in almost the same language as William Lawson in the 1617 The Countrie Hovswifes Garden:


130Thacker, 86.

131Leonard Meager, The New Art of Gardening, with the Gardener's Almanack: Containing the True Art of Gardening in all its Particulars (London: Printed for Henry Nelme, 1697), 87.
...the Garden for Flowers and curious Herbs ought to be separated from the Kitchin-Garden by some distinction (tho one Plat of Ground may contain them both) because your Garden-flowers will not only suffer Disgrace, but be annoyed, if among them you sow Onions, Lettice, Carrots, Parsnips, and the like, which drawn in their due Season, must moreover leave Roughness and Deformity on the Earth, and if not set at convenient Distances, take up the Roots of the Flowers with them, and make a Confusion and Disorder where Order and Comeliness should be...\textsuperscript{132}

Meager, again like Lawson in \textit{The Countrie Houeswifes Garden}, describes the need to raise planting beds in the flower garden:

And in the Kitchin-Garden you need not be at the trouble to raise your Beds so high as in the Summer-Garden, yet it is requisite you leave Alleys to go between, for the Advantage of Weeding, and gathering what is necessary in due season, without treading on or any ways bruising what remains, for these kind of Herbs and Roots will go deeper into the Ground, as requiring more wet than the others, and will better endure it...\textsuperscript{133}

An illustration from Meager's text shows a large garden composed of smaller garden contexts some of which are enclosed with fences and some of which contain long, rectangular planting beds (Fig. 47). The garden is similar to those depicted by Vredeman de Vries over a century earlier (Fig. 34).

The kitchen garden in an illustration from A. J. Dezallier d'Argenville's 1728 \textit{The Theory and Practice of Gardening} (Fig. 48) is depicted as two components of a

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., 88-89.
\textsuperscript{133}Ibid., 89.
Fig. 47. Leonard Meager, *The New Art of Gardening, with the Gardener's Almanack: Containing the True Art of Gardening in all its Particulars*, 1697. The garden illustrated in Meager's 1697 garden treatise is similar to the elaborate gardens based on the traditions of the patrician garden that were depicted by Flemish architect Hans Vredeman de Vries in *Hortorum Viridariumque elegantes et multiplices formae, ad architectonicae artis normam affabre delineatae* first published in Antwerp in 1583. (Kate Doggett Boggs, *Prints and Plants of Old Gardens* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1932), 33, plate v.)
The knowledge of French gardening practices was widely diffused by Dezallier’s definitive manual of style published anonymously in 1709. In this illustration of a large garden – similar to that in William Lawson’s *A New Orchard and Garden*, 1648 – the kitchen garden is broken into two compartments. Here each compartment contains the same garden pattern, a four-square with a central feature in which each quadrant of the four-square is composed of long, rectangular beds. (Kate Doggett Boggs, *Prints and Plants of Old Gardens* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1932), 59, plate xxxi.)
larger garden which also contains a bowling green, a parterre, a wood, and groves.

This garden is reminiscent of the one described and depicted in William Lawson's *A New Orchard, and Garden* in 1648. The compartments in Dezallier d'Argenville's kitchen garden, however, are identical, containing four-square patterns with central features in which each quadrant of the square is subdivided into long, rectangular beds. This pattern is very similar to the pattern found in early botanic gardens, such as Leiden (Fig. 3). A similar arrangement is depicted in the illustration of a *potager*, a French kitchen garden, in Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, c. 1770 (Fig. 49). The pattern in the potager is also a four-square in which each quadrant is subdivided into long, rectangular beds, but the four-square is without a central feature. Diderot includes a detail of the edging for the beds which again consists of planks held in place with stakes.

**To The New World: The Garden Pattern in New Orleans**

One of the earliest depictions of the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds in New Orleans are in the c. 1730 drawing by François Benjamin Dumont de Montigny entitled *Logement de l'auteur a la Nouvelle Orleans* (Fig. 8).\[134\]

\[134\]The drawing accompanies written accounts by Dumont which do not contain descriptions of the two gardens depicted, but which are of particular interest, according to William Lake Douglas, a New Orleans landscape architect and scholar of New Orleans garden history, because they include specific plant names and techniques of cultivation as well as discussion of commercial uses for Louisiana plants. See, Douglas, 90.
Fig. 49. Potager, Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, c. 1770. The pattern in Diderot’s *potager*, a French kitchen garden, is clearly a hybrid pattern: a four-square garden in which each of the four quadrants is composed of rectangular beds. *Fig. 4* in the illustration is a detail showing the edging of the beds formed of planks and stakes. (*Diderot Encyclopedia. The Complete Illustrations, 1762-1777* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1978), vol. 1, 67.)
In the *premier jardin*, the garden closest to the dwelling, long rectangular beds are composed, as in the *hortus* on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall, along a central path which is covered with a trellis or arbor. In the *grand jardin* each quadrant of a four-square is subdivided by rectangular beds of various sizes arranged in various orientations. The pattern of the *grand jardin*, a modified four-square with a central circular feature is similar to the pattern that was common among early botanic gardens such as at Florence (Fig. 42). According to architectural historian Sam Wilson, the property depicted by Dumont was probably located on Bourbon Street near Bienville and was entirely surrounded by palisade fences as required in a decree issued on 20 September 1722, described in the journal of Diron d’Artaguiette:135

...by which the Commandant and director order that all the inhabitants of this place must have their houses or land enclosed by palisades within ten (two) months or else they will be deprived of their property and it will revert to the Company.136

Contemporary with Dumont’s drawing are maps of the colony, prepared between 1723 and 1731, that include the earliest depictions of gardens in New Orleans, gardens that also contain four-square or more elaborate patterns. Gardens are depicted with simple four-square patterns on the unsigned *Plan de la ville de la


Nouvelle Orléans dated January 1723 (Fig. 50) and on engineer Adrien de Pauger’s plan dated 29 May 1724 (Fig. 51). The property of Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville, the founder of the colony, is depicted on the Plan of the City of New Orleans in the condition that it was on 30 May 1725 (Fig. 52) with a very large garden containing six large squares that are subdivided into long, rectangular beds. This organizational pattern is similar to the elaboration of the four-square pattern that occurred in early botanic gardens as described by Tomasi. The use of rectangular beds within the squares is similar to the kitchen gardens depicted by Dezallier d’Argenville (Fig. 48) and Diderot (Fig. 49). On Gonichon’s Plan of New Orleans such as it was in the month of December 1731 (Fig. 53) gardens were depicted as parterre de broderie or modified four-square patterns in which each quadrant of the four-square contains diagonal paths. Gonichon’s map, the best known and perhaps the most accurate map of the colony, is the only early map depicting gardens as more than simple four-square patterns.

137Bienville’s property has been incorrectly identified by some as the provisional home of the Ursuline Nuns who were brought from France to run the hospital. According to Wilson, the provisional home of the Ursulines was actually located at the corner of Chartres and Bienville streets, then the upper extremity of the city, beyond which was the plantation of Bienville. Samuel Wilson, Jr., “An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital and the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans,” in The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana, 165.

138Gonichon was one of the only Frenchmen to escape the Natchez massacre of 28 November 1729 and became an active draftsman in New Orleans. See, Samuel Wilson, Jr., “Ignace François Broutin,” in The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana, 233.
Fig. 50. *Plan of New Orleans*, January 1723. On this plan of the Vieux Carré, showing the extension of the frontage road and the houses built after the hurricane of 1722, gardens are depicted as large four-squares. (Samuel Wilson, Jr., *The Vieux Carré, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture* (New Orleans: Historic Demonstration Study, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1969), 16, fig. 13.)
Fig. 51. *Plan of New Orleans*, Adrien de Pauger, 29 May 1724. De Pauger's plan of the Vieux Carré which shows the levee extended across the front of the town instead of a previously proposed fortification contains gardens depicted with four-square patterns. (Samuel Wilson, Jr., *The Vieux Carré, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture* (New Orleans: Historic Demonstration Study, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1969), 18, fig. 15.)
Fig. 52. Plan of the City of New Orleans in the Condition that it was on 30 May 1725. This map of the city contains the property of Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville, the founder of the colony. The large garden located just upriver from the Vieux Carré contains six large squares each of which is divided into long, rectangular beds. (Samuel Wilson, Jr., The Vieux Carré, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture (New Orleans: Historic Demonstration Study, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1969), 19, fig. 16.)
Fig. 53. *Plan of New Orleans such as it was in the month of December 1731*, Gonichon. This map, probably the best known and most accurate map of the colony, contains the only early depictions of gardens that are not simple four-square patterns. (Samuel Wilson, Jr., *The Vieux Carré, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture* (New Orleans: Historic Demonstration Study, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1969), 28, fig. 24.)
Though it is uncertain if actual gardens existed as shown on these maps, the fact that gardens were deliberately drawn and prominently depicted suggests that gardens were important, even in the earliest days of the colony.\textsuperscript{139} The importance of gardens is illustrated in the 14 April 1721 letter by Adrien de Pauger, Engineer-in-second of Louisiana, who had been sent to implement the plan of the colony of New Orleans, written to Le Blond de la Tour, Engineer-in-chief of Louisiana, in station at Biloxi. In the letter de Pauger describes how his modifications to the original plan accommodated gardens:

I have likewise indicated the distribution of some of the lots on this plan...in order to proportion them to the faculties of the inhabitants and of such size that each and every one may have the houses on the street front and may still have some land in the rear to have a garden, which here is half of life.\textsuperscript{140}

The gardens depicted on the early maps, if not representations of actual real-time and real-space gardens, are representations of ideas of gardens, mental images of gardens that were prevalent at the time of colonization, and are important in the

\textsuperscript{139}William Lake Douglas has a similar view of the importance of these maps to the garden history of New Orleans. See, Douglas, 88. According to Hilary Somerville Irvin, Senior Architectural Historian of the New Orleans Vieux Carre, the French surveyors who laid out the Vieux Carre, the original colony, considered gardens while plotting the traditional gridiron pattern of narrow, deep building lots and streets. See, Hilary Somerville Irvin, “The Forces that Created the Nineteenth-Century New Orleans Courtyard,” in \textit{A New Orleans Courtyard, 1830-1860}, 14.

\textsuperscript{140}Adrien de Pauger to La Blond de la Tour, 14 April 1721, New Orleans, quoted in Wilson, Jr., \textit{The Vieux Carre, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture}, 11-12.
understanding of the ideas of gardens that were carried from Europe by the early settlers.

**Early Medicine and the Botanic Garden of the Ursulines**

In a letter written in New Orleans on 19 March 1726, Adrien de Pauger, who had become Engineer-in-chief in 1723 after the death of Pierre Le Blond de la Tour, describes the use of plants and roots in healing and indicates that there was a garden at the hospital:

> I have had it surrounded by palisades, the land of the hospital....I have there arranged a large garden to procure some refreshments for the sick and for the arriving vessels....It would be very difficult for the Company to have to replace Sr. Alexandre, surgeon, who being a clever apothecary, could establish you a most indispensable apothecary, at the hospital and for the country, by the remedies which he makes from plants and simple roots which are found here, which would spare you much expense, the most of that which the Company sends from France being without virtue, and even bad for lack of being in order.141

Adrien de Pauger's letter suggests that the garden not only provided medicaments for healing but was also a source of pleasure and relief. Douglas suggests that this garden was located at the Ursuline Convent, a conclusion that is questionable, however, because the Ursulines did not arrive until the winter of 1727 and did not move into a

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permanent convent until 1734.\textsuperscript{142} In \textit{Histoire de la Louisiane}, a memoir of observations in the French colony between 1718 and 1734, Antoine Simone Le Page du Pratz describes gathering medicinal plants and mentions for the first time by name, a botanical garden made on the order of the Company of the Indies: \textsuperscript{143}

\begin{quote}
The West India Company being informed that this province produces a great many simples, whose virtues, known by the natives, afforded so easy a cure to all sorts of distempers, ordered M. de la Chaise, who was sent from France in quality of Director General of this colony, to cause enquire to be made into the simples proper for physick and for dying, by means of some Frenchmen, who might perhaps be masters of the secrets of the natives. I pointed out for this purpose to M. de la Chaise, who was but just arrived, and who wrote to me, desiring my assistance in this enquire; which I gave him with pleasure, and in which I exerted myself to my utmost, because I well knew the Company continually aimed at what might be for the benefit of the colony. After I thought I had done in that respect, what might give satisfaction to the Company, I transplanted in earth, put into cane baskets, above three hundred simples, with their numbers, and a memorial, which gave a detail of their virtues, and taught the manner
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{143}John Law’s Company of the West which later became the Company of the Indies, had been granted a complete trade monopoly in Louisiana under a charter issued to in on 6 September 1717, after the failure of Antoine Crozat’s earlier attempts at development. Although intended to assure French control of the Mississippi River and the huge mid-continent empire that it drained, New Orleans was actually intended as a trading post and administrative center for the vast concessions being promoted by the Company to establish Louisiana as a productive enterprise. The Company returned the colony to the king in 1731. See Samuel Wilson, Jr., introduction to \textit{The Vieux Carré, New Orleans. Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture}, n.p., and Samuel Wilson, Jr., “The Plantation of the Company of the Indies,” \textit{Louisiana History} 31, no. 2 (Spring 1990), 173.
of using them. I afterwards understood that they were planted in a botanic garden made for the purpose, by order of the Company.\textsuperscript{144}

Le Page was a Louisiana historian and architect who served as manager of the plantation of the Company of the Indies from 1726 until his return to France in 1734.\textsuperscript{145} These accounts written between 1817 and 1734 suggest that the first botanic garden was constructed prior to the arrival of the Ursulines, and that its origin should not be attributed to them as suggested by John Sidney Steele in his history of Vieux Carre gardens when quoting from an article in the 17 March 1941, edition of the \textit{New Orleans Times-Picayune}:

\begin{quote}
The garden built in 1731, was started by the Ursuline nuns to see whether vegetable, [sic] fruit trees, and flowers sent from Paris would grow in the soils of this sector....The garden was laid out in the formal French fashion...rectangular shaped with brick edging of the beds.\textsuperscript{146}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{145}According to Wilson, the principal function of the plantation was to provide a place to receive the African slaves brought in by the company for sale to the French colonists and for use in its various construction projects, in the preparation of lumber, and in limited farming operations to produce food for their own maintenance. Le Page described himself as an architect and may have designed some of the plantation buildings. See, Samuel Wilson Jr., “Bienville’s New Orleans: A French Colonial Capital, 1718-1768,” in \textit{The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana}, 1 and Wilson, “The Plantation of the Company of the Indies,” 163, 166, 169.

\textsuperscript{146}George Snell, “Gardens of the Ursuline Convent,” \textit{New Orleans Times-Picayune}, 17 March 1941, col. 1, p. 6, quoted in John Sidney Steele, “The Courtyard
The garden described in the 1941 article probably refers to the garden constructed at the first permanent convent of the Ursuline Nuns which was completed in 1734. According to Wilson, this convent was based on a much earlier French plan and had a formal garden behind it. In 1735 Ignace François Broutin designed a house for the doctor, the plans for which were not submitted to the court for approval for two years. In describing the location of the doctor’s house, Wilson also mentions a botanic garden:

The doctor’s old house was adjacent to the old hospital and was indicated on Gonichon’s plan in 1731 as belonging to the Company and numbered 38. Behind this house and behind the old hospital was a large botanical garden forming the corner of Ursulines and Conde (Chartres) streets. When the hospital was moved to its new building adjacent to the Ursuline Convent, the grounds of the doctor’s house [sic] were extended over its site to the corner. Broutin evidently thought this would be an ideal site to build an especially distinguished house as an example to the inhabitants encouraging them to build better buildings to give the city a finer appearance from the river.

The Ursulines had been brought to the colony to run the hospital. Ursuline historian Sister Jane Frances Heaney describes how the Ursulines also assumed the duties of the apothecary:

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147Samuel Wilson, Jr., “Ignace François Broutin,” 245.

148Ibid., 245.
Seeing how proficient the nuns were in caring for the sick, Bienville and Salmon proposed that they also assume the duties of the apothecary. The incumbent of the office in 1735 was inefficient and negligent, and Salmon canceled his contract. He assigned the work to Dr. Prat, the physician at the Royal Hospital, who promised to do the work gratis. Dr. Prat offered to teach the sisters to mix the drugs and to prepare the medicines. There was also a Jesuit brother who had some experience in the preparation of medicines whom Salmon considered a possible instructor. The sisters gave their best efforts to this work, but they realized that they lacked the training and the womanpower to meet this new challenge in addition to all of their other obligations. They appealed to the Ursuline Convents of France for volunteers, asking especially for a sister trained as a pharmacist. French sisters did agree to come to Louisiana. However, when the sisters were ready to embark, the ships officers refused, for unknown reasons to take them on board.149

In *Madame Castel’s Lodger*, Francis Parkinson Keyes gives the only description of the form of the botanical gardens of the Ursuline nuns when relating Caroline Beauregard’s account of researching the Catholic Archbishopric (Old Ursuline Convent) in 1854. Though a fictional work, Steele suggests that it and other works by Keyes accurately reflect the historical period of their settings:

She [Caroline] took immense pride in restoring Aloise Merle’s garden to its original charming and orderly pattern, and great pleasure in the herb garden of the Old Ursuline Convent, now the Archbishopric, which she had only to cross the street to visit....The first Ursuline nuns had brought with them from France booklets in which were carefully inscribed directions for the nurture and administration of these herbs for medicinal purposes, as well as drawings intended to serve as guides for the pattern of a formal garden; these booklets were

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still carefully preserved in the Archbishopric. Caroline was permitted to see them and mindful of the privilege, pored over them and made meticulous plans and sketches for a herb garden of her own.\textsuperscript{150}

No graphic depictions of the botanic garden of the Ursulines as described by Keyes have been published to date, though Keyes' descriptions suggest that the garden was at least similar to early European botanic gardens.\textsuperscript{151}

\textbf{Into the Nineteenth Century}

An early nineteenth-century account in the journal of John Pintard, a New York merchant who arrived in New Orleans, in February 1801 includes, within a description of the garden of the Governor's House, a description of how planting beds were formed with planks and stakes:

A very fine garden belongs to this house -- at least as to Trees -- Orange & etc but not great taste as yet prevails in the design of any garden -- I have seen all that have any pretensions that way, being


\textsuperscript{151}The garden that exists at the current Ursuline complex is a simple four-square garden in which each quadrant is divided by diagonal paths. Each triangular section is a grass plot lined with boxwood hedge. According to a publication prepared by the Old Ursuline Convent Guild, the design is based on the design of the Royal Botanical Garden of New Orleans as it appeared on Gonichon's plan of the town as it was in 1731, a garden that disappeared during the Spanish regime. \textit{The Old Ursuline Convent 1724-1972} (New Orleans: The Old Ursuline Convent Guild, 1973), 4.
disposed in the old still formal style -- the border and circles kept up with strips of board which have a very mean effect. ¹⁵²

Two years later in 1803 J. L. Boqueta de Woiseri, an itinerate engineer and artist active from 1803 to 1811 produced *A View of New Orleans taken from the Plantation of Marigny* (Fig. 54) in which a portion of the Marigny plantation garden in shown composed of regularly planted rectangular beds. The view shows the *Faubourg Marigny*, the first suburb established downriver beyond the boundaries of the colonial city. ¹⁵³ The pattern depicted by Boqueta is similar to that in illustrations of

¹⁵²David Lee Stirling, ed., “New Orleans, 1801: an account by John Pintard,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 34 (July 1951), 227-228. Brackets by Stirling. Steele includes a description of the city of New Orleans and the garden of the Governor’s House from Francis Baily’s 1797 journal: “Not far from the square is the government house, a plain edifice in which the governor of the province resides....it is built as many houses of this place are with open galleries facing the street and is surrounded at the back with a garden....here one finds high walls, narrow windows, long passages and simple arches of heavy masonry....and quaint courtyards with the parterres of flowers....The house is placed directly on the street line to give it a garden space as large as possible. The garden set against the house is surrounded on three sides by a high wall and is planted with large trees and shrubbery, thus receiving absolute privacy.” In checking the reference Steele cited, (see Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797* (London, 1856), 298, quoted in Steele, 53) the quote as cited could not be found. The following was the extent of Baily’s description of the garden: “Not far from the square in which this church stands is the government-house, a plain edifice, in which the governor of the province resides: it stands facing the water at the corner of a street; it is built (as many houses in this place are) with open galleries facing the street, and is surrounded at the back by a garden.” See, Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797* (London: Baily Brothers, 1856), 300.

¹⁵³Douglas, 91.
Fig. 54. *A View of New Orleans taken from the Plantation of Marigny*, J. L. Boqueta de Woiseri, 1803. An itinerate engineer and artist active from 1803 to 1811, Boqueta produced this view of the *Faubourg Marigny*, the first suburb established downriver beyond the boundaries of the colonial city in 1803. A portion of the Marigny plantation garden is shown composed of regularly planted rectangular beds. The pattern depicted by Boqueta is similar to that in illustrations of patrician herb gardens in fifteenth-century editions of Crescenzi's treatise *Livre des proffits ruraux*. (William Lake Douglas, "Cultural Determinants in Landscape Architectural Typologies: Plants and Gardens in New Orleans from the Colonial Era to the Civil War," *Journal of Garden History* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 91.)
patrician herb gardens in fifteenth-century editions of Crescenzi's treatise *Livre des proffits ruraux*. An 1803 map entitled *Plan de la Nouvelle Orleans et des environs*... contains an elevation of the Marigny Plantation and confirms the configuration of the planting beds.\(^{154}\) According to Douglas, the map was drawn by Joseph Vinache, an engineer, and was dedicated to Pierre Clement de Laussat, the French diplomat who lived in the Marigny plantation and administered the transfer of the colony of Louisiana from Spain to France in late November 1803 and subsequently to the United States the following month.\(^{155}\)

In 1815 the architect generally acknowledged as the founder of the professional practice of architecture in the United States, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, described and sketched the garden of the Montgomery plantation located just below the city near the Mississippi River (Fig. 55):\(^{156}\)

Close to the river, & separated only by the levee & road, is the old fashioned, but otherwise handsome, garden & house of Mr. Montgomery. The garden, which I think covers not less than 4 acres,

\(^{154}\)See Douglas, 92, fig. 3.

\(^{155}\)Douglas, 91.

\(^{156}\)According to Wilson, William W. Montgomery was a New Orleans merchant with the firm of McNeal and Montgomery at the time of the transfer of Louisiana from Spain and was commissioned First Lieutenant and adjutant of the Eighth Regiment of the Orleans Territorial Militia, November 27, 1805. See Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans. Diary and Sketches 1818-1820*, ed. Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 43, n. 11.
Fig. 55. Plan of the Macarty Plantation, Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans. Diary and Sketches 1818-1820*. In the plan depicting the Macarty plantation by architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, a portion of the garden is depicted as a series of large squares similar to those at the Marigny plantation. (Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans. Diary and Sketches 1818-1820*, ed. Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 44.)
is laid out in square walks & flower beds in the Old French style. It is entirely enclosed by a thick hedge of orange trees, which have been suffered to run up to 15 to 16 feet high on the flanks & rear, but which are shorn down to the height of 4 or 5 feet high along the road. The Walks are bordered by very large myrtles cut into the shape of large hay cocks, about 8 feet high & as much in diameter. There are so many of them, and they are so exactly equal in size & form that the effect is curious if not elegant. The house itself is one of the usual French plantation houses of the first class & I think, by far the best kind of house for the climate, namely, a mansion surrounded entirely by a portico or gallery of two stories. The roof is enormous, however. In this house General Jackson had his headquarters. In order to build the redoubt, a corner of the garden was cut off, and part of the orange hedge still grows, in a very decayed state, within the lines of the redoubt. The road has been turned round it. Mr. Montgomery intends restoring his garden to its former state, when the ruins of this work will entirely disappear. A canal serving at the time of high water to lead the water of the Mississippi to the swamp in the rear, & to drive a mill, prepared the ditch of the lines, & to make them defencible it was only necessary to raise the bank on the West side, which was done. But it hardly ever deserved the name of a military work. The battery D, as well as the others, was strengthened & indeed built, by laying down a mass of Bales of Cotton, covering them with earth, piling others upon them, & thus producing perhaps a much better work than harder materials could have supplied.157

The plantation had previously been the Edmund Macarty plantation house and was located just below the city near the Mississippi River. The house and garden were painted by architect Jean Hyacinthe Laclotte, a native of Bordeaux, in 1815 at the time of the Battle of New Orleans (Fig. 56).158 According to Wilson, the prominence

157 Latrobe, 43-46.

158 According to Wilson, at the time of the Battle of New Orleans the House was the plantation house of Jean Edmond Macarty. On 30 April 1817 Montgomery bought the plantation from "Jean Noel Destrehan, an heir of the late Jean Edmond
Fig. 56. *Macarty Plantation at the Time of the Battle of New Orleans*, Jean Hyacinth Laclotte, watercolor, 1815. In Laclotte’s depiction of the Macarty plantation during the Battle of New Orleans, the garden is prominently shown as a series of large squares, a plan similar to patrician herb gardens in fifteenth-century editions of Crescenzi’s *Livre des proffits ruraux*. (Hilary Somerville Irvin, “Through the Allees: The French Influence,” in *The Southern Heirloom Garden* ed. William C. Welch and Greg Grant (Dallas, Tx.: Taylor Publishing, 1995), 32.)
that Laclotte gives to the Macarty house and gardens in the painting as well as the similarities between the Macarty house and the Delord-Sarpy house (almost certainly designed by Laclotte in 1813 for Dr. Joseph Montegut) suggest that Laclotte was the architect for Edmond Macarty's country residence. Macarty died 13 November 1814 and on 2 December 1814 Andrew Jackson took over the house as his headquarters. Alexander Walker, in his *Life of Andrew Jackson* describes the house:

> The planters' dwelling houses in 1814 were... (sometimes) in the chateau style like Bienvenu's and Macarte's, in front of the British camp, which consisted of two stories and an attic, the ground floor being usually paved with brick or marble, and the galleries supported by brick pillars, circling the whole building. These houses were surrounded by trees and shrubbery, so that, at a short distance, they could scarcely be seen. They looked to the river, and were built usually at a distance of a few hundred yards from its bank, with cultivated gardens, or neatly trimmed lawns, shaded by spreading live oaks and pecan trees, and hedged around with a thick growth of orange and lemon trees, extending in front of the road, which follows

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Macarty, his grandson – a plantation situated around a league and a quarter below New Orleans – with the establishment upon it consisting of a new master's house, and some other edifices in bad condition (Acts of Michel de Armas, New Orleans Court House)....An excellent view of this house with its garden and the redoubt appears in Hyacinthe Laclotte's well-known engraving of the Battle of New Orleans. An article appearing in *Harpers* for January, 1865, also shows a sketch of the house, which was still standing at that time...” See, Latrobe, 43, no. 12.

the levee. The plantations were divided by slight but durable fences of cypress pickets...\(^{160}\)

According to Wilson, Alexander Walker visited the battlefield and described the scene as it was in 1855:

The scene of these events has experienced slighter changes in the last forty years than the arena of any similar occurrences in this land of change and progress. (The visitor) may take his position in the gallery of Macarte where Jackson himself stood on the afternoon of the 7th January 1815....Jackson’s headquarters are nearly concealed by a luxuriant growth of the graceful cedars and cypress, – which here assume the most symmetrical proportions, tapering off into perfect cones and pyramids. A thick orange hedge almost excludes a glimpse into the handsome garden, where bloom all the flowers and shrubs of this rich soil and benignant clime. But the buildings stand as they did then, but slightly changed by the lapse of time. They are scarred in many places with marks of the severe cannonade to which they were exposed.\(^{161}\)

The house burned 22 February 1896, was rebuilt and was finally destroyed by the construction of the Chalmette Slip.\(^{162}\)

The pattern of rectangular beds seen in the gardens at the Marigny plantation and the Macarty plantation is similar to the pattern found in herb gardens depicted.

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\(^{162}\)Wilson, *Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans*, 30-32.
in fifteenth-century editions of Crescenzi's *Livre des proffits ruraux* (Figs. 4 and 27).

In the painting of Delhomme plantation entitled *A Louisiana Plantation, 1861*, by Marie Adrien Persac, similar beds are depicted (Fig. 57). Persac, born in Lyons, France in 1823 was trained as an architect and draftsman before immigrating to America.\(^{163}\) Between 1857 and 1861 he executed a series of gouache-on-paper views of plantations located along the Mississippi River and bayous.\(^{164}\) According to Barbara Bacot, scholar of Persac's work, he was one of the last painters in an artistic tradition that began with the landed proprietors of the Renaissance who commissioned topographic views of their properties:

> In the United States this tradition was continued chiefly by folk artists who never equaled the artistry and exquisite detail of Persac's microcosms of plantation life and agriculture. More than just houses, gardens, and outbuildings, his images recreate the very world he knew best.\(^ {165}\)

According to Bacot, in an 1861 Persac painting of Shadows-on-the-Teche, the Weeks family plantation in New Iberia, the same pattern appears with the square or rectangular beds containing peach trees and vegetables.\(^ {166}\) Douglas associates these

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\(^{164}\)Irvin, "Through the Allees: The French Influence," 34.

\(^{165}\)Bacot, 814.

\(^{166}\)Ibid., 808 and 813.
Fig. 57. *A Louisiana Plantation*, Marie Adrien Persac, gouache on paper, 1861. In this view of Delhomme plantation, by Persac, an architect and draftsman who between 1857 and 1861 executed a series of gouache-on-paper views of plantations located along the Mississippi River and bayous, the garden is depicted with large square rectangles as at the Macarty Plantation. (Hilary Somerville Irvin, “Through the Allees: The French Influence,” in *The Southern Heirloom Garden* ed. William C. Welch and Greg Grant (Dallas, Tx.: Taylor Publishing, 1995), 37.)
types of gardens with early plantations or farm houses located in rural areas and in areas on the fringes of urbanization and suggests that they could be small or large but were typically organized into linear borders or rectangular beds, largely for function and efficiency.\textsuperscript{167}

The New Orleans Notarial Archives

Nineteenth century drawings of gardens with various arrangements of rectangular beds are housed at the New Orleans Notarial Archives. Over fifty drawings in the collection contain the pattern of long, rectangular beds or some adaptation of it (Figs. 9-12). According to Turner, though some of the drawings might lead one to believe that the draftsmen used poetic license in portraying the landscape aspects of the properties there is a substantial degree of correlation between plans and elevations; and, therefore, the drawings seem to be faithful renderings of what the artist actually observed, especially since the drawings were prepared to accurately record amenities as part of the legal record.\textsuperscript{168} Many of the drawings from the collection depict vernacular gardens. These drawings are,

\textsuperscript{167}Douglas also suggests that it is likely that these gardens were laid out and tended by itinerant European gardeners who traveled throughout the region, as did plantsmen selling seeds and rooted cuttings, therefore, general connections between European (primarily French) garden traditions and Louisiana (both rural and urban) gardens were well established. See, Douglas, 98-99.

therefore, very important as documents of real-time and real-space gardens that existed in the city. In Vieux Carré gardens, the placement and the form of planting areas seem to be direct results of the need for pedestrian circulation. According to Turner, function and spatial economy were overriding concerns and planting beds were placed along walls and in the spots remaining after the major paths from house to outbuildings had been determined.169

Peripheral planting beds, seen in illustrations of European gardens as early as the herbularius on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall (Fig. 2), are described in New Orleans by Robert Usher in his “Botanical History of Louisiana:”

Early settlers built houses flush with street [sic] and adjoining each other for protection against the Indians....In the rear of the house a courtyard was formed by the high walls of the neighboring houses on two sides, by the house itself on the third side, and by the overhanging balcony of the servants’ quarters on the fourth side. Inside these enclosures they made their gardens....Beds for flowers flanked the sides and rear immediately against the high walks which were shaded during the greater part of the day, full sun coming down only when immediately overhead. Consequently there was never a profusion of bloom. Numerous vines scrambled up the walks to the sun above and formed a background for the flowers.170

Turner suggests that, although on large properties occasionally circles, ovals, and other geometric shapes are used to form planting beds, by far the most common is


the long, narrow rectangle, a shape that is an obvious, straightforward solution and a natural outgrowth of the shape of the overall lot:

One practical advantage of the long narrow beds was that they could be easily maintained from the paved area without having to step into the bed. In fact, in plan the beds resembled the layout of a vegetable garden as much as that of a formal garden, and yet evidence indicates that only the large properties had vegetable plots, since the nearby French Market was an easy source of fresh produce from outlying rural farms. When vegetable plots did exist they were located beyond the main courtyard as a separate garden area.171

This interpretation seems appropriate as a continuation of the practice of making such beds in European gardens as described in garden treatises.

Hermann-Grima House

The courtyard garden at the Hermann-Grima House has been studied in detail and dates to the same period as many of the gardens depicted in drawings in the Notarial Archives (Fig. 58). The house, built in 1831 by Samuel Hermann,172 was bought by the Grima family in 1844; they lived there until 1921.173 The house


172 Samuel Hermann, a German-born merchant and his Louisiana-born wife, Emerante Becnel Brou, tore down their home in the Vieux Carre and commissioned the Virginia-born architect-builder William Brand to design a high-style brick mansion in 1831. The Hermann estate occupied five adjacent lots which fronted on St. Louis, Conti, and Dauphine Streets and was one of the largest in the Vieux Carre. See, Irvin, “The Forces That Created The Nineteenth-Century New Orleans Courtyard,” 13.

173 Wilson, introduction to A New Orleans Courtyard 1830-1860, 1.
became the fifth home of the Christian Woman’s Exchange in 1924 and on 30 April 1960, the Orleans Parish Landmarks Commission dedicated it as the Hermann-Grima House.\textsuperscript{174} In 1971 the Christian Woman’s Exchange converted it into a historic house museum.\textsuperscript{175} According to Shingo Dameron Manard, co-founder of the Garden Library of the New Orleans Town Gardeners and member of the Board of Managers of the Christian Woman’s Exchange in 1963 when the first plans took form to restore the property, the long, rectangular beds that still exist today in the courtyard garden are original:\textsuperscript{176}

In November of that year [1984] our committee reported to the C.W.E. Board: “We concluded that our research documents formally laid out gardens in the long, narrow beds. Our findings lead to the recognition of the nineteenth-century emphasis on fragrance, use of various kinds of containers, and interest in experimental gardening.\textsuperscript{177}

The courtyard garden has undergone two phases of renovations, the first in the late 1960s under the guidance of landscape architect Christopher Friedrichs and a second in the 1980s under the guidance of Suzanne Turner. Period use of the courtyard is

\textsuperscript{174}Ibid., 1.

\textsuperscript{175}Suzanne Turner, “Faithful to the Text, Designing the Story before the Place,” Landscape Architecture 77, no. 4 (July/August, 1987), 72.

\textsuperscript{176}Shingo Dameron Manard, “Recreating a Period Garden,” in A New Orleans Courtyard 1830-1860, 6.

\textsuperscript{177}Ibid., 9.
The flagstone paved courtyard area with its formal garden served important functions in the scheme of the Hermanns' sophisticated estate. It provided a circulation path between the main house that fronted on St. Louis Street and the utilitarian outbuildings that lay at the rear of the property. Some light daily household tasks would have occurred near the kitchen building in the court area, while heavier tasks would have taken place away from the main house, in the wash house and stable yards on the Conti and Dauphine Street lots. The courtyard's open space above all provided visual and psychological relief within a congested urban area, and was treated aesthetically.\textsuperscript{178}

Douglas suggests that the change in use of such courtyards for ornamental gardening is based mainly on economic development and is a relatively modern, mid-twentieth century, phenomenon.\textsuperscript{179}

The pattern of rectangular beds in the Hermann-Grima Courtyard is an asymmetrical adaptation of the pattern seen in the \textit{herbularius} on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall. According to Turner, the use of the beds in an asymmetrical arrangement is common in New Orleans:

Although sometimes rectilinear beds divide the courtyard in a bilaterally symmetrical pattern, most often the layout is asymmetrical, and frequently the beds vary in width, as in the Hermann-Grima courtyard. This often occurs adjacent to the house whose entire plan


\textsuperscript{179}Douglas, 100.
is based on bilateral symmetry, with a central hall and flanking rooms as is the case with the Hermann-Grima House.\textsuperscript{180}

The courtyard garden of the Hermann-Grima House remains as an example of how a garden pattern, used as early as the ninth century in European gardens, was adapted for use in New Orleans.

CHAPTER THREE

GARDENS DESCRIBED: CLARIFYING TERMS

The original layout of spaces is well worth studying, it seems to me, if only because it unconsciously reveals so much about the ideas of men and women who devised it.\(^{181}\)

Gardens have been important in New Orleans since the early eighteenth century as suggested both by Adrien de Pauger's comment in 1721 that gardens were "half of life"\(^{182}\) and by the number of period depictions and descriptions of gardens in the city that still exist today. Graphic depictions suggest that early gardens were carefully composed with geometric patterns such as the four-square, rectangular beds, or *parterres\(^{183}\)* even though the gardens were probably created for functional purposes.

\(^{181}\)Jackson, "By Way of Conclusion: How to Study the Landscape," 115.


\(^{183}\)Garden historian Derek Clifford offers two lines of descent for the practice of making *parterres*, the first coming from the gradual evolution of the patterning of the subdivisions of the *hortus conclusus* and the other from the ancient historical tradition of weaving intricate patterns such as mazes on the ground. In later evolutions of the Renaissance garden, particularly in France, the parterre was the heart of the garden proper and *compartiments de broderie* were aligned in a symmetrical design that governed the plan of the garden of the whole. See Clifford, 66-69. The 1618 *Le theatre des plans et jardinages*, by Claude Mollet was the early bible on the making of *parterres*, and according to garden historian William Howard Adams, in *Theatre des plans et jardinages*, c. 1652, Mollet claimed to have introduced the *parterre de broderie*, the delicate, symmetrical patterns of arabesque scrolls, and palmettes which united the small geometric compartments into an overall plan. *Le maison rustique* by Charles Estiennes was translated into French in 1572 and provided designs and detailed instructions for laying out different types of garden.
uses such as the growing of vegetables, fruits, and herbs for food and medicaments. The efforts required to establish, maintain, and depict such gardens indicate that they were viewed as more than mere utilitarian, cultivated plots. Geometric garden patterns similar to those in early New Orleans gardens were common among European gardens before and at the time of the settlement of New Orleans. Such patterns were carried into the New World by settlers as ideas of gardens. Those ideas were used as models when the settlers shaped new gardens. Traditions of gardens in New Orleans, therefore, do have connections to European ideas of gardens, some of which are identified by this study.

Terms such as *formal*, *parterre*, and *French style* have been used to refer to gardens in New Orleans which contain geometric garden patterns including the pattern of long, rectangular beds. Such terms are common in period descriptions of New Orleans gardens, such as John Pintard’s use of *old formal style* in 1801 and Alexander Gordon’s, a follower of Andrew Jackson Downing’s style of landscape design, use of *French formal* in 1846:

*This [his critique of the gardens of Valcour Aime near Vacherie, Louisiana] leads me to remark, in general, the French style in the compartments and geometrically patterned beds. Olivier de Serres’ *La théatre d’agriculture et mesange des champs* published in 1600 contained *parterre* designs taken from Claude Mollet. See, William Howard Adams, *The French Garden 1500-1800* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), 50.*

Stirling, 227-228.
ornamental department of gardening is the most frequently adopted, particularly among the Creole portion of the population, and there are some very unique and judiciously arranged gardens laid out and kept according to that system, which, however much it may be repudiated by some, possesses a fascination under peculiar circumstances.\textsuperscript{185}

Descriptions of long, rectangular beds in New Orleans as \textit{formal} and as \textit{parterres} indicate the need for more careful use of such terms. The history of the garden pattern shows that the use of long, rectangular beds actually predates the development of \textit{formal}, French \textit{formal}, and \textit{parterre} gardens in Europe. Though the pattern was sometimes used in \textit{formal} gardens to compose individual \textit{squares} as at Fontainebleau (Fig. 35) or to compose utilitarian gardens such as kitchen gardens (Figs. 48 and 49), the pattern itself, is not \textit{formal}. By analyzing interpretations of two New Orleans gardens containing the pattern of long, rectangular planting beds -- the c. 1730 garden depicted by François Benjamin Dumont de Montingy (Fig. 8) and the 1830s French Quarter courtyard garden of the Hermann-Grima House (Figs. 13 and 58) -- it is possible to more clearly understand the need for more careful and more accurate uses of such descriptives.

According to architectural historian Sam Wilson, the gardens depicted by Dumont were laid out in “formal French fashion.”\textsuperscript{186} Wilson further identifies the premier jardin as a flower garden separated by a pond and a bridge from the grand jardin which was a vegetable garden and orchard.\textsuperscript{187} Wilson does not articulate how he identified the premier jardin as the flower garden, but the small tree symbols in the grand jardin probably do indicate fruit trees. Since the property was depicted prior to the appearance of markets in the colony at which fresh produce was sold, it is probable that food crops were grown in both gardens and that ornamental plants were intermingled in both gardens, if grown at all. Wilson’s interpretation is also contrary to the model of the European hortus as described by J. B. Jackson and others in which the kitchen garden was located close to the dwelling and was a simple garden in terms of form and in terms of use.\textsuperscript{188} According to that model, the orchard

\textsuperscript{186}Wilson, “The Drawings of François Benjamin Dumont de Montigny,” 105.

\textsuperscript{187}Ibid., 105.

\textsuperscript{188}Jackson, “Nearer Than Eden,” 23. This model of the hortus, though dating to the very early Middle Ages, remained common for centuries, particularly in vernacular gardens. Other aspects of design in early New Orleans have also been attributed to European traditions dating to the Middle Ages. According to architectural historian Bernard Lemann, the design of the Vieux Carré which is the original colony of New Orleans and the Place d’Arma (Jackson Square) have been described as Baroque in concept because they date from that period in European design history, but they also reflect medieval traditions: “The southern French medieval bastide with its central square entered at the corners, with arcaded sidewalks (Montaubon, Montpazier), suggests the prototype for our town square, in contrast to the axial emphasis of Baroque design (Place Vendome, or Place Royale in
was located away from the house and was the first portion of the hortus to be elaborated to accommodate both functional and social uses. \(^{189}\) By interpreting Dumont's drawing via this model of the European hortus, the premier jardin was a kitchen garden and the grand jardin was a multi-purpose garden that included orchard plots. This interpretation is supported by three main points. The premier jardin, the garden closest to the dwelling contains a simple garden pattern -- two

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189 According to Jackson there is evidence that the orchard was the first area to be recognized as a garden in our modern use of the word, the first area within the enclosure to be permanently transformed and to be given legal status and protection -- not only because of the utilitarian value of its fruit and nut trees, but because of its use as a place of assembly: "The orchard, as part of the larger enclosures belonging to a prince or king, was the scene of receptions and important ceremonies, and on the village level it was often where the public gathered for celebrations. When the history of the common garden is written I suspect we will discover that the village orchard was the early forerunner of the park; in central Europe the orchard is still a favorite place for holiday gatherings and even political rallies." See, Jackson, "Nearer Than Eden," 27.
rows of long, rectangular planting beds -- that is associated with kitchen gardens dating to the ninth-century hortus on the plan of the monastery at St. Gall. The grand jardin is called the 'grand garden' -- an indication of its greater importance. The grand jardin contains a much more elaborate garden pattern than the premier jardin and small tree symbols which probably indicate fruit trees in orchard plots.

It is difficult to consider the gardens depicted by Dumont as French formal as Wilson claims because of the organization system of the entire property. Hilary Somerville Irvin makes a similar interpretation that the drawing by Dumont illustrates the form that the Renaissance-Baroque concept of order could take when translated into reality, an order that insisted that the house should be treated as a single unit with its gardens and yet called for a division between the pleasure and utilitarian areas. Though the formal planning principles identified by Irvin as dating to the Renaissance and Baroque periods do call for a separation of use areas and do call for a direct relationship between the house and gardens, the form that those ideas were given in the gardens depicted by Dumont is very distorted. The organizational system of spaces by use actually dates to the fourteenth-century treatise of Crescenzi who suggested that the ornamental, or pleasure, garden be located adjacent to the rear-facade of the house and the kitchen, or utilitarian, garden should be to one side. In Dumont's drawing, there is a utilitarian space that

completely surrounds the house, a space -- probably for functional uses as suggested by the ladder for chickens -- that minimizes the relationship between the house and the two gardens. Though the two gardens are connected by an axis, an important element of the Renaissance system of ordering, the axis does not connect directly to the house. The reflection of formal ordering principles is minimized by the separation of the house and gardens and the use of French formal or formal to describe this garden is not completely accurate.

A century after Dumont depicted the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds, the courtyard garden at the Hermann-Grima House in the Vieux Carré was constructed with six long, rectangular beds and two long peripheral beds. The pattern still exists in the Hermann-Grima House courtyard today. In a recently published volume of essays about the history of the courtyard garden, Shingo Dameron Manard identifies the planting beds as “parterre beds.” In the same volume, Susan Turner who worked on the second phase of restoration of the courtyard in the 1980s, describes the beds in the Hermann-Grima House courtyard and calls into question the use of parterre to describe the garden pattern:

Although sometimes rectilinear beds divide the courtyard in a bilaterally symmetrical pattern, most often the layout is asymmetrical, and frequently the beds vary in width, as in the Hermann-Grima courtyard.... The adaptation of the French parterre as an explanation of the design inspiration in French Quarter courtyards is not altogether

191 Manard, 9.
satisfying because the narrow linear beds that are most typical of New Orleans layouts do not provide the kind of visual interest that a more intricate pattern, involving curves and other geometric variations would. Although these gardens were called *parterres* by travelers and natives alike, their origins are more akin to utility and order than to ornament, and are more straight-forward attempts to provide adequate space to cultivate ornamental plants and yet provide for simple maintenance, good space utilization, and ease of circulation.192

Turner further describes the use of the long, rectangular planting beds in terms of their function:

One practical advantage of the long narrow beds was that they could be easily maintained from the paved area without having to step into the bed. In fact, in plan the beds resemble the layout of a vegetable garden as much as that of a formal garden, and yet evidence indicates that only the large properties had vegetable plots, since the nearby French Market was an easy source of fresh produce from outlying rural farms. When vegetable plots did exist they were located beyond the main courtyard as a separate garden area.193

Turner's works contain the most careful and accurate use of descriptive terms for New Orleans gardens containing geometric garden patterns.

If the gardens which contain the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds are considered a distinct tradition of gardens in New Orleans, as the history of the use of the garden pattern suggests, then it is incorrect to consider the beds as *parterres* or to consider a garden *formal* simply because it contains the pattern.

Depictions of *parterre* gardens in New Orleans do exist, such as those on Gonichon's

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193 Ibid., 27.
map of 1731 (Fig. 53), and the garden pattern does exist in formal gardens in New Orleans such as the garden of Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville, the founder of the colony, which is depicted on the Plan of the City of New Orleans in the condition that it was on 30 May 1725 (Fig. 52) outside the wall surrounding the Vieux Carré, with six large squares that are subdivided with long, rectangular beds. Bienville’s garden is formal because of its arrangement along an axis that connects the garden directly to the house, not because of the garden pattern of long, rectangular beds.

A Future Of Rectangles

The attempt to define is like a game in which you cannot possibly reach the goal from the starting point but can only close in on it by picking up each time from where the last play landed.

The history of the use of the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds chronicles the development of ideas of gardens that influenced the development of a garden tradition in New Orleans. The history provides a means of more clearly understanding and articulating the garden history of the city as well as a means of

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194 Others gardens containing parterres are depicted in nineteenth-century drawings in the New Orleans Notarial Archives. See, for example, Plan Book 15, Folio 22, from 1832 and Plan Book 24, Folio 13, from c. 1852-1855, both in Turner, “Roots of a Regional Garden Tradition: The Drawings of the New Orleans Notarial Archives,” 174, fig. 12 and 176, fig. 14.

linking that history into a much larger history of gardens, the developmental continuum of gardens in the Western world. To understand that linkage more clearly, further interpretive studies of gardens will have to be conducted to investigate the developmental history of gardens in New Orleans in greater detail. Those studies must focus on meanings associated with gardens and garden forms in New Orleans. Though it may never be possible to understand completely the meanings of gardens or garden forms in New Orleans or to articulate definitively how those gardens or forms are linked to garden traditions in Europe, each interpretive step narrows the field of potentials and results in a better understanding of gardens and garden history, even if that understanding is perhaps never complete.
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Though *meaning* has become something of a buzz-word in studies of gardens and garden history, clear methodologies for the interpretation of meaning have not yet been articulated. The following represents the beginning of what will be an ongoing attempt to define such a methodology.

It is well accepted that the storage or investment of meaning in symbolic forms is fundamental to human life. Our evolutionary history has been characterized by the transformation of aspects of nature into cultural products that, in turn, have the potential for elaboration and modification. It is the flexibility of these forms and usages, and particularly of the meanings that can be stored in such cultural products, that has given evolutionary advantage to our species. The cultural landscape is one of the most accessible repositories for the analysis of this process of transformation.... Because the processes through which symbols are created, elaborated upon, and modified (and hence the process whereby the cultural landscape is created and transformed) is rooted in -- and a part of -- societal processes, one cannot describe or explain either without reference to the other.¹

Interpreting the meanings of a garden involves positioning the garden within contexts of culture and ideas and can proceed at two levels. At the first level the garden is viewed as an independent artifact given form by an individual garden-

maker. Interpretation at this level is focused to understand the garden more clearly as a whole, a unit. Iconographic or symbolic analysis can suggest meanings of the form of the garden as a whole or of elements in the garden. Analysis of personal papers – diaries, letters, journals, etc., – or oral histories of the garden-maker or those who experienced the garden can suggest meanings originating in uses of the garden. Analysis of other artifacts created or collected by the garden-maker can suggest meanings originating in the interests, education, or exposure of the garden-

2In attempt to keep the discussion as clear as possible, the garden maker and garden owner are seen as the same person in this general discussion. In many cases they are not, especially when professional designers or experts are hired to design the garden. This adds layers of complexity to the investigation because the study must also identify whose ideas were translated by whom.


maker. Analysis of the garden-maker's participation in religion, politics, social activities, etc., can suggest meanings stemming from desires to be respected or be in vogue. These meanings can be used to enrich the narrative history of a garden.

At the second level, the garden is interpreted, not as an independent artifact, but as an artifact linked to a network of artifacts. It is at this level that meanings are interpreted in this study. Meanings are identified by studying the cultural context within which the garden-maker functioned while creating the garden. The garden can be linked to a cultural context, and meanings interpreted by comparing the garden to other gardens created within that context; by comparing the garden with gardens represented in other artifacts of the culture such as paintings, drawings, photographs, and literature; or by comparing the developmental history of the


garden to the social, political, economic, and technical histories of the culture. At this level of interpretation meaning can be associated with repeating elements that represent shared ideas about how to respond to common needs, environmental constraints, and technological limitations, or meanings can be associated with repeating forms and patterns that represent shared ideas of how elements should be ordered.

In this study the identification of meanings associated with the garden pattern begins with an illustration of a garden containing the garden pattern of long, rectangular planting beds. The garden depicted in the illustration is a manifestation of an idea of a garden that was formulated from information from a cultural knowledge of gardens. The intellectual, ideological, contemplative, or functional uses associated with the garden identify it as a garden type such as a kitchen garden. That garden type is associated with a cultural context at a point in time by the geographic location and date of the production of the illustration. The knowledge of

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gardens of that cultural context is documented, at least in part, by garden history.\textsuperscript{9}

Meanings are interpreted from that garden history.

\textsuperscript{9}Other parts of the knowledge of gardens, not documented in garden history, include the vernacular traditions that are passed from generation to generation through folklore. These traditions, though important, are difficult to document and only recently have become the focus of scholarship.
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