

9 *Horti Recidivi*

The Restoration and Re-Creation of Medieval Gardens in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

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This chapter examines concepts in the restoration and re-creation of medieval gardens based on ten case studies. These may be categorized as

- restored gardens (Haverfordwest Priory, Mount Grace Priory, and the Tudor garden of Kenilworth Castle),
- re-created gardens (that of Queen Eleanor in Winchester, the Bayleaf Farmhouse in West Sussex, Tretower Court in Powys, and Prebendal Manor, Northants.), and
- the “modern-medieval” gardens (the English Heritage Contemporary Heritage Garden Scheme, the gardens of the Musée du Moyen Age in Paris and the Naumburg Cathedral).

It first traces changing approaches towards historic gardens, before discussing aspects that influence the perception of these gardens.

Changing Approaches Towards Historic Gardens

Restoring historic gardens, defined by the Joint Committee of ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) as “an architectural and floral composition which is of interest to the public from both an historical and an artistic point of view” (Bourke 1983, 50) and re-creating gardens in a historic style, whether medieval or later, has become increasingly popular since the second half of the twentieth century and particularly in the last decades. During this time, knowledge, fashions, and philosophy have changed especially within the heritage gardens industry, creating a dynamic array of approaches and positions regarding historic gardens in general.

For instance, from the 1950s until the 1970s, modernists like Frank Clark tried to lay great stress on the “[Z]eitgeist” in the sense that the “psyche of each period was thought to reveal itself through the work of that period” through geniuses who were able to produce seminal statements as, for instance, William Kent and the 3rd Lord Burlington in their creation of the gardens at Chiswick House. The goal of restoration was to reflect the

period of greatest significance and the creativity of such geniuses (Jacques 2005, 409). In this context, the theory of “significant form” was important, in the sense that the “ideas behind designs [. . .] were important, not the designs *per se*.” Therefore, restorations could be “in the spirit” of the place” without being pedantic, a conviction that often eventuated in highly inauthentic results (*ibid.*, 410).

The second approach, also emerging in the 1950s, was developed by the National Trust Garden advisor Graham Stuart Thomas, who promoted a “programme of eclectic revivalism” (Elliott 2010, 5), which meant that “each house was to have a garden that reflected the most important period in the house’s history” based on research (*ibid.*, 1). This policy is nowadays still relevant and followed by other organizations like English Heritage and the National Trust for Scotland. The aim to reconstruct historic gardens in their heyday in as accurate a manner as possible can be achieved with the help of surviving documents, plans, illustrations, and historic photographs, as well as garden archaeology. An early example of this approach was the restoration of the garden of Ham House in Surrey in 1974. Yet later it was found that the surviving plans and “views” were actually designs, which were unreliable guides to how the gardens had actually looked (Jacques 2005, 413). The most acclaimed cases are the restoration of the Privy Garden at Hampton Court in 1994–1995 and the Elizabethan Garden at Kenilworth Castle, which opened in 2009.

Emerging in the 1980s and contrasting to Thomas’s philosophy, was the approach of “exploring the course of a garden’s history,” based on the position that a garden is the sum of its entire history and that every period in that history should be respected, a school of thought that was originally focused on buildings and largely shaped by William Morris in the 1870s (Elliott 2010, 14–15). In this approach, the overlays of a garden are understood as an essential dimension of their history and the “default position became to repair as found, rather than to restore than to re-make” (Jacques 2005, 414). This trend for “conservation as found” (Elliott 2010, 17) has increasingly become more and more important.

These different approaches obviously also had their impact on medieval gardens. The special situation of the latter is, however, that basically no medieval garden has survived completely unchanged since its creation. This is due to the fact that favored styles changed, meaning the replacement of out-of-fashion features, and that many elements in gardens are themselves ephemeral. However, a variety of different sources provide information about medieval gardens for the researcher: besides literary descriptions, treatises, and late medieval images, analytical field surveys and garden archaeology have risen in importance. All the more so as abandoned gardens rank among the commonest type of archaeological sites in Britain (Taylor 2000, 38, with a range of sites 39–50). Usually, “the most tangible traces are those defining the perimeter of the garden space,” including walls, ditches, banks, ponds, fountains, arrangements of beds, and stone-lined

paths (Creighton 2009, 27). Several of these features were, for instance, discovered during the excavations of Haverfordwest Priory in the 1990s and during the field survey at Ravensworth Castle in 2007, both of which are discussed later. Harvey’s statement that “all restoration of medieval gardens can only be re-creation to an imagined prototype, reconstructed on paper from many different sources” (Harvey 1988, 20) can now be contested in the light of such emerging evidence.

While some medieval or early modern gardens, like those at Mount Grace Priory or Kenilworth Castle, were renewed *in situ*, for example, where centuries before gardens had been laid out, others were re-created within a historic site but without a basis of direct evidence for the existence of a specific earlier garden in that location (Harvey 1988, 6). In contrast to a restoration that, in the strict sense, is the process of “returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state” (Bourke 1983, 50), which implies replacements in the case of ephemeral fabrics like plants (Lambert and Lovie 2006, 94), re-creation is “an art of *pastiche*, attempting to provide an impression as accurate as possible of the type of work which would have been likely at that place in a certain historical period [. . .] [associated with] a particular generation” (Harvey 1988, 6). It can also be seen as a “jigsaw of the most common features” (Landsberg 1998, 8). Re-creations based on “the three principles of authenticity, practicality and aesthetics [. . .] provide a vivid opportunity for the appreciation of medieval gardens through all our senses” (*ibid.*, 10).

When re-creating gardens in a historic style, for reasons of authenticity it is essential to avoid anachronism in planting schemes, which can be difficult, especially with roses, fruits, and vegetables, since often a huge number of varieties have been introduced over time while others have vanished, and historic plant lists, if available, are frequently ambiguous. For Harvey, authenticity derives from knowledge of the original work and its style. Besides checking the date of introduction of plants, if known, two other factors are essential for “[h]istorical accuracy or at least reasonable probability”: the level of wealth of the historic owners, as well as the garden’s aspect and soil (Harvey 1988, 15). A pioneering example of a re-creation of a garden of period character is Queen Eleanor’s Garden at Winchester Castle, which was opened in 1986.

When aiming to re-create a medieval garden, Landsberg argues that it is crucial to guard against falling into the trap of merging quite distinct types in order to remain convincing (1998, 8). Therefore, she designs her re-creations starting from the assumed owner of the garden at a specific time—for instance, a courtier, monk, peasant, queen, or a specific historic figure—an approach that has also been used by other garden planners. The original owners, whether they are a historic figure or a group of individuals with a connection to restored sites or whether an imagined person in a re-created garden, are as much a part of the garden as the modern designer, since their ideas shape and outline its character. Thus, the Shrewsbury Abbey

Garden was inspired by and named after Brother Cadfael, the literary medieval monk detective starring in novels by Ellis Peters, and the garden of the historic fifteenth-century physician Nicholas Colnet was re-created at his residence at Prebendal Manor. As a result, no restoration, reconstruction, or re-creation can be neutral. The following examples give a selected overview of important restored and re-created medieval gardens.

Restored and Re-Created Medieval Gardens

It is important to emphasize that the expression “medieval garden” implies much more than the well-known *hortus conclusus*, as it encompasses a variety of different gardens, which were used by many and for multiple purposes being, as Creighton has concluded, “bubbles of social exclusivity and microclimates for horticulture” (2009, 13). My first two examples belong to the group of monastic gardens; both of them were renewed on-site after archaeological excavations that revealed a considerable amount of information about the original gardens. Although both of them are like monastic gardens in general, “primarily inward-looking designed spaces, [. . .] accessed and experienced almost exclusively by monastic communities” (Creighton 2009, 49), gardens such as these fulfilled distinct functions and were addressed to diverse audiences. Indeed, very lavish medieval monastic gardens with an evident character as an object of display are also known like the gardens of Peterborough Abbey (*ibid.*, 50). While the excavated gardens at Haverfordwest Priory were used by the community collectively, the one at Mount Grace Priory is a garden essentially made for and used by a single person.

Haverfordwest Priory and Mount Grace Priory

During archaeological excavation campaigns carried out in the 1980s and 1990s on the site of the Augustinian priory of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, Wales, the remains of a well-preserved garden were unearthed. While the origins of the priory date to around 1200, when Robert Fitz Richard, Lord of Haverford, gave the site to the Augustinians, the remains of the garden date probably to the fourteenth or fifteenth century (for a detailed history see Rees 2010, 68–71). Since the Priory was built on the banks of the river Cleddau, it had to be protected with a substantial precinct wall along the riverside. There, within the southeast corner of the monastic complex between the precinct wall, the church, and the east range of buildings a sunny, sheltered area was created that was ideal for the installation of gardens. A group of eight square and rectangular raised garden beds was laid out in a grid arrangement and are preserved on a stretch of land covering approximately 50 meters north/south by 20 meters east/west, with a ninth one situated next to the south range and probably a tenth one east of the church. Each of the raised beds is retained by small stonewalls

and paths. One central bed, directly accessible through a door from the dormitory block adjacent to the Chapter House, is particularly ornate. This one shows evidence of an internal path around a centrally positioned raised bed, turf benches, and most probably originally an arbor (Rees 2010, 71; Creighton 2009, 29–30). During the restoration work, the remains of the paths and the raised beds were secured, the latter being nowadays planted with appropriate vegetables and flowers, whereas other transient structures like the assumed wooden arbor were not reconstructed.

In contrast to Haverfordwest, it was the aim at Mount Grace Priory to reconstruct the medieval garden based on excavations. Mount Grace is a Carthusian monastery in the North Riding of Yorkshire situated on the medieval road from York to Durham. Despite the inevitable structural losses that took place in the centuries after the Dissolution, the Priory, which was founded in 1398 and dissolved in 1539, remains the best preserved of the ten Carthusian houses in England (for a detailed account of Mount Grace’s history see Coppack and Douglas 2014, 25–40). This is largely due to the fact that in 1898 Sir Isaac Lothian Bell, a successful industrialist, bought the Priory and extended not merely the residence within the medieval north guest house in the Arts and Crafts style but, rather, began substantial repair and restoration of some of the monastic structures (*ibid.*, 40; it remained in the Bell family until 1944 and is now managed by English Heritage).

One of Bell’s most noticeable interventions was the complete rebuilding of a monk’s cell together with the surrounding enclosure and the garden within. Carthusian monasteries have a very specific architectural layout, which echoes the order’s emphasis on contemplation, silence, and solitude, and Mount Grace is no exception. The design provided individual cells for each monk of the community, where the men lived like hermits for most of the time in isolation. The individual cells with their private gardens occupy three sides of the Great Cloister north of the church; there were fifteen altogether at the latest building stage dated to around 1480. Between 1901 and 1905 Sir Isaac Lothian Bell rebuilt cell number 8 in the middle of the covered north alley, a solid two-story stone building, originally erected in around 1480. English Heritage substantially refitted this cell in the 1980s using the evidence of other cells, contemporary illustrations, and excavation (www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/mount-grace-priory/history/description/, accessed July 9, 2015). Cell number 8 occupies approximately one-quarter of the rectangular plot, which is, on all four sides, surrounded by walls of over 4 meters in height without windows, thus creating a veritable C-shaped walled garden around the monk’s lodging (Figure 9.1).

The garden was re-created on the basis of excavations on the site. The archaeological evidence for the galleries was also taken into account, and reference was made to the range of plants available in the late middle ages. As a result, the reconstruction currently showcases a garden with several structural elements: a roofed gallery on one side of the wall, linking the lodging with the latrine in the opposite corner and providing a sheltered

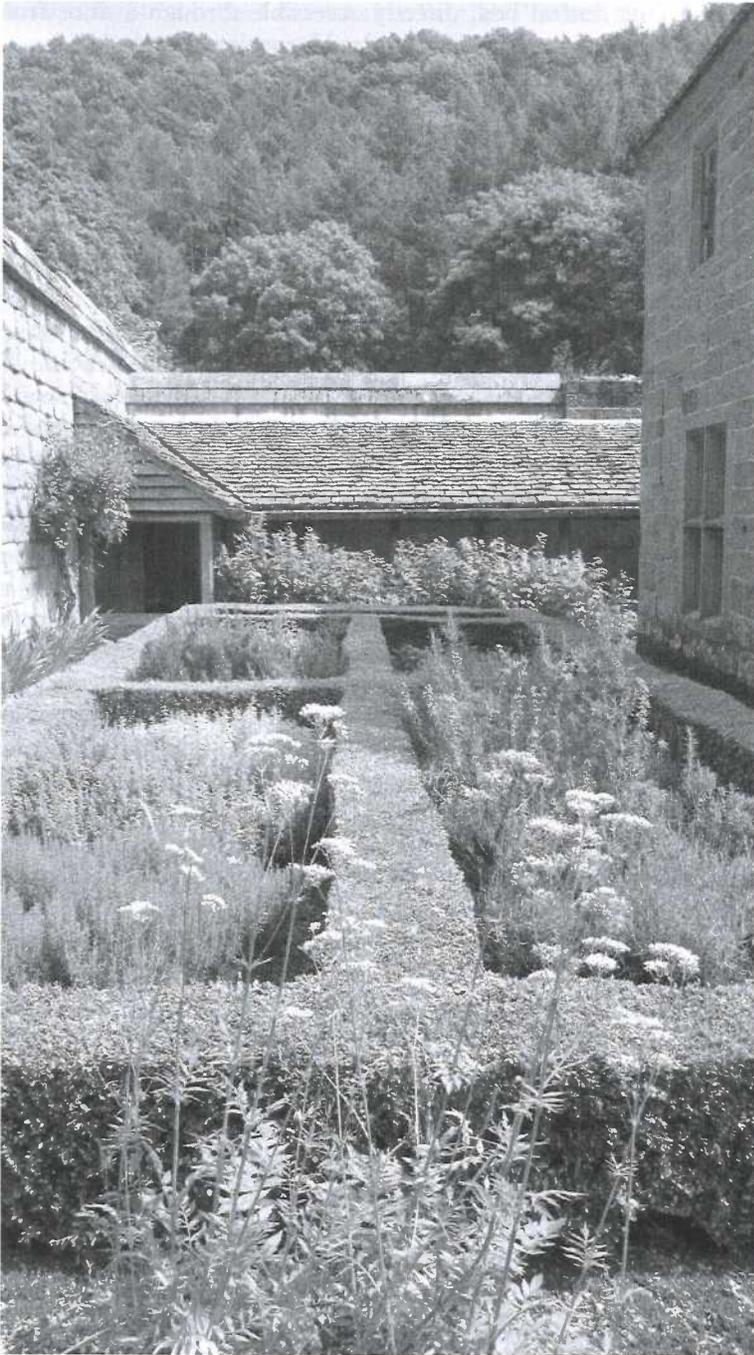


Figure 9.1 Mount Grace Priory Garden
Photo © Manuel Schwembacher.

sitting place; an additional small glazed private cloister with a wooden floor; and stone pavements, which encircle the soil patches and ensure a clean and comfortable access to the planted areas. Asymmetrically arranged patches are confined and defined by hedges of boxwood. In some ways the layout of this small walled garden echoes the Great Cloister just outside the cell with its plantations and pavements. There was no shortage of water in the gardens of Mount Grace since several springs on-site provided enough supply, and drinking and irrigation water was carried to each cell through lead pipes from the water tower positioned in the middle of the cloister garden (Coppack and Douglas 2014, 31). Excavations in Mount Grace have shown that although most of the gardens of the monks are basically standardized in their size—with the exception of the cells number 10 and 5 because of their positioning on the corners of the great cloister—their designs and layouts in their fifteenth- and sixteenth-century phases “were executed rather individualistically, largely as pleasure grounds rather than for growing vegetables” (Creighton 2009, 30; see also Gilchrist 1995, 199–201). Cell number 9, for example, featured in the fifteenth century—appropriate to the layout of the garden—an arrangement of three planting beds, which were divided by grass paths; the garden of cell number 10 was mainly grassed with some decorative elements. While nowadays English Heritage maintains all the cells’ gardens as grass areas, the current planting scheme of the beds in the restored garden of cell number 8 is strictly based on species that were available in England in the late Middle Ages, comprising, for example, iris and artemisia. The reconstruction of the garden was also consistent with that of the site of the priory, for the cell, and its surrounding walls, had also been reconstructed. This forms a quasi-autonomous reconstituted structure within the ruinous setting, a structure that is perfectly consistent with the site and its history. A large number of other monastic gardens have been excavated although not restored. Among these are Denny Abbey in Cambridgeshire, the Augustinian Priory in Hull and the Gilbertine Priory in York (Creighton 2009, 30, and for Hull Richardson and Dennison 2014, 30).

Ravensworth Castle and Kenilworth Castle

Alongside monastic gardens, those associated with castles and manors constitute a prominent group, which comprise different features (see also the chapter by Smith in this volume). Although in the strictest sense no medieval castle garden has been restored on site after an excavation—gardens such as those at Tretower Court and Prebendal Manor are still re-creations—it is illuminating to discuss the remnants of the unexcavated and unrestored medieval garden at Ravensworth Castle, since sites such as these provide a considerable insight into structures that have not been built over in post-medieval times. In contrast to this relatively unknown medieval castle is the illustrious Kenilworth Castle, which also features a famous restoration and

reconstruction of an early modern Tudor garden. Reconstructions of Tudor period gardens may be found in turn at the Knot Garden in front of the Old Palace at Hatfield House, designed by the 6th Marchioness of Salisbury in 1981 on a site where gardens were always present, and the garden at the Tudor House Museum and Garden in Southampton by Sylvia Landsberg (Snell and Marchioness of Salisbury 2005, 42–46; Harvey 1988, 29 and 33–34; <https://tudorhouseandgarden.com/>, accessed December 5, 2016).

The ruins of Ravensworth Castle, once the residence of the Fitzhugh family, are situated in the village of the same name about 7 kilometers north of Richmond in North Yorkshire. Nowadays the site preserves few remaining standing structures, which are mainly the result of a late fourteenth-century remodeling of an earlier complex, as well as well-preserved earthworks featuring gardens, a mere, moats, and terraces. After a first measured earthwork survey in 1997, a second one was undertaken in 2007, which led to the identification of at least two separate phases of medieval garden development (Richardson and Dennison 2014, 21). The gardens lay outside the walled areas of the castle and beyond the “watery landscape” of the inner moat (Liddiard and Williamson 2008, 526). They “comprise six shallow sub-square conjoined enclosures (A to F)” of unequal size, extending on an area 65 meters north/south by 50 meters east/west, forming a slightly irregular grid pattern. Two of the enclosures, A and B, which are the ones most distant from the castle, are preserved and date from the first stage of garden development at Ravensworth. Enclosure A contained, for instance, a quadrangular arrangement of square, slightly raised beds, divided by paths. The four southern enclosures, C through F, were of a different plan: their pathways are better defined, positioned on a slightly divergent alignment, and, above all, terraced. These terraces, with their raised beds, partially overlay the earlier gardens, and the beds are similar in size to those excavated at Haverfordwest Priory (Richardson and Dennison 2014, 28–29). Richardson and Dennison emphasize that the gardens were deliberately positioned to be seen or overlooked from a raised viewpoint from the castle complex (*ibid.*, 33). Such a viewpoint is also essential for the appreciation and reception of the sixteenth-century Tudor garden at Kenilworth, a castle that is, nowadays, predominantly associated with its Elizabethan period but was also an outstanding aristocratic and royal residence for centuries before.

The history of Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire, with its origins in the 1120s, is relatively well documented after 1174, for it was taken into royal ownership for strategic reasons (for a detailed account see Morris 2010, 36–52). In the second half of the fourteenth century John of Gaunt enlarged Kenilworth on a grand scale; the existence of pleasure gardens at that time is more than likely, but no traces have survived (*ibid.*, 34). We know, however, that from 1414 to 1417 Henry V created a vast recreational facility on the far side of the artificial lake known as the Great Mere, which was called the “Pleasance in the Marsh” (Mawrey and Groves 2010, 12; Morris 2010, 44). There, a garden of about one hectare surrounded a wooden manor re-

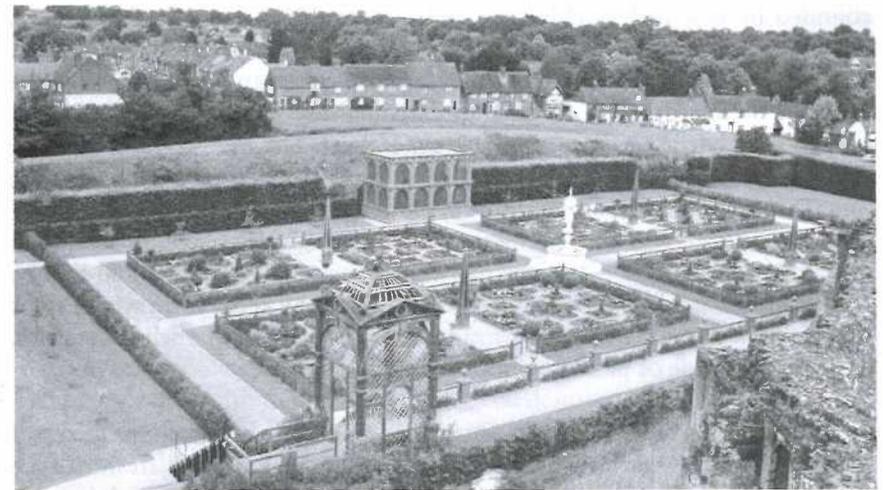


Figure 9.2 Kenilworth Castle Garden

Photo © Manuel Schwembacher.

today. In contrast to that, modern visitors to the castle can enjoy the famous Elizabethan garden, which Robert Dudley originally created in 1575 and which English Heritage reinstated in 2009 (Figure 9.2).

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1533–1588), to whom Elizabeth I granted Kenilworth in 1563, realized a number of ambitious projects on the site, including a new façade on the east range and the massive “Leicester’s Building” (Morris 2010, 46). Adjacent to the north side of the keep Dudley financed an elegant privy garden on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth I’s visit in 1575. This was the fourth visit of the ruler to Kenilworth and was celebrated with lavish feasts lasting for days and featured the new garden as one of the highlights. Although Elizabeth’s garden was mainly lost during the Civil War, a relatively clear depiction of it survived through the centuries in the form of a detailed account of an eyewitness, who described the garden in a letter in the year of its creation. Although the writer, Robert Langham, an usher to Leicester, allegedly addressed the letter to his friend Humfrey Martyn, it was certainly “a brilliant piece of propaganda” intended for a wider audience (Woodhouse 2008, 98). This letter describing “The Magnificent Pageants presented before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle in 1575” became a crucial document for the team aiming at the re-creation of the garden (Kuin 1983; Goldring 2013, 59–64; extracts from the letter at www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/visit/places-to-visit/history-research-plans/extracts-from-robert-langhams-letters, accessed July 11, 2015; and see Keay, Adams and Goldring 2013, 171–173). In 1975 the

of the Elizabethan garden, featuring yew trees and lavender-filled beds surrounded by box hedges (Mawrey and Groves 2010, 16). The layout was partly inspired by Sir William Dugdale's plan of 1656, which turned out to be inaccurate (Morris 2010, 24). Aware of this, and knowing that the roots of the maturing yews were threatening any possible traces of original features left in the ground, in 2004 English Heritage commissioned a research program for "a more authentic recreation" of the garden (*ibid.*, 34). This led to analytical field surveys and excavations on the site in 2005 and 2006, which also proved the accuracy of Langham's account (Dix, Kerr and Prentice 2013, 65–74). Originally, the rectangular garden could first be seen from a small Italianate courtyard alongside the keep, from which steps led to a high terrace, whose balustrade was decorated with obelisks, statues, and spheres made of painted wood. Langham reports,

Whearin hard all along the Castl wall iz reared a pleazaunt Terres of a ten foot hy and a twelve brode: eeven under food and fresh of fyne grass: az iz allso the syde thearof toward the gardein, in which by sundry equall distaunce: with obelisks, sphearz, and white bearz all of stone upon theyr curioouz basez, by goodly sheaw wear set [. . .]

(Kuin 1983, 69)

The obelisks, bears, and spheres were most probably not made of porphyry, but from timber painted to look like porphyry and were therefore reconstructed from wood (Morris 2010, 35).

The garden itself below had a strict geometrical layout with four rectangular beds, divided by two wide paths and, in the center, rose a massive fountain made of Carrara marble. Langham reports,

In the center (as it wear) of this goodly Gardein, was theer placed, a very fayr Foountain, cast intoo an eight square, reared a four foot hy: from the midst wearof a Colum up set in shape of too *Athlants* joyned together a backhalf, the toon looking East, toother west: with theyr hands, upphollding a fayr foormed boll of a three foot over: from wheans sundry fine pipez, did lively distill continuall streamz into the receyt of the Foountayn [. . .]. In the top, the ragged Staff, which, with the boll, the piller, and eight sydez beneath, wear all heawen oout of rich and hard white Marbl. A one syde, *Neptune* with hiz *Trident* *Fuskin* triumphing in hiz Throne, trayled intoo the deep by his marine horsez. On an oother, *Thetis* in her chariot drawn by her dollphins. Then *Triton* by hiz fyshez. Heer *Protheus* hearing hiz sea bulz.

(Kuin 1983, 71–72)

The fountain's octagonal base featured scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, while above two Atlantes held a sphere that sprinkled water. In the middle of each of the rectangular beds stood a wooden obelisk and an aviary in the

classical style of 9 meters in length, which functioned as the focal point of the garden's main axis. Dudley's creation was a garden "drenched in allegory," full of allusions and symbolism (Woodhouse 2008, 99).

It is evident that the inspiration for this garden came partly from French and Italian Renaissance examples, but this is the earliest that such features like the aviary and obelisks, as well as the recorded water jokes, are documented in an English garden (Morris 2010, 34; for other examples in England see the chapter by Cock in this volume).

Between 2007 and 2009 the layout of the garden, as well as all the previously mentioned elements were re-created on site and planted with species that would have been available in the second half of the sixteenth century. The research program at Kenilworth Castle was a significant advance, giving the opportunity to combine information that could be extracted from the excavations with that garnered from the description of Langham, resulting in an as authentic as possible retrospective restoration of the sixteenth-century garden.

While the previously mentioned examples—with the exception of Ravensworth—are gardens restored to a large extent based on archaeological evidence and sited on the place where the original gardens lay, the following ones are examples of imaginative re-creations, usually located within a historic site, albeit without direct evidence of predecessors on that specific spot.

Queen Eleanor's Garden, Bayleaf Farmhouse, Tretower Court, and Prebendal Manor

Queen Eleanor's garden in Winchester is an example of an entire re-creation on a historic site. Although the existence of gardens at the Castle of Winchester is certain, since an instruction of Henry III survives to make "three herbers in this castle" in 1235, no buildings of Henry III have survived, with the exception of the Great Hall, nor is there any information of the location or the layout of those gardens (Landsberg 1998, 120). For the new garden, therefore, a triangle of ground was chosen on the south side of the Great Hall, which faces the base of the later and unfinished King's House by Sir Christopher Wren. The project was a joint venture between Hampshire County Council and Hampshire Gardens Trust and was designed by Sylvia Landsberg with John Harvey as consulting co-designer, and opened by HM the late Queen Mother on July 8, 1986 (<http://research.hgt.org.uk/item/queen-eleanors-garden/>, accessed December 3, 2016; Harvey 1988, 23; Landsberg 1998, 120–122).

The aim of the project was to re-create a royal herber of the thirteenth century, as mentioned in Henry III's instruction, within the precincts of this historic castle, imagined as a private garden for a queen living in Winchester Castle at that time. Hence, the garden was named after two eponymous queens: Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, and her daughter-in-law,

Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I. There was a wide range of possible approaches for the design of the garden, as Landsberg highlights:

Should the garden be filled with medieval colour by incorporating patterned tiled paving and brilliant flowers, highlighted by gilding and heraldic objects—a “merrie” garden? Or was it to reflect the purity of chivalry by following Henry III’s penchant for whitewashed buildings and white-blossomed trees of cherry and pear, with even the walls behind turf seats carefully whitewashed as he had arranged at Clarendon Palace, near Salisbury?

(Landsberg 1998, 121; and on Clarendon, see Richardson 2005)

Some options were not realistic because of the costs, and others because of the existing surrounding medieval and modern buildings. So the herber was conceptualized around the idea that “an overall spirit of the past could be evoked with the chivalric quality of fidelity as a central theme” (*ibid.*). This was symbolized by the permanence of evergreen plants, which also had the advantage of being aesthetically pleasing all year round. In order to create a secluded pleasure garden, several features were included to provide joy and entertainment. In the relatively small area, a central space was filled with turf and seeded with flowers found in a meadow. An arched tunnel made of wood with vine and roses provided shade and a secluded place for walks and gatherings, and among other trees a large fig tree, a classic deciduous hedge, and ivy grown on firm trellises were included. The essential garden feature, the presence of water, was provided in the form of a channel as well as a centrally positioned ornamental fountain rising above an octagonal basin. This gothic-style column-shaped fountain with four leopard head masks and a surmounting bronze falcon is based on a description of a fountain at Charing Cross Mews in Westminster in 1275. The mason used as the basis for his work a full-size drawing of the column, and the pattern for the falcon on the top of the fountain was found in the choir stalls of Winchester Cathedral (*ibid.*, 60, 122–123). Finally, a small herber was constructed, an exedra surrounded by wooden trellises with roses and ivy, which is entered via an archway that was personalized by using the heraldic device of Eleanor of Castile’s family (*ibid.*, 124). The inspiration for this herber is a mid-fifteenth-century French miniature illustrating Boccaccio’s *Teseida* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 2617, fol. 53r, reproduced on the front cover of Landsberg 1998). The creators of Queen Eleanor’s Garden ensured that, on the whole, contemporary artisanal techniques like authentic masonry and joinery were used, and at the same time did justice to the *genius loci* of the old castle hall and the cathedral, inventing a small garden fit for a queen.

Similarly in concept is the re-created garden at Tretower Court near Crickhowell in Wales, intending to show a fifteenth-century nobleman’s

pleasure garden (Landsberg 1998, 119–120; <http://cadw.gov.wales/daysout/tretowercourtandcastle/?lang=en>, accessed December 6, 2016). In 1991 Elisabeth Whittle designed the garden that is adjacent to the medieval buildings transformed in the second third of the fifteenth century by Sir Roger Vaughan, an important supporter of Edward IV. The garden includes a herber, a checkerboard layout of squares of turf together with herbaceous borders with a central fountain, a flowering meadow, and an orchard.

Landsberg, together with Christopher Zeuner and Richard Harris, also re-created a rural household garden for the Bayleaf Farm at the Weald and Downland Museum near Chichester in West Sussex, which represents a yeoman’s homestead in the period from about the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries (Landsberg 1998, 105–116; additional information at www.wealddown.co.uk/explore/buildings/further-reading/bayleaf-garden-orchard-shaws/?building=251, accessed December 5, 2016; the Weald and Downland Museum also features a re-created peasant couple’s garden of the thirteenth century; Harvey 1988, 23–24; Landsberg 1998, 116–118). Opened in 1990, the grounds of Bayleaf comprise, based on research, a utilitarian garden, an herber, and an orchard. The kitchen garden with its vegetables and herbs forms the largest part of the garden. It is divided into six main plots, which were subdivided by paths into several smaller beds where crops are grown in groups of three in order to accommodate the threefold rotation system. The crop rotation cycle is repeated every three years, and the plots can be of any number which is divisible by three (Landsberg 1998, 109–110).

The re-created medieval gardens at Prebendal Manor in Nassington, Northamptonshire, designed by Michael Brown, cover an extensive area of ground that is mostly situated south of the manor and display an impressive arrangement of practical and decorative features, all of which are typical for a late medieval high-status garden. The central historic figure incorporated into the story of the garden is Nicholas Colnet, physician to Henry V during the Agincourt campaign, who was granted the Prebendal Manor in 1417 in return for his services (<http://prebendalmanormedievalgardens.weebly.com/>, accessed December 5, 2016). Brown therefore included a vast array of medicine plants, which were very likely used by Nicholas Colnet. A rose arbor, a vegetable garden, a vineyard, a trellis garden, a coppice area, fishponds, dovecotes, a pleasure garden, and meadows are all present on the grounds (for the medicinal uses of roses, see Tyers in this volume).

All these examples aim to represent an authentic period garden as an accurate as possible reconstruction. In parallel, to this movement, in the last two decades, a few “modern-medieval” gardens have emerged: gardens in contemporary designs picking up on medieval features, which aim to convey “ideas” of medieval gardening and focus on symbolism. These gardens, as the following cases show, combine medieval heritage with striking new design concepts within historic sites.

English Heritage Contemporary Heritage Garden Scheme and Two Continental Examples

In 2000 English Heritage launched the “Contemporary Heritage Garden Scheme” aiming to add a new chapter to the history of a range of heritage sites of different periods (Mawrey and Groves 2010, 200–203; Watkins and Wright 2007, 29; www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/historic-gardens/, accessed December 5, 2016). Within five years, ten new gardens were created, each of them selected after a competition to design them. Among the newly created gardens two are within medieval settings, one at the medieval Bishop’s Palace in Lincoln and the other at Richmond Castle in Yorkshire.

The Bishop’s Palace in Lincoln, which is adjacent to the cathedral, was the residence of one of the most influential clergymen in medieval Britain. It is recorded that in 1329, Bishop Burghesh bought land alongside his residence in order to build a garden, of which no plans survive (www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/lincoln-medieval-bishops-palace/garden/, accessed December 5, 2016). While the stretch of land, spanning 30 meters by 18 meters, was used as a kitchen garden in the nineteenth century, it had become derelict by the end of the millennium. Mark Anthony Walker won the English Heritage competition for creating a new garden on the piece of land. This sits well within the site and not only is framed by the Roman and medieval walls on two sides, with a vineyard on the third side, but also provides extensive vistas on the fourth side because of its elevated position above the town. Walker’s design references the cathedral nearby. Planting was kept minimalistic with a reduced group of varieties, including lavender, the dahlia “Bishop of Llandaff” and the climbing “Rosa Guinée” (www.lincolnshire-gardenstrust.org.uk/EH_gardens.html, accessed December 5, 2016; Mawrey and Groves 2010, 200). Essential elements of the garden are nine clipped hornbeams, which are diagonally positioned in three rows, rising into the air “like the spires of the Cathedral.” Narrow weathered brick paths laid at precise geometric angles running between the trees echo the intricacy of the ribs supporting the cathedral’s roof. Each tree is sunk into a circlet of polished stainless steel, like the architectural bosses where the ribs intersect. Etchings on the steel circlets reference the history of Lincoln, while the garden benches are reminiscent of the stalls in the choir. With these and additional elements the garden reflects distinctive aspects of its history and setting.

At Richmond Castle, the so-called Cockpit Garden, was designed in 2000 by Neil Swanson and opened in 2002. An acre in size, it is adjacent to the ruins and surrounded by a cobbled path. Swanson intended to create a garden, which invites visitors to reflect on the castle’s history (on which see Goodall 2001). On the castle website, Swanson comments,

I wanted visitors to walk around the garden, seeing the topiary terrace, experiencing the gradual softening of the castle landscape, until they

return, passing once again the same terrace, but perhaps seeing it differently, and sensing something of the unseen, human struggle which took place there.

The center of the garden is a generous grass amphitheater with a circular declivity in the middle. While the architecture of the castle is reflected in the bold topiaries, there are also sixteen pieces of yew topiary, which are a reminder of the conscientious objectors held in the castle’s cell according to an information panel on-site at the castle. The decision to commemorate these sixteen enlisted men, who refused to take part in military activities and were therefore imprisoned during the First World War, was controversial, leading to a public meeting in 2002. Finally, it was decided that the trees could remain. At Richmond Castle, the new garden also aims to prompt visitors to think about the history of both specific events and human conflict on this historic site through the symbolic arrangements of plants, which have to be contextualized in order to become “readable.” With features evoking political associations, this design continues the long tradition of conveying “hidden messages” through allegorical features, as in the case of Capability Brown’s garden at Stowe in the eighteenth century (Mawrey and Groves 2010, 203).

While the gardens discussed so far are in British contexts, a very prominent example of a “modern medieval” garden also exists in France, at the Musée Nationale du Moyen Âge in Paris (www.musee-moyenage.fr/, accessed June 8, 2016). Created in 2000 by the landscape gardeners Èric Ossart and Arnaud Maurières, the garden occupies the site of the historic gardens around the fifteenth-century building of the l’Hôtel des Abbés de Cluny, which nowadays houses the medieval museum collection. Nothing of the historic gardens survive and the new layout is essentially a contemporary garden, which was deeply inspired and influenced by the Middle Ages, especially by art objects in the museum itself, for example, the six famous unicorn tapestries, *La Tenture de la Dame à la Licorne*, created around 1500, or the *La Vie Seigneuriale*, both of which are millefleurs tapestries, which date from the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Extending more than 5,000 square meters, the garden consists of four different areas of which the terraces form the main part. The terraces represent central aspects of medieval gardens as well as their inherent symbolism. They are labeled as kitchen garden or *potager (jardin nourricier)*, garden of the Virgin (*jardin de la Vierge*), medicinal garden (*jardin des simples*), celestial garden (*jardin céleste*), garden of love (*jardin de l’amour*), or meadow (*préau, prairie herbassée*). The garden of love, for instance, is partly fenced with a pergola that provides shelter and has benches in the form of raised turf-covered banks. Instead of having a grassy meadow the place was paved with tiles and decorated with four large pots with topiary trees. The garden of the Virgin brings together a large number of plants that were symbolically associated with Mary and Christ, and these are incorporated in

geometrically laid out sunken beds, which re-create the magnificent visual effect of the millefleurs tapestries preserved in the museum. Beyond the terraces, which represent the domesticated aspects of nature, lies the wild wooded garden of the unicorn.

Another “modern-medieval” garden lies adjacent to the German Naumburg Cathedral where, on an area of approximately 2.5 acres immediately to the southwest of the cathedral, gardens have been present since medieval times (<http://naumbergermeister.eu/index.php?id=172&L=1>, accessed June 8, 2016). Within this area, in close proximity to the west choir, lies the “Garden of the Naumburg Master,” which was created in 2011. Located on an ancient gardening site, this garden with its contemporary design has strong connections to the surroundings, especially to the works of the mid-thirteenth-century Naumburg Master, whose stonemasonry decorates the west choir and the west rood screen of the cathedral. Famous for his naturalistic style, he depicted more than 150 different plants in his stone capitals, friezes, and keystones, all of which are botanically correct and identifiable. Many of these plants are now to be found in the new garden, along with informative panels, which depict pictures of the corresponding botanical stonemasonry. The center of the garden forms a tessellated laid out square, where eight steles over 2 meters in height are positioned with corresponding stone planters. Each of these steles is dedicated to an important medieval garden plant (like the rose, ivy, fig, artemisia, and ranunculus). The steles are engraved with information about these plants.

While this contemporary garden also references at its core another historical figure in the shape of the Naumburg artisan, together with traditional medieval design elements such as the checkered pattern or the elongated raised beds, also used in Paris and the Musée de Cluny, the aims and impact of the latter could not be more different to the one in Naumburg. In Paris, the design, the plantings, and the decorative elements emphasize the aim to create an atmospheric garden, intended to communicate the ideas and symbolism of the medieval imagination, and in this way to represent a kind of emotional medievalism. The conception of the garden in Naumburg, on the other hand, is contingent on the local work of the Naumburg Master; it celebrates his masterpieces and communicates at the same time an eminent didactic element where the transfer of knowledge is essential.

Contemporary Perceptions of the *Hortus Recidivus*

Garden visiting has a long tradition with a historical continuity, which is traceable from the Middle Ages and is nowadays “deeply embedded in popular culture” (Connell 2003, 185). This popularity of gardens helps tourism to thrive, the ticket revenues support maintaining the sites, and there are signs that the importance of gardens to visitors is stable if not on the increase. For instance, in 2000 seven out of the top ten most visited properties cared for by the National Trust were gardens (*ibid.*, 189); in 2014/2015

the figure was eight out of the top ten (National Trust 2014/15, 77). The situation is similar for English Heritage, where many of the most popular sites feature gardens. Since English Heritage visitor surveys showed that more people visit stately homes “to see their gardens than to see the house or its contents” (Mawrey and Groves 2010, 200), the idea was born to increase the attractiveness of other sites, especially monasteries or castles, by adding gardens. For the Contemporary Heritage Garden scheme alone, English Heritage invested in total 1.5 million pounds. These new gardens are proving to be “extremely attractive,” bringing “alive [. . .] ‘dry’ attractions such as ruined abbeys” (*ibid.*, 200, 10). This comment by Mawrey and Groves underlines the potential of gardens for improving the visitor experience through different aspects of gardens, ranging from aesthetic, botanical, and historic to recreational and social focal points. Two noteworthy aspects of garden design, those of gender and authenticity, will be referred to shortly in relation to the aforementioned restored or re-created gardens.

Among the examples discussed earlier are some, which can be seen from certain points of view as predominantly female or male spaces. Two of the gardens—those at Winchester and at Kenilworth Castle—are examples of elite garden re-creations and reconstructions, which are associated with primarily female historical figures. Queen Eleanor’s Garden at Winchester was and is staged as an explicit “woman’s place” adjacent to the Great Hall of the medieval castle. Not only is the given name and character of the garden very appropriate for the place, but it is also inspiring and promising, evoking nostalgia and feelings of romanticism about a medieval royal life—a queen’s garden certainly sells well. With its retreat character, the garden refers in some ways to the *hortus conclusus* idea as a secluded, private space, which is charged with associations depending on the background of the visitor. The historical figure or the historical figures—the two Eleanors—are faded into the background, though. The aura of a queen and her living circumstances are essential. This situation differs significantly from the staging at Kenilworth Castle, where, with Elizabeth I, a specific, famous queen is omnipresent, together with her favorite Robert Dudley. With the restoration of the garden, which Dudley created as a token of his veneration to impress his queen, the aspects of love and reverence are still central, and the promotion of Kenilworth Castle by English Heritage both focuses on the crowd puller Elizabeth I and emphasizes her connection with Dudley by reflecting the importance of the pleasure garden for the romance between Dudley and Elizabeth. On the English Heritage website, visitors to Kenilworth are invited to “[w]alk in the footsteps of the great Tudor queen through the garden and imagine the opulence and splendour of Elizabethan Kenilworth.”

Gender themes are also integrated into the concepts, layouts, or symbolism of modern medieval gardens like the garden at the Musée de Cluny in Paris, where terraces like the garden of the Virgin and the garden of love echo handed down roles and connotations of gendered spaces. Essential for all these gardens is the way in which the garden brief has fostered a

romantic mood or harmonious space in order that it becomes a place where the visitor feels both comfortable and inspired.

Two of the examples discussed are specifically male-oriented gardens: The garden at Mount Grace Priory, for instance, is a genuine male space that nevertheless reveals several associations with the *hortus conclusus*, a garden type, and garden *topos*, which is usually identified as an archetypal female space (Bauman 2013, 120; and see also Hughes-Edwards 2010, 143). Because of the *hortus conclusus* described in the Song of Solomon 4: 12–16, this type of enclosed garden was, from the twelfth century onward, inextricably linked with the Virgin Mary, referring to the miraculous birth of her child, and it was “portrayed as the domain of woman” (Bauman 2013, 121; and see also Liz Herbert McAvoy’s chapter in this volume). The Carthusian garden cells could be described as masculine *horti conclusi*, which combine both aspects of protection and safety as well as a sense of imprisonment. Once the construction of the building and the surrounding walls is completed, no one, except the monk, is allowed to enter; no one has even a possibility to glimpse into the protected garden. At the same time they are imbued with religious and iconographic traditions but change the gender of the main—and only—protagonist: the gardening monk (on the queer gender possibilities of the garden, see Amy Louise Morgan’s chapter in this volume). The re-creation of a Carthusian garden seizes on the idea of a sheltered, peaceful garden space as it was depicted and described in contemporary theological works, for instance, the miniature on folio 22v of BL Add MS 37049, a miscellany manuscript produced at Mount Grace between 1460 and 1500 (Coppack and Douglas 2014, 9). This type of monastic garden called for the creation of a place for meditation, the cultivation of plants and herbs, for work and nutrition. While the garden at Mount Grace Priory was intended as a dedicated space for a single man, the one at Haverfordwest Priory was accessible to the whole male community for gardening and recreational purposes (Skinner and Tyers, Introduction in this volume).

The aspect of authenticity is important in the appreciation of restored and re-created gardens, not only for a specialist audience, who are aware of the possibilities and limits of these undertakings, but also for those without specific specialized knowledge, many of whom might perceive the garden as genuinely medieval. Therefore, on-site information and education are essential in order that these gardens succeed in promoting public understanding of medieval gardening and garden history. Restorations and re-creations have, as Keay points out for Kenilworth—and this is certainly valid for other sites as well—the potential “to change public perceptions of the past” (Keay 2013, 89), enhancing both their understanding and enjoyment. As in the case of Kenilworth, re-created gardens should be seen as long-term research projects (*ibid.*, 91), which are bringing an important part of medieval life and culture into being to a wider public. These garden projects are for many visitors their first contact with the medieval or early modern

periods. Such gardens, therefore, have the potential to awaken historical interest and enable a dialogue with the past to take place while being, at the same time, simply truly enjoyable and inspiring.

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10 Report on a Pilot Study of the Garden as a Place of Health and Well-Being

Sara Jones

Background

Studies to explore the relationship between green space and human health using a range of methods and disciplinary approaches at different scales have increased over recent decades. Organizations such as the James Hutton Institute in Dundee have investigated how green space can have wide-ranging positive impacts on public health suggesting ways that green space can be integrated into modern landscapes and modern lives (www.hutton.ac.uk/research/projects/green-health), while other studies have reported that gardening has a therapeutic effect on physical, psychological, and social health, which can, from a long-term perspective, alleviate and prevent various health issues facing today's society (Soga, Gaston and Yamaura 2017). Studies into the real effects of therapeutic gardening on the elderly have reported the benefits of horticultural therapy and garden settings in the reduction of pain, improvement in attention, lessening of stress, modulation of agitation, lowering of as needed medications and antipsychotics, and reduction of falls in the elderly. This suggests that time spent in the garden either working or just being in a garden can improve their health (Detweiler et al. 2012). Other medical studies have also focused on stewardship and how gardening increases health, community awareness, and a connection to future generations providing a valuable insight into how the humanities and science can work together in a symbiotic relationship and shed light on contemporary health issues (Wright and Wadsworth 2014). Among the more general studies such as those that report on improved "well-being," for example, increased positivity, relaxation, decreased psychological stress, and improved cognitive function, there are also targeted studies on the health benefits, such as decreased risk of cardiovascular disease, decreased blood pressure, decreased cortisol levels, and lower levels of depression and anxiety (Bowler, Buyung-Ali, Knight and Pullin 2010; Ward-Thompson et al. 2012; Irvine, Warber, Devine-Wright and Gaston 2013; Pasanen, Tyrvaïnen and Korpela 2014; Whear et al. 2014; Bratman, Daily, Levy and Gross 2015). There are reported benefits associated with being outside in a green space, garden, or spending time close to nature. The

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Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	viii

PART I	
Theorizing the Garden	1
1 Introduction: The Garden at the Intersection of Pleasure, Contemplation, and Cure	3
PATRICIA SKINNER AND THERESA TYERS	
2 Gendered Spaces of Flourishing and the Medieval <i>Hortus Conclusus</i>	16
LIZ HERBERT MCAVOY	
PART II	
The Historical Garden	39
3 Rills and Romance: Gardens at the Castles of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Edward I in Wales	41
SPENCER GAVIN SMITH	
4 <i>A Delite</i> for the Senses: Three Healing Plants in Medieval Gardens, the Lily, the Rose, and the Woodland Strawberry	56
THERESA TYERS	
5 In Dock, Out Nettle: Negotiating Health Risks in the Early Modern Garden	70
EMILY COCK	

PART III

The Imagined Garden 89

- 6 “To Play bi an Orchardside”: Orchards as Enclosures of Queer Space in *Lanval* and *Sir Orfeo* 91
AMY LOUISE MORGAN

- 7 Dressing the Pleasure Garden: Creation, Recreation, and Varieties of Pleasure in the Two Texts of the *Norwich Grocers’ Play* 102
DAISY BLACK

- 8 Political Gardens in Early Modern English Drama 123
EOIN PRICE

PART IV

Gardens and Transformation 133

- 9 *Horti Recidivi*: The Restoration and Re-Creation of Medieval Gardens in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries 135
MANUEL SCHWEMBACHER

- 10 Report on a Pilot Study of the Garden as a Place of Health and Well-Being 155
SARA JONES

Contributors 166

Index 168

Figures

- 9.1 Mount Grace Priory Garden 140
- 9.2 Kenilworth Castle Garden 143
- 10.1 Age and Gender Profile of Participants 157
- 10.2 Subjective “Feelings” Tested 158
- 10.3 Comparing Systolic Blood Pressure and Heart Rates Before and After Rest 159
- 10.4 Comparing Feelings of Well-Being Before and After Resting 160