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Garden Design and Experience in Shakespeare's England

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents an overview of the design and experience of gardens in Shakespeare's England. It focuses on key examples, from Hampton Court Palace, laid out by Henry VIII from the 1530s, to Henry, Prince of Wales's Italianate garden at Richmond Palace, which was never completed due to his premature death in 1612. As well as providing a selective design history, the chapter seeks to reconstruct contemporary attitudes to landscape design during Shakespeare's period through comparing actual gardens with literary ones such as Spenser's 'Bower of Bliss' in *The Faerie Queene*. It is argued that two neglected themes emerge from this comparison: first, the potentially negative connotations of the concept of the enchanted garden and, second, the cultural significance of the representation of monsters in Renaissance landscape design.

Keywords: gardens, enchantment, monsters, Renaissance, Shakespeare, Spenser

> On the well-clothed boughs of this conspiracy of pine trees, against the resembled sunbeams, were perched as many sorts of shrill-breasted birds as the summer hath allowed for singing men in her silvan chapels. Who, though there were bodies without souls, and sweet resembled substances without sense, yet by the mathematical experiments of long silver pipes secretly inrinded in the entrails of the boughs whereon they sat, and undiscernable conveyed under their bellies into their small throats sloping, they whistled and freely carolled their natural field note … But so closely were all those organizing implements obscured in the corpulent trunks of the trees, that every man there present renounced conjectures of art and said it was done by enchantment.
>
> Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller (1594)*, In: *An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, ed. Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 271–2

By the mid-sixteenth century, European engineers and garden designers had developed sophisticated techniques for channelling, distributing, and raising water, powering automated sculptural tableaux, and controlling climactic conditions, partly by assimilating the knowledge of ancient writers such as Hero of Alexandria and partly from their experience of the 'makers knowledge tradition'.[1] The same technology was employed in (p. 679) contemporary masques and theatrical events. Many designers of gardens constructed stage scenery and theatrical

machines. The Medicean architect Costantino de' Servi, for example, designed masques for the Stuart court, though these seem not to have been successful, in addition to providing a detailed plan for Prince Henry's Italianate garden at Richmond Palace (1611).[2]

This relationship between garden design and the theatre has led Roy Strong to propose that *The Tempest* (1612) 'suggests, with its magical island, its monsters and strange happenings, that Shakespeare might in one aspect have been thinking of late Mannerist garden marvels'.[3] According to him, 'the figures and phenomena' of *The Tempest*,

> are just such as could be found in the royal gardens in the years when the play was written … We seem, in fact, at times, to be wandering through a garden by [Salomon] de Caus where we are suddenly confronted by dreamlike monsters, or entering a wild grotto to be struck suddenly, at the turn of a stopcock, with surprise and wonder at moving statues and magical music, as gods and goddesses spring to life and enact an *intermezzo*.[4]

Like the 'Vitruvian' engineer, Prospero controls natural forces through his arts. The storm that he conjures at the beginning of *The Tempest* closely resembles the artificial 'tempest', complete with rain, wind, and thunder that the English traveller and diarist John Evelyn witnessed in the nymphaeum of the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, in 1644.[5]

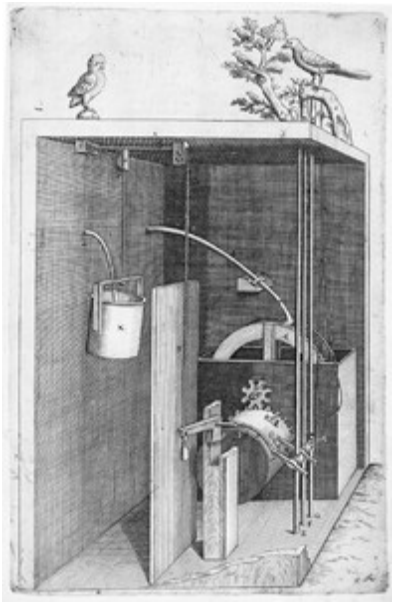

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Figure 38.1 Salomon de Caus, Problem 23, Book I, *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes avec diverses machines tant utiles que plaisantes* (Frankfurt: Jan Norton, 1615). Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington, D.C.

In the garden, as in the theatre, these effects depended on technical competence, but the concealment of the artifice behind the illusion suggested the intervention of magic rather than science to observers (notwithstanding the fine, sometimes non-existent, line between these forms of knowledge during the period). Shakespeare's contemporary Thomas Nashe describes how the 'shrill-breasted birds' of his fictitious Italian garden occupy the boughs of a 'conspiracy of pine trees'. The word 'conspiracy' is deliberately chosen, for the birds were not real but 'living sculptures', their technical appurtenances obscured by the branches.[6] Both the birds and the tree have counterparts in contemporary garden design. Salomon de Caus, who worked alongside de' Servi at Richmond, provides detailed instructions and a (p. 680) diagram for the construction of lifelike artificial birds in his treatise *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes avec diverses machines tant utilles que plaisantes* (1615; 2nd rev. edn 1624) (see Figure 38.1). In the early sixteenth century, Niccolò Tribolo had installed pipes 'secretely inrinded in the entrails of the boughs', as Nashe puts it, in a tree of (p. 681) the garden of the Villa Medici, Castello, so that water would spout and trickle from the branches.[7]

The illusion of sentience is so convincing in Nashe's garden that, 'every man there present renounced conjectures of art and said it was done by enchantment'. The enchanted garden is a leitmotif of Renaissance literature and must have informed the responses of contemporaries to real gardens in England and on the Continent.[8] In his

classic study of the sorceress Acrasia's 'Bower of Bliss'—an enchanted garden—in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596), Michael Leslie emphasizes the precedent of the Italian enchantresses Alcina in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1532), and Armida in Torquato Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1581).[9] In all three cases, the sorceresses' magic arts seduce, stupefy, and emasculate the hero.

The garden is revealed in these epic poems to be a false paradise, a charming but perilous illusion, which has the Circean propensity to ensnare and entrap the unwary or the weak. This is no less true of *The Tempest*, though in Shakespeare's play the enchantress has become implicit. In Ted Hughes's opinion, despite her absence, Caliban's mother, Sycorax,

> the ultimate Queen of Hell, is still everywhere, like the natural pressure of the island's atmosphere. Prospero's statement that she died is little more than a figure of speech: the island on which Prospero and Miranda have lodged for their twelve years, and on which all the action unfolds, is hers.[10]

The enchanted bowers of contemporary literature—seductive lairs of fatal temptresses—thus suggest a different idea of the Renaissance garden to the prevailing one that it was designed as a straightforward *locus amoenus* (pleasant place).[11]

Mark Thornton Burnett has argued that 'The capacity of the artist individually to fashion "monsters" and, in so doing, to change the course of "nature", lies at the heart of *The* *(p. 682)* *Tempest*'s theatrical aesthetic'.[12] There is, in the terms of the period, something monstrous about the control that Prospero exerts over the natural elements, but Burnett's observation also recalls a statement attributed to Shakespeare's near contemporary, Michelangelo Buonarotti. According to Francisco da Hollanda, Michelangelo once claimed, with reference to paintings of *grotteschi* (grotesque imagery and ornament derived from Roman painting), that sometimes it is appropriate to 'convert a griffin or a deer downward into a dolphin or upward into any shape he may choose, putting wings in the place of arms, and cutting away the arms if wings are better'. Such creatures, he says, 'may seem false but can really only be called well invented or *monstrous*'.[13] In other words, Michelangelo equates the idea of creation with that of the monstrous, as if they were interchangeable concepts.

The figure of the monster appears in many early modern discourses, besides that of art and aesthetics—from medicine and natural history to prognostication and popular entertainment. Monsters also appear in Renaissance landscape design. Consequently, the principal monster of *The Tempest*, Caliban, recalls not only the aesthetic disputes of the artists and their critics, the learned treatises of the physicians and scientists, and the commercial imperatives of the sideshow impresarios, but also the harpies, sphinxes, human–animal hybrids, giants, and mythical beasts that were depicted in gardens throughout Europe.

In summary, if the landscape of *The Tempest* alludes to that of the Mannerist garden, if the figure of Prospero resembles the early modern engineer, and if—despite Prospero—the island remains bewitched by the sorceress Sycorax, then Caliban, the enchantress's progeny, can be interpreted as a Shakespearean version of the theme of the monster in the garden.[14] After a selective survey of landscape design in Tudor and early Stuart England, this neglected dimension of Renaissance landscape design, along with that of enchantment (whether magical or technological) will be explored further.

'Delight unto Al Sencez (if Al Can Take)': Tudor and Stuart Garden Design

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Figure 38.2 Anthonis van Wyngaerde, Hampton Court Palace and Gardens, *c.*1555. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

HENRY VIII's garden at Hampton Court Palace was laid out from the 1530s and is the first significant example of Tudor landscape design.[15] A panoramic drawing of *c.*1555 (p. 683) by Anthonis van Wyngaerde helps to elucidate its layout (see Figure 38.2).[16] Additional details are provided by the building accounts and the diary entries of foreign visitors.

Wyngaerde's drawing depicts three distinct enclosures. The most important was the privy garden, which could be viewed from the royal apartments. It was enclosed within walls punctuated by glazed windows, which would presumably have allowed glimpses through to the other gardens.[17] Within the walls, the privy garden consisted of two large (p. 684) beds subdivided into quarters and decorated with numerous statues. Although it is unclear from the drawing what these figures represented, Strong has convincingly associated them with the record of a payment from the Office of the King's Works for 'making bestes in tymber for the kynges new garden.'[18]

Heraldic beasts were a characteristic feature of Tudor landscape design. Several visitors from the Continent commented on them. The Spanish Duke de Najera, for example, who visited Hampton Court in 1544, described them as 'monsters.'[19] Like the 'Dacre Beasts' (*c.*1507–25) (formerly at Naworth Castle, Cumbria and, since 2000, in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), they were brightly painted, topped by metal wind vanes, and stood five or six feet high on posts.[20] The carver Edmund More was paid for making 159 of them for Hampton Court in 1533, and again in 1534 for another six.[21] The heraldic meaning of the beasts was consolidated by the wooden rails painted in the Tudor colours of white and green that enclosed the beds.[22]

If the privy garden at Hampton Court was an elaborate emblem of the king and his queen (or *queens*—payments were regularly made for the alteration of the 'beasts' each time a new royal consort arrived),[23] then it also provides an early example of the garden as an arena of scientific display. In June 1534, twenty sundials were purchased for the garden.[24] The Italian visitor Horatio Busino's diary entry of 21 September 1618 may give some sense of their appearance: 'in the midst of a large space they raise a circular mound four feet high, placing a column in its centre for the sun dial'.[25] Although obviously different in purpose, the sundials, as simple scientific instruments, foreshadow the advent of the complex hydraulic automata of late Renaissance design.

The description of Hampton Court by another traveller—the Swiss Thomas Platter, who visited England in 1599—adds an important detail to this account of Henry's garden. Platter noticed examples of *ars topiaria* (topiary arts):

> There were all manner of shapes, men and women, half men and half horse, sirens, serving maids with baskets, French lilies and delicate crenellations all round made from the dry twigs bound together and the aforesaid evergreen quickset shrubs, or (p. 685) entirely of rosemary, all true to the life, and so cleverly and amusingly interwoven, mingled and grown together, trimmed and arranged picture-wise that their equal would be difficult to find.[26]

Baron Waldstein, who also visited Hampton Court, confirms the presence of a 'large number of growing plants shaped into animals … they even had sirens, centaurs, sphinxes, and other fabulous poetic creatures portrayed here

in topiary work'.[27]

These 'fabulous poetic creatures' are, like the Hampton Court mount, early outliers of the Italian garden (possibly transmitted to England via Valois France), dominated as it was by the imagery of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Their composition out of natural materials suggests a favourite theme of Renaissance landscape design: the collaboration and friendly *paragone* (rivalry) of art and nature in the garden. Claudio Tolomei's enthusiastic praise of a garden grotto that he had seen in Rome is indicative of a widely held desideratum in sixteenth-century Italy: 'Mingling art with nature, one does not know how to discern whether it is a work of the former or the latter; on the contrary, now it seems to be a natural artifice, then an artificial nature.'[28]

English evaluations of the relationship were not, however, always as positive. In Spenser's typically Protestant view, for example, the capacity of art to simulate nature was potentially dangerous. Perdita's distrust of artifice in *The Winter's Tale* (1611), her refusal to allow artificially bred flowers into her garden, despite Polixenes's argument that the artificial is merely a special category of the natural (4.4.86–103), suggests that Shakespeare would have concurred with Spenser.[29]

Three decades after the construction of the gardens at Hampton Court, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, laid out the first major garden of the Elizabethan era at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire. Kenilworth was granted to Leicester, the queen's favourite, in 1563. He subsequently entertained Elizabeth I there in 1575. This occasion prompted Robert Langham to write the most detailed extant description of a garden from the period.[30] In a letter he tells his friend Humphrey Martin that a gardener named Adrian secretly let him into the garden (which as a privy garden was not open to (p. 686) everyone).[31] His stolen impressions are the main source of information about the design and its role in the elaborate allegorical entertainment staged by Leicester.[32]

The garden was laid out within the castle walls to the north as can still be seen in a plan from William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656).[33] It was entered via a 'pleazaunt Terres of a ten foot hy & a twelve brode', which was covered with 'fyne grass' and decorated with 'obelisks, sphearz, and white bearz' (the bear and knotted or 'ragged' staff was Leicester's emblem).[34] As Strong points out, this is the first example of a terraced garden in England from which the knot designs below could be viewed.[35] Two arbours 'redolent by sweet trees and floourz' were constructed at each end of the terrace.[36]

The 'plot' appeared below the level of the terrace. Langham writes that the 'fayr alleyz' of the garden were 'green by grass' and 'sum (for chaunge) with sand.'[37] These walks must have divided the site into the 'four eeven quarterz' that Langham mentions. A 'square pilaster rizing pyramidically of a fifteen foote hy', made out of porphyry and surmounted by an orb was erected at the centre of each quarter.[38] These have been interpreted as obelisks, pierced, made out of wood and painted to resemble porphyry.[39] (The reconstruction of the garden by English Heritage has endorsed this interpretation: see Figure 38.3 .)

Leicester's garden was full of 'fragrant earbs and floourz, in form, cooler and quantitee so deliciously variant: and frute Trees bedecked with their Applz, Peares and ripe Cherryz'.[40] It also contained an aviary, which Langham notes was gilded and decorated with painted 'Diamons, Emerauds, Rubyes, and Sapphyres'.[41] Langham writes that the naturalism of these illusionistic jewels leads one to 'consider how neer excellency of (p. 687) art could approach unto perfection of nature', which again recalls the Italian concept of *paragone*.[42]

At the centre of the garden was a white marble fountain comprising two atlantes holding up a globe from which fine jets of water spurted into an elevated octagonal basin below filled with fish ('Carp, Tench, Bream … Pearch

Click to view larger

Figure 38.3 The Privy Garden, Kenilworth Castle, reconstruction by English Heritage, 2009.

Photograph: Luke Morgan.

and Eel').[43] Leicester's ragged staff was depicted at the top of the fountain above the globe and scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in bas relief decorated the sides of the basin.[44] According to Langham, these images were titillating enough to 'enflame ony mynde' and to cause one to become 'hot in desyre'. This condition could, however, be rapidly assuaged by turning on a tap so that 'water spurting upward with such vehemency, az they [the aroused viewers] shoold by & by be moistened from top too to'. A cold shower, no less, provided by a familiar device of Italian gardens—the so-called *giochi d'acqua* or trick fountains that, at the turn of a hidden lever, would drench unwitting visitors.

(p. 688) Despite these debts to Italy, the garden at Kenilworth seems to have retained a strongly English character. It was comparatively small in scale—a single flat expanse—and chiefly dedicated to the cultivation and display of flowers and plants. In his description, Langham emphasizes the 'fragrancy of sweet odoourz/breathing from the plants earbs & floourz' and the 'tast of delicious strawberiez, cher-/ryez & oother fruitez', which, along with the coolness of the fountain and the singing of the birds serve to delight 'al sencez (if al can take) at ones'.[45] There were no grottoes or additional water features, and little statuary besides the fountain of the atlantes at the centre.

Leslie has, however, argued that the most important feature of Kenilworth may be the fact that it 'has found an English expositor in print in the mid-1570s. In other words … gardens were being read in this way, nearly a half-century before this kind of mannerist garden style is normally allowed to have entered England'.[46] He gives the examples of Bartolomeo Taegio's *La Villa* (1559) and Anton Francesco Doni's description of the villa of Federigo Priuli near Castelfranco, to which could be added Francesco de' Vieri's nearly contemporary eulogy to the garden of the Villa Medici (now Demidoff) at Pratolino.[47] Langham's letter resembles these sources, which suggests both that the genre was not unknown to the Elizabethans and that England was not as isolated from the influence of continental Europe during the period as has been assumed in the past.

John, Lord Lumley's garden at Henry VIII's old palace of Nonsuch is probably the first fully fledged English garden in the 'Mannerist' style.[48] Kathryn Barron has recently argued that the Grove of Diana—the important allegorical part of the garden—should be dated to the 1570s.[49] Certainly, Nonsuch reverted to the Crown in 1591, meaning that the garden must have been established before that date.

Waldstein visited Nonsuch in 1599 and, as at Hampton Court, recorded his impressions. According to him: 'There are three distinct parts: the Grove, the Woodland, and the Wilderness, with a circular deerpark nearby'.[50] This division of the landscape into types again recalls design practices in Italy, as do other aspects of the garden.[51] The 'Woodland' and 'Wilderness', for example, resemble the *bosco* (wood) at the Villa Lante, (p. 689) Bagnaia, which acted as a contrasting foil to the *terza natura* (third nature) of the ornamental garden with its water parterre or, at Nonsuch, the privy garden.[52]

Waldstein does not discuss the privy garden, but it is depicted in an engraving by Joducus Hondius, which was published in John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611). Hondius's print shows that the privy

garden consisted of compartments of knots adorned with 'plants and shrubs mingled in intricate circles as if by the needle of Semiramis' and trees.[53] Platter, who also visited Nonsuch, may have been referring to the privy garden when he observed that: 'In the pleasure gardens are charming terraces and all kind of animals—dogs, hares, all over-grown with plants, most artfully set out, so that from a distance, one would take them for real ones.'[54] It is possible that these were topiary animals not unlike those at Hampton Court.

The privy garden contained an obelisk with the Lumley arms on its pedestal to the west and a column with a prancing horse at its summit to the east.[55] In the centre two more columns capped by globes and the Lumley popinjays flanked a fountain of Diana 'from whose tender breasts flow jets of water into the ivory-coloured marble, and from there the water falls through narrow pipes into a marble basin'.[56] The motif of lactation is familiar from the garden sculptures of Tuscany and Lazio. A drawing of Diana in the Lumley Inventory of 1590 strongly resembles Bartolommeo Ammannati's figure of Ceres for the Juno Fountain (*c.*1556), now in the Bargello, Florence, from whose breasts jets of water spurt.

Strong has associated the figure of Diana and a marble basin adorned with a sculpted pelican mentioned in the 'Parliamentary Survey of Nonsuch Park and House' of 1650 (and also illustrated in the Lumley Inventory), with the iconography of Elizabeth.[57] This is convincing, but Diana had other connotations. These are suggested by a second drawing of a Diana fountain in the Lumley Inventory, which was probably intended as a Fountain of Diana (or Artemis) of Ephesus.

During the sixteenth century, nature was frequently personified as Diana. Her depiction as a nude lactating woman and, in a variant visual tradition, as a woman endowed with (p. 690) many breasts, appears to have been invented in Naples in the 1470s.[58] The most important precedent for Nonsuch, however, is the Flemish artist Gillis van den Vliete's Goddess of Nature (1568) for the garden of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli (see Figure 38.4).[59] His figure is based on the second-century Farnese Diana now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, and reflects the antiquarian interests of the designer of the d'Este gardens, Pirro Ligorio.[60] It is an image of the goddess as the multi-mammary Ephesian Diana, a conflation of classical and Near Eastern themes (the cult of Artemis originated in Asia Minor), her overflowing breasts symbols of Nature's fertile bounty. Although the fountain design in the Lumley Inventory shows Diana without the many breasts, her lower body is covered in a sheath-like skirt ornamented with the heads of animals (including lions), in a clear reminiscence of the many images of the Goddess of Nature as Artemis/Diana produced during the period.

The dedication of Nonsuch to Diana and by implication jointly to Elizabeth and Nature (or perhaps Elizabeth *is* Nature here), is confirmed by the garden's most interesting feature: the Grove of Diana in the 'Vale of Gargaphy'.[61] Waldstein provides a detailed description: 'We entered the famous Grove of Diana, where Nature is imitated with so much skill that you would dare to swear that the original Grove of the real Diana herself was hardly more delightful or of greater beauty.' This recalls Waldstein's earlier, approving comments about the topiary at Hampton Court and Langham's praise of the bejewelled aviary at Kenilworth as well as, ultimately, the source of these kinds of statements in, again, Italian ideas about the collaboration and *paragone* of art and nature in the garden.

After passing a summer- or banqueting house with a black marble table inside and inscriptions on the outside walls, Waldstein writes that:

> we were taken along the path which leads to the Fountain of Diana itself. This spring rises in a secluded glade at the foot of a little cliff. The source was from a number of pipes hidden in the rock, and from

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Figure 38.4 Gillis van den Vliete, Goddess of Nature, 1568, Villa d'Este, Tivoli.

Photograph: Luke Morgan.

them a gentle flow of water bathed Diana and her two nymphs; Actaeon had approached; he was leaning against a nearby tree to hide himself and gazing lecherously at Diana; she, with a slight gesture of her hand towards him, was slowly changing his head to that of a stag; his three hounds were in close pursuit.[62]

(p. 691)

(p. 692) The Ovidian subject once again recalls Italian precedents. There was, for example, a Grotto of Diana the Huntress in the d'Este garden at Tivoli. The consistent expression of a single theme in the Nonsuch landscape differentiates Lumley's garden from Leicester's, where the reference to Ovid is comparatively superficial, confined as it was to the reliefs ornamenting the basin of the fountain. The repetition and integration of the *topos* of Diana, with its political and iconographical significance and its absorption into the design of the landscape as a whole comprises a *concetto* (poetic concept) on the Italian model rather than a fashionable quotation or allusion.

It has been suggested that Lumley had a significant formative influence on the taste and patronage of Henry, Prince of Wales, who spent much of the early part of his life at Nonsuch.[63] This experience may have encouraged Henry to lay out his own Italianate garden at Richmond, once he had been granted the palace by his father James I in September 1610. Indeed, Henry's garden, as envisaged by de' Servi, would not have been out of place on the Arno or the Tiber.

De' Servi's proposed plan, though it was never realized owing to the prince's premature death, survives in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (see Figure 38.5).[64] It indicates that the Richmond Palace garden would have included what, in a letter, de' Servi refers to as 'compartments … fountains and grottoes' (*spartimenti ... fontane e grotte*).[65] It includes variations on some of the key features of well-known Italian gardens such as those of the Villa Medici in Pratolino, and the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, as well as French parterres, though it does not recapitulate or imitate any single site.

De' Servi included a hippodrome, for example, which recalls Francesco da Sangallo's *c.*1525 design for the garden of the Villa Madama, among others.[66] He also intended to construct a mount, which would have served to celebrate Henry as an enlightened patron and cultural figure. Thomas Haywood even wrote in his funeral elegy that the Muses had abandoned Parnassus altogether to take up residence with the Prince.[67]

Richmond's most striking feature would have been a giant figure of Neptune overlooking a large oval pool, containing five sculptures of sea monsters. Two compartments planted with trees to evoke groves flank the pool, again recalling Italian *boschi*. It does not seem to have been noticed that the compartments are also suggestive of the Union Jack, the origins of which go back to 1603 when Henry's father James I decided (p. 693) that a new flag was needed to symbolize his unification of the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

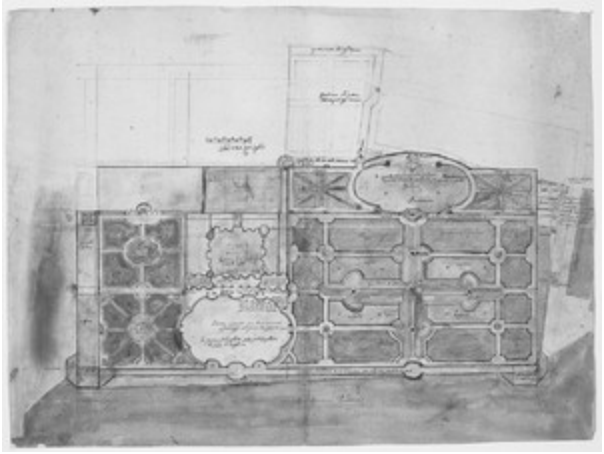

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Figure 38.5 Costantino de' Servi, Proposed Plan of Richmond Palace Gardens, 1611, Archivio di Stato, Florence, Miscellanea Medicea 93, ins. 3, n. 106.

Courtesy of the Ministerio per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

Click to view larger

Figure 38.6 Giovanni da Bologna, Appennino, 1570–80, Villa Medici (now Demidoff), Pratolino.

Photograph: Luke Morgan.

The figure of Neptune is, like the hippodrome, mount and *bosco*, a common motif in Italian gardens. De' Servi's version of the theme can, in this case, be associated with a specific text—Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1610) in which Henry is likened to the god of water: 'He like great Neptune on three seas shall rove.' Sabine Eiche has suggested that the five sea monsters of the pool represent the enemy vanquished (by Henry as Neptune). Alternatively, they may be extrapolations of the monstrous head pressed down upon by Giambologna's colossal personification of the Apennines (1570–80) at the Villa Medici (now Demidoff) in Pratolino (see Figure 38.6). De' Servi's Neptune was modelled on Giambologna's hollow giant. In addition to his claim that it would be three times (*tre volte*) the size of Giambologna's figure, he noted that it was to have contained several rooms, two grottoes, and a dovecote inside the head (*dentrovi molti appartamenti per il Corpo con Una gran Columbaia nel Capo e da bbaso* [sic] *nella Cantina a dove soffia il Vento ci fo dua Grotte*).[68] The *Appennino* (p. 694) at Pratolino also contained grottoes, fountains, and a cranial chamber (for a small orchestra).[69]

Clearly, however, the image of Neptune acquires, at Richmond as elsewhere, a local or regional significance and meaning through its association with a unique patron and place. It provides a good example of the flexibility and adaptability of the language of Renaissance landscape design. De' Servi's plan for Richmond marks the full adoption in England of the Mannerist style. It is a proposal for a complete Tuscan garden, by a Tuscan designer, but on the Thames. In one sense, therefore, it represents the logical outcome of the history of nearly one hundred years of landscape design in Shakespeare's England, from Hampton Court to Richmond that has been sketched up to this point—from the piecemeal adoption of ideas developed in sixteenth-century Italy, to the wholesale importation of a design and a designer from that country. It now remains to develop further the two themes that were introduced at the beginning: first, the significance of the literary *topos* of the enchanted garden for landscape design in the Renaissance and, second, some of the implications of the representation of monsters in the gardens of the period. These themes were also, of course, of interest to Shakespeare.

(p. 695) 'Bodies without Souls': Enchantment and Monstrosity in the Garden

> EitheRr forbear,
> Quit presently the chapel, or resolve you
> For more amazement. If you can behold it,
> I'll make the statue move indeed, descend
> And take you by the hand. But then you'll think—
> Which I protest against—I am assisted
> By wicked powers.
>
> William Shakespeare,
>
> *The Winter's Tale*, 5.3.85–91

From the forest of sundials at Henry VIII's Hampton Court to the 'many statues that seem to breathe' at Lumley's Nonsuch, the English Renaissance garden, like its continental counterparts, was a place of scientific experimentation and display.[70] The automaton, or self-moving machine, was of particular interest to engineers and designers of the period.

In de Caus's *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes*, for example, which belongs to the short-lived but briefly popular book genre of the 'theatre of machines', Prince Henry's engineer demonstrates how to design and build automata of various kinds to ornament gardens. In the example mentioned at the beginning of this chapter several artificial birds are made to sing diverse tunes, not unlike Nashe's 'shrill-breasted birds'. De Caus also provides a design for a grotto in which Galatea, drawn by two mechanical dolphins, passes by a Cyclops, and another depicting Neptune perpetually circumnavigating a rock in the centre of a cavern. The legendary speaking statue of Memnon makes an appearance as does Orpheus, who plays music through concealed hydraulic technology.

One of the most famous automatons of the period was devised by the Dutch engineer Cornelius Drebbel and exhibited at the court of James I. According to Thomas Tymme, who described it in his *Dialogue Philosophical* of 1612, the machine was: 'a memorable Modell and Patterne, representing the motion of the Heavens about the fixt earth, made by art in the imitation of nature … which instrument is perpetually in motion, without the means of steele, springs, and weights'.[71] Drebbel's perpetual motion machine supposedly entranced James I. Others, however, were sceptical of the quest for perpetual motion, even alleging heresy. In Problem 12 of Book I of *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes*, for instance, de Caus claims that:

> There have been several men who have tried to discover a motion which they have called (without knowledge) perpetual, or without end, a thing very ill considered (p. 696) and ill understood, insofar as all that has a beginning is subject to have an end; and the word perpetual or without end ought to be applied to God alone, who as he had no beginning, cannot also have an end, such that it is folly and deceit in men to make themselves believe that they can make perpetual works: seeing that they themselves are mortal, and subject to an end, so also are all their works.[72]

De Caus may have had Drebbel's machine in mind when he composed this passage. Drebbel's device and the search for perpetual motion in general would have struck him as folly for two reasons: first, perpetual motion

could not be empirically proven or demonstrated, and second, it was presumptuous, even blasphemous, to claim that perpetual motion was possible, given that perpetuity is the attribute of God alone. In this way de Caus introduces a moral dimension into his critique of his predecessors' 'theatres of machines' (especially those of Jacques Besson and the Italian military engineer Agostino Ramelli).[73] The uselessness of their machines is compounded by their heretical presumption.

De Caus's attitude seems a characteristically Protestant one (he was a French Huguenot), and is echoed in English views of artifice in general. Spenser's dim opinion of the implications of the ability of art to simulate nature in Acrasia's Bower of Bliss is a case in point, as is the 'living statue' of Hermione who so controversially appears in the last scene of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. Unveiling the figure, Paulina is fully aware that she risks accusations of necromancy, leading Leontes to hope that 'If this be magic, let it be an art/Lawful as eating' (5.3.110–11).

The motion of the machine was crucial to the illusion of life. As Eugenio Battisti has observed, this mechanized naturalism has been, from antiquity to the modern era, conceived as both benign and evil.[74] The latter view dominates English attitudes. According to Leontes, for example, 'The fixture of her [Hermione's] eye has motion in't,/As we are mocked with art.'

To some observers, the self-moving machine implied the black arts and the figure of the magus, necromancer, or enchantress.[75] Following Strong's lead, which itself derives (p. 697) from the work of Frances Yates on Renaissance magic and occultism, several subsequent writers have compared Prospero with the contemporaneous engineer, who is supposed to have straddled the boundary between science and magic. According to Vaughan Hart, 'the Vitruvian engineer became akin to the magus in his capacity to work transformations.'[76] For Christy Anderson, 'The winds and water that surround the island [of *The Tempest*] have been moulded and formed by Prospero, who, acting in the guise of gardener, has also transformed the wilderness and tamed the raw material of nature into pleasurable matter.'[77] Amy L. Tigner, likewise, thinks that 'What is clear is that the exact kind of control that Prospero wields on his island—storms, fireworks, appearing and disappearing banquets, and masques—was realized in Renaissance gardens by means of mechanical technology'.[78] Prospero thus resembles not only Drebbel and John Dee, the learned Welsh mathematician and alchemist, but also de Caus and his predecessors, such as Tribolo, Bernardo Buontalenti, and Leonardo da Vinci. These practitioners all sought to harness natural forces and thus control nature.

The Renaissance engineer–garden designer may have been a more pragmatic figure than these modern characterizations suggest—empirical men of the workshop and the so-called 'makers knowledge tradition' rather than diligent students of esoteric traditions. Prospero, similarly, should perhaps be seen as 'a figure stretched ambiguously across a gamut of extreme and unresolved possibilities, ranging from magus (or Guarinian seer) to despotic illusionist or even (on a Machiavellian interpretation) contemptible dropout' rather than as an ideal Vitruvian man in supreme control of his world, its forces, and inhabitants.[79] De Caus certainly shows no inclination towards hermeticism in any of his published works. The idea, however, of enchantment as an acknowledged element in the historical *experience* of gardens remains a plausible and interesting one that deserves some further exploration.

In Canto 12 of Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser relates how, after braving the Gulf of Greediness and the monsters that lurk in the waters around Acrasia's island (reminiscent perhaps of the sea monsters that de' Servi planned to install at Richmond), the hero Guyon and his companion the Palmer arrive at the Bower of Bliss.[80] This is a place where 'natures worke by art can imitate' (II, 12, 42), but, as has been suggested, Spenser's association of

the artificial garden with the malevolent sorceress contrasts with other, more enthusiastic appraisals of the imitation of nature by art (by Tolomei, for example) in landscape design of the period.

(p. 698) Dispensing with the garden's guardian, Genius, Guyon and the Palmer finally enter the Bower, in which the seasons have been arrested: no storm, frost, extreme heat, or cold ever afflicts Acrasia's realm. This was also an ideal of contemporary garden designers and their patrons. Francis Bacon dreamt of a *Ver Perpetuum*, or eternal spring, and de Caus designed orangeries (including one that was constructed for James I's daughter Elizabeth in the *Hortus Palatinus* at Heidelberg), in which climactic conditions could be controlled and seasonal effects ameliorated.[81]

The fountain at the heart of Acrasia's bower was decorated with the 'shapes of naked boyes,/Of which some seemd with liuely iollitee,/To fly about, playing their wanton toyes' (II, 12, 60), which recalls the propensity of the fountain at Kenilworth to 'enflame ony minde' as Langham put it. The two 'naked Damzelles' (II, 12, 63) that Guyon encounters near the fountain suggest something similar. Certainly 'The secret signes of kindled lust appeare' (II, 12, 68) on Guyon's face.[82]

Coming to his senses, Guyon captures Acrasia and then proceeds to destroy, with a zeal that resembles iconoclastic rage, her bower:

> But all those pleasant bowres and Pallace braue,/Guyon broke downe, with rigour pittilesse;/Ne ought their goodly workmanship might saue/Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,/But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse:/Their grouse he feld, their gardins did deface,/Their arbers spoyle, their Cabinets suppresse,/Their banket houses burne, their buildings race,/And of the fairest late, now made the fowlest place (II, 12, 83).

The companions then leave the island, once again encountering the 'seeming beasts' (II, 12, 85) or monsters, which turn out to be transformed men—Acrasia's lovers, made monstrous by their intemperate lust. At the end of Book II, Guyon reflects 'See the mind of beastly man,/That hath so soone forgot the excellence/Of his creation, when he life began,/That now he chooseth, with vile difference,/To be a beast, and lacke intelligence' (II, 12, 87). This might be interpreted, broadly, as an indictment of the love of fraudulent artifice that is symbolized by the Bower of Bliss; its status as a false paradise.

Leslie has compared this episode of *The Faerie Queene* with the real garden at Nonsuch.[83] He argues that the Bower of Bliss possesses all the features of a Roman Renaissance garden—groves, privy gardens, arbours, cabinets, banqueting houses, and a palace or villa nearby. According to him, the moral choice that Guyon faces is also (p. 699) present in real gardens of the period in Italy (the Villa d'Este, Tivoli) and in England (Lumley's Nonsuch): 'As at Nonsuch, there is a challenge for the onlooker at the heart of this [Acrasia's] garden, at the end of that physical and spiritual journey to penetrate to its mysterious center. As at Nonsuch, the visitor is asked to read the scene and apply the moral. And Guyon's destruction of the Bower is his response'.[84]

One of the Latin inscriptions in the Grove of Diana at Nonsuch closely recalls Guyon's reflection on Acrasia's 'beastly' lovers:

> Who so doth runne Actaeon's race when raginge luste constraines,/Who bridleth not his wandringe eyes, nor furious minde restraines,/Is made a beaste and monstrous man, and makes him self a praye,/To be devoured by cruell dogs, whiles fancie beares the swaye;/Whiles fonde affections are inflam'd,/Whiles dotinge senses are untam'de[85]

Nearby there is another inscription—attributed to Actaeon himself:

> It would cause resentment if a painter should choose to join a horse's/neck or a dog's face to a human head./Diana lays a stag's head on my neck./I demand against the unjust one my proper flesh.[86]

Actaeon is thus a 'monster' in two senses. First, his lack of self-control, his 'raginge luste', degrades him from a man into a lecherous beast (reminiscent of the leering satyrs of Giambologna's Fountain of Venus (*c.*1573) in the Grotta Grande of the Boboli Gardens in Florence perhaps).[87] He is not unlike the monstrous men that Guyon and the Palmer encounter in *The Faerie Queene*, victims of a lust that transforms them into monsters. Second, Actaeon's inability to suppress his desire turns out to be merely a figurative prelude to his punishment by Diana. His fate is to become a hybrid stag-man. The reference here is quite specific. The visitor is reminded that s/he would object to an artist who, against nature, depicted a man's head on the body of a horse or dog. It has not been noticed that this is an allusion to the first line of Horace's *Ars Poetica*:

> If to a woman's head a painter would/Set a horse-neck, and diverse feathers fold/On every limb, ta'en from a several creature,/Presenting upwards a fair female feature,/ (p. 700) Which in some swarthy fish uncomely ends:/Admitted to the sight, although his friends,/Could you contain your laughter?[88]

Michelangelo's approval of composite figures of this kind, mentioned earlier, suggests the differences of opinion that characterized Renaissance discussions of what has come to be called the grotesque.[89] Giorgio Vasari, for example, Michelangelo's principal mythologizer besides the artist himself, shared Horace's disapproval, but referred to a well-known passage from Vitruvius' *De architectura*, rather than Horace, in support.[90] It is obvious that the author of the inscriptions was on the side of Horace, Vitruvius, and Vasari.

The Nonsuch inscriptions are remarkable for their erudition. Diana's response to Actaeon in the Grove is indicative: 'There must be humanity if Parrhasius is not to paint/nor Praxiteles carve the morals of a beast in human frame./Your inclinations are a stag's, Actaeon./Why should there not be horns?/Prudent myself, I lament foolish affections'.[91] Just as Actaeon's lament alludes to Horace's *Ars poetica*, so does Diana's response suggest Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*—the principal source of information about ancient artists such as Parrhasius and Praxiteles in Lumley's period.

Whoever wrote these inscriptions must have had a good knowledge of classical literature, which may indicate that they should be attributed to Lumley himself. The inventory of Lumley's library has survived (it was the largest library in England with the exception of Dee's).[92] Lumley owned six copies of the *Metamorphoses*, the direct source of the subject of Diana and Actaeon, depicted in the Grove; two editions of Vitruvius, which could have been consulted on the undesirability of the grotesque; three works by Horace including an Aldine edition of the *Poemata omnia* (1519); and Pliny's *Natural History*.

(p. 701) Lumley also owned the first book of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*. It is therefore worth reiterating that the 'Bower of Bliss' is the artificial creation of the sorceress Acrasia. The Grove of Diana at Nonsuch is, likewise, enchanted by Diana, who magically transforms Actaeon into a monstrous stag-man. Both are enchantresses, but the difference lies in the fact that Acrasia's sorcery produces a seductive but false paradise that the hero must escape or, as the poem has it, destroy, whereas Diana's magic arts serve to protect her purity (a no less valuable asset of the queen), and to preserve the sanctity of the grove.

The reference to Horace's *Ars poetica*, inscribed in the Grove of Diana at Nonsuch, suggests that gardens, or at least the imagery of gardens, were being thought about during the period in relation to aesthetic concepts of the

grotesque and the monstrous. Strong's point that *The Tempest* recreates the 'dreamlike monsters' of the Mannerist garden might be recalled here. Caliban is frequently described as a 'monster' in the play. Encountering him for the first time, the ship-wrecked jester Trinculo is reminded of Elizabethan monster-booths: 'Were I in England now,/as once I was, and had but this fish painted,/not a holiday fool there but would give a piece/of silver: there would this monster make a/man; any strange beast there makes a man' (2.2.27–36).[93] In contrast, to the inebriated butler Stefano, Caliban seems less like a fish than a four-legged monster.

Caliban's ambiguous appearance exemplifies Georges Canguilhem's classic definition of monstrosity as 'the accidental and conditional threat of incompletion or distortion in the formation of form'.[94] As Canguilhem and others have made clear, indeterminate or 'abnormal' physiology was a subject of significant interest to early modern physicians, natural historians, and teratologists. 'Monsters', a term which designated people or entities whose appearance deviated from the socially constructed norm, were regarded as terrifying portents, enjoyable *lusae naturae* (tricks of nature) or, in a characteristic development of the period, medical specimens that could be explicated through empirical observation and dissection.[95]

Click to view larger

Figure 38.7 Fountain of the Dragons, 1570s, Villa d'Este, Tivoli.

Photograph: Luke Morgan.

Ambroise Paré's *Des Monstres et prodiges* (1573) is representative. Paré, who was a physician, discusses the natural and biological causes of the generation of monsters, which include accidents and illnesses contracted during pregnancy.[96] But he also writes about mythological creatures such as harpies and marine monsters, drawing no firm distinction between the natural and the supernatural. In Paré's work, the monster becomes a (p. 702) sign of nature's copiousness and variety, albeit not without a lingering sense of the monster as portentous. Many of the monsters discussed by Paré were also represented in gardens of the period.

For Paré, as for Spenser and Lumley, abnormal and hybrid bodies, such as the harpies, sphinxes, and fantastic composites depicted in Renaissance landscape design, were often fearsome.[97] Fear is not, however, a response usually associated with the experience of gardens. More often than not gardens of the period are assumed to have been conceived as serene Arcadian refuges from reality; as if Petrarch's fourteenth-century dream of a day when it would be possible to walk back into the 'pure radiance of the past' was finally realized in landscape design two hundred years later.[98] Indeed, the idea of the *locus amoenus*, familiar from the works of Homer, Theocritus, Vergil, and numerous subsequent writers became a standard convention in Renaissance evocations of real and ideal gardens. It remains a key explanatory concept in modern histories of Renaissance landscape design.

Yet this notion of the garden as an idealized place apart may not be fully adequate to the task of reconstructing the experience of landscape design in Shakespeare's period. Besides the association of gardens with enchantment and the troubling presence of (p. 703) monsters, there are the fearful responses to the effects and structures of the garden that visitors sometimes recorded. One example is provided by the account of an anonymous early seventeenth-century English visitor of the Fountain of the Dragons at the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, which he says belched water 'being of so black a colour, that it resembleth an ugly smoke, fearful to behold' (see Figure 38.7).[99]

Enchantment, monstrosity, and fear are, to conclude, neglected themes of Renaissance landscape design.[100] They are also, as Leslie realized (though he was working from poetry to gardens, as it were, rather than vice versa), important themes of Renaissance literature. Shakespeare himself explores them at length in *The Tempest*. The gardens and writings of the period thus illuminate one another. More specifically, however, their comparison helps to reveal darker, less palatable themes in the former. Leonardo da Vinci's conflicted response to a garden grotto might therefore stand in for the experience of the garden as whole during Shakespeare's period: 'And after having remained at the entry some time, two contrary emotions arose in me, fear and desire—fear of the threatening dark grotto, desire to see whether there were any marvellous thing within it'.[101]

Notes:

([1]) Hero's *Pneumatics* received its first Latin edition in 1575. His *Automaton-Construction* was published in an Italian translation in 1589. For an overview of early modern engineering, automata, and machines, see Jonathan Sawday, *Engines of the Imagination: Renaissance Culture and the Rise of the Machine* (London: Routledge, 2007). For the 'makers' knowledge tradition', see Antonio Pérez-Ramos, 'Bacon's Forms and the Makers' Knowledge Tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon*, ed. Markku Peltonen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 99–120.

([2]) For De' Servi's disastrous production of Thomas Campion's *Masque of Squires*, see Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Pimlico, 2000), 73–5.

([3]) Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 103.

([4]) Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 103.

([5]) John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 2.392–3. For a comprehensive discussion of water effects of this kind in Italian gardens, see Anatole Tchikine, '*Giochi d'acqua*: Water Effects in Renaissance and Baroque Italy', *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 30 (2010): 57–76.

([6]) On 'living sculptures', see Leonard Barkin, '"Living Sculptures": Ovid, Michelangelo, and *The Winter's Tale*', *English Literary History* 48 (1981): 639–67. For another study of the theme, see Victor Stoichită, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock*, trans. Alison Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

([7]) See Vasari's Life of Tribolo, in *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, vol. 6 (Florence: Casa editrice le lettere, 1998), 55–99. Other trees spouting water could be found at Pratolino and in Naples. For references, see Tchikine, '*Giochi d'acqua*', 64.

([8]) For some general comments on the relationship between Renaissance literature and garden design, see A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), and Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1979).

([9]) Michael Leslie, 'Spenser, Sidney, and the Renaissance Garden', *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992): 3–36. Leslie's study remains one of the few serious attempts to systematically compare literary gardens with real ones. Amy L. Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance Garden from Elizabeth I to Charles II: England's Paradise, Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) has a similar aim, but see John Dixon Hunt's review in *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (Winter 2012): 1339–40.

([10]) Ted Hughes, *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), 382. For a discussion of Hughes's argument, see: Marina Warner, '"The Foul Witch" and her "Freckled Whelp": Circean Mutations in the New World', in *The Tempest and its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 97.

([11]) See Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), 183–202, for the classic account of the idea of *locus amoenus*.

([12]) Mark Thornton Burnett, *Constructing 'Monsters' in Shakespearean Drama and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 143.

([13]) Quoted and translated in David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 135–6. My emphasis.

([14]) According to Hughes, 'Most potently of all, she [Sycorax] lives on in her son, Caliban … she is there in his endless contriving: to kill Prospero, to ravish Miranda and repossess the island', Hughes, *Shakespeare*, 383.

([15]) The best discussion of the garden, including its sources and context, remains Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 25–9. For a lucid documentary building history of the palace and gardens derived from the historical records of the Office of the King's Works, see *The History of the King's Works*, general ed. H. M. Colvin, vol. 4: *1485–1660* (pt 2) (London: HMSO, 1982), 126–47 (hereafter HKW). The most recent account of the garden relies on both earlier studies: Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 76–9. Although Henry VIII's Hampton Court Palace predates Shakespeare, it sets the tone for many of the period's gardens and, as such, belongs to the playwright's world.

([16]) Wyngaerde's drawing *Panorama of Hampton Court and its Gardens as Seen from the Thames* is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

([17]) HKW, 138.

([18]) TNA, E36/237, 301. See Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 28.

([19]) Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 32.

([20]) In addition to Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 25–8, see HKW, 138. For the 'Dacre Beasts', see Maurice Howard and Tessa Murdoch, '"Armes and Bestes": Tudor and Stuart Heraldry', in *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars*, ed. Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), 56–67. For another representation of the 'beasts' installed in a garden, see the portrait of Henry VIII and his children, probably at Whitehall: Anon., *The Family of Henry VIII, c.*1545, The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

([21]) HKW, 138, n. 5.

([22]) HKW, 138. See the small reconstruction at Hampton Court Palace today, which, though its position is not historically accurate, gives a good impression of the beasts and the rails.

([23]) See Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 225, n. 12.

([24]) Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 28.

([25]) *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan England: Thomas Platter and Horatio Busino*, ed. Peter Razzell (London: Caliban Books, 1995), 180.

([26]) *Journals of Two Travellers*, 68. Although Platter saw Hampton Court towards the end of Elizabeth I's reign, it is probable that Henry was first responsible for the construction of topiary in the garden. For the evidence, see Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 33.

([27]) *The Diary of Baron Waldstein, A Traveller in Elizabethan England*, trans. and annotated by G. W. Groos (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 147. For a survey of the development of topiary design in England, see David Jacques, 'English Renaissance and Baroque Topiary', in *Topiaria: architetture e sculture vegetali nel giardino occidentale dall'antichità a oggi*, ed. Margherita Azzi Visentini (Treviso: Edizioni Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche/Canova, 2004), 71–80.

([28]) Translated in Bartolomeo Taegio, *La Villa*, ed. and trans. Thomas E. Beck (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 61. Tolomei's letter was written in 1543.

([29]) See Sawday, *Engines*, 179–83, for some discussion of this point.

([30]) Robert Langham, *Robert Langham's Letter (1575): A General Critical Edition*, ed. Rutger Johanes Pieter Kuin (Amsterdam: R. J. P. Kuin, 1973). I am grateful to Elizabeth Goldring for her advice about the correct spelling of Langham's name: 'Langham' not 'Laneham'.

([31]) Langham, *Letter*, 70.

([32]) For a contemporary account of the entertainments, see George Gascoigne's 'The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle', in *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. John W. Cunliffe (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), and other editions. Gascoigne was involved in devising the entertainments, which lasted nineteen days, and wrote many of the verses.

([33]) See Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 50–1. Unlike the records for Hampton Court, there are few extant images of the garden at Kenilworth. The garden has, however, been reconstructed on the basis of written accounts such as Langham's letter. The new garden at Kenilworth was completed in 2009 and provides a unique opportunity to visit, if not an authentic Elizabethan garden, a very sensitive recreation of one. Unfortunately, the essay collection edited by Anna Keay and John Watkins—*The Elizabethan Garden at Kenilworth Castle* (London: English Heritage, 2013)—arrived too late for it to be consulted during the preparation of this chapter.

([34]) Langham, *Letter*, 67.

([35]) Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 51. Langham's reference to the 'Terres' is also the first recorded usage of the word in English. See Elizabeth Woodhouse, 'Kenilworth, The Earl of Leicester's Pleasure Grounds Following Robert Langham's Letter', *Garden History* 27 (1999): 131, for this point.

([36]) Langham, *Letter*, 67.

([37]) Langham, *Letter*, 67.

([38]) Langham, *Letter*, 68.

([39]) Henderson, for example, identifies them as obelisks (*Tudor House*, 91). No porphyry chips or fragments, which might have implied the use of this material, were found on site during the excavation.

([40]) Langham, *Letter*, 68. Note that the reconstructed garden has been planted so that the fruit will ripen in July, which is the month that Elizabeth visited Kenilworth.

([41]) Langham, *Letter*, 69.

([42]) Langham, *Letter*, 69.

([43]) Langham, *Letter*, 71.

([44]) It is worth noting that the first English edition of the *Metamorphoses*, by Arthur Golding, was dedicated to Leicester in 1567. The scenes depicted on the fountain are, anti-clockwise from the relief facing the terrace: Neptune, Caenis and Neptune, Thetis, Perseus and Andromeda, Triton, Proteus, Doris, and Europa.

([45]) Langham, *Letter*, 73.

([46]) Leslie, 'Spenser', 10.

([47]) *Discorsi di M. Francesco de' Vieri, detto il verino secondo. Delle Maravigliose Opere di Pratolino & d'Amore* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1587).

([48]) Thomas Platter notes that Nonsuch 'takes its name from its magnificence, for Nonsuch is equivalent to (non pareille) without equal, for there is not its equal in England', *Journals of Two Travellers*, 56.

([49]) Barron has also demonstrated that Lumley never visited Italy himself. See her 'The Collecting and Patronage of John, Lord Lumley (*c*.1535–1609)', in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (Studies in British Art 12), ed. Edward Chaney (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 144. Lumley's garden nonetheless remains Italianate in its sources and effects.

([50]) Waldstein, *Diary*, 159. For a clear illustration of the layout of the landscape at Nonsuch, see Martin Biddle, *Nonsuch Palace: The Material Culture of a Noble Restoration Household* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 4.

([51]) See John Dixon Hunt, '*Paragone* in Paradise: Translating the Garden'', *Comparative Criticism* 18 (1996): 55–70, for the Italian concept of the 'three natures'.

([52]) For the Villa Lante, Bagnaia, see Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 243–69.

([53]) The description is Anthony Watson's, a servant in Lumley's household. Watson's long, eulogizing Latin account of Nonsuch is reproduced in Martin Biddle, 'The Gardens of Nonsuch: Sources and Dating', *Garden History* 27 (1999): 168–80. It further confirms Michael Leslie's argument that there exists a genre of garden writing of this kind in England in the sixteenth century, and should be considered alongside Langham's letter.

([54]) *Journals of Two Travellers*, 64.

([55]) See Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 65.

([56]) As Strong notes, the obelisk and the fountain are matched by drawings in the Lumley Inventory (1590), the so-called 'Red Velvet Book', which includes descriptions and drawings of furniture, tombs, and sculpture commissioned by Lumley. The quotation is, again, from Watson who misidentifies the subject as Venus. See Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 65. The contents of the Red Velvet Book were first published in Lionel Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *Walpole Society* 6 (1918): 15–35.

([57]) See Biddle, 'Gardens of Nonsuch', 148 and 151, for reproductions. See 178–80, for a transcription of the Survey (TNA E317/Surrey/41). See Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, 66, for the iconography.

([58]) Katherine Park has attributed this new image of nature to the collaboration between the humanist Luciano Fosforo and miniaturist Gaspare Romano, who worked together on an edition of Pliny's *Natural History*. See Katherine Park, 'Nature in Person: Medieval and Renaissance Allegories and Emblems', in *The Moral Authority of Nature*, ed. Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 51.

([59]) See David R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 18–19, for the relevant documents.

([60]) In his *Libro dell'Antichità*, Pirro discusses Diana of Ephesus, 'whose mysterious veil and dark skin referred to her secrets'. See Marjatta Nielsen, 'Diana Efesia Multimammia: The Metamorphoses of a Pagan Goddess from the Renaissance to the Age of Neo-Classicism', in *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Acta Hyperborea 12, ed. Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2009), 466.

([61]) Watson discusses the 'Vale of Gargaphy', which, like the subject of Diana and Actaeon is taken directly from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See Biddle, 'Gardens of Nonsuch', 176.

([62]) Waldstein, *Diary*, 161.

([63]) By Timothy Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and His Circle: 1603–1613', 2 vols, D.Phil. Diss., University of Oxford, 1988, 135. Also noted by Barron, 'Collecting and Patronage', 151.

([64]) The plan (Miscellanea Medicea 93, ins. 3, n. 106), was rediscovered by Sabine Eiche. See her, 'Prince Henry's Richmond: The Project by Costantino de' Servi', *Apollo* 148 (1998): 10–14.

([65]) See de' Servi's letter of 22 September 1611: Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF): Mediceo del Principato 1348, de' Servi to Cioli.

([66]) See Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 79, for details of hippodromes. For a detailed study, see Louis Cellauro, 'Classical Paradigms: Pliny the Younger's Hippodrome at His Tuscan Villa and Renaissance Gardens', *Die Gartenkunst* 17 (2005): 73–89.

([67]) Thomas Heywood, *A Funerall Elegie Upon the death of the late most hopefull and illustrious Prince, Henrie, Prince of Wales* (London, 1613).

([68]) ASF, Mediceo del Principato 1348, 8 August 1611: de' Servi to Cioli, fol. 194.

([69]) At the end of the 1500s, Agostino del Riccio described another statue inspired by the *Appennino*, which contained a dovecote in its head—an idea that had also occurred to Michelangelo. See *L'Appennino del*

Giambologna: Anatomia e Identità del Gigante, ed. Alessandro Vezzosi (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 1990), 9.

([70]) Paul Hentzner quoted in John Nicholls, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Elizabeth I*, vol. 1 (London, 1823), 74, n. 2. See Sawday's description of sixteenth-century gardens as the 'forcing ground for exploring new, water-based technological creations', *Engines*, 44.

([71]) Cited in Sawday, *Engines*, 121.

([72]) 'Il y a eu plusieurs hommes lesquels se sont trauaillez à la recherche d'vn mouuement qu'ils ont appellé (sans le congnoistre) perpetual, ou sans fin, chose assez mal considerée & mal entendue, d'autant que tout ce qui a commencement, est subiect à auoir vne fin, & faut applicquer ce mot de perpetual ou sans fin à Dieu seul, lequel comme il n'a eu commencement, ne pourra aussi auoir fin, tellement que ceste follie & orgueil aux hommes, de se vouloir faire acroire de faire des ouures perpetuelles, veu que eux mesmes sont mortels, & subiets à vne fin, ainsi seront toutes leurs ouures' (my translation). See de Caus, *La Pratique et demonstration des horloges solaires, avec un discours sur les proportions tiré de la raison de la 35 propositio du premier livre d'Euclide* (Paris: H. Drouart, 1624), fol. vi, for another account of perpetual motion.

([73]) In the 'Epistre' or foreword to *Les Raisons*, de Caus dismisses Besson and Ramelli's designs as 'machines par eux inventés sur le papier'.

([74]) See Eugenio Battisti, *L'antirinascimento* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1962), 226. See also Zakiya Hanafi, *The Monster in the Machine: Magic, Medicine, and the Marvelous in the Time of the Scientific Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 77; and Alexander Marr, 'Automata', in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. Anthony Grafton, Glen W. Most, and Salvator Settis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 109–10.

([75]) For a general account of the renaissance magus, see Eugenio Garin, 'The Philosopher and the Magus', in *Renaissance Characters*, ed. Eugenio Garin, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 123–53.

([76]) Hart, *Art and Magic*, 90.

([77]) Christy Anderson, 'Wild Waters: Hydraulics and the Forces of Nature', in *The Tempest and its Travels*, ed. Hulme and Sherman, 41.

([78]) Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance Garden*, 141.

([79]) Robin Kirkpatrick, 'The Italy of *The Tempest*', in Hulme and Sherman, *The Tempest and its Travels*, 89. My own work on Salomon de Caus has emphasized the pragmatic objectives of the engineer over the unproven influence of Rosicrucianism and other hermetic convictions that have, in the past been attributed to him and his garden designs. See my *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

([80]) References are to the following edition: Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987).

([81]) For Bacon's ideal garden see John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds), *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620–1820* (London: Elek, 1975), 51–6.

([82]) Michael Leslie puts the relationship between the two fountains succinctly: 'At Kenilworth, the process of gazing at the fountain seduces the visitor; and the moral correction is administered by the water jokes. Here in the Bower of Bliss it is the Palmer who slaps Guyon's wrist and recalls him to himself', 'Spenser', 18.

([83]) Leslie, 'Spenser', 5. Christine Coch has followed Leslie's lead in studying real gardens so as to illuminate Spenser's literary one. See her 'The Trials of Art: Testing Temperance I the Bower of Bliss and Diana's Grove at Nonsuch', *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* XX, ed. William A. Oram, Anne Lake Prescott, and Thomas P. Roch, Jr (New York: Amo Press, 2005), 49–76.

([84]) Leslie, 'Spenser', 19.

([85]) Note the Latin and the English versions of this inscription appeared in the Grove of Diana, which implies two potential audiences. I have quoted here the English of the inscription as it appeared at Nonsuch. See Biddle, 'Gardens of Nonsuch', 173, for the Latin text of the inscription.

([86]) This is Biddle's translation of Watson's transcription of the inscription—the most accurate source. See Biddle, 'Gardens of Nonsuch', 178 for the translation, and 173 for the original Latin text. See Waldstein, *Diary*, 160–5, for Waldstein's version of the inscriptions, which contains several errors.

([87]) For an illustration and discussion, see Claudia Lazzaro, 'Gendered Nature and its Representation in Sixteenth-Century Garden Sculpture', in *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 256–8.

([88]) The quotation is from the first translation of Horace into English by Ben Jonson, first published in 1640, but probably written much earlier. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, vol. 7, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10.

([89]) The most important study of the grotesque in Renaissance art remains Nicole Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des Grotesques a la Renaissance* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 31) (London: The Warburg Institute and Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969). On the grotesque in literature, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

([90]) According to Vitruvius: 'But these paintings, which had taken their models from real things, now fall foul of depraved taste. For monsters are now painted in frescoes rather than reliable images of definite things. Reeds are set up in place of columns, as pediments, little scrolls, striped with curly leaves and volutes; candelabra hold up the figures or aediculae, and above the pediments of these, several tender shoots, sprouting in coils from roots, have little statues nestled in them for no reason, or shoots split in half, some holding little statues with human heads, some with the heads of beasts.' *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 91.

([91]) See Biddle, 'Gardens of Nonsuch'', 178, for the translation of the Latin text, which can be found on 173.

([92]) Barron, 'Collecting and Patronage', 128. For the inventory, see *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*, ed. Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956).

([93]) On English 'monster-booths', see Burnett, *Constructing 'Monsters'*, 53.

([94]) 'Monstrosity and the Monstrous', in *The Body: A Reader*, ed. Mariam Fraser and Monica Greco (London: Routledge, 2005), 188.

([95]) Shakespeare would have had ready access to this literature. For example, Edward Topsell's English edition of Conrad Gesner's compendious *Historia animalium* (1551–60), which included discussions of many monsters, was published in 1607–08 and may well have been known to him. (Gesner is, in fact, discussed with reference to the entertainment for Elizabeth I in the garden at Kenilworth Castle in 1575—by Langham.) He may also have been familiar with Michel de Montaigne's essay 'Of a Monstrous Child' (first published in John Florio's translation in 1603). It seems equally likely that Shakespeare knew the sideshows of Elizabethan England.

([96]) Paré's treatise has been translated into English by Janis L. Pallister as *On Monsters and Marvels* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982); see 3–4 for the 'causes'.

([97]) For a more detailed discussion of this theme, see my *The Monster in the Garden: The Grotesque and the Gigantic in Renaissance Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

([98]) For Petrarch's phrase, see Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences* (London: Paladin, 1970), 10.

([99]) Quoted in Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 44.

([100]) Hervé Brunon has argued that the Renaissance garden, in addition to its characterisation as a *locus amoenus*, was also (and simultaneously) conceived of as a '*topos* antagoniste'. See Hervé Brunon, 'Du Songe de Poliphile à la Grande Grotte de Boboli: la dualité dramatique du paysage', *Polia, Revue de l'art des jardins* 2 (2004): 7.

([101]) Leonardo da Vinci, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, trans. E. MacCurdy, 2 vols (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), 2.526.

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