

John Evelyn's *Elysium Britannicum*:
Transplanting the Baroque Italian Garden to Restoration England

by

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B.A., McGill University, 1997

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History in Art, University of Victoria, 2004

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ABSTRACT

John Evelyn's (1620-1706) unfinished and partly mislaid "Elysium Britannicum" was begun in England in the 1650s amidst horticultural, scientific, and religious reform. This thesis examines Evelyn's interpretation of classical texts, natural philosophy, and divine contemplation as experienced within the physical structure of an Italian Baroque garden transplanted to an English environment. Chapter one provides both a review of the current literature on the *Elysium Britannicum* and a brief account of Evelyn's other works concerning garden architecture, including a defense of his *Diary*. Chapter two examines the inception of the *Elysium Britannicum* as a result of Evelyn's interactions with intellectual circles, particularly that of Samuel Hartlib. It then reconstructs the missing chapters of Books II and III and analyzes Evelyn's attempt to raise the status of the gardener in England. Chapter three evaluates Evelyn's contentious relationship with five underlying concepts of Italian Baroque garden architecture as defined by John Dixon Hunt, highlighting Evelyn's intentional deviations from the conventions of the continent. Chapter four demonstrates that the *Elysium Britannicum* can be viewed not just as instructions for constructing a garden, but as a didactic manual designed to teach the practice of divine contemplation in the garden through scientifically studying and piously meditating upon Nature.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS FOR WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

- Acetaria* Evelyn, John. *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets*. 1699. Facsimile. Brooklyn: Women's Auxiliary, Brooklyn Botanic Garden, 1937.
- CC* Leslie, Michael, and Timothy Raylor, eds. *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*. Leicester: Leicester UP, 1992.
- Diary* Evelyn, John. *Diary: Now First Printed in Full from the Manuscripts Belonging to Mr. John Evelyn*. Ed. Esmond S. de Beer. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- EB* Evelyn, John. *Elysium Britannicum, or the Royal Gardens*. Ed. John Ingram. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- GG* Hunt, John Dixon. *Garden and Grove: the Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1986.
- JEEBEG* O'Malley, Therese, and Joachim Wolscke-Bulmahn, eds. *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the final stages of finishing this work, I have greatly missed the support and encouragement of my original supervisor, Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood. She became very seriously ill in December of 2003, the day before I was to hand in the first full draft of this work, and I have not been able to speak with her since. It is my most sincere hope that someday she will be able to read this now completed work as it concerns a topic of which she is particularly fond: the analysis of an old and dusty early English manuscript. We will have tea at her house and finally have a chance to discuss this work that will not, in my mind, truly be finished until she says it is.

Since December, Dr. Catherine Harding and Dr. Ariane Isler de Jongh, who are also greatly affected by the absence of Dr. Gibson-Wood, have been very supportive, reassuring me that everything would work out in the end, taking care of the details of this complex process, and making sure the transition to a new committee was as easy as possible. I would like to thank both them and Darlene Pouliot, our department administrative assistant, for making this go as smoothly as possible.

My family and friends have also been an incomparable help over the years (and years) that I have been working on this. I would like to thank my parents for their financial and emotional support, my mum and my sister for telling me odd stories at just the right time. Caitlin, Richelle, Justyna, and Charlie have shared an enormous amount of time, chocolate, coffee, and love with me in order to keep me sane and I thank them for all they have done. Nick, Maeve, Nic, and Isaac were also always there to offer their support, through both this degree and the previous one, and I would like to thank them too.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

John Evelyn, who lived from 1620 to 1706, was an avid scholar of a wide variety of subjects, a staunch royalist, and a devout member of the Anglican Church. Between 1643 and 1652, he prudently decided to absent himself from England during the Civil War and subsequent rule of Oliver Cromwell. From November 11, 1643 until October 4, 1647 and then again from July 12, 1649 until February 6, 1652, a total of almost six and a half years, he lived primarily in France as a member of the British court in exile. During his first sojourn in France, Evelyn spent almost two years, from April 19, 1644 until July 1646, on what has been termed an early version of a Grand Tour through southern France and Italy.¹

While in France and Italy, Evelyn was not idle; he approached his travels as an extension of his education as a virtuoso, even going so far as to take courses in anatomy at the University of Padua in the winter of 1645 and in chemistry in Paris in February of 1647.² His *Diary* provides an excellent account of his travels, particularly noting the many palaces, villas, and gardens he visited where he found collections of antiquities, contemporary paintings, and curiosities. This was the beginning of Evelyn's life-long devotion to the study and practice of garden architecture. Even before he returned to England, he put his new-found knowledge to use, giving his brother George advice on

¹ See George Parks, "John Evelyn and the Art of Travel." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10.3 (May, 1947): 251-276; Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996); Hunter Davies, *The Grand Tour* (London: Hamilton, 1986); and Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985). The present work does not focus on the practice of the Grand Tour as it becomes more prevalent at a later date.

² *Diary*, vol. 2: 464, 534. See list of abbreviations for frequently cited sources for this, and any other seemingly incomplete reference. Throughout this work, I have chosen to italicize all references to both the *Diary* and the *Elysium Britannicum* because I am referring to published transcribed copies of both, not to the original manuscripts.

further renovations to the family garden at Wotton in Surrey in January of 1651 and again in February of 1652.³

At the age of 31, in February of 1652, Evelyn moved back to England permanently and took up residence at Sayes Court in Deptford which he purchased from his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne. He replanted and expanded the gardens there, working on them for almost forty years, until January of 1700, when he moved to the family estate at Wotton following the death of his brother George.⁴ In September of 1667, he helped Sir Henry Howard, the grandson of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, redesign his garden at Albury Park in Surrey.⁵ In the 1650s, Evelyn began writing and translating books on various aspects of garden architecture, the most famous of which was *Sylva, a Discourse on Forest-trees* which, in 1664, had the honour of being the first book published by the Royal Society, of which Evelyn was a founding member. The most comprehensive work he undertook, the *Elysium Britannicum*, covers every aspect of garden architecture, yet was never completed, even after forty years or more of effort. This manuscript, valuable despite its unfinished state, was unavailable to the public until John Ingram published a verbatim transcription of it in 2001.⁶

This thesis is focused around a close analysis of the contents of this newly accessible manuscript, a topic many modern authors have disregarded, taken for granted, or circumvented. Chapter two examines Evelyn's audience and the status of the garden architect in the *Elysium Britannicum* and also reconstructs the score of missing chapters

³ *Diary*, vol. 3: 24, 60-61. Evelyn's first alterations date from July 17, 1643 when he built a small study and fishpond. *Diary*, II, 81.

⁴ *Diary*, vol. 5: 359, 377. John Evelyn officially inherited the estate from his brother George in 1692, see *Diary*, vol. 5: 54, 103, 105.

⁵ *Diary* vol. 3: 495-496.

⁶ Ingram's version is a direct transcription, mistakes, marginalia, and crossed out text included, of Evelyn MS 45 at the British Library. At the time of this writing, the manuscript has not been allocated a permanent catalogue or shelf number.

from Books II and III. Chapter three evaluates Evelyn's comprehension of and position on five complex issues that comprise the foundation of Italian Baroque garden architecture: Classicism, Art and Nature, Science and Curiosities, Variety, and Theatre. It examines the evolution of Evelyn's thoughts on these horticultural concerns and situates his intellectual position between classical ideologies, such as Virgil's *Georgics*, and the more modern Baconian circle of Samuel Hartlib. Chapter four demonstrates that the *Elysium Britannicum* can be viewed not merely as a "Plan for a Royal Garden," but as a didactic manual designed to teach the practice of divine contemplation in the garden through scientifically studying and piously meditating upon Nature. Relevant aspects of Evelyn's life, such as his travels in France and Italy, his garden projects, and his involvement with both Samuel Hartlib's circle and the Royal Society, are incorporated as they become pertinent.

Review of Present-day Literature on the *Elysium Britannicum*

There are many articles concerning John Evelyn's life, books, gardens, and place in seventeenth-century British culture. While many of these mention the *Elysium Britannicum*, few discuss it thoroughly in the context of England in the 1650s and 1660s and none fully analyze the entire contents of the text itself or examine the specific religious instruction Evelyn intended to impart to his audience.

Several scholars have attempted to encapsulate certain components of John Evelyn's identity by examining aspects of his life. In his 1942 article, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century," Walter Houghton uses Evelyn as an example of a virtuoso who produces serious and, more importantly, useful scholarship out of his particular curious interests, not merely an improved social standing.⁷ F. Sherwood

⁷ Walter Houghton, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3 (1942): 51-73 and 190-219.

Taylor's "The Chemical Studies of John Evelyn" describes Evelyn as a student of chemistry in the 1650s and reviews his detailed manuscript notes from the various courses he attended.⁸ Douglas Chambers, in "John Evelyn and the Construction of the Scientific Self," suggests that in the 1650s Evelyn was carefully establishing his position on various scientific and religious concepts, such as Lucretianism, Epicureanism, atomism, Baconianism, and Christianity.⁹ According to Chambers, in developing and publishing opinions on science and religion, particularly his translation of Book I of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*, Evelyn was intentionally aligning himself with various scientific intellectuals and groups such as Hartlib, Boyle, and certain members of the Royal Society. While there is no direct discussion of the *Elysium Britannicum*, this article does help to situate where Evelyn's simultaneous beliefs in scientific and seemingly contradictory religious concepts lie in relation to those of his contemporaries. Graham Parry defines Evelyn as a "hortulan saint" in his article in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*. He examines Evelyn's 1659 proposal to Robert Boyle for a monastic college of scientists, a letter to Sir Thomas Browne pertaining to the intended purpose of the *Elysium Britannicum*, and *Acetaria: a Discourse on Sallets*, the 1699 publication of chapter twenty of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum*, in order to explore some of Evelyn's ideas concerning science, horticulture, and religion.¹⁰ While Parry ascertains the connections Evelyn makes between these ideas, he does not apply them directly to the contents of the *Elysium Britannicum*.

There are many other articles that discuss and analyze the garden projects with which Evelyn was involved throughout his life. In 1989, Edward Watson published two

⁸ F. Sherwood Taylor, "The Chemical Studies of John Evelyn," *Annals of Science* 8.4 (1952): 285-298.

⁹ Douglas Chambers, "John Evelyn and the Construction of the Scientific Self," *The Restoration Mind*, ed. W. Gerald Marshall (Associated U.P., 1997) 132-146.

¹⁰ Graham Parry, "John Evelyn as Hortulan Saint," *CC*: 130-150. See list of abbreviations for frequently cited sources.

brief articles on Evelyn's house at Deptford. One concerns the ownership of Sayes Court, the other is a purely descriptive account of the garden and its history.¹¹ Prudence Leith-Ross provides a much more detailed history of the garden, including major alterations by Evelyn.¹² She analyzes the watercolour plan that Evelyn made of Sayes Court in 1652 and reprints Evelyn's precisely-worded key to its 126 marked areas. In "The Tomb in the Landscape," Douglas Chambers examines in great depth the origins and interpretation of the tunnel and exedra at Albury Park, a garden owned by Henry Howard and designed by Evelyn.¹³ Carola and Alastair Small published a response to Chambers' analysis of Albury Park, insisting that Evelyn was motivated not by melancholy over the lost classical era, but by his devotion to the doctrines of Epicurus.¹⁴ They apply this concept to Evelyn's other garden designs as well. I do not believe, as they seem to, that their ideas are mutually exclusive from those of Chambers. Because Baroque gardens are intended to support and intertwine more than one level of interpretation, it is entirely possible that Evelyn was equally aware of both ideologies in his designs. In "No Phantasticall Utopia, but a Reall Place': John Evelyn, John Beale and Backbury Hill, Herefordshire," Peter

¹¹ Edward Watson, "John Evelyn's House at Sayes Court" and "John Evelyn's Great Garden at Deptford," *Bygone Kent* 10 (1989): 290-296 and 726-731, respectively.

¹² Prudence Leith-Ross, "The Garden of John Evelyn at Deptford," *Garden History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1997), 138-153. This is the only article I have found which reproduces Evelyn's key to the plan of Sayes Court verbatim. It is interesting to see how he describes the components of his garden.

¹³ Douglas Chambers, "The Tomb in the Landscape: John Evelyn's Garden at Albury," *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 1, 1980, 37-54.

¹⁴ Carola and Alastair Small, "John Evelyn and the Garden of Epicurus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 60, 1997-1998, 194-214. It should be noted that in at least three places, these two scholars have reported facts in error. Firstly, they have not clearly understood the function that Chambers assigns the tunnel under the hill; he never calls it a place in which to meditate, but rather sees it as a place to be meditated upon as it represents the location of Virgil's tomb. Secondly, they believe that Charles Howard is Thomas Howard's son when he is actually his grandson and the brother of Henry Howard. Thirdly, they have discussed in the text a very important letter concerning the *Elysium Britannicum* as having been addressed by Evelyn to his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, when it is, in fact, addressed to the noted scholar Sir Thomas Browne. This point changes entirely both the tone and the significance of the letter. Oddly enough, the footnote to this last occurrence correctly cites the origin of the letter, contrary to the text above it.

Goodchild examines all facets of a letter from John Beale to John Evelyn concerning the terrain and situation of Backbury Hill.¹⁵ Both virtuosi conclude that it is an almost perfect creation of Nature, requiring little if any improvement from Art. Goodchild notes that Evelyn includes the letter almost verbatim in chapter three of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum*.¹⁶ While all of these articles celebrate Evelyn's horticultural accomplishments, only the last offers any real discussion of or insight into the *Elysium Britannicum* itself, and even this deals with only one instance of Evelyn discussing one particular aspect of garden architecture in two pages of the *Elysium Britannicum*.

Many articles on Samuel Hartlib and John Beale discuss Evelyn and the *Elysium Britannicum* with respect to his colleagues' involvement in its creation. Mayling Stubbs is the author of a lengthy article on John Beale, published in two parts in 1982 and 1989 in the *Annals of Science*.¹⁷ She outlines not only Beale's scientific and academic accomplishments, but also his participation in the circle of Samuel Hartlib and, through this connection, his introduction to Evelyn. Beale had conceived of two works similar to the "Elysium Britannicum," but he retracted his proposals in deference to Evelyn's more all-encompassing creation. This relationship between Beale and Evelyn, initially mitigated through Hartlib, is further explored in two essays in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, one by Michael Leslie, the other by

¹⁵ Peter Goodchild, "'No Phantasticall Utopia, but a Reall Place': John Evelyn, John Beale and Backbury Hill, Herefordshire," *Garden History* 19.2 (Fall 1991): 105-127. This same letter is also the subject of an article by John Dixon Hunt, but he deals more with its agricultural implications and less with the *Elysium Britannicum*. See John Dixon Hunt, "Hortulan Affairs," *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication*, eds. Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Timothy Raylor. (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1994): 321-342.

¹⁶ Throughout this work, Art and Nature will be capitalized when they are referred to as an overall field or body of thought. This allows them to be distinguished as independent complete entities, which reflects Evelyn's ideas concerning them

¹⁷ Mayling Stubbs, "John Beale, Philosophical Gardener of Herefordshire: Part I: Prelude to the Royal Society (1608-1663)." *Annals of Science* 39 (1982): 463-489 and Stubbs, "John Beale, Philosophical Gardener of Herefordshire: Part II: The Improvement of Agricultural Trade in the Royal Society (1663-1683)." *Annals of Science* 46 (1989): 323-363.

Douglas Chambers.¹⁸ In “The Spiritual Husbandry of John Beale,” Leslie takes Stubbs’ preliminary work on Beale and his relationship with Evelyn to a more involved and analytical level. He is especially concerned with the connections between science, religion, and horticulture that informed Evelyn’s “*Elysium Britannicum*.” Chambers examines how Beale influenced the evolution of Evelyn’s ideas on garden architecture in “‘Wild Pastorall Encounter’: John Evelyn, John Beale and the Renegotiation of Pastoral in the mid-Seventeenth Century.” While these articles, especially the latter two, discuss specific events and social-historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the *Elysium Britannicum*, they do not apply these concepts to the text of the *Elysium Britannicum* itself to see if and how they are manifested therein.

This trend is continued in two principal works that deal specifically with the *Elysium Britannicum* itself: John Ingram’s 2001 transcription of Evelyn’s manuscript, mentioned above, and *John Evelyn’s “Elysium Britannicum” and European Gardening*, the published papers from the 1998 Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium. Overall, John Ingram has done a tremendous job piecing back together a manuscript that is very difficult to deal with, not least for its author’s handwriting. Yet, despite the admirably meticulous accuracy of this first edition of the transcription, the work is lacking in one vital respect: it is very poorly annotated considering the extent and quality of the resources available to the present-day scholar. This paucity of supplementary information is particularly apparent when comparing Ingram’s 2001 transcription to E.S. de Beer’s heavily annotated 1955 edition of Evelyn’s *Diary*. Very few of the often obscure names, books, places, events, plants, and people mentioned and referenced by Evelyn in the *Elysium Britannicum* are explained further in the text or in footnotes or endnotes; readers are left

¹⁸ Michael Leslie, “The Spiritual Husbandry of John Beale,” and Douglas Chambers, “‘Wild Pastorall Encounter’: John Evelyn, John Beale and the Renegotiation of Pastoral in the mid-Seventeenth Century,” in *CC*: 151-172 and 173-195, respectively.

to interpret or research these items for themselves. Passages from Latin, Greek, and any other language are not translated. Hopefully future editions of the *Elysium Britannicum* will rectify these issues and provide more thorough and critical annotation. The introductory articles by Frances Harris and John Ingram do however provide an interesting and necessary background to the organization and condition of the manuscript itself.

John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening is the only large work dedicated solely to this subject, and yet it too is lacking in certain respects.¹⁹ Some of the articles in this collection, such as "John Evelyn in the 1650s: A Virtuoso in Quest of a Role," by Michael Hunter, and "'Bringing Ingenuity into Fashion': The 'Elysium Britannicum' and the Reformation of Husbandry," by Michael Leslie, aid in further establishing the social and intellectual circumstances and activities in Evelyn's life that led to his decision to undertake the "Elysium Britannicum." Both of these articles are particularly insightful and provide a background for Evelyn's work from several points of view, Leslie focusing on the influence of the Hartlib circle as he did in *Culture and Cultivation*. Many of the other essays in this volume, specifically those on English architecture, European horticulture and planting design, and plants available in Evelyn's time, all use the *Elysium Britannicum* as a point of departure and are tangential to an examination of the specific content of Evelyn's work. The only articles in this compendium that actually analyze the substance of the *Elysium Britannicum* and examine what Evelyn is attempting to accomplish in various parts of it are the brief "Introduction to John Evelyn and the 'Elysium Britannicum'" by Therese O'Malley, which discusses

¹⁹ Hereafter *JEEBEG*.

the design and possible intent of each chapter,²⁰ and the parts of Michael Hunter's paper in which he provides a very astute and erudite analysis of Book I.

This thesis carefully considers the scholarship presented in all of the above-mentioned works, particularly those dealing with the circumstances surrounding the development of the "Elysium Britannicum," but it concentrates more intently on the actual substance and meaning that can be deduced from a close examination of Evelyn's own words.

John Evelyn's Diary

John Evelyn's extensive *Diary*, which he maintained throughout most of his entire eighty-five year span, provides an enormous amount of material concerning his life and activities. Over the centuries, several editors have tackled the tremendous task of transcribing and printing either excerpts or all of the *Diary*. The most successful of these by far is E.S. de Beer who published a heavily annotated and thoroughly indexed six volume edition in 1955. This edition is the source for any reference to John Evelyn's *Diary* found in the present work.

Overall, Evelyn's *Diary* is somewhat poorly named. In several parts it is more of a memoir or even a collection of other contemporary accounts. Certain events are said to have happened at a given date though, in reality, they did not occur until later. Similarly, some people are referred to by titles that were not granted to them until considerably after the date of the writing. From such passages it is possible to determine that the *Diary*, from that point onwards, must have been copied or composed at the later date.²¹ De Beer argues that the "Kalendarium," the main manuscript of the *Diary*, was only begun in its

²⁰ For another article that accomplishes much the same thing, but with even less detail, see Sandra Raphael, "John Evelyn's Elysium Britannicum," *The Garden* 102 (November, 1977): 455-461.

²¹ *Diary*, vol. 1: 69-70. De Beer is very thorough in finding such discrepancies in events and names throughout the *Diary* and records all such instances in his extensive footnotes.

present form in 1660. He believes that, between 1660 and September of 1666, Evelyn filled in the events of his life up to at least March of 1644 using daily notes and his memory.²² His account of his second visit to Florence in the spring of 1645 relies heavily on the *Journal des Voyages* by Balthasar de Monconys. As this was not published until 1665, De Beer postulates that Evelyn copied the rest of his travels into the “Kalendarium” manuscript in that year.²³ Based on a forward reference made by Evelyn in the entry for July 2, 1649, De Beer believes that the section of the “Kalendarium” manuscript covering July 1649 until 1684 was produced after December 8, 1680 and that these thirty-five years are based largely on Evelyn’s own notes. After 1684, the *Diary* entries are new, not copied, and are written contemporaneously with events in Evelyn’s life.²⁴ Between 1697 and 1700, by De Beer’s estimate, Evelyn began another version of the *Diary*, called “De Vita Propria,” likely written for his own purposes and possibly for his immediate posterity. Although it was likely intended as a full copy of the “Kalendarium” manuscript of the *Diary*, it ends in the middle of Evelyn’s travels with his arrival in Florence in 1644.²⁵ De Beer postulates that Evelyn edited and recopied his own *Diary* not so much for posterity, but because he valued having a complete account of his experiences and interests and also found that this exercise in reflection enhanced his spiritual life and aided in self-examination.²⁶

While travelling on the continent, Evelyn likely consulted contemporary travel books and journals, written in multiple languages and from varying points of view, while simultaneously maintaining his own personal chronicle of events. In the *Diary*, Evelyn

²² *Diary*, vol. 1: 71, 73.

²³ *Diary*, vol. 1: 72.

²⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1: 73.

²⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1: 47, 74, 85.

²⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1: 79, 82-83.

used information and descriptions from such travel books to enrich his own notes, thus transforming this section into something more akin to a memoir. De Beer believes he used his own copy of Johann Heinrich von Pflaumer's 1628 edition of *Mercurius Italicus* during his travels and while writing the *Diary*. Evelyn also owned a 1638 edition of the well-regarded *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* by Pompilio Totti and it is more than likely that he also used Totti's *Ritratto di Roma Antica* of 1633. His personal library catalogue listed a 1637 edition of *Relation of a Journey* by George Sandys, useful primarily for its account of Naples and southern Italy, and a 1643 edition of *Le voyage de France* by Claude de Varennes. All of these books were written before Evelyn left for the continent and several were likely used by Evelyn as guide books during his travels, not purchased after his return. He also used the directions on sites of interest between Padua and Milan that Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, had written for him in Padua in April of 1646.²⁷ De Beer has also identified passages in the *Diary* that are excerpts or paraphrases from books published subsequent to Evelyn's travels in Italy. Evelyn owned copies of John Raymond's *An Itinerary contayning a voyage, made through Italy, in the yeare 1646, and 1647: Il Mercurio Italico*, published in 1648, Balthasar de Monconys's *Journal des voyages* of 1665, used primarily for travel in Provence and Italy, and Richard Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* of 1670.²⁸ De Beer surmises that the densely-packed, lengthy, highly descriptive entries and the extensive use of outside sources in this portion of the *Diary* are the result of a contemporary belief in the educational benefits of travel. Evelyn,

²⁷ *Diary*, vol 1: 87; vol. 2: 479.

²⁸ For all books mentioned in this passage, see *Diary* vol 1: 87-89, 96-101; vol. 2: 569-579. De Beer specifically states that Evelyn did not rely directly on François Schott's *Itinerario d'Italia* of 1620, preferring Pflaumer's 1628 guide to Italy as being of higher intellectual quality. *Diary*, vol. 1: 96-101 and vol. 2: 569-579 provides full bibliographic information and assessments of the scholarly worth of the travel books Evelyn had at his disposal. vol. 2: 569-579 also contains a discussion of works used for his brief visit to the Netherlands in 1641.

Aside from travel books, Evelyn incorporated news items from London papers and from his own correspondence throughout the *Diary* to supplement and expand his coverage of contemporary events. *Diary*, vol. 1: 89-90, 101-105.

who agreed with this concept, put his own convictions into practice in this section of the *Diary*, turning it into his own “private guidebook.”²⁹

It has been suggested that Evelyn’s practice of supplementing the *Diary* with other written materials undermines the quality and reliability of it as a document that accurately reflects the events of his life.³⁰ Granted that, I would argue that these extra sources serve more to enhance the *Diary* if one perceives it not merely as a chronology of factual events, but as a record of Evelyn’s thoughts, ideas, and interests throughout his life. Thus, although Evelyn’s use of other sources to enhance his descriptions of places he visited distorts his account of what he himself experienced, these additions are still valuable in that Evelyn himself chose to add them based on their content, presumably because they had expanded his perception of the places he visited. It is possible that, upon reflection, he felt that his younger self had overlooked certain interesting features or points relating primarily to garden theory and art, and thus added them later when he found them in travel guides. It is equally possible that, by the 1660s, he might have guessed that his *Diary* would be of interest to later generations, and thus he wanted to leave a more complete description of places he saw for the sake of posterity. It is impossible to prove either of these speculations or to know the true motivation behind his decision to embellish the chronicle of his life. Whatever his reasons, the additions certainly do not diminish the worth of the record Evelyn has left to us, they merely give it a different function.

²⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1: 80-81.

³⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1: 105-114; Michael Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s: A Virtuoso in Quest of a Role,” *JEEBEG*, 82.

Books Written or Translated by Evelyn

Aside from the *Diary*, Evelyn wrote a score of volumes, varying greatly in both size and content, covering subjects as diverse as forestry, religion, art and architecture, politics, environmental concerns, and history. In 1661, he wrote *Fumifugium, or, the Inconveniencie of the Aer and Smoak of London Dissipated Together with Some Remedies*, which could be considered an early treatise on improving the environment. Both *Sculptura: or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper...*, of 1662, and *Numismata: a Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern ... To which is Added a Digression Concerning Physiognomy*, of 1697, pertain to artistic subjects, technique and the analysis of collections, respectively. In 1690, Evelyn collaborated with his daughter Mary on the amusing topic of *Mundus Muliebris, Or, the Ladies Dressing-room Unlock'd, and Her Toilets Spread in Burlesque ; Together with the Fop-dictionary Compiled for the Use of the Fair Sex ...*, a volume which demonstrates that his great diversity of works was not entirely devoted to purely scholarly pursuits.

Because garden architecture was of such interest to Evelyn, several of his books address subjects related to this form of art. Of these, his most well-known is *Sylva, Or, a Discourse of Forest-trees and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesties Dominions as it Was Deliver'd in the Royal Society the XVth of October, MDCLXII*, which in 1664 was the first publication of the Royal Society of which Evelyn was a founding member. This book was not the direct result of Evelyn's interest in garden architecture or groves, though it could be used for such interests. Its primary purpose was to demonstrate the economic viability of replenishing forests that had been depleted by decades of naval campaigns. Thus it was written in support of British military exploits and economy, as were several other of the early works of members of the Royal Society. Several smaller volumes, combining interests in economic ventures, gardens as productive investments, and gardening in general, were appended to *Sylva. Pomona, or, an Appendix Concerning*

Fruit-trees in Relation to Cider: the Making and Several Ways of Ordering It, Published by Express Order of the Royal Society and *Kalendarium Hortense, Or, the Gard'ners Almanac, Directing What He Is to Do Monthly Throughout the Year* were both added as part of the original 1664 edition. The *Kalendarium Hortense* was also published quite successfully as an independent volume and, as was also the case with *Sylva*, it was reprinted in several later editions. In 1676, Evelyn published *A Philosophical Discourse of Earth Relating to the Culture and Improvement of it for Vegetation, and the Propagation of Plants, &C. As it Was Presented to the Royal Society, April 29, 1675*. This was appended to the third edition of *Sylva* in 1679 under the heading *Terra*. Much later, in 1699, a small volume titled *Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets* became the last of Evelyn's published works. It was originally intended to be the twentieth chapter of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn's greatest, yet unfinished, manuscript on garden architecture, not published until 2001. A short book titled *Directions for the Gardiner at Says-court but Which May Be of Use for Other Gardens* was also published posthumously in 1932.

Evelyn began his writing career not by producing his own works on garden architecture and gardening, but by translating several works, primarily by French authors. In 1656, he published the first English translation of the first of six books of *De Rerum Natura*, an Epicurean poem by Lucretius. In 1658, he produced a translation of *The French Gardiner: Instructing How to Cultivate All Sorts of Fruit-trees, and Herbs for the Garden: Together with Directions to Dry and Conserve Them in Their Natural* by Nicolas de Bonnefons. It was in this edition that Evelyn first published his prospectus, a table of contents, for the "Elysium Britannicum." The second edition of this work, from 1669, incorporated *The English Vineyard Vindicated* by John Rose, gardener to the king. In 1660, Evelyn published his translation of *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-trees* from the French book of Monsieur Arnauld d'Andilly, also known as Sieur le Gendre. In 1693,

Evelyn published his last translation related to gardening: Jean de la Quintinie's *The Compleat Gard'ner, Or, Directions for Cultivating and Right Ordering of Fruit-gardens and Kitchen-gardens with Divers Reflections on Several Parts of Husbandry, in Six Books: to Which Is Added, His Treatise of Orange-trees, with the Raising of Melons, Omitted in the French Editions*. All of these translations show Evelyn's interest both in French intellectual culture, in which he has been immersed during his residence there in the 1640s, and in a broad range of topics that contribute to garden architecture.³¹

The culmination of all of Evelyn's works and of his scholarly interest in garden architecture was the *Elysium Britannicum* which overshadowed all of his other writing with its broad-reaching ambitions. This book was an attempt to instruct the British aristocracy on every aspect of garden architecture including the scientific yet religious nature of the elements, the practicalities of choosing a site and constructing a garden, and the intellectual, scientific, artistic, and moral benefits of devoting one's time to the study of such a place.

³¹ In addition to volumes specifically relating to garden architecture, Evelyn published other translations from French concerning arts that in some ways contribute to garden architecture. In 1661 he published a translation of Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library*, a volume that likely would have contributed to the missing chapter of Book III of the *Elysium Britannicum* concerning a Hortulan Study and Library. He translated two books by Roland Fréart, the Sieur de Chambray, both of which examine aspects of art which could contribute to particular features of garden architecture. The first of these, published by Evelyn in 1664, was titled *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern*, the second, of 1668, was *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*.

CHAPTER TWO

John Evelyn's *Elysium Britannicum*¹

When John Evelyn returned to England, under Cromwell's rule, in February of 1652, he could not see a viable means of participating in this anti-monarchic government and so resigned himself to a life of intellectual retirement, replacing his potential public career with that of a serious scholar, virtuoso, and amateur scientist. He illustrated his growing sense of disappointment, frustration, and loss over this in a letter dated December 2, 1651, shortly before his return, addressed to William Prettyman, his wife's uncle:

I shall therefore bring over with me [from France] no ambitions at all to be a statesman, or meddle with the unlucky Interests of Kingdomes, but shall contentedly submit to the losse of my education, by which I might have one day hoped to have bin considerable in my Country. A Friend, a Booke, and a Garden shall for the future, perfectly circumscribe my utmost designs.²

John Evelyn's unfinished and partly mislaid *Elysium Britannicum* was very much a product of the circumstances of his social and intellectual life after his return to

¹ I have followed John Ingram's meticulous and admirable transcription verbatim in all passages quoted from the *Elysium Britannicum* in order to preserve Evelyn's voice as much as possible in places where I am analyzing specific passages from the *Elysium Britannicum*. Ingram describes his own methods of interpretation for each situation encountered in the text. He silently expanded all abbreviated words such as with, which, the, that, and them. He retained Evelyn's spelling of all words even though spelling is inconsistent in the seventeenth century and even within this one manuscript. He made all superscript text normal. He underlined or lined through anything that Evelyn had underlined or lined through. Any passage or word that is truly indecipherable is replaced with three question marks. With regards to phrasing punctuation, Ingram used regular parentheses, "()", where Evelyn used them; he used braces, "{ }", to indicate small additions and word or phrase replacements in a line; he used brackets, "[]", to denote his own infrequent insertions into the text. Ingram relegated to footnotes all marginalia and insertions from separate pieces of paper found in the manuscript. See John Ingram, "John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum": Provenance, Condition, Transcription," in *JEEBEG*, 48-50.

² Hunter, "John Evelyn in the 1650s," 83. See also Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. 3: 58. His entry for February 10, 1652, echoes his sense of helpless resignation at the state of the country as he settles at Sayes Court. See Chapter 3, "Classicism in the Garden," of this work for a discussion of Evelyn's lifestyle at this time as an instance of *villeggiatura*, the Roman practice of retiring to villas to balance an active public life with a contemplative philosophical one.

Cromwellian England in February of 1652.³ During his last few years in Paris, Evelyn had become increasingly involved with the intellectual and scientific community, even taking courses in Chemistry.⁴ When he returned to England, he continued his forays into natural philosophy, specifically horticulture and garden architecture, by joining a similar circle centred around Samuel Hartlib, a practitioner of husbandry who followed the philosophies of Francis Bacon. To understand Evelyn's inspiration for the *Elysium Britannicum*, it is necessary first to examine the ideas of his new intellectual colleagues then review Evelyn's other contemporaneous projects in the 1650s and early 1660s in this context.

Samuel Hartlib, nicknamed an "intelligencer," was a hub for the exchange of information between like-minded virtuosi and scientists in the 1650s. He developed a system of open letters through which he would pass on to others any letters which he knew would be of interest to them. Many of his works, including the three editions of *Legacie of Husbandry* published in 1651, 1652, and 1655, are actually compilations of the letters or treatises of others with Hartlib acting as editor.

Hartlib, who was at the forefront of the intellectual scene in the 1640s and 1650s, was primarily concerned with reforming and improving the practices of husbandry and agriculture, using scientific experiment, and then disseminating this new knowledge to the general public for the benefit of every economic class of mid-seventeenth century England.⁵ He wanted to ensure that anyone, with any amount of land, would be able to

³ It is thought by most scholars that he wrote the bulk of the *Elysium Britannicum* before the end of the 1660s and then worked on it somewhat more sporadically throughout the rest of his life, continuously collecting more information from his correspondents.

John Ingram, "John Evelyn and His "Elysium Britannicum"," *EB*, 5. John Ingram discusses the possible dates of the writing of the *Elysium Britannicum* citing Graham Parry's article "John Evelyn as Hortulan Saint."

⁴ Hunter, "John Evelyn in the 1650s," 84.

⁵ Timothy Raylor, "Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees," *CC*, 91.

utilize it to its full potential and live off of it, thus virtually eliminating poverty and creating a utopian society. Hartlib was inspired in his endeavours by the works of Francis Bacon, particularly the *New Atlantis*. John Beale, one of Hartlib's followers, was still contemplating such ideas in the 1680s when he wrote a treatise titled "From Utopia."⁶ In order to propagate the spread of this new knowledge, Hartlib wanted to establish colleges of public education in the mechanical trades, with a focus on scientific experimentation for the improvement of husbandry. These institutions were not to be sponsored by the church or the state and were to be established outside the control of other institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge, which still followed a monastic education system.⁷

The driving force behind Hartlib's, and before him Bacon's, desire to reform agriculture and the trades through science was religion. The empirical, scientific study of Nature, first proposed by Bacon, was intended to bring humanity closer to an understanding of the mind and methods of God, the creator of all things in Nature. The ultimate goal was to improve both the earth and humankind, intellectually and in its quality of life, reaching ever nearer to the original perfect state of Adam and Eve in the coveted Garden of Eden. This was to be accomplished before the next millennium, believed to be the time of the Second Coming of Christ and the Day of Judgement, so that humanity could put forth its best face at that time, knowing a sincere effort had been made to improve.

Though it might seem strange to us today, even contradictory, to use religion as the motivation for scientific study, this was quite in keeping with the scholarly mentality of the seventeenth-century. Various fields had not yet become so specialized that a rift had formed between them. Robert Boyle, the "father" of modern chemistry, was also an

⁶ Chambers, "Wild Pastorall Encounter," 188. Chambers does not provide a source for this information or the location of the treatise.

⁷ Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor, "Introduction," CC, 4.

alchemist in search of the elixir of life. John Beale, whose passion was optics, believed he could use his telescopes not only to learn of the stars, but to see angels soaring through heaven. There was no clear separation between physics, the four Elements and corresponding Humours, and cosmology. In this climate, it was not problematic for classical philosophy, still the backbone of education, to provide a second source of inspiration for Hartlib's practices. Virgil's *Georgics* and *Eclogues* in particular encouraged a simple agrarian life at peace in nature. The philosophies of Epicurus, who led a group called "The Garden," also exerted great influence in the Hartlib circle, though some of his views were considered heretical at the time. Thus both ancient ideas and modern, religious and scientific, were to come together to improve humankind.⁸

After Hartlib died in 1662, shortly after the Restoration, many members of his circle, including John Evelyn, John Beale, Robert Boyle, Henry Oldenberg, Ralph Austen, and Abraham Cowley, became founding fellows of the Royal Society which intended to continue following Francis Bacon's, and therefore Hartlib's, agenda for the improvement of England and its economy through the practical application of science. Many of Hartlib's scholars of husbandry, including Evelyn, continued his work under the guise of the Georgical Committee of the Royal Society. Thus Evelyn found himself at the centre of a brisk exchange of correspondence between botanists, chemists, plant breeders, explorers, and serious garden enthusiasts. Much of this barrage of new information was incorporated into the *Elysium Britannicum*, which Douglas Chambers calls the "hortulan manifesto for the Royal Society."⁹ The content of Evelyn's *Sylva*, including its numerous

⁸ See Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1975); Stephen Clucas, "Samuel Hartlib's *Ephemerides*, 1635-59, and the Pursuit of Scientific and Philosophical Manuscripts: the Religious Ethos of an Intelligencer," *Seventeenth Century* 6.1 (1991): 33-55. Webster's voluminous tome discusses the intricacies of the developing relationship between science and religion in the Hartlib circle in far greater detail than I have room to include here.

⁹ Douglas Chambers, "'Elysium Britannicum not printed neere ready &c': The 'Elysium Britannicum' in the Correspondence of John Evelyn," *JEEBEG*, 112.

additional treatises, can also be seen as a compendium of discourses accumulated as a result of the epistolary traffic of the Royal Society. Evelyn thus assumed the role of an editor and compiler, similar to that occupied by Samuel Hartlib in the 1650s, the incomparable voice of a group of like-minded scholars.

These groups and individuals with whom Evelyn interacted in the 1650s and early 1660s inspired him to propose and undertake a number of projects that reflected their intellectual concerns. In a letter of September 3, 1659, addressed to Robert Boyle, a respected chemist and fellow member of the Hartlib circle, Evelyn proposed a project which reflected the hopelessness with which he viewed the prospects for government-sponsored scientific study in light of the Cromwellian occupation. He recommended the establishment of a scholarly retreat, based on the concept of Francis Bacon's Solomon's House, intended both to advance and preserve scientific and scholarly knowledge until such a time as it could once again be of public use to the nation.¹⁰ This college, for which Evelyn meticulously specified the details of the grounds and the daily routine, would have been more than a retirement for the purpose of scholarly pursuits, it was a refuge where virtuosi and scientists could permanently withdraw from society in "a period so uncharitable & perverse"¹¹ and yet continue scientific horticultural experiments for the improvement of husbandry.

Shortly after proposing this college to Boyle, on January 28, 1660 Evelyn wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Browne in which he explains his intentions in writing the *Elysium Britannicum* and then proposes that he would complement this visionary garden with

¹⁰ Parry, 132-134. Parry provides a full explanation of the details of Evelyn's college including an excerpt from the letter from Evelyn to Boyle. See Chapter 3, "Classicism in the Garden," of this work for further discussion of Evelyn's plan in relation to *villeggiatura*.

¹¹ Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn: to Which Are Added a Selection from His Familiar Letters and the Private Correspondence Between King Charles I. and Sir Edward Nicholas and Between Sir Edward Hyde (Afterwards Earl of Clarendon) and Sir Richard Browne*, ed. William Bray (London: Bickers and Son, 1879) vol. 3, 261-267.

a society of the *Paradisi Cultores*, persons of antient simplicity, Paradisean and Hortulan saints, to be a society of learned and ingenuous men, such as Dr Browne, by whome we might hope to redeeme the tyme that has bin lost, in pursuing vulgar errorrs, and still propagating them, as so many bold men do yet presume to do.¹²

This society is very similar to the college he proposed to Boyle, yet focussed even more on horticultural studies. It would involve the same “learned and ingenuous men,” presumably culled from the Hartlib circle and now named “Hortulan saints,” who would conduct scientific experiments to correct “vulgar errorrs,” society’s misconceptions, a passion of Sir Thomas Browne. Evelyn’s society would also try to “redeeme the tyme that has bin lost,” likely a reference to the suppression of the Church of England and supporters of the monarchy during Cromwell’s rule and the need for natural philosophers to persevere despite this obstacle. Parry concludes, and I agree with him, that the society Evelyn envisioned combines both Georgic and Baconian philosophies, the best of both ancient and modern thought in keeping with the Hartlib circle.¹³

Evelyn was not the only one to suggest such institutions. As early as 1655 Hartlib himself had suggested establishing an “Agency for the Advancement of Universal Learning” or an “Invisible College,” also based on the Solomon’s House that Francis Bacon proposed in the *New Atlantis*, which would create an informal network of information exchanged between natural philosophers and scholars concerned with advancing science and husbandry through empirical experiment.¹⁴ Evelyn’s proposal is different in that its aim is to preserve knowledge among the scientific elite in an almost monastic way, whereas the goal of both Bacon and Hartlib was to reform knowledge for

¹² Sir Thomas Browne, *The Letters of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1946) 301. Parry, *CC*, quotes this letter at length and discusses it. I refer to it in several other places in this work as it addresses many aspects of the *Elysium Britannicum*.

¹³ Parry, 135-6.

¹⁴ Parry, 132.

the purposes of disseminating it to the citizens of England in the hopes of improving their economic status, a much more utopian aspiration. After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, this organization was realized, in a sense, with the foundation of the much more public Royal Society in 1660.¹⁵

Evelyn was concerned with several literary projects and translations in the 1650s. One of these was the publication, in 1652, of the first English translation of Book I of *De Rerum Natura*, a lengthy philosophical poem by Lucretius, an Epicurean Roman poet of 94-55 B.C.E. This might at first appear to bear no relation to the development of the *Elysium Britannicum*, but the philosophical ideas of Epicurus (341-271 B.C.E.) had an enormous impact on the Hartlib circle, including John Evelyn, in the 1650s. Epicurus led a school called “The Garden” which advocated *plein-air* philosophical discourse and the enjoyment of pleasures offered by a life of simple co-existence with Nature, removed from political and court society. To Evelyn and his comrades, these ideas embodied a worthy alternative lifestyle during a time when they could not actively contribute to their nation in public service or government.¹⁶

¹⁵ Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 95.

¹⁶ The philosophies of Epicurus (341-271 B.C.E.) initially had become very popular in French intellectual circles in the first half of the seventeenth century as can be seen in the studies of Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), an Epicurean philosopher. In his numerous translations, Evelyn is facilitating the incorporation of French intellectual culture in England and Michael Hunter believes that his translation of Lucretius (94-55 B.C.E.) into English, following Gassendi’s scholarship, is yet another example of this trend. In support of this, Hunter notes that the frontispiece of Evelyn’s translation was modelled on that of a 1659 translation of Lucretius into French by Michel de Marolles of 1650. Furthermore, shortly after Evelyn published the first book of Lucretius, William Rand dedicated to him his 1657 translation of *The Life of Peiresc*, a biography by Gassendi of the French virtuoso and Lucretian scholar Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), and Walter Charleton published a synopsis of Gassendi’s works in 1654.

Epicureans believe in atomism, the concept that all matter is made of microscopically small particles that are unable to be further divided (atoms). Following from this belief, Epicureans are also largely Atheists who, due to their practical, logical outlook on the physical world, do not believe the soul is immortal and do not rely on religion to explain the existence of the world. While Evelyn and others saw the benefits of Epicurus’s and Lucretius’s teachings on life and Nature, they continually struggled internally with the heretical aspects, trying to reconcile them with Christianity. This is one reason that Evelyn never published the rest of his translation of Lucretius. See Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 96-101.

In approximately 1653, inspired by Samuel Hartlib and his colleagues, Evelyn decided to commence work on an all-encompassing “History of Trades,” a project which was later also advocated by the Royal Society. This project was originally recommended by Francis Bacon in order to disseminate practical and experimental knowledge to as wide an audience as possible for the purpose of improving levels of education and subsequently the English economy.¹⁷ Parliament itself became interested in the idea and in 1650 established a Council of Trade which included members of the Hartlib circle.¹⁸ Hartlib undertook the history of the trade of bee husbandry in his 1655 *The Reformed Commonwealth of Bees*, though this work, despite its serious Baconian scientific and economic approach, failed to produce any significant change except for an increase in the popularity of keeping bees in transparent hives as a garden curiosity.¹⁹ Evelyn’s intentions in this proposed enterprise were much grander; it was his aim to explain the secrets and processes of all trades, from the labor-intensive and mechanical to the polite and intellectual, in the hopes of advancing British practices of both industry and art. Michael Hunter declares that this “represents the high point of his commitment to useful knowledge,”²⁰ yet for various reasons, Evelyn never managed to progress further than the “polite” trades, those relating to arts and undertaken by gentlemen and virtuosi. This was partly due to his discomfort in fraternizing with common labourers and partly due to an earnest desire to protect the specialized knowledge of trade practitioners from those who

¹⁷ Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 89. See also Walter Houghton, “The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought: As Seen in Bacon, Petty, Evelyn, and Boyle,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2.1 (January, 1941): 33-60.

¹⁸ Raylor, “Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees,” 94.

¹⁹ Raylor, “Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees,” 116-118. Evelyn himself owned a much-admired transparent hive which he kept in his garden at Sayes Court near the laboratory. See chapters 3 and 4 of this work for further discussion of bees and insects.

²⁰ Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 91.

would abuse it through patent theft or the lowering of standards.²¹ He eventually collected enough information on certain artistic subjects to make them worthy of publication, such as his 1662 work, *Sculptura: or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*.²² The *Elysium Britannicum* began as a history of the trade of garden architecture, but Evelyn became so engrossed by the complexities of this subject, with which he had always had a particular affinity, that he continued to work on it for several decades and ultimately never published it.

When Evelyn informed Samuel Hartlib of his commencement of the *Elysium Britannicum* in a letter of August 8, 1659, Hartlib, in his role as a hub for scholarly communications, forwarded his prospectus to John Beale, another horticulturally inclined member of the community. Beale had recently sent Hartlib plans for two books, “A Physique Garden And the Preparation of Composts Fit for all kinds of Gardens. And fit for experiments of general use” and “A Garden of Pleasure Encouraged & directed By the Ideas of Phantsy And by the Iudgment & Authority Of the Sublimest Wits of Ancient And Moderne Ages, Domestique & Forreigne And reduced to the choicest rules Of Secrete, Mysterious, and Reserved Arts.”²³ Hartlib put Evelyn and Beale in contact with each other and, after they exchanged proposals, Beale deferred to Evelyn as having more knowledge in contemporary literature on the subject and a broader, more comprehensive, approach.²⁴ Evelyn did not disregard Beale, instead he incorporated Beale’s ideas into the *Elysium Britannicum*, particularly in Book II, chapter three, “Of Fencing, Enclosing, plotting and disposing the ground,” where Evelyn quotes a lengthy letter from his friend and colleague which characterizes the site and surroundings of Backbury Hill as being a

²¹ Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 88, 91, 92.

²² Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 88, 93.

²³ See Appendix I for the proposed chapters of both treatises.

²⁴ Goodchild, 112.

place where the ingenuity of Art is not required to improve what has been provided by Nature.²⁵ A few years later, Evelyn assimilated some of Beale's anonymous writings into *Sylva* where they became an instrumental part of *Pomona, or, an Appendix Concerning Fruit-trees in Relation to Cider: the Making and Several Ways of Ordering It, Published by Express Order of the Royal Society*, a trade in which Beale's family specialized. These significant contributions by Beale to works that cite Evelyn as the primary author are excellent examples of Evelyn's newfound role, in part replacing Hartlib as a gatherer and editor of horticultural treatises.

Was Book III Written?

Any discussion of the text of John Evelyn's *Elysium Britannicum* should begin by answering the question "Was it ever finished?". All versions of the table of contents for the *Elysium Britannicum* list several chapters that are not actually contained within the "fair copy" manuscript at the British Library.²⁶ There is some debate whether these missing chapters once existed and are simply misplaced or lost, or were originally planned by Evelyn, but never executed.²⁷ As I will argue, I believe that the chapters were written, at least in rough draft, and are now lost (although that is hard to accept). At various points in his life, Evelyn provides progress reports on the *Elysium Britannicum*.²⁸ In his introduction to the *Elysium Britannicum*, John Ingram cites a letter of January 28,

²⁵ Goodchild, 105-127.

²⁶ Harris, Ingram, and others use the phrase "fair copy" to refer to Evelyn MS 45 at the British Library, that which was used to create Ingram's 2001 transcription. Harris states that "It clearly began as the autograph fair copy which Evelyn intended, in the optimistic early years of the project, to send to the press." They continue to use this phrase despite the fact that Evelyn altered this manuscript throughout the rest of his life.

²⁷ Ingram, "John Evelyn and His "Elysium Britannicum"," 7. Ingram specifically states that "there is some doubt in this editor's mind that Evelyn completed a fair copy text for all the books and chapters listed in the contents."

²⁸ Some of the following instances are also cited by John Ingram and Frances Harris in their respective prefaces to the 2001 edition of the *Elysium Britannicum* and in their articles in *JEEBEG*.

1660 from Evelyn to Sir Thomas Browne in which Evelyn admits “though I have drawne it in loose sheetes, almost every chapter rudely, yet I cannot say to have finished anything tolerably, farther than chapter XI. lib. 2”.²⁹ Ingram notes that this would bring Evelyn to approximately page 167 of the manuscript.³⁰

In a letter to John Beale of 1679, Evelyn fears that he will never finish the daunting task he has set himself, although he is at that time endeavouring to publish *Acetaria* (chapter 20 of Book II) as a separate work:

When again, I consider into what an ocean I am plung'd, how much I have written and collected for above these 20 yeares upon this fruitfull and inexhaustible subject (I mean Horticulture) not yet fully digested to my mind, and what insuperable paines it will require to insert the (dayly increasing) particulars into what I have already in some measure prepared, and which must of necessitie be don by my owne hand, I am almost out of hope that I shall have the strength and leasure to bring it to maturity, having for the last ten yeares of my life ben in perpetual motion and hardly two moneths in a yeare at my owne habitation or conversant with my family.³¹

In the preface to *Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets*, which was finally published in 1699 near the end of his life, Evelyn writes in the third person of his own attempts to finish and publish the *Elysium Britannicum*:

...you will not wonder, that a Person of my Acquaintance, should have spent almost *Forty* [years], in Gathering and Amassing Materials for an *Hortulan* Design, to so enormous an Heap, as to fill some *Thousand Pages*; and yet be comprehended within two, or three Acres of Ground; nay, within the Square of less than *One* (skilfully Planted and Cultivated) sufficient to furnish, and entertain his Time and Thoughts all his Life long, with a most Innocent, Agreeable, and Useful Employment. But you may justly wonder, and Condemn the Vanity of it too, with that Reproach, *This Man began to build, but was not able to finish!* This has been the Fate of that Undertaking; and I dare promise, will be of whosoever imagines (without the Circumstances of extraordinary Assistance, and no ordinary Expense) to pursue the *Plan*, erect, and finish the *Fabrick* as it ought to be.

²⁹ Browne, *Letters*, 302.

³⁰ Ingram, “John Evelyn and His “Elysium Britannicum”,” 5.

³¹ Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, ed. William Bray, vol. 3, 190-191.

But this is that which *Abortives* the Perfection of the most Glorious and Useful Undertakings; the Unsatiabie Coveting to Exhaust all that should, or can be said upon every Head: If such a one have anything else to mind, or do in the World, let me tell him, he thinks of Building too late; and rarely find we any, who care to superstruct upon the Foundation of another, and whose *Ideas* are alike. There ought therefore to be as many *Hands*, and *Subsidiaries* to such a Design (and those *Masters* too) as there are distinct Parts of the Whole (according to the subsequent Table) that those who have the Means and Courage, may (tho' they do not undertake the *Whole*) finish a *Part* at least, and in time Unite their Labours into one Intire, Compleat, and Consummate Work indeed.³²

Here Evelyn plainly refers to having enough material for one thousand pages of text. In the Table of Contents for the *Elysium Britannicum* that follows this preface, all of the chapter headings are listed in their latest version, but no page numbers are given, departing from the previous versions of this document, one published forty years before in *The French Gardiner* of 1658 and the other in the “fair copy” of the *Elysium Britannicum*.³³ In this passage from *Acetaria*, Evelyn laments that he was never able to finish the *Elysium Britannicum* to his satisfaction. He then warns that any who undertake to complete the full writing project alone, as he did, are doomed to the same fate; they will be unable to finish it and see it published. He states that it is unlikely the project will ever be completed exactly as he envisioned it because future scholars will not want to follow his plan precisely, they will want to devise their own, even if they have the same basic ideas. He advises that, if the project was to be done properly with nothing omitted and every subject heading fully examined, it would require many experts, one for each chapter, who would then create one collaborative and complete work. I interpret this passage to mean that Evelyn finished most of the *Elysium Britannicum*, likely creating a complete “fair copy” of almost all of the proposed chapters, but he kept editing it and

³² *Acetaria*, xvii-xx.

³³ Frances Harris, “The Manuscripts of the “Elysium Britannicum”,” *EB*, 15.

refused to concede that it could be complete even after consulting many other scholars and experts; he never released it to a publisher and so it was left.

Although Evelyn continued to annotate the “fair copy” of the *Elysium Britannicum* until at least 1702, it is not known when he last altered the table of contents at the beginning of this manuscript.³⁴ It does have page numbers listed for each chapter and these continue up to page 867, the beginning of Chapter 10 of Book III, which contains eleven chapters in total. The fact that Evelyn bothered to specify page numbers to the chapters suggests to me that the pages did, in fact, exist in at least a semi-finished state, possibly as a second book of “fair copy” text and not merely as notes or ideas for a possible last part of Book II and Book III. It is unlikely that he assigned arbitrary page numbers based on his estimate of the number of pages he would fill. Furthermore, there is a second manuscript consisting of 220 pages of precisely referenced notes that Evelyn intended to insert at various points throughout 876 pages, covering all three books of the manuscript.³⁵ He would not have specified the placement of these addenda if the pages did not exist. Another clue supporting missing pages lies in the fact that chapter 18, the last part of Book II in the “fair copy,” ends in both mid-paragraph and mid-sentence. It seems unlikely that, in 40 years, he would not have been able to finish a sentence and short paragraph on the Common Tuna tree, thus abruptly ending his catalogue “Of stupendious and wonderful Plants” at the letter ‘C’. Furthermore, according to John Ingram’s transcription, there is a margin note instructing the reader to “se the next Volume;,” surely an indication that an entire other volume of “fair copy” existed.³⁶

³⁴ Ingram, “John Evelyn and his “Elysium Britannicum,”” 6.

³⁵ Ingram, “... Provenance, Condition, Transcription,” 48.

³⁶ *EB*, 419 [342]. Page numbering for all Evelyn text from the *Elysium Britannicum* is listed with the transcription page number followed by the page number from the original, “fair copy,” manuscript (Evelyn MS 45) in square brackets.

An Analysis of the Table of Contents of the *Elysium Britannicum*

A careful examination of the last two versions of the Table of Contents reveals much about the overall organization and Evelyn's intentions in writing the *Elysium Britannicum*.³⁷ The version of the table of contents from *Acetaria* ("Table 2"), more of a prospectus reminding the audience of Evelyn's ever-imminent volume, differs somewhat from that included in Ingram's transcription ("Table 1"), suggesting that it is a later revision. In "Table 2," the title has changed and expanded to "The Plan of a Royal Garden: Describing, and Shewing the *Amplitude*, and *Extent* of that Part of *Georgicks*, which belongs to *Horticulture*." It specifically refers to Virgil's *Georgics* and horticulture and no longer includes the phrase "Elysium Britannicum," possibly in response to the changing ideologies of the Royal Society, its intended publisher and primary audience. Aside from the reorganization of some chapters and the rewording of their titles, the two tables of contents are essentially the same, although in "Table 2" Evelyn has polished the phrasing of some of the chapter titles to more accurately reflect their content in 1699. Both Tables of Content provide precisely-worded and often lengthy titles for the lost chapters. The following is my own analysis of what can be inferred from these chapter titles and includes an attempt to salvage or even reconstruct much of the lost content from the end of Book II and all of Book III based both on the titles of these chapters and on Evelyn's other publications and extant manuscripts.³⁸

In Book I of the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn attempts, with questionable success, to reconcile several ancient philosophies with modern scientific views of

³⁷ For the purposes of this discussion, I am going to refer to two separate Tables of Contents. "Table 1" is found in John Ingram's 2001 published transcription of the *Elysium Britannicum*, see Appendix II. "Table 2" was published in the preface to *Acetaria* in 1699, see Appendix III. The version in *Acetaria* is the latest published by Evelyn and, in my opinion, it expresses the best organization of the chapters in each Book, although it does not provide page numbers. I believe that he would ultimately have retained the order in this Table of Contents had he published the *Elysium Britannicum*.

³⁸ Therese O'Malley briefly discusses part of this in her article, "Introduction to John Evelyn and the "Elysium Britannicum"," *JEEBEG*, 10.

Nature.³⁹ He is primarily concerned with describing and philosophically examining the forces of Nature which act upon a garden and determine everything about its climate and environment. He covers the Four Elements and related Humours, the heavenly bodies of the sun and moon, and the climate both in general and divided into the four seasons. In the text, Evelyn deals with cosmological myths as scientifically as possible and attempts to chemically define the essence of Nature as the soul of the universe, thus demonstrating that his era still had not drawn a firm line between science, alchemy, cosmology, and mysticism.⁴⁰ He then goes into greater detail in discussing the soils, composts, and fertilizers of Earth, the main Element pertaining to a garden. Evelyn was so dissatisfied and frustrated with his attempt to define and clarify the very contradictory and complex metaphysical subjects addressed in Book I that he struck through the bulk of it, intending to rework it at a later date.⁴¹

In Book II, Evelyn covers all of the physical elements of the garden. This Book is written largely for the garden architect, but could also serve to inform the land owner of exactly what the creation of a garden entails and aid him in evaluating a properly qualified head gardener. In “Table 2” in *Acetaria*, Book II commences with two chapters which were originally placed in Book I, “The Garden Derived and Defined...” and “Of a Gardiner, how to be qualify’d ...,” thus leaving Book I entirely to an esoteric examination “Of the Principles and Elements in general.” Evelyn begins by briefly defining a garden and tracing its roots from Eden onwards. He then presents a detailed portrayal of the

³⁹ O’Malley, “Introduction,” 14. See Joseph Levine, “John Evelyn: Between the Ancients and the Moderns,” *JEEBEG*, 57-78, for further discussion of this dichotomy in Evelyn’s life. See also Hunter, “John Evelyn in the 1650s,” 99-100 for a brief explanation of the various irreconcilable philosophies which Evelyn is trying to combine.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 4, section on “An Analysis of the Composition of Nature as the “Soule of all things”,” of this work for further analysis of this topic.

⁴¹ *EB*, 36 [6]. Evelyn crossed out Chapters 3-9 of Book I because he was dissatisfied with his discussion of the elements and Nature as the soul of all things. In Book I, chapter three, he has added a margin note stating that “My purpose was quite to alter the philosophical part of this first booke.”

gardener, the person who will help design and care for the garden, someone with both education and genius, engineering and art.⁴² He describes the tools the gardener will require and some of the terminology that he will need to know for his work. Evelyn outlines a clear plan for situating, constructing, decorating, reaping the benefits of, and caring for the garden, all of which are the gardener's responsibility either for himself, or to delegate to others. The next two chapters cover work to be carried out over the first two or three years of the development of the garden. The first explains the surveying, plotting, and planning of all major areas of the garden and the walks and alleys connecting them. The second describes the simultaneous construction of a nursery in which to produce all of the plants and trees that will be transplanted to the garden after it has been laid out. Chapters seven through twelve provide descriptions of the furniture and embellishments of the garden, including all of the attractions that physically define a Baroque garden. Evelyn begins with areas composed of plants: parterres, groves, walks, labyrinths and topiary. Next he covers the buildings of the garden: cabinets, galleries, pavilions, and porticoes. Water elements follow with fountains, cascades, piscinas, and waterworks. Grottoes, mounts, crypts, and precipices represent those sections fashioned from rock. Evelyn ends by describing masterpieces of art and engineering in the garden: statues, obelisks, sun dials, hydraulic automata, amphitheatres, and artificial echoes.

Chapters 13 through 21 of Book II deal with the specialization of the productive parts of the garden in all its diverse forms. These include beekeeping, raising silkworms, and maintaining meadows, orangeries, "Coronary" gardens of rare flowers, medicinal or botanical gardens, orchards, kitchen gardens, salad gardens, and vineyards. The latter four of these subjects, although among the chapters lost from the "fair copy," were published in separate treatises in various forms during Evelyn's lifetime. *Pomona*, an addition to the

⁴² See below for a more detailed investigation of Evelyn's definition of the gardener.

first edition of Evelyn's famous *Sylva, a Discourse on Forrest-trees*, dealt with the use of apple orchards for producing cider that could give English growers a competitive edge on French wine. As mentioned above, the material for this essay was largely provided by John Beale whose family was known for breeding new apples and concocting ciders. Evelyn's 1658 *The French Gardiner: Instructing How to Cultivate All Sorts of Fruit-trees and Herbs for the Garden: Together with Directions to Dry, and Conserve Them in Their Natural*, translated from a work of Nicolas de Bonnefons, contains more information on orchards and pruning than a single chapter ever could and so can also be seen to replace the loss of Book II, chapter 19. The second and subsequent editions of Evelyn's translation of de Bonnefons also contained an essay by the gardener John Rose titled "The English Vineyard Vindicated" from which it is likely that chapter 21 concerning vineyards was derived. Evelyn's other translations from French, *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-trees* of 1660 and *The Compleat Gard'ner, Or, Directions for Cultivating and Right Ordering of Fruit-gardens and Kitchen-gardens with Divers Reflections on Several Parts of Husbandry, in Six Books : to Which Is Added, His Treatise of Orange-trees, with the Raising of Melons* of 1693, also supply material which likely contributed to the missing chapters on orchards and kitchen gardens. *Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets*, of 1699, has the honour of being the only chapter of the *Elysium Britannicum* that Evelyn ever intentionally published in its entirety. It is a direct extraction of chapter 20 of Book II from the manuscript of the *Elysium Britannicum* and, as discussed above, it contains in its preface the last published version of the Table of Contents.

The remainder of Book II concerns the daily and yearly care of plants and trees and cover everything from pruning and watering to fighting pests and pestilence. The last chapter of Book II, "Of the Gardiner's *Almanack* or *Kalendarium Hortense*....," was also published separately in numerous editions, both as its own volume and as part of *Sylva*. It

generally instructs the Gardener on which tasks to do at given times throughout the year in order to maintain all living aspects of the garden once everything else is in place. Evelyn composed this work separately, but added it to the *Elysium Britannicum* at a later date.⁴³

If Book II was written to instruct the garden architect on his role in the garden, Book III was surely directed to educating the owner of the estate in horticulture and the scientific and scholarly study of Nature in the garden. It is here that we find chapter headings that imply that this Book was dedicated to teaching methods of scientifically examining nature which Evelyn advocated as a means of better understanding the workings of God. This theme which will be revisited in the last chapter of this thesis. Because Book III is no longer extant, any discussion of its content is speculative, although much can again be gleaned from the chapter headings (using “Table 2” from *Acetaria*) and from Evelyn’s archived notes and manuscripts.

Book III commenced with two chapters which would have discussed horticultural experiments on “*Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting, and Altering the Species, Forms, and (reputed) Substantial Qualities of Plants, Fruits and Flowers,*” basically plant breeding, and other trials involving “the Hortulan *Elaboratory*; and of *distilling and extracting of Waters, Spirits, Essences, Salts, Colours*, Resuscitation of *Plants*, with other rare Experiments, and an Account of their *Virtues.*” These experiments were to be conducted in the “Hortulan *Elaboratory*” and were likely largely derived from Evelyn’s own extensive notes on chemistry from the lecture series given by Nicasius Le Fèvre and Annibal Barlet that he attended while in Paris.⁴⁴ Evelyn had presumably attempted several such demonstrations in his own laboratory at Sayes Court. The following two chapters examined methods of cataloguing, preserving, and

⁴³ O’Malley, “Introduction,” 10.

⁴⁴ Harris, “Manuscripts of the “*Elysium Britannicum*,”” 16.

representing plants and flowers. Evelyn first would have explained how to preserve specimens for the compilation of a “*Hortus Hyemalis*,” or catalogue of dried flowers, much like the one he himself had ordered from the botanical garden in Padua in July of 1645.⁴⁵ He then would have discussed a wide variety of artistic media, including “*Painting of Flowers, Flowers enamell’d, Silk, Callico’s, Paper, Wax, Guns, Pastes, Horns, Glass, Shells, Feathers, Moss, Pietra Comessa, Inlayings, Embroyderies, Carvings, and other Artificial Representations of them,*” used to create scientifically accurate representations of plants and flowers. Together, these first four chapters outline an empirical, scientific approach to the study of botany, and I believe they were intended to educate the landowner by giving him a greater comprehension of the processes and variety of Nature. This is a very Baconian approach to learning and was advocated both by Samuel Hartlib and by the Royal Society as shall be seen later. This emphasizes a point that Evelyn repeats throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*: gardens are not solely for beauty and recreation, they also serve to further an understanding of the workings of Nature which constitutes a pious undertaking as Nature was created by God and reveals His wisdom.

Chapters five, six, seven, ten, and eleven of Book III would have played significant roles in the education of the gentleman estate owner. Chapter five, which dealt with “*Crowns, Chaplets, Garlands, Festoons, Encarpa, Flower-Pots, Nosegays, Poeses, Deckings, and other Flowery Pomps,*” would have illustrated the many uses of Coronary flowers, or rare flowers sometimes called Simples, at court functions. For his own edification on this topic, Evelyn sought the advice of Sir Thomas Browne, one of his many colleagues in composing this compendium, who, in return, sent him an essay on

⁴⁵ *Diary*, vol. 2: 466, 475.

garlands.⁴⁶ Chapter seven would have taught the gentleman-scholar how to establish a well-equipped “Hortulan Study,” including “a Library, Authors and Books assistant to it,” an undertaking that a bibliophile of Evelyn’s caliber took quite seriously.⁴⁷ This chapter was largely derived from Evelyn’s *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library*, published in 1661 as a translation of a work by Gabriel Naudé, and the facility described would have included all of the books recommended and used by him in the text of the *Elysium Britannicum*. The study, once built, would have allowed the owner to become a scholar of all things Hortulan, expanding the depth of his knowledge and thus his enjoyment and appreciation of his garden. Chapter ten would have educated the landowner on “the most *Famous Gardens* in the World, *Ancient and Modern*.” Evelyn sent a preview of this chapter, an enormous list of gardens he wanted to consider, to Sir Thomas Browne as an appendix to a letter of January 28, 1658, emphasizing once again that it is possible to reconstruct many parts of Book III.⁴⁸

At several points in the *Elysium Britannicum* Evelyn suggests that the garden designer model parts of his project on furniture he admires in other gardens and even advocates visiting gardens in other countries. A group of scholars from Oxford understood an encouragement to travel as part of a gentleman’s education to be one of the major intentions of the *Elysium Britannicum* even though, in 1659, they had only read the prospectus of the table of contents. They deemed this proposed work

to bee most acceptable to our english nobility and gentry: many of {whom} we know have esteemed it a sufficient recompense for the paines of cost of a Journey not only to St. Jermains in France but of their travaile over the

⁴⁶ Sir Thomas Browne, *Sir Thomas Browne’s Works*, 1835. ed. Simon Wilkin, (New York: AMS Press, 1968) vol. 4: 174-178. Evelyn might have found several others of Browne’s “Miscellaneous Tracts” and writings useful for completing various chapters.

⁴⁷ *Acetaria*, xxvii; Francis Harris et al., *John Evelyn in the British Library*, (London: The British Library, 1995) 82-102. Of the more than 5,000 books Evelyn owned, the British Library has approximately 300 which are listed here.

⁴⁸ Browne, *Letters*, 303.

greatest part of Italy that they have thereby understood the beauty gallantry & state of such workes as ~~the Gentleman~~ {Mr. Evelyn} is by us supposed to describe in this his Elysium a subject fit onely for a very extensive and very gentile witt.⁴⁹

Thus they expected that the finished product would lend greater meaning and understanding to what a noble person had seen or would see on a “Grand Tour” style traversal of Europe, namely “the most *Famous Gardens* in the World, *Ancient* and *Modern*.”⁵⁰

Chapter six of Book III proposed to discuss “*Hortulan Laws and Privileges*,” likely derived from the *Lex Hortorum* of classical times, which stated that parts of the garden should be shared with the general populace. Chapter eleven, the last before the conclusion, contains “The Description of a *Villa*.” It likely contained a description of Evelyn’s ideal villa and possibly elaborated on the classical lifestyle of *villeggiatura* which Virgil wrote of in the *Georgics* and which was common knowledge in both the Renaissance and Baroque eras.⁵¹ The *Georgics* recommends retirement to a life of quiet contemplation in agriculture and nature after a career in public service to one’s country. As will be seen later, Evelyn advocated this lifestyle, as did the Hartlib circle, both in the *Elysium Britannicum* and by the example of his own life and could have used it, in combination with the *Lex Hortorum*, as an example of how the nobleman was intended to conduct himself at his villa.

⁴⁹ *EB*, Appendix 11, 460. The scholars include “Phil: Stephens, Walt[?] Browne, John Paris, Josiah Lane, Robert Sharrock, Rich: Inglett, Simon Welman, Jacob Bobert Senr, Will. Austen, Jho: Bannister, Arth: Smith, and Jacob Bobert Jr.”

⁵⁰ As mentioned in Chapter 1 above, the Grand Tour is not a focus of the present work. Evelyn’s travels and those of his contemporaries are a precursor to this practice, although they did realize the same educational benefits from their travels.

⁵¹ I hypothesize this reference to the *Georgics* as Evelyn subtitled the version of the Table of Contents in *Acetaria* (pp. xxiii) “Describing, and Shewing the *Amplitude*, and *Extent* of that Part of the *Georgicks*, which belongs to *Horticulture*.” He refers to this work continuously throughout the *Elysium Britannicum* and likely would not have missed the opportunity to do so when describing the villa.

Although chapter eight is titled “Of Hortulan Entertainments...,” it specifies those that are “Natural, Divine, Moral, and Political; with diverse Historical Passages, and Solemnities to shew the Riches, Beauty, Wonder, Plenty, Delight, and Universal Use of Gardens,” not quite as entertaining as it at first sounded.⁵² Here Evelyn is again following the philosophies of the Hartlib circle by emphasizing that the purpose of his garden is to devote oneself piously to God and the morality learned from divine Nature. This section would likely have referred back to chapter eleven of Book II, “Of Statues...” which Evelyn ends with an entreaty to the owner to develop a morally upright and historically significant statuary program for the garden, not based on classical mythology.⁵³ Chapter 11, “Of Garden Burial” likely would have further elaborated on chapter eight of Book II, “Of Groves...,” where Evelyn at one point discusses Biblical episodes and the overall spiritual atmosphere of groves, including their use as burial sites. Both of these chapters would have instructed the land owner in the pious and moral uses and divine contemplation of gardens.

Through this thorough analysis of the Table of Contents of the *Elysium Britannicum*, as presented in *Acetaria*, much insight can be gained into Evelyn’s purpose in undertaking this work. He is not just attempting to teach the physical construction of an Italian Baroque garden, but the philosophical, scientific, and spiritual aspects of Nature which can be appreciated through contemplation in and of the garden. He expects both the garden architect and the land owner to comprehend all of these topics and apply themselves diligently to the creation of a complex and thought-provoking garden.

⁵² *Acetaria*, xxvii.

⁵³ This concept is examined in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4 of this work.

The Audience: Landowner

The audience addressed by Evelyn in the *Elysium Britannicum* consists of two clearly defined groups, aristocratic landowners and the head gardeners or garden architects employed by them. Throughout the book, Evelyn directs certain information and advice specifically to one or the other of these groups. Practical instructions on how to care for or construct parts of the garden are usually intended for the gardener, while criticisms of English gardens and suggestions for contemplation and entertainment in the garden are usually directed to the land owner. In discussing and addressing his audience, Evelyn persistently attempts to raise the status of gardening and of the gardener, in the aristocratic English mind, to that of art and the ingenious artist. He also constantly reminds all readers that the garden is a vehicle for scientifically studying and better understanding Nature and thus the workings of God.

At the end of the first chapter of the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn quite clearly defines noble land owners as part of his audience by stating that

...we intend this Booke chiefly for the divertissement of Princes, noble-men and greate persons, who have the best opportunities and effects to make Gardens of Pleasure, though the *Particulars* therein described, may (we hope) be of exceeding use also, and emolument for persons of all Conditions whatsoever, who are either Masters of, or delight in Gardens.⁵⁴

From the beginning of the first chapter onwards, Evelyn assumes that all of his readers are well-educated, are intimately familiar with the Classics, can read Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and will appreciate lengthy discussions on topics such as the etymology of the word *Hortus* or a complex philosophical discussion of the elements, heavenly bodies, and the soul of Nature. He is not writing to "...*Cabbage-planters*; but to the best refined of our Nation who delight in Gardens, and aspire to the perfections of the Arte... ." ⁵⁵ In

⁵⁴ *EB*, 32 [3] This chapter is intended as the first chapter of Book II in the version of the Table of Contents from *Acetaria*, where it still serves to define the garden.

⁵⁵ *EB*, 42 [10].

Evelyn's mind, this person not only has the wealth to undertake such an enterprise as a Royal Garden of Paradise, but is also an educated, moral, pious, preferably monarchic, modern thinker who has a keen interest in the works of Francis Bacon, Samuel Hartlib, and the affairs of the Royal Society. If the reader's thoughts do not already follow this path, they will by the time he has finished developing his garden from Evelyn's manual.

When speaking to the land owner, Evelyn emphasizes that gardening is a worthy occupation, not merely manual labour, and believes it to be part of the education of any gentleman. He states this in no uncertain terms saying "That the *Gentlemen* of our Nation {for whose sake we have diverted other studies with this Worke} may not thinke it any diminution to the rest of their Education, if to be dignified with the Title of a *Good-Gardiner*, be esteemed none of the least of their *Encomiums*."⁵⁶ Here, he also implies that *writing* and *teaching* about gardening and convincing the aristocracy of its importance is an undertaking commendable enough to warrant suspending other academic projects. He encourages the land owner to participate personally in certain aspects of the work such as pruning trees or caring for the rare flowers he has collected in the Coronary garden.⁵⁷ Of pruning he says that "This is the noblest & most princely way for propagation, & fitt for kingly hands" stressing the nobility of this profession.⁵⁸ Where the Coronary Garden is concerned, "the Master himselfe may take the greatest pleasure to cultivat with his owne hands, be he Prince or Subject: for even to this was the onely Monarch of all the World destined in before he lost that Innocency. which bereav'd him of so sweete an Employment, & for which Kings have often {ex}changed their Scepters."⁵⁹ Here again,

⁵⁶ *EB*, 35 [5].

⁵⁷ Coronary garden is Evelyn's term for a *giardino segreto* or private garden of rare flowers and Simples. This is discussed at length in the next chapter.

⁵⁸ *EB*, 117 [72].

⁵⁹ *EB*, 336 [276].

this part of gardening, which requires great knowledge of rare flowers and their care, is considered a fit pastime for a king or any other noble garden owner.

By the time Evelyn composed the preface to *Acetaria* in 1699, he was convinced that this was the only part of the *Elysium Britannicum* that would ever be published in his lifetime. In the dedication, written to the Right Honourable John Lord Somers of Evesham, Lord High Chancellor of England and President of the Royal Society, Evelyn voiced several strong opinions on a variety of issues important to him, including his belief in the value of Gardening as a pursuit that would improve the character of a noble person. In the following passage, he argues that gardening at a villa is an honourable alternative to a career of public service and is to be preferred over court life and all its trappings:

... how much might I say of *Gardens* and *Rural Employments*, preferable to the Pomp and Grandeur of other Secular Business, and that in the Estimate of as Great Men as any Age has produc'd! And it is of such *Great Souls* we have it recorded; That after they had perform'd the Noblest Exploits for the Publick, they sometimes chang'd their *Scepters* for the *Spade*, and their *Purple* for the Gardiner's *Apron*. And of these, some My Lord, were *Emperors, Kings, Consuls, Dictators*, and *Wise Statesmen*; who amidst the most important Affairs, both in Peace and War, have quitted all their Pomp and Dignity in Exchange of this Learned Pleasure: ...

... Nor urge I Examples of such Illustrious Persons laying aside their Grandeur, and even of deserting their Stations; ... But to shew how consistent the Diversions of the *Garden* and *Villa* were, with the highest and busiest Employment of the *Commonwealth*, and never thought a Reproach, or the least Diminution to the Gravity and Veneration due to their Persons, and the Noble Rank they held.⁶⁰

Evelyn follows this by proffering the classical examples of both Pliny the Younger and Cicero who advocated the *villegiatura* lifestyle as part of a balanced life, sharing their time between public service in the city and philosophical contemplation at their villas. Evelyn contends that this practice could well be of benefit to the nation, run by the

⁶⁰ *Acetaria*, x-xii.

aristocracy of England, and is thus encouraging noble estate owners to consider gardening as a lifestyle, not simply a pastime or a necessary part of their education.

Before discussing the qualifications of a gardener in the second chapter of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn implores even the most noble of land owners to inform himself thoroughly of the basics of creating a garden (provided in Book II) before attempting to appoint a head gardener. He agrees with and quotes Francis Bacon stating that “It is therefore an egregious error ... that Princes and greate-men committ themselves to the advice of ignorant Gardiners, who manage things indeede with excessive cost, but litle judgment, and {and} so-as not at all conducing to the amœnitie of the place. And therefore {upon this} the wise *Cato* was wont to say ... that the Gentleman was but in a sorry condition, who was always taught by his Servant... .”⁶¹ Evelyn appeals to the pecuniary sense of the land owner advising him to be well-educated in the art of gardening so that he can better evaluate the talents of prospective head gardeners in the many fields of knowledge which comprise their profession. As mentioned above, it is my belief that Book III of the *Elysium Britannicum*, of which only the table of contents remains, would have been addressed largely to the land owner and was intended to educate him in the study of Nature in the garden.

The Audience: the Status of the Garden Architect

Throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn makes every effort to emphasize that gardening is not just a pastime or manual labour but a form of art and, as such, requires both specialized instruments and an artist in the person of the head gardener. In what would ultimately have been the second chapter of Book II, “Of a Gardiner, and how

⁶¹ *EB*, 34 [4]. Here Evelyn is quoting from Francis Bacon’s “*Sermones Fidelis...*” the first edition of which is 1638.

he is to be qualified,”⁶² Evelyn compares gardeners to architects, citing the classical requirements of an architect from both Cicero and Vitruvius. By invoking Vitruvius’s definition of architecture, he emphasizes that gardening is an art equal to and as ancient as architecture in its complex derivation saying, “... we may {as} justly pronounce of the Arte of Gardining, That, it is ... An Arte which hath many Artes, and Sciences, attending upon her.”⁶³ Evelyn goes so far as to elevate gardening above architecture by citing Francis Bacon, whose philosophies are central to the *Elysium Britannicum*. In his *Sermones Fideles* Bacon implies that gardening is more difficult to perfect than architecture. Evelyn paraphrases him stating that “... men were at the height of Building, before they were ~~exact~~ {tolerable} in Gardining... {as if Gardining were the more excellent ~~& superior~~ {& accomplisht}}.”⁶⁴ These specific comparisons to architecture propagate the idea of gardening as a form of architecture, thus implying that Evelyn’s gardener could actually be given the modern appellation of a garden or landscape architect.

Evelyn begins the first chapter of Book II by reiterating his categorization of gardening as an artistic form of agriculture which, as such, is complemented by a unique set of tools. He is quick to point out the pedigree of these instruments which have been in use, even as symbols of royal families, since the classical times of Virgil:

Since *Gardining* is one of the noblest and most refined parts of *Agriculture*, and hath, as all other *Arts* and Professions certaine Instruments and tooles properly belonging to it, and without which we can hope for little Successe in our Labours ... “We now produce the hardy Gardners Tooles” [*Georgics*, I, line 160]. And truely, we are not asham’d to bring them forth, since besides

⁶² In the last version of the Table of Contents, from *Acetaria* 1699, (“Table 2”) the first two chapters of Book I, “A Garden Derived and Defined...” and “Of a Gardiner...”, have been moved to the beginning of Book II. Book I is then reserved for a more general, philosophical, and cosmological discussion of the Elements and environmental concerns of a garden. This allows a more logical and progressive arrangement of subjects with Book II now dedicated to the physical garden and all its amenities.

⁶³ *EB*, 34 [4-5].

⁶⁴ *EB*, 33 [3].

the honour they have derived from antiquitie we reade that princes have borne them in the royall standards...⁶⁵

Evelyn's copious references to classical authors, such as Virgil, Cicero, and Vitruvius, combined with the more modern philosophies of Francis Bacon not only show that he himself is well informed on the entire historiography of his chosen subject, but indicates that he expects his readers also to be familiar with these scholars and their works.⁶⁶ This is but one of the many qualifications expected of the second section of Evelyn's audience, the head gardener or garden architect.

As discussed above, I believe that the head gardener or garden architect is the intended audience of Book II as it largely deals with the physical construction of the garden. In the second chapter of Book II, "Of a Gardiner, and how he is to be qualified",⁶⁷ Evelyn defines a "*Phyturgus* or Gardiner, To be a *Person skillfull in the Arte of Gardning*"⁶⁸ once again reminding his readers that he considers gardening to be an art. But what does it entail, to be skillful in the art of gardening? In the following passage, Evelyn describes in great detail what is involved in this art and what exactly is expected of its practitioner, the garden architect:

namely, That He be of an ingenious a{n}d docile spirit, diligent, patient; That he be skillfill in Drawing and Designing; in *Geometrie*, the *Opticks*, *Astrologie*, and *Medicine*; and if not in all these accurate, at least should he be *leviter imbutus*; especialy, in the faculty of Drawing, that he may be capable to invente, and imitate *Compartiments*, *Trayle-workes*, *Moresqu's*, *Foliage* etc. for the furniture and ornament of plots, and the severall ordinances of his Parterrs; ... and dextrously {to} worke off from Smale into Greate, according to the *Type* and *Ichnography* of the designe. Truly, this of

⁶⁵ *EB*, 83 [41].

⁶⁶ As discussed in the section on the "Land Owner as Audience," works by these scholars and philosophers, along with many others, would likely have been recommended by Evelyn for the Hortulan Library in Chapter 7 of Book III. Since the head gardener would have been expected to have read these authors, it is likely that he would have been given permission to use this library also.

⁶⁷ Again, referring to the version of the table of contents, printed in *Acetaria*.

⁶⁸ *EB*, 34 [5].

Drawing and the rest, are of so high importance ... especialy, so far as concerns the modell, proportion and Discipline of those many singularities which enter into this {incomparable} Arte. The *Optic* is an assiduous attendant upon the Former, and instructs our Gardiner in *Perspective*, of extraordinary use for the proportions Symmetrie, breadth, and altitude of Wales, Palisades, Walkes, and innumerable other pleasant and noble diversions. By *Astrologie*, we learne the celestiaall Influences, the nature of the Winds, Weather, æquinoxes, etc. Without some tincture in Medicine, Gardening is a voluptuous and empty Speculation: But by a competent knowledg therein, a Gardiner becomes one of the most usefull members of Humane Society.

... To comprehend the nature of the *Earth*, and her productions: To be able to discourse of the *Elements* and to penetrate into the nature energie and reason of things with judgement and assurance. In a word, What is our Gardiner to be, but an absolute Philosopher!⁶⁹

Evelyn makes it clear that the head gardener is expected to be a well-educated virtuoso and scholar, skilled in fields as diverse as drawing, geometry, perspective, optics, medicine, cosmology, and meteorology. He does not even bother mentioning the assumed knowledge in botany and horticulture which are requisite for attending to plants. The garden architect should be able to draw and design everything from elaborate parterre patterns to fountain statuary, thus proclaiming him to be an artist in a more conventional sense. Physics is referred to in this passage only in terms of perspective, but comes in greater use when feats of engineering are necessary to complete walks, mounts, and complex waterworks such as cascades and hydraulically powered fountains and automata.

Throughout all of Book I, Evelyn repeatedly stresses that the head gardener must have an intimate understanding of the environment including astrology, cosmology and meteorology. He frequently suggests that the gardener observe, philosophize upon, or experiment with nature, the environment, and the elements. The gardener needs to have knowledge of the effects of each of the elements (earth, air, fire, and water) scientifically, philosophically, and cosmologically as all living things are made by various combinations

⁶⁹ *EB*, 33-34 [4].

of these. As an example, Evelyn emphasizes the great diversity of species that can be grown from various combinations of soil types and amounts of water. He then invites the gardener to philosophize on and experiment with these environmental factors, intending this to be an intellectual scientific pursuit not unlike those engaged in by the land owner.⁷⁰ A gardener needs to observe keenly the seasonal wind and rain and other weather conditions in the region as these dictate planting, harvesting, and wintering times. Because these activities are also largely dependent on lunar, planetary, and zodiacal cycles, the gardener should be aware of the celestial bodies both in practical terms (e.g., how much light does a plant require) and with respect to cosmology.⁷¹ All of this knowledge combined allows the gardener, now also a natural “absolute Philosopher,” to be cognizant of the environmental circumstances of his employer’s estate and at least the intellectual equivalent of the well-educated owner in these matters.

Evelyn states that awareness of the environment accompanied by artistic judgement should be used to control the negative effects of climate on the terrain. He says that

... it wil be our Gardiners greate advantage, and no little marke of his perfection; so to order his ground, and the accidents about it, that assisting Nature with the addition of Arte, he bring it to such a temper as may best qualifie it for universall productions; by which industry, almost all the inconveniencys of our Climate may be rectified, & places brought to a very kind, and hospitable disposition.⁷²

According to this, the gardener can add to his duties responsibility for creating a balance between Nature and Art. The garden architect is considered an artist who uses inventive genius to assist Nature, bringing it under control, but not obliterating its inherent features. Evelyn trusts the judgement and ideas of the gardener as an artist and intellectual, which

⁷⁰ *EB*, 67 [25].

⁷¹ *EB*, 55-59 [16-19].

⁷² *EB*, 94 [53].

encourages the land owner to follow suit, but he cautions against forcing terrain into unnatural formations. In the following quotation, he advises instead that the gardener use Art in a minimal way to enhance the natural beauty of any prominent feature of the landscape.

At no hand there {fore} let our Gardiner {Workman} enforce his plot to any particular Phantsy, but, contrive rather how to apply to it the best shape that will agree with the nature of the Place; and studdy how even the most imperfect figure, may, by the Mysteries of Arte and fantsy, receive the most graceful ornaments and fittest for a Garden.⁷³

Evelyn emphasizes the necessity of the artistic talents of the garden architect in a more conventional way when discussing the drawing and design of parterres, knots, and other ornaments. In the following passage he compliments the gardener's genius and gives this artist free reign to create whatever elaborate ornaments suit his fancy.

For what can be more ravishing then to behold a goodly *area* richly adorned with this Phrygian ornament {worke} ... which may be either wrought together, or gracefully intermixed, with ... other ornaments, according to the fansty, & judgment of the Gardiner Artist! For there is no worke about the Garden which requires a more exquisite hand, both in the Planter Inveniter & Governer then this, and therefore it greatly behoves {concernes} our *Phyturgus* to be skillfull & dextrous in drawing & designing, especially, of *Grotesco*, *Foliage* and *compartiments* whereoff it chiefly consists, & by which, he may be able to compose *Impresses*, *Mottos*, *Dialls*, *Escutchions*, *Cyphers* and innumerable other devices with wonderful felicity & effect.⁷⁴

He trusts the gardener/artist's judgement and skill again when planning walks and alleys so that they maintain a good proportion both within themselves (neither too narrow nor broad) and in relation to each other and the rest of the garden.⁷⁵ The gardener is directly responsible for the many aspects of the overall aesthetics and individual artistic

⁷³ *EB*, 96 [55].

⁷⁴ *EB*, 123 [75]. Interestingly, Evelyn never adds examples of such planting designs for parterres to the *Elysium Britannicum* for the garden architect to use as examples, they are on their own.

⁷⁵ *EB*, 126 [77].

embellishments of the garden. This includes the design of ever-more-complex and ingenious fountains and hydraulic automata. Evelyn furnishes detailed instructions on the creation of these more playful mechanical garden elements and provides many geometrically accurate diagrams for both explanation and inspiration, yet he calls upon the inventiveness of the garden architect encouraging him to extrapolate on the designs based on the principles he has described.⁷⁶

Evelyn has filled the *Elysium Britannicum* with more subjects than one person could hope to master to any satisfactory level. It is perhaps unreasonable to ask the head gardener to be personally responsible for the details of such diverse projects as designing and planting elaborate parterres, devising ingenious musical hydraulic mechanisms, and painting *trompe l'oeil* frescoes. In recognition of this, Evelyn instructs the gardener to rely on the aid of an expert when possible. In the 1699 version of the table of contents ("Table 2," see appendix III), the chapter titled "Of a Gardiner, and how he is to be qualified" has been expanded to read "Of a *Gardiner*, how to be *qualify'd, regarded, and rewarded; his Habitation, Cloathing, Diet, Under-Workmen and Assistants.*" With this new wording Evelyn places emphasis on the raised status of the head gardener even in the chapter title, specifically mentioning that he is to be regarded a certain way, rewarded for his labours, provided with a place to live and clothing, and that he is to have assistants and workmen so he will not have to perform strenuous labour or be everywhere at once. By Evelyn's definition, he is closer to the educated landowner than to a common labourer.

The head gardener, to whom Book II is primarily addressed, is viewed as the commander of an army of sub-gardeners and various other specialists. Although he is expected to comprehend masterfully the principles behind the construction of the garden,

⁷⁶ *EB*, 252 [199]. Evelyn only provides detailed instruction for certain components of the garden. For instance, there are many diagrams for automata, but none to suggest designs for *parterres*.

there are certain topics concerning which he is advised to consult an expert or hire an assistant gardener. Designs for fountains and hydraulic mechanisms should be brought to engineers, instrument makers, and musicians.⁷⁷ Building architects can be asked to construct porticoes, peristyles, repositories, and galleries in the garden.⁷⁸ Beekeepers should be hired to tend to the hives if there are many of them.⁷⁹ Regarding perspective and *trompe l'oeil* murals, Evelyn declares that

we shall not oblige our Workeman to passe through all the *præcognita's* & Rules, which the exquisite *Masters* of this rare *arte* deliver: & of which their methods are various; but so far as may serve to furnish him with what may bee {of} usefull-upon-in {to} his profession, & upon which he may refine & improve, as ~~his tyme and ingenuitie furnishes~~ he is furnished with tyme, & ingenuitie.⁸⁰

The gardener is encouraged to learn this art in his spare time, but Evelyn does not insist that he become a professional painter as well as a garden architect and approves of his relying on a specialist. It is assumed that there is a large corps of common labours and sub-gardeners who follow the plans and instructions laid out by the overseeing head gardener. It is they who actually build walks, mow lawns, excavate artificial mounts and grottos, and perform the more menial tasks of plant care.

Even though a substantial portion of the duties of the garden might be delegated to others, the head gardener still has many tasks that he must personally oversee. One of the most important of these is the care of both the Coronary Garden and the Botanical or Medicinal Garden. Not only is the head gardener responsible for nurturing these rare and often delicate plants, he has the daily duty of picking flowers and plants for use in

⁷⁷ *EB*, 179 [125], 231[174], 243 [189].

⁷⁸ *EB*, 196, [142].

⁷⁹ *EB*, 285 [234].

⁸⁰ *EB*, 215 [159].

household decorations and medicines.⁸¹ The intellectual exercise of studying and cataloguing these specimens also falls to the head gardener for “without an accurate ~~Rescension~~ Recension & enroulement, our Gardiner {who is the Monarch & Generall of all this multitude [of plants]} shall never be able to take a ~~severall~~ just account of his severall subjects & Souldiers” and will never be able “to governe this numerous or rather innumerable people, the glorious inhabitants of our *Coronary Garden* without a greate deale of dexterity, polity, Art, & particular oeconomie.”⁸² Evelyn intends that the gardener participate in the academic and scientific study of the garden, thus mentally equating him with the well-educated land owner. He provides detailed instruction on the methods of organizing what is to be recorded in the catalogue.

Let therefore our Gardiners *Albus Memoriae* be a narrow folio of Paper {fairly} well bound & a competent thickness {to be inserted or taken out at pleasure out of a {faire} cover fairly so you may renew & change at pleasure & as you yearely alter etc.} ~~accounting~~ {and} corresponding to his art & furniture of greater or lesse portatible volume: at the Front whereoff let his Coronary Garden be exactly delineated & plotted with each bed, bordure, & Allee according to exact scale: ... Moreover in the *Recension*, ought our Gardiner exactly to describe the peculiar colours, markes & age of every flo: ~~the~~ the better to observe how it improves or degenerates, then which there can be nothing more delightfull & instructive.⁸³

When discussing the medicinal garden, he further advises maintaining an alphabetical list of plants and their corresponding plot numbers. The painstaking upkeep of this catalogue, recording not only the order of planting but the appearance and growth of each plant, reinforces the gardener’s role as a scholarly amateur scientist which, when combined with his artistic, engineering, and meteorological talents, completes his *oeuvre* as a virtuoso.

⁸¹ *EB*, 391-392 [307-308].

⁸² *EB*, 397 [316].

⁸³ *EB*, 397 [316], 399 [317].

In Evelyn's mind, the gardener should be rewarded for his eclectic achievements in a way that is visible in the garden itself. He proposes that

the statues of our most renowned & illustrious Gardiners [be] celebrated with Elogies, Garlands and Festoones, which the {cheerfull & busy} Nymphs crowne ~~their~~ {them} with all ~~every~~ {every return} {of} Spring, when these renascent flowers ~~in~~ ~~cover~~ {embroider} the bedds & the Parterrs {with their beauties} & that our *Coronary Gardens* {glorious} triumph having gotten the victory over the last cruell Winter.⁸⁴

By placing statues of gardeners in the garden alongside those of highly esteemed historical and philosophical figures, Evelyn is truly incorporating them and their profession into the world of the educated, scholarly gentleman and artist, far above common labourers.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *EB*, 399 [318].

⁸⁵ This concept is revisited in detail in Chapters 3 and 4 of the present work.

CHAPTER THREE

Between the *Georgics* and the Hartlib Circle:

Situating John Evelyn in Italian Baroque Garden Theory

While on his travels on the continent between 1643 and 1652, John Evelyn devoted much of his time to studying art and architecture. This is clearly reflected in his *Diary* where he devoted more pages to this decade abroad than to any other period of his life. Upon careful examination of his account of these years, it becomes apparent that he paid particular attention to garden architecture, art collections both Classical and contemporary, and cabinets of curiosities, all of which were closely related in seventeenth century thought. In the *Diary*, he often provided a detailed visual description of a collection, listing its main works, or of a garden, focusing on highlights such as fountains or grottos. By the time he returned to England in 1652 and had begun work on the *Elysium Britannicum*, he had digested this material and both refined and broadened his understanding of the key concepts of garden architecture. By analyzing the *Elysium Britannicum* and the numerous entries on gardens in the *Diary*, it is possible to determine the degree to which Evelyn comprehended various aspects of Italian Baroque garden theory and which he considered most essential.

Scholars have approached Renaissance and Baroque Italian garden architecture from many angles. Some works, among them David Coffin's monograph on the Villa d'Este, examine many aspects of a single villa such as its history, interior design, and gardens.¹ Others concentrate on a single aspect of garden theory and evaluate its application among several villas.² Many works focus on the analysis and historic evolution of general design, layout, or planting principles, explained by way of lengthy descriptions of such elements in several gardens, yet they touch only briefly on the

¹ David Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1960).

² David Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1979).

intellectual concerns of garden theory in general.³ Some collections of essays include articles that exhaustively investigate one minor motif that occurs in many gardens.⁴ All of these approaches deal primarily with the physical aspects of garden architecture: tracing the origins of design and style of certain components of gardens, reconstructing the history and programmatic themes of the artwork in a single garden, or comparing themes or styles between several gardens. None of them addresses the entire scope of the theory behind Italian Baroque garden architecture as a subject in itself.

In contrast to the literature discussed above, the first half of John Dixon Hunt's *Garden and Grove: the Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750* of 1986 is devoted to a comprehensive, clear, and concise discussion of the major tenets behind Italian Baroque garden architecture. It provides the best coverage and explanation of this complex, multi-faceted topic that I have found to date. He divides garden theory into several major areas, such as Classicism, Art juxtaposed with Nature, Science and Curiosities, Variety, and Theatre. These themes are useful for studying Evelyn because, although his travel accounts are largely just descriptions of several villas and gardens, they allowed him to form an idea of the theories behind an Italian Baroque garden which he then imparted to his audience in the *Elysium Britannicum*. In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn wanted to teach his readers how to plan and construct the basic components of an Italian Baroque style garden, but he also wanted them to

³ For an excellent example of this, 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: Yale UP, 1990), which describes aspects of the design and possible planting arrangements of many gardens in painstaking detail, yet fails to analyze any aspect of the overall theory behind gardens except the most obvious, the juxtaposition between Art and Nature. See also Elisabeth MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994).

⁴ MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers*, see particularly the chapter on "The Sleeping Nymph," 37-56. See also Elisabeth MacDougall, ed., *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture (5th: 1977) (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978).

understand the theories behind this complex intellectual art form. Evelyn was greatly concerned with concepts such as classical philosophy as it is reflected in the texts of classical writers; the intricate dance between Art and Nature; the contribution made by science towards a better understanding of Nature in the garden; the constantly shifting variety of prospects, terrain and the senses in a garden; and the ubiquitous presence of theatre, both physical and imaginary, in the garden. Evelyn was far less interested in teaching the reader about specific designs, layouts, and planting arrangements nor does he suggest detailed programmatic themes. He leaves these to the individual landowner and garden architect to create.

The lengthy discussion which follows is intended to situate Evelyn within each of the major theoretical areas of garden architecture outlined above: Classicism, Art and Nature, Science and Curiosities, Variety, and Theatre. As one traces his deliberate navigations through these complex and interwoven ideas, it becomes possible to see how his ideas on various horticultural issues developed. By intentionally accepting or rejecting diverse influences, sifting through everything from the classical *Georgics* to the more contemporary philosophies of the Georgical Committee, Evelyn constructs his own unique vision of seventeenth-century garden architecture in England, what could be termed Solomon's Garden.⁵

Before embarking on this more in-depth discussion of Evelyn's comprehension of garden theory, it is necessary to outline and briefly define the main physical characteristics of a Baroque garden. Generally the garden of a Baroque villa is approximately one hundred acres, though this varies widely depending on the terrain, layout, and location of the villa and the wealth of the owner. The mansion is located within this space, generally along the central axis of the property. A *giardino segreto* or

⁵ See the discussion of Evelyn's intellectual interactions in the 1650s in Chapter 2 above.

dei simplici is a small enclosed private garden of rare flowers, also called Simples or Coronary flowers as they are used in royal garlands, usually found attached to the house and intended for the exclusive use of the owner. *Parterres* consist of short hedges planted in intricate patterns the lines of which usually enclose areas of colourful flowers or various earths. *Parterres* border the garden facade of the mansion and are intended to be seen from the upper floors of the estate from which they appear as embroidered carpets, yet they are constructed from living material. Areas of *parterres* might be accented by fountains and *topiary*, sculpture created from trees or bushes clipped into geometric or natural shapes such as balls, cones, spirals, birds, or obelisks. If a *giardino segreto* or a *parterre* is surrounded by walls or by the sides of the mansion, then these partitions might be adorned with *espaliers*, trees trained onto walls, or *trompe l'oeil* frescoes that would make the space appear larger. Beyond the *parterres*, various areas of the garden usually contain elaborate fountains, the statuary of which relate the thematic program of the garden. Fountains often display *automata*, inventive moving or musical mechanisms that contain large clockworks powered by water. These can include organs that play music, statues that have moving parts or rotate on a platform, sound effects such as thunder or bird calls, or a combination of these. Fountains are often found in *grottos* and *nymphaea*, both of which are cooling underground spaces. *Nymphaea* are usually classically architectural in their structure, *grottos* tend to be more naturalistic, like caves, and are usually found under natural or artificial hills or *mounts* on the property. *Giocchi* are hidden water jets often located in *grottos* and intended as playful elements of surprise used to soak the unwary visitor. *Piscinas* or fish ponds not only provide a constant stock of fresh fish, they are also used for bathing and can set the stage for *naumachia*, mock sea battles. *Groves* are wooded areas usually planted in a pattern and located further afield from the mansion, beyond any *parterres*, *grottos*, major fountains, or larger sculptural

groups. Beyond these more tamed areas of the garden, there might be a *bosco* or a *barco*, a wood or park, respectively. These were often stocked with game and used for hunting.

Classicism in the Garden

Much of the inspiration for Italian Renaissance and Baroque gardens originated in a desire to recreate, both physically and intellectually, the spirit of the Golden Age of ancient Rome. Garden architects gleaned what little information they could from the ruins of ancient villas, but, due to the fragile and ephemeral nature of gardens, archaeological remains were scarce by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the few notable exceptions to this was the enormous expanse of Hadrian's Villa outside Tivoli, still largely extant today. Both Tivoli and Frascati, popular resort towns in the classical era, were near Rome and contained the vestiges of several Roman villas. Many ancient sites, such as the remnants of Nero's *Domus Aurea* in central Rome, were described in classical texts, thus enabling educated travelers to furnish a more complete picture of the original splendour of a place than the ruins themselves could provide. One site, still extant in the sixteenth century, was believed at that time to contain the remains of Cicero's Villa Formiana, though the authenticity of this and many other sites has since been debated.⁶ A few guidebooks listed sites where Roman gardens were supposed to have been, but the reconstructed views they depicted were largely conjectural and influenced by contemporary designs.⁷ Despite their questionable credibility, these supposed classical garden sites had great influence on Baroque garden design. John Evelyn himself fell prey to false information, or popular tradition, concerning the location of Virgil's tomb, thought to be in a garden above the Grotta di Posilippo, a tunnel through a hill near

⁶ *GG*, 14-15. See list of abbreviation for frequently cited works. An extensive discussion of the impact of ancient gardens on seventeenth-century villas continues to the end of Chapter 2, page 29.

⁷ *GG*, 15.

Posilippo in southern Italy. He went so far as to include a blatant reference to the bogus monument, what he called a "*Pausilippe*," in his design for Henry Howard's Albury Park, thus invoking both the famous poet and the memory of the classical era in general in a British garden.⁸

In lieu of sufficient physical remains, classical texts were combed for every shred of evidence that could provide information on diverse aspects of ancient Roman villa gardens. Several of these documents furnished descriptions, varying in detail, of the appearance of ancient gardens, the concepts underlying their designs, and the philosophical and artistic activities that took place within them. Although they listed several components of Roman villa gardens, the texts failed to supply precise accounts of sculptural programs, planting layouts, or even general ground plans. The limited details of the texts combined with a lack of substantial archaeological evidence left Renaissance and Baroque garden architects much freedom to extrapolate and elaborate on what information they did have in order to create their own designs, allegories, and themes for classically inspired gardens.

Renaissance and Baroque garden designers relied heavily on two lengthy letters, written by Pliny the Younger between 100 and 105 CE, which describe his villas in Tuscany and Laurentum. These documents provide a general account of the surroundings, situation, and layout of his terraced villas and details of the decorations such as elaborate water displays, tables with floating dishes, trompe l'oeil frescoes of birds, and topiary. More significantly they emphasize conceptual issues such as the importance of maintaining a balance between Art and Nature, the idea of comparing a vista over the garden and diverse terrains beyond with a "vast amphitheatre" of Nature (a *theatrum mundi*), and variety in all aspects of the garden, including its social uses. Although they

⁸ *GG*, 18-20, 149; *Diary*, vol. 3: 496, 561-2.

cover a great deal, these letters left much to the imagination of Renaissance and Baroque garden architects and were used to support a wide range of designs and decorative components.⁹

Several other authors give brief glimpses of their villas and gardens. Horace mentions various details of his villa and farm in his poetry and letters, including its attractive views and variety of terrain types. Martial's epigrams refer to garden components such as groves, fountains, pergolas, groves, and meadows. In his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder describes sculptures, artificial caves hung with carved stalactites, and Nero's *Domus Aureus*. While in exile, Ovid recalled his garden in Rome in *Tristia* and his *Metamorphoses* provided copious material for sculptural programs that dealt with the relationship between Art and Nature.¹⁰ Numerous classical descriptions of temples in idyllic settings, sacred groves, and statues placed in areas of the garden appropriate to their allegorical significance fueled creativity and the development of elaborate thematic programs in the Baroque era.¹¹

These are but a few of the classical accounts that were constantly present in the minds of Baroque Italian villa owners and their English visitors, among whom was John Evelyn. Throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn invokes at least one classical reference for almost every topic he discusses. He quotes Virgil, Pliny, Varro and several others frequently and at length and they are quite clearly in the forefront of his thoughts when he ponders any aspect of garden architecture. He refers to classical authors liberally in the *Diary* as well, particularly when relating his travels or visits to any garden or collection. Evelyn's extensive and eclectic personal library of over 5,000 volumes contained several editions and translations of classical texts which he began amassing as

⁹ GG, 12.

¹⁰ GG, 14 and all of ch 4.

¹¹ GG, 13.

early as February of 1644 when he “bought divers of the Clasiq̃ue Authors, Poets & others” from the King’s printing house at the Louvre.¹²

Classical texts did more than inspire Baroque garden designers with creative ideas for visual components; they also had an impact on the social, recreational, and intellectual behaviour of seventeenth century villa owners and their guests. Several classical authors described what became known in the Baroque era as *villeggiatura*, the custom of maintaining a country residence approximately a day’s journey from the city to be used as a place of contemplative retreat away from the activities of business and court life.¹³ Cicero, Virgil, Horace and others all recommended an uncomplicated rural lifestyle of contemplative study, or *otium*, as essential for the health of the mind, body, and spirit and as a reward for a life of service to one’s nation. This way of living was advocated as an alternative to *negotium* which involved politics, court life, business, and war. One part of Cicero’s discourse *On Old Age* specifically addresses the “Joys of Farming,” one of the most honourable forms of work. In this fictitious dialogue, the character of Cato declares that farming can provide pleasure, wisdom, and financial security to a person of any age; even an elderly farmer can prune trees, graft vines, and study and appreciate the beauty of Nature.¹⁴ Virgil’s *Georgics* instructs the educated land owner on the benefits and honour to be gained from a simple, labor-intensive, agricultural lifestyle. He recommends the quietude and freedom of the countryside, far removed from urban activities and war, as the ideal location for the contemplation of nature, philosophy, and the arts.¹⁵ In both *Beatus Ille* and his *Epistles*, Horace paints the rural regions as places of contentment and

¹² *Diary*, vol. 2: 104. For a more complete list of Evelyn’s holdings in the British Library (just over 300 volumes), see Harris et al., *John Evelyn in the British Library*, 91-102. See also his own catalogue of 1687, Evelyn Papers MS 20a, and his other library catalogues, Evelyn Papers MSS 19, 20, 28, 185, 259a, 259b, and 310, all in the British Library.

¹³ *GG*, 32.

¹⁴ Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982) 138.

¹⁵ Vergara, 139-149.

simplicity where one can study, live in harmony with Nature, and gain wisdom free from the ambition and luxury of the court, politics, business, and war.¹⁶

In *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, David Coffin provides many examples of fourteenth through sixteenth century Italian humanists who, having read the classical authors thoroughly, revived the *villeggiatura* lifestyle of *otium* so that they could focus more on reflective philosophical and scholarly studies than on the *negotium* of city and court political altercations and business. He discusses Petrarch, author of a treatise on *Solitary Life*, Alberti, who wrote of villa life in *The Villa* and *On Architecture*, and Cosimo I de' Medici, whose friend Marsilio Ficino founded the Platonic Academy which met in the gardens of the Villa Medici in Careggi.¹⁷ One of the best examples of the prevalence of *villeggiatura* in the Renaissance and, by extension, Baroque, mind is the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*. Composed by Cristoforo Landino in 1475, it recites a fictitious debate, set in a pastoral mountain meadow above Florence, in which several prominent humanists, among them Alberti and Lorenzo de' Medici, "debate the relative merits of the active and contemplative lives."¹⁸

The custom of *villeggiatura* was not as widespread in England as it was in Italy. More often, the primary residence of an English family was its remote country manor; a city residence was maintained for convenience and proximity to the court and business district.¹⁹ Yet John Evelyn's lifestyle, upon returning to his homeland in January of 1652, having spent a decade in self-imposed exile while awaiting the end of a raging civil war, seems to follow the principles of *villeggiatura*. For three years before his final return to England and for at least a decade after, he seriously devoted himself to a wide range of

¹⁶ Vergara, 150-151.

¹⁷ Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, 9-16.

¹⁸ Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, 14. See also *GG*, all of chapter 3.

¹⁹ *GG*, 31.

scholarly, virtuoso pursuits.²⁰ He might very well have had Virgil, Horace, Cicero and others in mind when he suggested, in a letter dated December 2, 1651 and addressed to William Prettyman, his wife's uncle and the current caretaker for Sayes Court, that he was resigned to leading a contemplative life of retirement upon his return to England.

I shall therefore bring over with me [from France] no ambitions at all to be a statesman, or meddle with the unlucky Interests of Kingdomes, but shall contentedly submit to the losse of my education, by which I might have one day hoped to have bin considerable in my Country. A Friend, a Booke, and a Garden shall for the future, perfectly circumscribe my utmost designes.²¹

He considered this the most viable option as he could not envision a meaningful way to participate actively in Cromwell's government in good conscience. He acquired the property of Sayes Court in Deptford, across the Thames from the city of London, a short boat or carriage ride away. He then spent forty years transforming these grounds into what he referred to numerous times as his "poor villa." Here, he pursued scholarly and horticultural interests in contemplative retirement, or *otium*, and occasionally entertained his friends, among them the king and other members of the royal family and aristocracy, with his extraordinary garden and curiosities, the marks of a serious virtuoso.²²

In a letter to Robert Boyle of September 3, 1659, written during "a period so uncharitable & perverse" that it seemed futile even to dream of the possibility of a restored Monarchy, Evelyn proposed a scholarly, almost monastic, college to which he and "some gentlemen, whose geniuses are greatly suitable, & who desire nothing more than to give a good example" could retreat from the world in order to "preserve science, & cultivate themselves." He felt that this would allow them to "be possessed of the most blessed life that virtuous persons could wish or aspire to in this miserable & uncertain

²⁰ Hunter, "John Evelyn in the 1650s," 81-86.

²¹ Hunter, "John Evelyn in the 1650s: a Virtuoso in Quest of a Role," 83. The square brackets in the quote are mine. See also *Diary*, vol.3: 58. His entry for February 10, 1652, echoes his sense of helpless resignation at the state of the country as he settles at Sayes Court.

²² *Diary*, vol.3: 312, 330, 354. Instances of royal visitors to his "poor villa."

pilgrimage, whether considered as to the present revolutions, or what may happen for the future in all human probability.” He then continues for several pages describing in great detail the design, layout, and governance of this proposed retreat, even including illustrations of the plans which reveal it to be very classical in style.²³ It is noteworthy that the place he envisions is essentially a villa, perfectly situated for a lifestyle of *villeggiatura*, located on “thirty or forty acres of land, in some healthy place, not above twenty-five miles from London; of which a good part should be tall wood, & the rest upland pastures or downs, sweetly irrigated.” Aside from the living quarters, which contain six simple, almost sparse, apartments designed “somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians,” he advises including “one laboratory, with a repository for rarities & things of nature; aviary, dovehouse, physick garden, kitchen garden, & a plantation of orchard fruit, ... Lastly, a garden house & conservatory for tender plants,” all basic amenities of a Baroque villa garden. The “Orders” he suggests as a daily structure for members of this exclusive society consist primarily of solitary and rigorous study with breaks for prayer and scholarly conversation. In addition to this,

Every one to cultivate his own garden. One month in spring a course in the laboratory on vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other experiments ... Every person of the Society shall render some public account of his studies weekly, if thought fit, and especially shall be recommended the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the principal end of the institution. ... One month in the year may be spent in London, or any of the Universities, or in a perambulation for the publick benefit.²⁴

The members would thus be retreating to a monastic classical villa in order to preserve and promote scientific knowledge through study, experiments, discussions, and occasional dissemination. This represents the perfect marriage of the ancient with the

²³ Alice Friedman, “John Evelyn and English Architecture,” *JEEBEG*, 161-163.

²⁴ Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, ed. William Bray vol. 3, 261-267 for all quotes concerning his proposal for a college.

modern, classical design and lifestyle for the purpose of furthering modern Baconian learning. They would live a life of *otium*, retiring from the public domain, yet still working “for the publick benefit” until such time as they could once again contribute more openly and actively to a government they supported, namely monarchy.²⁵

Even after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Evelyn tried to avoid becoming overly involved in the active life of politics or the baseness and frivolities of the court of Charles II which he quite adamantly disapproved of and scathingly denounced upon the king’s death.²⁶ He spent as much of his time as was possible, despite many other commitments, in contemplative research, study, and correspondence with his virtuosi peers on topics of interest to him. In 1699, near the end of his life, he continued to advocate the classical concept of a lifestyle of retirement in a garden, which was also seen as a noble and honourable reward for persons of any rank after a lifetime of contribution to society. In the dedicatory preface to *Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets*, intended to be chapter twenty of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum*, he wonders

... how much might I say of *Gardens* and *Rural Employments*, preferable to the Pomp and Grandeur of other Secular Business, and that in the Estimate of as Great Men as any Age has produc’d! And it is of such *Great Souls* we have it recorded; That after they had perform’d the Noblest Exploits for the Publick, they sometimes chang’d their *Scepters* for the *Spade*, and their *Purple* for the Gardiner’s *Apron*. And of these, some *My Lord*, were *Emperors, Kings, Consuls, Dictators, and Wise Statesmen*; who amidst the most important Affairs, both in Peace and War, have quitted all their Pomp and Dignity in Exchange of this Learned Pleasure: ...

... Nor urge I Examples of such Illustrious Persons laying aside their Grandeur, and even of deserting their Stations; ... But to shew how consistent the Diversions of the *Garden* and *Villa* were, with the highest and busiest Employment of the *Commonwealth*, and never thought a Reproach, or the least

²⁵ See Chapter 2 of this work for a discussion of this college in relation to the circle of Samuel Hartlib. Also see Parry, “John Evelyn as Hortulan Saint,” 132-134.

²⁶ *Diary*, particularly expressed in vol. 4: 403, 410-14 immediately following Charles’s death.

Diminution to the Gravity and Veneration due to their Persons, and the Noble Rank they held.²⁷

Evelyn follows this glorification of gardening as preferred to “the Pomp and Grandeur of other Secular Business” by citing the examples of Pliny the Younger and Cicero, both of whom wrote on the subject of rural retirement as an alternative to public service and practiced this frequently throughout their lives and after their duties had ended. He raises the status of gardeners and their profession once again by insisting that those who adjourn to the garden, among them the leaders of government, are still partaking in “the highest and busiest Employment of the *Commonwealth*” and should not suffer “the least Diminution to the Gravity and Veneration due to their Persons, and the Noble Rank they held” should they choose to “chang[e] their *Scepters* for the *Spade*.”²⁸ They are leading a life of *otium* when they retire, sometimes permanently, other times to rejuvenate themselves for a return to *negotium* at court.

Evelyn himself withdrew further from participation in public matters when he moved to his family estate of Wotton in May of 1694, having lived a studious life at his villa of Sayes Court where he tended to his garden and contributed to the scholarship and intellectual society of England for over forty years. Thus he pursued a lifestyle of *otium*, as opposed to *negotium*, in accordance with the suggestions of several classical authors and it is not inconceivable that he was directly influenced in this decision by the concepts in their texts.

The *Lex Hortorum*, literally translated as the Law of Gardens, was another social custom established in Italy in the Renaissance with the intention of further recapturing the spirit of the mythical Golden Age or prelapsarian time when people lived in harmony

²⁷ *Acetaria*, x-xii.

²⁸ See Chapter 2, section on “The Audience: the Status of the Garden Architect,” in this work for further discussion of Evelyn raising the status of the gardener in the *Elysium Britannicum*.

with each other in a bountiful, lush, natural setting. According to David Coffin, it is “the principle that gardens are created not only for the personal enjoyment of their owners, but to afford pleasure to their friends and even to strangers and the public, diminishing the concept of private property.”²⁹ Surprisingly, “strangers and the public” meant just that and was only somewhat restricted by social standing, though Coffin astutely observes that, since most of the written declarations of this social custom were in Latin, the poor and uneducated classes were likely not included.³⁰ By the middle of the sixteenth century, the law had become so prevalent in Rome that many gardens were equipped with a prominent public entrance.³¹

This law, in various forms, was often inscribed upon the walls of villa gardens and often included direct classical references to the Golden Age and the writings of Virgil, Pliny the Elder, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Hesiod.³² One outstanding example of the ideas, explicitness, and extent of this law is the inscription from the walls of the statue-court within the urban Roman palace of Cardinal Andrea della Valle, likely written by him in the 1520s, which outlines his vision for the use of his garden:

- I - For the restoration of damaged statues and the decoration of the hanging gardens.
- II - For the enjoyment of friends and for the delight of citizens and strangers.
- III - Not for pleasure, but for the sake of the people and their prosperity.
- IV - For the enjoyment of life as a retreat of taste and beauty.
- V - For his own enjoyment and the pleasure of posterity.
- VI - For a garden of antiquities as an aid to painters and poets.

²⁹ David Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum* and Access to Gardens of Latium during the Renaissance,” *Journal of Garden History* 2.3 (1982): 202.

³⁰ Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum* ...,” 209.

³¹ Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum* ...,” 216-221.

³² Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum* ...,” 202. Throughout this article, Coffin quotes numerous inscriptions recorded from garden walls, some of which are still extant. Many of them specifically invite the general public into the villa’s garden or are placed well into the garden, implying that visitors were permitted to walk at least that far into the garden.

- VII - For the enjoyment of proper leisure and for the convenience of the house.
 VIII - In memory of our ancestors and for the emulation of their descendants.³³

These eight rules clearly emphasize the importance of the intellectual benefits and enjoyment to be acquired by all visitors, “friends... citizens and strangers... painters and poets” alike, from the study of arts and antiquities, one of many garden activities. The accessibility of his garden presented an excellent opportunity for Cardinal della Valle to ensure his social status by sharing the bounty of his property and displaying his collection of ancient statues to the public, thus declaring himself to be a benevolent man of power and splendour with good taste and sufficient knowledge of his cultural heritage.³⁴

Cardinal della Valle is also clearly in support of the *villeggiatura* lifestyle as he encourages people to live “life as a retreat of taste and beauty” with “the enjoyment of proper leisure” in honour of the ancient Romans whose civilization inspired garden designs and activities.

The *Lex Hortorum* permitted the public to participate in a wide variety of intellectual and social activities in gardens, many of which were revived from classical texts. Cicero and Horace were among those who advocated gardens as a suitable place for philosophical and scholarly dialogue, a custom previously practiced by both Aristotle and Epicurus who taught their students in gardens.³⁵ The composition of poetry and music, thought to be inspired by Apollo and the Muses who were often represented in iconographic programs, was considered an appropriate garden pastime by Varro and Cicero, among others.³⁶ Following ancient precedent, collections of statues, both ancient and modern, were housed in galleries, loggias, and throughout the grounds of gardens

³³ Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum*...,” 205. Translated by Coffin from the original Latin.

³⁴ Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum*...,” 204, 213.

³⁵ *GG*, 14.

³⁶ *GG*, 14.

where they could inspire poets, be studied and appreciated by educated visitors, and sketched by artists. By the seventeenth century, the study of Nature had become one of the main focuses of the garden. This entailed detailed observations of the behaviours of animals, fish, birds, and insects, cataloguing and experimenting upon plants, flowers, herbs, and trees, and collecting curious objects for cabinets. As with classical gardens, Baroque gardens included more frivolous entertainments such as courts for pall-mall, a precursor to croquet, lawns for bowling, *giocchi*, water jets hidden in grottos to soak the unwary visitor, stages for theatrical productions, and ever more complex hydraulic automata.

The *Lex Hortorum*, though not specifically invoked, was practiced in England where the monarch traditionally, with some exceptions, declared all royal parks and gardens in and around London open to the public; they remain so to this day. This was less true of land owned by the aristocracy, though it usually could be viewed by appointment, letter of introduction, or a small fee paid to the gatekeeper.³⁷ I believe that, in the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn was attempting to teach the wealthy English land owner proper social etiquette concerning his property, which he had learned while on the continent. Chapter Six of Book III, no longer extant, is titled “Of the Hortulan Laws. {& Privileges}” and I propose that here Evelyn would have explained the *Lex Hortorum* to the wealthy land owners of his audience and encouraged them to follow it.³⁸ From as early as April 1, 1644, when he visited the Palace of Luxembourg in Paris, Evelyn was aware of the practice of opening gardens to the public and of the many pastimes in which they could partake. On this day he was surprised

³⁷ Coffin, “The *Lex Hortorum*...,” 209-211.

³⁸ For further analysis of Book III and its intended audience, see Chapter 2, “The Audience: Land Owner” and “The Audience: the Status of the Garden Architect” in this work.

to behold the infinite numbers of Persons of quality, & Citizens, & strangers who frequent it, and to whom all access is freely permitted: so as you shall meete some walkes & retirements full of Gallants & Ladys, in others melancholy Fryers, in others studious Scholars, in others jolly Citizens; some sitting & lying on the Grasse, others, running, & jumping, some playing at bowles, & ball, others dancing & singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the amplitude of the place.³⁹

In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn encourages his audience to participate in many activities, among them the appreciation of all forms of art. He devotes several chapters of Book II to the embellishment of gardens with geometrical topiary, statues, paintings, music, fountains, and automata all intended as entertainment both intellectual and enjoyable. He suggests that a *pinacotheca* or small, classical-style museum with library, music rooms, and cabinets of curiosity be erected in a more remote part of the garden to house and display the best of the art and curiosity collections of the estate so that art lovers, artists, and virtuosi alike could enjoy them.⁴⁰ In chapter nine, Evelyn discusses many types of waterworks, artificial and natural, including fountains with innumerable possibilities for statuary, cascades, small rivers, and hydraulic tricks which mimic rain, thunder and rainbows. Although all of these spectacles can be seen as purely for awe and entertainment, they also led visitors to ponder artistic programs and analyze scientific phenomena.⁴¹ Evelyn would likely have explained in chapters three, four, and five of Book III, several different methods of creating scientifically accurate representations of Nature, all worthy endeavours for the intellectual and artistic appreciation of the garden.

Aside from more intellectual pursuits, Evelyn touches upon many past times and more relaxing entertainments for the garden. In chapter six of Book II, Evelyn not only

³⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 130.

⁴⁰ *EB*, 146 [97-98], 196 [142]. He specifically refers to other similar structures he saw at the villas of Aldobrandini, Montalto, and Ludovisi in Italy.

⁴¹ *EB*, 181-184 [128-132].

explains how to alter lawns so that they are suitable for lawn bowling and pall mall, he also recommends promenading through the walks of the garden so as to benefit from the “most agreeable use they afford us for health, exercise, pleasure {&} buisnesse & conversation.”⁴² For further entertainment, Evelyn suggests constructing a *piscina*, or fish pond, “imitating those *Roman* magnificences,” large enough so that visitors can bathe or “saile and row about with a Pleasure Boate built of some antique shape, or pinnace like, with a Cabine ... gunns, sailes, streamers, and other ornaments fit for the divertisements of Ladys, and entertainements upon the Watter, then which there is nothing more agreeable in the Summer and {during the} hott weather.”⁴³ He also ardently encourages the English to build villas on the banks of the northern reaches of the Thames so that they, like the French at St. Germain-en-Laye, can enjoy the spectacle of a *naumachia*, or staged historic sea battle.⁴⁴

Italian Baroque gardens were not merely derived from the ideas, theories, and descriptions provided by Classical texts. They incorporated the physical ruins of ancient villas into new garden designs, they sometimes constructed false ruins when real ones were lacking, and they displayed both ancient and contemporary statuary with primarily mythological subjects, thus bringing the Classical era to life in a much more literal and accessible way.⁴⁵ During Roman times, deities and mythological creatures were thought

⁴² *EB*, 126 [78]. He also notices promenading while in Italy. In the *Diary* entry for February 9, 1644 at the gardens of the Louvre he notices that “here it is that the Gallants, & the Ladys of the Court take the ayre & divert themselves, as with us in Hide-Parke, the middle Circle being Capable to containe an hundred Coaches to turne commodiously, & the larger of the Plantations for 5 or 6 Coaches a breast.” *Diary*, vol. 2: 103-106.

⁴³ *EB*, 182 [130], 183 [131].

⁴⁴ *EB*, 181-182 [129]. Here Evelyn is trying quite bluntly to promote Italian and French garden and villa design and culture to his British readers. In the *Diary*, he compliments the Thames as providing the best view in Europe when he compares it to the Seine seen from the Louvre. *Diary*, vol. 1: 67-9.

⁴⁵ *GG*, 21-29. This section contains several accounts of Baroque villas, particularly those in Rome, with existing classical ruins incorporated into their designs in various ways. Hunt also mentions that most ancient statues were plundered and appropriated for use in gardens, regardless of their original function.

to preside over gardens, temples, and sacred groves.⁴⁶ In the seventeenth century, various areas of gardens were peopled with these same characters, their function altered to that of generic classical motifs used to enhance the atmosphere of a given setting. Neptune, neiriads, nymphs, and river gods were found near water. Bacchus, satyrs and centaurs inhabited groves. Venus, nymphs, and sleeping nymphs resided in grottos.

Much of the imagery included in a garden was integral to unravelling its thematic programs. Specific scenes from pastoral poetry and Greek and Roman mythology were often incorporated into the thematic iconography of a garden.⁴⁷ Statues, paintings, and trompe l'oeil frescoes representing episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a common literary source in the seventeenth century, created a literal manifestation of a classical text in the garden. Thematically, Ovid's mythological poems, largely about people in outdoor settings transformed into aspects of nature, were used to illustrate a major concern of Baroque garden theory: the complex relationship of competition and co-dependence between Art and the creations of Nature. John Dixon Hunt states that, even where no specific tale was referred to, the *Metamorphoses* were so prevalent in artistic culture that references to them would have been implicit assumptions among garden visitors.⁴⁸ The Labours of Hercules and his choice at the crossroads were used to represent themes concerning the triumph of virtue over vice in which Hercules was often intended to personify the land owner. In certain instances, Hercules was portrayed as the patron god of gardens.⁴⁹ Hercules also appeared in gardens in connection with the tale of the Garden

⁴⁶ *GG*, 13.

⁴⁷ As stated above, several modern authors analyze the themes and iconography of specific gardens or examine one particular motif in painstaking detail, but few stand back to take a broader look at general trends in subject matter in Renaissance and Baroque gardens.

⁴⁸ *GG*, 42-43. The rest of chapter 4 discusses specific references to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in individual Italian gardens.

⁴⁹ Elisabeth MacDougall, "Imitation and Invention: Language and Decoration in Roman Renaissance Gardens," *Journal of Garden History*, 5.2 (1985): 127.

of the Hesperides, an idyllic garden of golden fruit maintained by the daughters of Atlas. Paradisiacal gardens are also invoked by representations of Mount Helicon, Pegasus and the Muses, or Mount Parnassus, Apollo and the Muses. These mythological scenes, which appeared in some form in almost every Italian garden, are usually intended to symbolize the resurrection of the Golden Age in the garden, but they are also associated with artistic and poetic inspiration. In some cases such imagery is employed to connote the land owner's patronage of the arts or to encourage all manner of artistic activity – rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and other considerations of the Muses – within the garden setting.⁵⁰

The specific symbolic meaning of a figure in a given allegory changed depending on its attributes and its juxtaposition to various other figures and scenes within each individual program. Beginning in the sixteenth century, iconographers such as Lillio Giraldi and Vincenzo Cartari published books that suggested myriad interpretations that could be attributed to mythological characters. Such reference books were then used by designers of thematic programs, such as the celebrated humanist Annibale Caro in his 1551 program for the Villa Giulia.⁵¹ The *concetti*, or thematic programs, became more elaborate and multi-layered from approximately 1540 through the end of the seventeenth century.⁵² Garden walks were often arranged to suggest a specific circulation path to visitors so that the increasingly complex programs could be read correctly.⁵³

⁵⁰ MacDougall, "Imitation and Invention...", 128-129. Most villas included such imagery at some level in their thematic programs, notably, the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, and the Villa Mattei. See also David Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli, The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, and "The *Lex Hortorum* ...," 222-227 for further accounts of the programs and circulation patterns of numerous Italian villas.

⁵¹ MacDougall, "Imitation and Invention...", 129-131.

⁵² MacDougall, "Imitation and Invention...", 120, 131.

⁵³ Coffin, "The *Lex Hortorum* ...," 222-224.

Elisabeth MacDougall notes that, while gardens often incorporated the mythological Golden Age and related scenes of pastoral paradise, Biblical themes, including the obvious Garden of Eden reference, were almost never implemented in Italian Baroque gardens. “Despite the abundance of literal and figurative garden and pastoral imagery in the Bible and in patristic writings, overt or allegorical Christian themes rarely appeared in secular gardens.”⁵⁴ She postulates that this is the result of the application of the theory of decorum which governed the appropriateness of a given subject for a particular location. Thus the recreational, natural garden setting was deemed more suitable to pastoral, rustic, and mythological scenes while Biblical subjects were employed primarily in the more formal interiors of secular, state, and religious buildings.⁵⁵ Literary theory, which was applied to visual arts as well, also supported this idea by distinguishing between *istorie*, meaning fairly realistic or literal portrayals of historical, Biblical, and certain mythological narratives, and *poesie*, which offered far greater freedom of expression and invention and included pastoral and all mythological subjects, thus making it more suited to garden imagery.⁵⁶

It is at this point that John Evelyn withdraws his support for the classically derived Baroque Italian garden which he has otherwise wholeheartedly endorsed in the *Elysium Britannicum*. At no point in either the *Diary* or the *Elysium Britannicum* does he ever refer to examples of, or attempt to unravel, the mythological *concetti* of the many dozens of villas he visited in Italy and France. He records in exhaustive detail the inventories of their collections of rarities, fountains, paintings, sculptures, and curiosities both living and preserved, but never hints that there is anything to be read while

⁵⁴ MacDougall, “Imitation and Invention...”, 122. See also MacDougall, “*L’Ingegnoso Artificio: Sixteenth Century Garden Fountains in Rome*,” *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978) 104-105.

⁵⁵ MacDougall, “Imitation and Invention...”, 122-124.

⁵⁶ MacDougall, “Imitation and Invention...”, 131.

traversing the grounds, even after several visits in some cases. While perusing the Villa d'Este at Tivoli on May 7, 1645, he notes that “Towards *Roma Triumphans*, leads a long & spacious Walk, full of Fountaines, under which is historiz'd the whole *Ovidian* Metamorphosis in *mezzo Relievo* rarely sculptur'd,”⁵⁷ and yet he never mentions the motifs of Hercules at the Crossroads or the inspiration of the Muses, even though these are still clearly comprehensible to scholars today.⁵⁸ In his all-encompassing tome on gardening he never presents specific thematic programs for the Royal Garden he is proposing; he leaves this entirely to the genius and creativity of the land owner and the garden architect. He does, however, steer the designers in a thematic direction that is decidedly non-Italian; he suggests that the garden should be focused around Biblical imagery and should honour “Baconian heroes,” historical philosophers, scientists, and gardeners, not mythological tales and personas.

When discussing classical statues in the garden, Evelyn offers “a word or two concerning the Reppresentations themselves; since (as we sayd affirmed) all are not to be admitted promiscuously; nor indeede (amongst Christians) all that we find they did of old, entertaine in their Gardens.”⁵⁹ He provides a lengthy list of “the *Tutelar Gods* of Gardens” who were accepted into the gardens of the ancients including “*Apollo, Liber, Ceres, Vesta*, the obscene *Priapus, & Flora, & Venus* {*Pomona*} ~~*Pato*~~ {*Rubiga*}, etc” and several minor deities among them Pan, Orpheus, Echo, Narcissus and other Ovidian characters. Even though “[t]hese all had places in the Gardens of old, and may safely for the most part, be {~~modestly~~} introduced into our *Elysium*,” he cautions against permitting

⁵⁷ *Diary*, vol. 2: 394-396.

⁵⁸ See David Coffin's monograph on the Villa D'Este. Chapter 3 is dedicated to a discussion of the thematic programs in the garden.

⁵⁹ *EB*, 207 [152-3]. For all passages in this paragraph.

classical subjects without scrutiny in case any might be construed as lewd, calling them “obscene *Scar-crows*.”

Evelyn never suggests exactly how to incorporate approved pieces of classical statuary into the program of the garden, even chapter 11 of Book II, specifically titled “Of Statues, Payntings ... ,” does not touch upon this subject. In his discussions of the “furniture” of various areas and attractions, Evelyn repeatedly treats classical sculptures as generic props that add a suitable degree of ambience to their respective settings. For groves he recommends that

The proper ornaments of these are the statues of Eremites, Narides, {Orpheus} Pans, Satyres; the resemblances of Lyons, Beares, {Wolves} Foxes, {Goates, Boares etc} cutt out artificially in stone and painted {for in no other case admitt we of painted statues a barbarity unpardonable in Arte) to be placed amongst the thicketts, & at the mouth of Caves, naturall or artificiall Grotts, over growne with mosse & Ivy.⁶⁰

These largely mythological figures are intended to blend into their surroundings and enhance the atmosphere of a grove. Evelyn emphasizes that these sculptures are merely stage settings, of lesser artistic value, by instructing that they should be painted to look more realistic, a practice which is otherwise seen as “a barbarity unpardonable in Arte.” He leaves the sculptural design of fountains “to the fantasy and judgement of the Architect” but does suggest that

{here} the statuary may introduce Whales, Syrens, {Sea Monsters} Delphines Tritons, {Glaucus} the Nymphs, and River Gods, water fowle, Rock worke Sedges, Shells, and {Mascks} Rock worke and Rustick order of Architecture ... The River gods enter into these ornaments most naturaly, Oceanus, Thetys, & Amphitrides, & the Nereides, Nilus, Tiber, why not Tane & Isis cumbent on the greate Amphore & Jars.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *EB*, 144 [96].

⁶¹ *EB*, 180 [126-7], 185 [132].

Even though fountains are often the most prominent focal points of gardens, Evelyn does not provide specific programmatic ideas, only a list of classical and mythological figures commonly associated with water. He populates rocks and grottos with a variety of appropriate animals including hermits, satyrs, goats with shepherds to tend them, lions, serpents, and “other *Troglodites*” which he again feels “may be in this case, put {layd} into their naturall colours, which were {a barbarisme} otherwise insupportable.”⁶²

Instead of displaying the best-executed of the classical statues and artifacts in the garden proper, thus incorporating them into the thematic program, Evelyn advises that they be given preferential treatment for their artistic merit and placed in a portico, peristyle, gallery, repository, or pinacotheca located in the grounds of the garden.

[F]or their exquisite workemanship sake & Art even some of those [statues] also may be warily judiciously exposed, or cons in our Gardens *Elysium* {inserted either in the Wales, or erected in solitary places} or conserved amongst the *Marmora* and things of Art in the *Peristyles* {*Atrias*} & *Galleries* destined for Collections of that nature; where likewise *Urnes*, *Sepulchers*, {*Sarcasfas*}, *Altars*, and *Inns* {*Mezzo*}, *Basse Relievos* & *Inscriptions* have their due places, & are of extraordinary use & benefit for Learned men & Antiquaries; a noble *Specimen* whereoff we have in the *Marmora Arundeliana* collected by *Mr. Seldon*, out of the learned and reverend Wales of the Gardens of at *Arundel house* in *London*; {at my instance given and transferred to Oxon by the illustrious Sr: H: Howard of Norfolk.}⁶³

He appreciates ancient sculptures more for their “exquisite workmanship” and “extraordinary use & benefit for Learned men & Antiquaries” than for their subject matter. They are objects to add to a collection and they are intended to contribute to the classical education of a scholar, virtuoso, artist, or garden architect. Evelyn refers here to an example of the proper treatment of valuable classical artifacts. In the Autumn of 1667, he was instrumental in rescuing the remaining, decaying Arundel marble inscriptions by convincing Sir Henry Howard, grandson of renowned collector Thomas Howard, Earl of

⁶² *EB*, 191 [138], 193 [138].

⁶³ *EB*, 210 [154a]. The square brackets in the quote above are mine.

Arundel, to remove the marble inscriptions from his garden at Arundel House in London and donate them to Oxford University where they have been preserved, both in the Ashmolean Museum for academic use and in the walls around the Sheldonian Theatre, to this day.⁶⁴

In order to house classical statues in a garden repository, Evelyn insists that “the skill of the *Architect* is indeede principally required” to create such “magnificent & tofite {superb} structures” because “here may the Lord of our Elysium {share their gestations Walkes discourses Collation & take the aire, {or walke (in covert) ~~when the Sun & the heate~~} at such tymes & Seasons as either the Sun or the Raine forbids him freer enjoyment.”⁶⁵ Whatever size of edifice the land owner chooses, a simple portico or loggia, or a full pinacotheca incorporating a library, music room, gallery, and cabinet of curiosity, it should be

built & carved of stone, & with ranges of Pillars & pillasters, arched towards the parters, & to be ascended by some few stepps, paved with Marble & pietra comessas {& emblematic worke} below, & painted afres a fresca on the vault: Flat & balustraded above all {with the podial & merione} from {which} Aerie one may take a view of the whole Garden.⁶⁶

In other words, it is classical in style with colonnades or a loggia sitting atop a peristyle, the loggia possibly serving as the entrance to a larger repository of classical and other objects. Such a structure maintains the idea that, while Evelyn’s proposed garden is derived from classical thought and applies this style to its general appearance, these

⁶⁴ For the entire self-congratulatory story, see *Diary*, vol. 3: 495-500. See also *GG*, 81 and John Dixon Hunt, “Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens,” *The Origins of Museums: the Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe*, eds. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985): 201.

⁶⁵ *EB*, 196 [142].

⁶⁶ *EB*, 146 [97]. Evelyn apparently intended to add sketches suggesting possible designs for such a structure. Referring to the pinacotheca he continues saying, “[t]he orthography whereoff we give in ensuing figures, with some other inventions for Terraces, Peristyles & Repositories of this nature, leaving the particular members to the skillfull Architect, upon whose province we thinke not fit to usurpe on this occasion ...”

concepts do not contribute iconographically to the thematic program. A classically styled repository would conceal from open view any ancient statuary which might otherwise be interpreted as part of the program. Evelyn also intends this edifice to serve both as a vantage point, offering a prospect over the various grounds, and as a quiet retreat. It should be located “in the middle or some remoter part of the Garden, encompassed with groves etc, & serving for a most sweete Retirement at the pleasure of the Master.”

Evelyn provides an example of a classically styled loggia or grotto located under the mount in the garden of his family estate at Wotton.

And here I {we} may not forgett a very noble Instance of such a Portico or rather Peristyle (because of its ~~situation~~ application) contrived by my {our} late & worthy kinsman Geo: Evelyn, in the Gardens of our most honourd Brother at Wotton in Surrey, abating onely some mistake in the order and the ornament about the trabeation; for certainly, if ever, here it is that the *Corinthian* and *Composite* are most naturall and agreable as being the most adorn'd with foliage in the Capitalls and Freeses; where Festoons & Frutages are the more proper then Metope, Triglyphs, Skulls of beasts & sacrificing instruments.⁶⁷

Evelyn admires this addition to his family estate, but criticizes the choice of columns made by his cousin “who believed himselfe a better *Architect* than really he was.”⁶⁸ He feels that capitals with vegetation, such as Corinthian or Composite, and freizes with “Festoons & Frutages” are most appropriate for gardens.

Evelyn has relegated classical statues with mythological subjects to similarly-styled loggias, pavillions, and porticos. He has denied them a prominent place in the garden in order to allow for the creation of a thematic program with an entirely different

⁶⁷ *EB*, 197 [143]. There are (at least) two George Evelyn's at this time. The portico was built by Captain George Evelyn, cousin of John Evelyn and his brother George. Evelyn's brother George owned Wotton when the portico was constructed.

⁶⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2: 551; vol. 1: 55. He continues here saying that Captain George Evelyn was “mistaken in the Architecture of the Portico, which tho' making a magnificent shew, has greate faults in the *Colonade*, both as to the Order, which should have ben *Corinthian* & the Ornaments, the rest is very tollerable.” The portico at Wotton is of the Doric Order.

focus, one based on Biblical, philosophical, scientific, and historical characters who have contributed to the intellectual development and moral responsibility of humankind.

Although he never proposes specific, complex, detailed thematic programs that correspond precisely with a sketch or map of the garden he envisions in the *Elysium Britannicum*, he does

recommend {to our Gardners} the introduction of the statues of the *Patriarchs, Adam, Kings, and Heros* which we find in the sacred stories ... and in the prophane, The most morall & {famous} ... not to omitt our *Parkinson, Johnson & Gerhard, Clusius, Taber[nae] Montanus, Lobel, &* above all our Cowley then whom none has better deserved of our profession, for the everlasting dignity he has done it. & sundry others which we might enumerate, worthy of eternal memories both for their writings, &—aff inventions, & affectations to Gardens, whose statues may abundantly, & with better reason, supplie the ornament {of} with those fained and impure Deities which did formerly ~~decere~~ {prophane} the Gardens of the superstitious *Ethnicks*.⁶⁹

Evelyn wants the Royal Garden to be inhabited by “*Patriarchs, Adam, Kings, and Heros*” such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Solomon from Biblical times; Hesiod, Epicurus, Virgil, Pliny, Theophrastus, and Cicero, some of the “most morall & {famous}” of the prophane philosophers and historical figures; and contemporaries, including his fellow citizens John Parkinson and Abraham Cowley, who are “worthy of eternal memories both for their writings, &—aff inventions, & affectations to Gardens.” Evelyn further emphasizes his acceptance of classical philosophy, but not figures of ancient mythology, as part of the decor by suggesting that names and verses be inscribed on trees for intellectual stimulation, a practice he incorporated into his own garden at Sayes Court.⁷⁰

Evelyn states his opinion on the appropriate subject matter for statuary even more forcefully at the beginning of chapter 11 of Book II, “Of Statues...,” declaring

⁶⁹ *EB*, 210 [154-154a]. This discussion is approached from a specifically religious angle in Chapter 4 of the present work.

⁷⁰ *EB*, 144 [96]; Leith-Ross, “The Garden of John Evelyn at Deptford,” 148.

As a Garden without Water hath no life, as depriv'd of its radical humor; so without *Sculpture*, it has no action; for by this it is that we reppresent the figures of ~~Men~~ those {greate} Heros, & Genious's that have so well deserv'd of Gardens, & so much celebrated by the Antients, affording an ornament not onely of exceeding pleasure to the eye, but to the intellect it selfe, and the furniture of the most profitable discourses, whilst we behold our *Elysium inri breathing* & inriched & (as it were) breathing with the statues of those Gallant & illustrious Persons, whose actions have filled our Histories with the most glorious ~~act-actions~~ instances, & whose inventions & industries have stored our Gardens with the best {noblest} of her diversions.⁷¹

Here again he recommends “the figures of ~~Men~~ those {greate} Heros, & Genious's that have so well deserv'd of Gardens,” who stimulate philosophical, scholarly discourse and “the intellect it selfe.” Evelyn numbers gardeners themselves among “those Gallant & illustrious Persons ... whose inventions & industries have stored our Gardens with the best {noblest} of her diversions.” The classical statues in the garden and galleries would be accompanied by “the statues of our most famous Gardners ~~in pictures of plaster~~ {statue} to adorne the *Pinacothecæ* {Repositories} & *Porticos* with some of their elegies ~~in short~~: {& to preserve their memories}.⁷² Thus he once again emphasizes the elevated status of the gardener that he advocates throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*.⁷³ For the “Philosophico-Medicall Garden,” the topic of chapter seventeen of Book II, Evelyn continues his homage to scholars of horticulture by proposing the display of “such Stattues as represent to the life the Effigies & memorie of the most skillfull & illustrious Botanists, Physitians & Philosophers it which {they} may be rarely placed upon the Ascents of the Mount, & in some other signall places about the Garden.”⁷⁴ He believes that a garden inhabited by the geniuses and heroes of the Biblical, ancient, and Baconian

⁷¹ *EB*, 204 [149].

⁷² *EB*, 204 [149].

⁷³ See Chapter 2 above for an in-depth discussion of the status of the garden architect.

⁷⁴ *EB*, 407 [326].

worlds would be “the ultimate perfection & accomplishment of this part of our *Elysium*” and of the rest of the Royal Garden.⁷⁵

Art and Nature in the Garden

During and before the Baroque era, Nature was seen as having three hierarchical tiers, the first, second, and third Nature. The first Nature was wilderness, untouched by human interference, the closest one could come to the prelapsarian state of the world. The second Nature included agriculture, husbandry, rural and urban development, and any other manipulation and development of the land by people necessary for their existence. Gardens were considered a manifestation of the third Nature, the use of Nature for pleasure and enjoyment, not merely productivity, created by tempering Nature with Art.⁷⁶ Claudia Lazzaro takes this concept a step further, defining third Nature not as Nature controlled by Art, but as a new entity that relies on the contributions of Nature and Art equally, resulting in both “natural artifice and artificial nature.”⁷⁷ The interaction between Art and Nature in the garden became a major theme that permeated every aspect of this art form.

Chapter one of Book I of the *Elysium Britannicum* opens with a brief account of the Fall of Man from the Garden of Eden which left Adam and Eve in a World which was “to them but a Wilderness.” But

Adam instructed his Posteritie how to handle the Spade so dextrously, that in processe of tyme, men began, with the indulgence of heaven, to recover that by Arte and Industrie, which was before produced to them Spontaneously;

⁷⁵ *EB*, 407 [326].

⁷⁶ *GG*, 91-92.

⁷⁷ Lazzaro, 9-10.

and to improve the Fruits of the Earth, to gratifie as well their Pleasures and contemplations, as their necessities and daily foode.⁷⁸

Evelyn progresses through humanity's new life abandoned by God in the wilderness to the slightly more secure existence brought about by the invention of tools which led to agriculture. He then brings Adam and Eve's progeny to a time when, through "Arte and Industrie," they were able to recreate gardens that emulated Eden, "which was before produced to them Spontaneously," and could then "gratifie as well their Pleasures and contemplations." With this short outline of the Biblical Fall and slow agricultural recovery of humanity, Evelyn acknowledges his understanding of the three Natures.

The dialogue between Art and Nature, simultaneously a contest and a collaboration, is one of the major theoretical aspects of landscape architecture; it is this defining characteristic which sets gardens apart as a third Nature.⁷⁹ One of the most general ways in which Art conspires with Nature is in the adjacent placement of formal and untamed regions of the garden. From a high vantage point overlooking the garden, for instance the prospect from the top floor of the mansion, the difference between these two areas should be apparent at a glance. The formal areas, such as *parterres*, *giardini segreti* (private gardens of rare plants), elaborate fountains, and orchards, are usually found in close proximity to the mansion or villa as this is the home of the landowner. He or she is perceived to exert the greatest influence over Nature by imposing order upon it through design, ingenuity, and Art. Groves, mounts, *grottos*, hunting parks, and *boschi* (woods) are usually located further away from the dwelling as they represent wilder areas less

⁷⁸ *EB*, 29 [1]. This history of the Biblical evolution of man-made gardens from wilderness to agriculture to gardens, achieved with the addition of Art, implies Evelyn's understanding of the first, second, and third Natures discussed at the beginning of the previous chapter.

⁷⁹ Lazzaro, 8-9. This is the most frequently and lengthily discussed aspect of garden theory (along with Classicism), but it is usually discussed in terms of its impact on design and layout or its effect on specific elements of garden decor. In Lazzaro's work, for instance, this is the only aspect of landscape architecture theory that she fully (and very repeatedly) addresses.

influenced by people, less manipulated by Art. From the walls of the artfully arranged garden there are often prospects onto agricultural lands, tamed by human hands for production as opposed to pleasure, and beyond these, the real wilderness as yet untouched.⁸⁰

Subtle levels of juxtaposition between Art and Nature were apparent not just in the overall design and layout of a garden, but in specific features as well. For instance, water is often used to illustrate various degrees of Nature controlled by Art and Art mimicking Nature. Formal sculptural fountains use artfully controlled jets and sprays of water as part of their display. In some gardens, thin jets of water form high, overlapping, diagonal arcs from one side of a path to the other, employing architectural design to create a natural, moving trellis. Water is also employed to indicate movement between levels of a terraced garden. A staircase might have artfully contrived fountains bubbling and overflowing from one level to another or a high mount might have an artificial cascade, made to look natural, roaring down its side. At a more functional level, water power turns gears in automata and water organs and, of course, provides sustenance to the many plants and trees of the garden. Water is employed in several ways in *grottos* and water theatres which could contain sculptural fountains, hidden water jets intended to soak and surprise the unwary visitor, devices that imitated rain or thunder, and small trickles and drips of water made to seem like natural seepage from moss-covered stalactites.

Grottos can incorporate a variety of degrees of play between the natural and the artificial. Some appear to occur naturally, but are actually artificially carved from living rock or constructed from expertly arranged stalactites thus providing an example of Art attempting to perfect Nature. The walls of a grotto can be used to artificially display

⁸⁰ *GG*, 12. He says the idea of prospects is from letter of Pliny the Younger and Horace description of his villa.

natural materials such as shells or semi-precious stones. In this case, Art is clearly using Nature as a decorative material, but Nature is also using Art as a means of exhibiting a collection. Some grottos, formed naturally or by hand, provide a natural setting for figural sculptural statues or fountains, obviously made by human hands. Grottos can also be unabashedly artificial, some are given the features of classical temples and are then usually referred to as *nymphaea*.⁸¹

Antique statues and ruins in the garden were used both to emphasize the classical derivation of Baroque garden architecture and to illustrate the play of Art and Nature. Many Greek and Roman artifacts were authentic and provided a direct connection with the past, however contemporary copies and new classically-styled compositions were also contrived for this purpose. Contemporary statues and false ruins were often intentionally made to appear weathered by time, thus artificially mimicking the effects of Nature on stone and adding to their sense of classical nostalgia.

John Dixon Hunt believes that the English were generally aware of the ongoing debate between Art and Nature being played out in the garden, but may have had difficulty perceiving the more abstract degrees of it.⁸² One of the greatest challenges for the garden architect is deciding to what degree Art should be allowed to reshape, or perfect, Nature. If an element, such as a mountain or a body of water, is missing from natural terrain of a villa, the garden architect or landowner might choose to add it artificially by creating a smaller mount, pumping water to the top of a mount or other high point to create the semblance of a natural spring or cascade, or channelling water through the garden to create a facsimile of a river, canal, or lake.

By the time Evelyn began composing the *Elysium Britannicum*, he had a definite opinion of how to maintain the delicate balance between Art and Nature. He generally

⁸¹ GG, 92. He explains various levels of perceiving this subtle relationship.

⁸² GG, 91.

believed that Nature should be left largely unaltered, that part of the challenge of garden design was to make the best garden possible out of the available terrain and natural features of a plot. He reveres the Alps as representing the epitome of Nature's artistic ability, to which human artistry can but aspire.

[N]ature [has] decor{ate}d the passages with all that {Art or} human industry can wish, even for of the hortulan delights, naturall fountains, stupendous Cascades, profound Grotts, {lowd} Echos, Trees, flowers, & hearbs of all sorts, that which with the cheerfull warbling of the birds, the murmour of the Waters & the gratefull shades of the umbrage trees & goodly prospect oer land & Sea, the place of all others under heaven seemes to have bin intended to for an Idea of what we would describe in this present Chapter.⁸³

This scene presents such an ideal combination of terrains, landscape features, prospects, and inhabitants that Evelyn sees it as a perfect example of a site which his audience should endeavour to emulate. He offers a further opinion on this issue before presenting to the audience a property of more human scale, but no less perfection, in Surrey, a more familiar and ordinary location, demonstrating that examples of Nature's unparalleled genius are ubiquitous.

What {is} in generall is to be sayd, is, that it would be so contrived and set out, as that Art, though it contend with Nature; yet might it by no meanes justle it out: There being nothing lesse taking, then an affected uniformity in greate & noble Gardens, where Variety were chiefly to be courted; ... For seing Nature dos in the universall œconomy of things præcede Arte, and that Art is onely Natures ape, and dos nothing but by the power thereof, ... what can be more just and regular, then that she should also præside in the world about which our Gardiner (so much obliged to her) is {perpetually} conversant? At no hand there {fore} let our Gardiner {Workman} enforce his plot to any particular Phantsy, but, contrive rather how to apply to it the best shape that will agree with the nature of the Place; and studdy how even the most imperfect figure, may, by the Mysteries of Arte and fantsy, receive the most graceful ornaments and fittest for a Garden.⁸⁴

⁸³ *EB*, 201 [146].

⁸⁴ *EB*, 96 [55].

Following this passage is a lengthy description of the terrain of Backbury Hill in Surrey, an English property which Evelyn's friend John Beale described to him in a letter of 1659 which Evelyn then copied, almost verbatim, into the *Elysium Britannicum*. Beale and Evelyn insist that Backbury already has so perfect a combination and variety of terrain and landscape features that Art would have little room left to perfect what Nature, herself an artist, had already created.⁸⁵ He clearly commands the garden architect to leave Nature unaltered by Art except where necessary, using Art to enhance, not restructure, what Nature has provided. He places Nature above Art, saying that "Nature dos in the universall œconomy of things præcede Arte, and that Art is onely Natures ape, and dos nothing but by the power thereof."

Evelyn encourages variety, as opposed to uniformity or regularity, in all aspects of the general garden site. He gives the gardener detailed advice explaining to him many

Instances by which {our Gardener may} comprehend what it is we would signifie by an irregular plot, fit to be made a noble, princely and universall Garden & Elysium indeede; ... Likewise to shew how much Situations contribute, & how little some narrow hearted people understand their owne felicity; whilst many are in the very way to the most excellent pleasures of this kind, if ~~our~~ of {by} an affected and stiff uniformity they did not spoile their Gardens, undoing themselves with filling up hollows, plaining of precipices, and raising mole-hills in comparison; & then againe levelling other places, whose excellency was as they found it to their hand; and where the Artist should be vigilant to apply all that may contribute to those agreeable mixtures we have before described; disposing and placing the parterrs, Relievos, Walls, PaEminencys, Waters, yea even the very Trees, Plants, Flowers, and Severall *Areas* to their best advantage; that so the shades and the lights may fall and diversifie in sweete and gracious varieties; & which may be effected with a greate deal more facillity, where the site is uneven by Nature, or easily so made by Art; then by those starch't and affected designes which we behold in many of our Cockney Plantations, ~~which~~ that look like

⁸⁵ For a complete analysis of this letter and Evelyn's relation to John Beale and the Hartlib circle of which they were both members, see Goodchild, "'No Phantasticall Utopia, but a Reall Place,'" 105-127. See Chapter 2 above for further discussion of this period of Evelyn's life.

Gardens of Pastboard & March-pane & which smell more of Paint then of flowers & {natural} verdure.⁸⁶

He sharply criticizes English gardens for being too “starch’t and affected” and bemoans “how little some narrow hearted people understand their owne felicity.” These people do not appreciate the natural beauty of their property “whose excellency was as they found it to their hand” and they spoil this with “an affected and stiff uniformity,” an over-use of Art. Evelyn impels the garden architect or “Artist” to “be vigilant to apply all that may contribute to those agreeable mixtures we have before described,” to let Nature express itself for the most part and then use Art only to supply what is missing, but carefully.

Although Evelyn prefers all of the elements of the garden to be natural, he does allow for the minimal intervention of Art in certain cases if the end result appears natural. He values verdures, or greenery, because “an ingenious Gardiner may so invirone his Enclosures and Avenues with Verdures, that they shall seeme to be placed in one of the Summer Ilands, and to enjoy an eternal Spring, when all the rest of the Country is bare & naked.” The gardener can artfully deploy greenery, specifically varieties of evergreens, about the garden so that “an English Garden, even in the midst of Winter, shall appeare little inferiour to the Italian, where the Seasons are more kind benign, and the gardens almost perpetually florid.” Here Art is used to coerce Nature gently into “surpris[ing] the Winter Spectator, who might imagine himselfe, by a pleasant {kind of} deception to be transported into some new or enchanted Country.”⁸⁷ That this ruse is intended specifically to imitate the lush hues of Italy is no accident; it is one of Evelyn’s main goals to teach his audience how to construct and recreate an Italianate garden in England’s climate and culture.

⁸⁶ *EB*, 99 [59].

⁸⁷ *EB*, 313 [259].

Concerning cascades, if one does not naturally occur in the garden, though that is by far the best situation, Evelyn condones the construction of an artificial torrent, as long as “the worke be contrivd to resemble nature as much as possible.”⁸⁸ When natural crags and rock formations are nowhere to be found, Evelyn cautions the gardener to remember that

the principall arte in this Worke is to build your Rock hollow, obscure, protuberant, craggy, in the most rustick, unconstrained & extravagant order (if so we may call this disorderly worke) and the most approaching to the Naturall: ~~And therefore~~ {I} it is {therefore} utterly an error, where we find them made with an affected uniformity as sometimes we do see them; costly indeede, but ungracefull.⁸⁹

If rocks are to be artificially added to the garden, they should be “the most approaching to the Naturall” and absolutely not “made with an affected uniformity” or “built so smale, & trifling & stiff & regular as we usually find them even in greate mens Gardens; but of a good height, & in proper & naturall places.”⁹⁰ They should look like the ungraceful, disorderly crags one would find in a perfect Nature. Even automata, possibly the most artificial and mechanical of all the garden ornaments, use the very Art that created them to attempt to look as natural as possible. Evelyn is of the opinion that this greatly increases their effectiveness in tantalizing the imaginations of visitors and he feels it is his duty “to shew how necessary it is, in these Inventions, to give some motion to the living creatures which upon these occasions we introduce, that they may the ~~more lively~~ {better} imitate nature, & appeare the more *magicall*.”⁹¹

While Evelyn does generally believe that Nature should be left unaltered, he accepts that it is preferable or even necessary to allow Art to improve Nature in certain

⁸⁸ *EB*, 181[128].

⁸⁹ *EB*, 191 [137].

⁹⁰ *EB*, 188-189 [134].

⁹¹ *EB*, 242 [187].

features of the garden, the end result of which is Nature visibly affected by Art. As previously mentioned, grottos can be constructed to represent either natural caves or classical temples. In the latter case they are often referred to as *nymphaea* and “may be built by the *Architect* with stone, brick, Flint and such materials, with an entry of *Rustique worke*, of the *Tuscan*, or *Dorick order*.”⁹² Here, there is no attempt to mimic the appearance of the natural, this type of grotto is intended to be artificial, though for contrast some are built with a classical facade, but a cave-like interior. A good example of this is still extant in the classical grotto under the mount in the garden of Evelyn’s family estate at Wotton.⁹³

In constructing a mount in an area lacking one, Evelyn suggests that “A mount raised with the perfect dimensions of the Greater Ægyptian Pyramid ... would represent to our imagination one of the most sollempne and prodigious Monuments.”⁹⁴ He himself advised his brother George on the fabrication of such a mount, shaped like a stepped pyramid, in the garden of his family estate at Wotton in 1652.⁹⁵ Although he favours a geometrical mount, he suggests that one side be cut “so as to forme a natural cliff & precipice, respecting the gloome part of the Garden, it will extremely affect the eye of the beholder, after it has been sated with the softer and more luxurious objects of flowers & fields.” Evelyn believed that, if a mount has an exterior that is both geometrical and natural, and if grottos excavated in the interior are made to look either classical or natural, and “if {the} Rock be naturall & that a living Spring plentifully gush out of any superior part so as to fall into an artlesse Cascades, there can be nothing added to the perfection of

⁹² *EB*, 191 [138].

⁹³ *EB*, 197 [143]; see also *Diary*, vol. 3: 551; vol. 1, 55.

⁹⁴ *EB*, 195 [141].

⁹⁵ *Diary*, vol. 3: 60.

these ornaments.”⁹⁶ Mounts and their amenities therefore require the input of both Art and Nature.

Evelyn advocates the use of painted or frescoed perspectives, a completely artificial garden embellishment, because of “{the} extraordinary {& stupendious} effects {of it,} for the amplifying of contracted & straitned places.” He feels that

Perspectives are {the} most naturall & may be erected {properly} & properly erected are {be} at the & {entrances} of short Walkes, & *Nil Ultras*; whether {so} affected or so by accident, or {by reason of} a dead Wall, etc {or} house etc {interposing}; For ~~Pe~~ in such a pt upon such an obstacle, *Perspective* do can do wonders, & is able to give the Eye a {Lyncean} passage {even} through a stone wall; by seemingly protracting the walke.⁹⁷

Perspectives literally use Art to create a false Nature that is in no way dependent on natural materials, yet could dramatically extend the sense of space in a smaller area of a garden or in a courtyard. It was said of many of them that they were so realistic that they could fool artists and that birds flew into them, not realizing that they were merely painted. Topiary is almost completely artificial; it uses Nature merely as a construction material for living sculptures that then require constant trimming. Evelyn is quite reluctant to endorse topiary works in gardens because he “least of all esteeme[s] this kind of ornament, as being both chargeable & tedious to maintaine, & for the most part, through neglect or art in the Gardiner lamely & wretchedly reppresented, and therefore, but sparingly to be introduced.” He refuses to promote figural topiary as he has “beheld Men, horses, {divers beasts &} foule, & ill made & deforming a good Gardns.” Geometrical topiary is acceptable in moderation, “especially in Pyramids, Globes,

⁹⁶ *EB*, 196 [142].

⁹⁷ *EB*, 215 [159]. Evelyn refers the gardener to Bernard Lamy, *A treatise of perspective. Or, The art of representing all manner of objects as they appear to the eye in all situations*, (London, 1702) therefore he is still working on the *Elysium Britannicum* in at least 1702.

Embossements, Battlements, Nieches, Skreenes & Triumphall Arches, magnificent & very noble ornaments skillfully and erected & govern'd with care.”⁹⁸

Of the natural elements of the garden, *parterres*, flower beds, and the Coronary Garden, or *giardino segreto*, are among the most reliant upon Art as they involve intricate planting designs, yet Evelyn never addresses this topic. He occasionally notes a few plants in gardens in the *Diary*, but they are usually listed as one among many other curiosities in a given collection and he never describes the patterns and orders in which they are planted. He does list dozens of plants, shrubs, flowers, and herbs in the *Elysium Britannicum*, discuss their care in general, and refer the reader to other authors and catalogues, such as that of Pierre Morin. He does not offer advice on the topic of bed or *parterre* design, leaving it entirely to the discretion and ingenuity of the garden architect.

In only one instance, for the “Philosophico-Medicall” garden in chapter seventeen of Book II, does Evelyn provide an example, both text and a sketch, of a detailed plan for plant layout.⁹⁹ This very generalized plan consists of a pyramidal mount with planting beds both on its steep and rocky exposures and at south side of the base. A wooded area occupies the area to the north in the background and swamps are located on the east and west sides of the mount at its base. The description that accompanies this sketch merely lists the cardinal direction, height, and terrain type preferred by various groups of medicinal herbs. No artistic design is presented for the beds nor is any decorative ornament or garden amenity described, though on the plan a fountain is indicated in the centre of the orderly beds and it seems that what might be an artificial cascade is descending from the south side of the mount into a possible water theatre represented by a series of arches, though this could just as easily be a staircase and small grotto entrances. He does refer to a “Shady Theater twixt the Wood & the North side of the *Mount*,” an

⁹⁸ *EB*, 145-146 [97].

⁹⁹ *EB*, 407-410 [327-330].

area which, on the plan, appears to be a *nymphaeum*, but he does not elaborate on what is housed in this area, if anything. The entire scheme is intended as a practical tool for maintaining the greatest possible variety of plants to be used in medicines and experiments and, if there is any art incorporated in this area of the garden, it is not Evelyn's concern here.

It can be seen from the diversity of the examples discussed above that by the time Evelyn began to compose the *Elysium Britannicum*, he had a firm grasp on the subtleties and many levels of the intertwining relationship between Art and Nature. It is interesting that he does not demonstrate this knowledge when commenting upon gardens and villas in the *Diary*. This suggests that he did not acquire a deeper level of understanding of Italian Baroque garden theory until he returned to England, or perhaps during his last few years in France, when he had digested and reflected upon all he had observed in Italy. It is also noteworthy that, while he is willing to offer very specific advice on the relationship between Art and Nature in specific garden components, he does not provide his readers with possible designs of plots and beds or, more surprisingly, with any suggestions or plans for the general layout of the formal and informal areas of the garden as a whole, giving an idea of their size, scale, juxtaposition, and connecting pathways. I can only conclude that he intentionally left this to the imagination of the garden architect or that he intended to add such things, but in the end did not have time.

Science and Curiosities in the Garden

Nature is the backbone of garden architecture; it provides the setting, the majority of artistic materials, and models for imitation or contrast. It is therefore subject to multiple levels of involvement in garden theory. On one hand, Nature functions as a counterpoint to human artistic endeavours, but equally important is its role in

experiments, observations of phenomena, and collections of objects that both excite the curiosity of virtuosi and stimulate the scientific inquiries of natural philosophers.

Cabinets of curiosity, collections of rare *naturalia* and *artificialia* prized by seventeenth-century virtuosi, are closely affiliated with gardens. Often, a repository including art, curiosities, and a library would be housed in a separate building near or within the garden.¹⁰⁰ Virtuosi also perceived the garden itself as a living cabinet of curiosities, an extension of the collections found indoors.¹⁰¹ The *giardino segreto*, what Evelyn calls the Coronary Garden, is an assortment of the most unusual flowers from the entire known world, often very difficult and expensive to obtain and grow outside of their native climate.¹⁰² They parallel the dried plants and preserved animals and insects that inhabit indoor cabinets. Topiary and parterres are expertly designed and pruned shrubs that might delight a virtuoso in a manner similar to a scene of the Last Supper carved on a peach pit or walnut shell. Artificially constructed grottos can be used to display collections of rare rocks, shells, or minerals in a more natural setting than if they were catalogued in the drawers of a cabinet.¹⁰³ The elaborate mechanisms and hydraulic engines in fountains, water organs, and automata rival the delicate clockworks and other instruments coveted by the virtuosi. As with cabinets of curiosity, the garden can be seen as a *theatrum mundi*, a representation of all the known world, displayed on a microcosmic scale, with an intent to reproduce a sense of the paradise that existed in Eden before the

¹⁰⁰ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 193. Hunt provides examples of cabinets of curiosity located in or near gardens at the home of Isabella d'Este in Mantua and in the botanical gardens of Pisa and Leiden.

¹⁰¹ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 195-196.

¹⁰² Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 196.

¹⁰³ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 199.

fall of humanity, the classical Golden Age of humankind, or the Elysian Fields, the paradise of Hades.¹⁰⁴

Natural philosophers, such as Robert Boyle, John Ray, and Robert Hooke, found suitable topics for Baconian empirical study in the garden. The botanical garden, Evelyn's "Philosophico-Medicall" garden, is a living cabinet of curiosity specifically dedicated to medicinal herbs. These were used in chemical experiments intended to reveal their healing properties, concoct new remedies for various ailments, and create perfumes. Many gardens incorporated laboratories for these trials, often located either in grottos, or as part of a repository building.¹⁰⁵ The entire garden collection, but particularly the *giardino segreto* and the botanical garden, presented a daunting task for botanists, such as John Ray, who attempted both to catalogue newly discovered plants and breed hybrids and varieties from those already known.¹⁰⁶ Anatomists such as Robert Hooke could occupy years of study both in recording the habits and life cycles of the many animals, birds, and insects, particularly bees, that inhabited gardens and in examining their bodies under microscopes. Those studying optics and physics could observe rainbows, rain, thunder, the refraction of light, and the power of hydraulics in fountains and automata and could analyze the properties of sound in echoes and whispering chambers.¹⁰⁷

In the seventeenth century, the lines between virtuosi and scientists were far from clearly drawn. Hunt declares that the diverse uses of grottos in the garden provide an excellent example of "the tensions between Baconianism and virtuosity."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 197-198.

¹⁰⁵ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 199-200. He offers Sayes Court as one example of a garden equipped with a laboratory. Charles Howard also had a laboratory at his garden in Deepdene, Surrey.

¹⁰⁶ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 197.

¹⁰⁷ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 200.

¹⁰⁸ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 200.

The life of John Evelyn also illustrates this ambiguity. In his mid-20s, he is fascinated primarily by the collections of curiosities and the spectacles to be seen in the gardens and cities of France and Italy. After his return to England, he spends much of the 1650s honing his skills as a garden architect, virtuoso, and scholar while awaiting the return of the monarchy. It is during this time that he begins the *Elysium Britannicum*, a work that focuses on the artistic interests of virtuosi, but also offers extensive practical instruction not only in the construction of various garden attractions, but in scientific observations and experiments. Here, instead of simply admiring and delighting in the ingenuity and curiosity of hydraulic automata, echoes, and other contrivances, Evelyn demystifies them by devoting several chapters to unveiling their inner workings with detailed explanations, mathematics, and diagrams. In the 1660s, he escalates his interest in science by becoming a founding, active, and respected member of the Royal Society. The following discussion demonstrates how, over the course of two decades, Evelyn shifts from being simply a virtuoso to acquiring a role as a serious scholar and amateur scientist, specializing in horticulture and garden architecture.

Evelyn fills more pages in the travelling portion of his Diary with accounts of the curiosities he saw while touring villas and palaces than with almost any other single subject, including gardens. He was very eager to absorb as many sights as possible. Upon arriving in Rome, “The very next morning (for resolv’d I was to spend no moment idly here),” he sought out English contacts who had been recommended to him and they gave him “instructions, how to behave our selves in Towne, what directions, Masters, and bookes to take in search and view of Antiquities, Churches, Collections &c: and accordingly, the next day, being November 6t, I began to be very pragmatistical.”¹⁰⁹ In his

¹⁰⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 213-214. He seems to have had a tour guide in each city and he travelled with a group of his peers which occasionally hampered his plans (vol. 2: 484 in Vicenza “I would now very faine have visited a Palace call’d the *Rotunda*, which was a Mile out of Towne, belonging to Count *Martio Capra*, but one of our Companions hasting to be gon, and little minding anything save drinking & folly, causd us to

accounts of the sights he visited, he often provides brief descriptions of curiosities, whether in a cabinet or not, in one continuous Diary entry interspersed with lists of the other collections of art and garden furnishings that were of note at a particular estate, thus demonstrating that, in his mind, rooms, gardens, galleries, and actual cabinets could all be considered cabinets, whether of art, curiosities, or both.¹¹⁰ He records eclectic inventories upon visiting the Villa Rueil of Cardinal Richelieu, the Palace of the Count of Liancourt, Fontainebleau, the Palace of Luxembourg, the Palace of Prince d'Orias in Genoa, the Farnese Palace in Rome, the Villa Ludovisi, the Medici Palace, the Vatican complex, and, in Florence, the Piazza dei Signori and its surrounding buildings, the Loggia, Palazzo Vecchio, and Uffizi.¹¹¹ November 17, 1644 at the Villa Borghese in Rome is an excellent and typical example of his entries as it includes every diverse sort of art and curiosity, *naturalia* and *artificialia*, within this estate and its garden.

The 17th I walked to Villa Burghesi, which is an house and ample Garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the Citty-Wales; circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting houses, which makes it appear at a distance like a little Towne, within it tis an Elysium of delight; having in the center of it a very noble Palace (but the enterance of the Garden, presents us with a very glorios fabrick, or rather dore-Case adorned with divers excellent marble statues): This Garden abounded with all sorts of the most delicious fruit, and Exotique simples: Fountaines of sundry inventions, Groves, & small Rivulets of Water: There is also adjoyning to it a Vivarium for Estriges, Peacocks, Swanns, Cranes, &c: and divers strange Beasts, Deare & hares: The Grotto is very rare, and represents among other devices artificial raines, & sundry shapes of Vessells, Flowers &c: which is effected by changing the heads of the Fountaines: The Groves are of Cypresse and Lawrell, Pine, Myrtil, Olive &c: The 4 Sphinxes are very Antique and worthy

take coach sooner than we should:"). Even with a guide he needed letters of recommendation to see certain houses and collections and to find a contact in a new city. He recorded this practice in Milan: "The morning come, we deliver'd our letters of recommendation to the learned and Courteous *Ferrarius* [Francesco Bernardino Ferrari] a Doctor of the *Ambrosian* College, who conducted us to all the remarkable Places of the Towne." vol. 2: 492, 497.

¹¹⁰ *GG*, 74-8; Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 194-195.

¹¹¹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 108-110, 112-114, 116-120, 128-131, 214-217, 173-175, 188-194, 234-236, 286-287, 294-306, 308-311, 413-417.

observation: To this is a Volary full of curious birds: The House is built of a Square fabric, with turrets, from which the Prospect towards Rome, & the invironing hills is incomparable, cover'd as they were with Snow (as commonly they continue even a greate part of summer) which afforded a sweete refreshing: About the house there is a stately Balustre of white Marble, with frequent jettos of Water & adorned with statues standing on a multitude of Bases, rendering a most gracefull ascent: The Wales of the house, are covered with antique incrustations of history; as that of Curtius's precipitation, the representation of Europa's ravishment, & that of Leda &c: The Cornices above them consist of frutages & Festoons; betwixt which are Niches furnishd with statues, which order is observed to the very roofe: In the Lodge at the Entry are divers good statues of Consuls &c, with two Pieces of Field Artillery upon Carriages (a mode much practiz'd in Italy before the Greate-mens houses) which they looke on as a piece of state, more then defence: In the first Hall within are the 12: Rom: Emperors of most excellent marble, twixt them stand Porphyry Columns, & other precious stones of vast height & magnitude, with Urnes of Oriental Alabaster; Tables of Pietra-Commessa: And here is that renown'd Diana which Pompey worship'd of Eastern-marble: The most incomparable Seneca of touch, bleeding in an huge Vasa of Porphyrie resembling the dropps of his blood: The so famous Gladiator, Hermaphrodite, upon a quilt of stone; from whence that small one of Ivory which I brought out of Italy with me was admirably Copied by that signal Artist Hans Fiammengo, esteemed one of the best statuaries in the World: The new Piece of Daphny, and David, of Cavaliero Bernini, observable for the incomparable Candor of stone, & art of the statuary plainely stupendious: We were also shewed a world of rare Pictures of infinite Value, & of the best Masters; huge Tables of Porphyrie, and two exquisitely wrought Vasas of the same; In another chamber divers sorts of Instruments of Musique, amongst other toyes, as that of the Satyre which so artificialy express'd an human Voice, with the motion of eyes & head; that would easily affright one who were not prepared for that most extraordinary vision: They shew'd us also a Chayre, which Catches fast any who but sits downe in it, so, as not to be able to stirr out of it, by certaine springs conceiled in the Armes and back thereof, which at sitting downe surprizes a man on the suddaine, locking him in armes & thighs after a true tretchorous Italian guize: The Perspective is also considerable, compos'd by the position of looking-glasses, which renders a strange multiplication of things, resembling divers most richly furnish'd-rooms: Here stands a rare Clock of German-worke, in a word, nothing but magnificent is to be seene in this Paradise.¹¹²

¹¹² *Diary*, vol. 2: 251-254.

From this selective catalogue of the Villa Borghese, it can be seen that, while Evelyn takes note of many unusual objects in the *Diary*, he merely lists and describes them for their curious appeal, fine workmanship, or antiquity and rarely analyzes them in any further detail. It is interesting to note that he treats crypts and collections of relics, such as those at St. Denis near Paris, as rarities that combine *naturalia*, bone fragments or hair, and *artificialia*, carvings, jewels, and metalwork. He displays an air of scoffing disbelief and skepticism at their authenticity, an attitude not observable with secular collections, at one point calling them “sacred toys.”¹¹³

Aside from the palaces and villas of the aristocracy, Evelyn was invited to see dozens of cabinets and collections of both art and natural and artificial curiosities belonging to private individuals. Again, the accounts do not separate discussions of art, antiquities, and rarities. In Paris, Evelyn was most impressed with Pierre Morin and his garden and collection of *naturalia*. He says of Morin that he is

a person who from an ordinary Gerdner, is arriv'd to be one of the most skillfull & Curious Persons of France for his rare collection of Shells, Flowers & Insects: His Garden is of an exact Oval figure planted with Cypresse, cutt flat & set as even as a Wall could have form'd it: The Tulips, Anemonies, Ranunculus's, Crocus's &c being of the most exquisite; were held for the rarest in the World, which constantly drew all the Virtuosi of that kind to his house during the season; even Persons of the most illustrious quality: He lived in a kind of Hermitage at one side of his Garden where his Collection of Purselan, of Currall, whereof one is carved into a large Crucifix, is greatly esteemd: besids his bookes of Prints, those of alberts, Van Leydens, Calot, &c. But the very greatest curiosity which I esteemed, for being very ingenious and particular, was his collection of all the Sorts of Insects, especialy of Buter flys, of which he has so greate Variety; that the like I had never seene: These he spreads, & so medicates, that no corruption invading them he keepes in drawers, so plac'd that they present you with a

¹¹³ *Diary*, vol. 1: 58-59. Here he lists “a pretended *Naile* of the Crucifix,” “something stained red, which the devout Father would make us believe was of the Natural Blood of our Saviour,” and “A greate head of pure Gold mitered, Covered with Rubies, Topases, Saphires, & pearles: pretended to be the Skull of st. *Denys*.” He ends this entry by declaring, “What a Strong Faith is required to believe all these wondrous things!” ; vol. 2: 86-90.

most surprizing & delightfull tapisstry: besides he shewd me the remarkes he had made of their propagation, which he promis'd to publish: some of these, as also of his best flowers, he had caus'd to be painted in miniature by rare hands, & some in oyle.¹¹⁴

Morin is a gardener, amateur scientist, and acclaimed virtuoso who lived a life of retirement in “a kind of Hermitage” on his property while scientifically cataloguing shells, butterflies, and flowers. With his intent to publish a natural history of butterflies, his precise ordering of an “abundance of incomparable shells, at least 1000 sorts which furnish'd a Cabinet of greate price,” and his commission of miniature scientific portraits of his rarest flowers, he raised the social and financial status and intellectual renown of the gardening profession, attracting the attention of “all the Virtuosi of that kind to his house ... even Persons of the most illustrious quality.” He embodied everything to which Evelyn aspired, so much so that Evelyn created a tribute to Morin, modelling part of his garden at Sayes Court on Morin's oval design.¹¹⁵ In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn recommended consulting his flower catalogues, especially for tulips and anemones.¹¹⁶ In France, Evelyn also visited the “Pictures, Achates, Medialls, & Flowers, especialy Tulips & Anemons” of the virtuoso Monsieur Perruchot, the drawings collected by Monsieur Nicolas Hennequin, the Baron d'Ecquevilly and Sieur de Fresne, the library of Claude de Mallier, the Seigneur du Houssay, the private collection of the keeper of the paintings at Fontainebleau, Monsieur de Richaumont's assortment of jewels and miniatures (one of which a member of Evelyn's company accidentally broke), the works of sculptor Steffano de la Bella, the well-hidden grotto of Louis Lincler, under the Pont Neuf, full of diverse rarities, and the “*Achates, Chrystals, Onyxes, Porcelain, Medails, Statues, Relievos,*

¹¹⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1: 85-86; vol. 2: 132-133; vol. 3: 33.

¹¹⁵ Leith-Ross, 138.

¹¹⁶ *EB*, 344 [285].

Paintings, Tales douces and Antiquities” of Monsieur Poignant which “might compare with the *Italian Virtuosos*.”¹¹⁷

In Italy, Evelyn was given a tour of Il Gesù, the church of the Jesuits, by Father Athanasius Kircher, a renowned mathematician and Egyptian scholar. After visiting the church, Evelyn was shown “into his owne study, where he with Dutch patience shew’d us his perpetual motions, Catoptrics, Magnetical experiments, Modells, and a thousand other crotchets & devises, most of them since published, either by himselfe, or his industrious Scholar Schotti.”¹¹⁸ Evelyn saw many other private collections in Italy, among them the museum of antiquities of Fulvio Orsini in the Farnese Palace, the medals and anthropological curiosities of Francesco Angeloni, the classical reliefs and medals of Cassiano del Pozzo, the eccentric virtuoso Hippolito Vitellesco’s statues “to which he frequently talkes & discourses, as if they were living, pronouncing now & then Orations, Sentences, & Verses, somtimes kissing & embracing them,” the diverse rarities of Francesco Gualdo, including a fish said to be a Remora and the kneebone of a giant, the museum of Ferrante Imperato in Naples containing many exotic preserved animals and plants, the collection of Bruto and Francesco Gottifredi, the petrified objects and elaborate cabinet of Carlo Ruzini in Venice, and the curiosities of Manfredo Setalla in Milan.¹¹⁹

Upon leaving Rome, Evelyn commemorated his admiration for the art and curiosities of that great city in a very lengthy poem, the last part of which is dedicated to the art, villas, ruins, antiquities and cabinets he visited so assiduously.

¹¹⁷ *Diary*, vol. 2: 114, 119, 132; vol. 3: 3, 10, 35.

¹¹⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2: 230. Evelyn is later, in Venice, given parts of a mummy, a tablet hieroglyphics, and various other tomb trove. He copied and sent a diagram of the tablet to Kircher who then published it in his *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, but did not credit Evelyn. None of the pieces survive. vol. 2: 468-469.

¹¹⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 215, 236-237, 277-278, 283, 314-315, 330-331, 356-357, 391, 470-471, 502-503.

A thousand Wonders extant, more than these
 Tempt Travellers from the Antipodes:
 Such living *Pictures* from rare hands appeare,
 As if mens shadows, reäl Bodys were:
 Like *Villa's*, *Fountaines*, & luxurious Fields
 No Earths *Elizium* but thine *Rome*, yeilds!
 Nor is the Eye alone thus entertain'd,
 But what may to the Intellect be gain'd,
 Flourishes here: Source of Antiquitie,
Apollo's Seate, the *Muses* Monarchie:
 Glory of Citties, for the *Ruines* are
 More glorious than be other *Citties* far:
 With speaking stones, & breathing *Statues* set,
 Justly art term'd the *Worlds sole Cabinet*:
 Of all the *Vniverse* none dares Contend
 With thee ô *ROME*, nor will thy Praises End.¹²⁰

In calling Rome the “Worlds sole Cabinet,” he is acknowledging that the entire city can be seen as a *theatrum mundi*, a microcosmic reflection of the entire globe. The “thousand Wonders,” art, antiquities, and villas contained therein bring travellers from the remotest regions not merely to gawk, but to learn “what may to the Intellect be gain'd” and to be inspired by Apollo and the Muses. It is clear from this poem, written closer to the end than the beginning of his travels, that by this time Evelyn understood the underlying message in the curiosities he was shown.

Evelyn himself was heralded as one of the most studious and accomplished English virtuosi of his time and owned two cabinets of curiosity which he ordered while on the continent. One was made from nineteen *pietra commessa* panels by Domenico Benotti and purchased from the Medici workshops in Florence, Italy in October of 1644.¹²¹ The other was constructed by a cabinetmaker in Paris in 1652. He not only purchased cabinets, but visited many places where he could acquire items for his cabinets.

¹²⁰ *Diary*, vol. 2: 405.

¹²¹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 191. Both cabinets are still extant in London. The Pietra Commessa cabinet is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The French-made cabinet is at the Geffrye Museum.

In February of 1644 at the market of the Ile du Palais in Paris, he found “a shop cal’d Noahs-Arke, where are to be had for mony all the Curiosities naturall or artificial imaginable, Indian or European, for luxury or Use, as Cabinets, Shells, Ivorys, Purselan, Dried fishes, rare Insects, Birds, Pictures, & a thousand exotic extravagances.”¹²² The next month in Dieppe he noticed that “This place exceedingly abounds in workemen that make and sell curiosities of Ivory and Tortoise shells, in which they turne, and make many rare toyes; & indeed whatever the East Indys affords of Cabinets, Purcelan, natural & exotic rarities are here to be had with abundant choyce.”¹²³ Evelyn reminisces about his custom in Rome of “spen[ding] an Afternoone in *Piazza Navona*, as well to see what Antiquities I could purchase among the people, who hold Mercat there for Medaills, Pictures, & such Curiosities, as to heare the Montebanks prate, & debite their Medicines.”¹²⁴ This entry demonstrates that he searched for treasures on a regular basis, that collecting curiosities was never far from his mind. Even at Mount Vesuvius Evelyn remembered to gather a variety of volcanic stones, quite rare *naturalia* for his cabinet.¹²⁵

Aside from his own collecting practices, Evelyn acquired some curiosities as gifts. In August of 1645, a sea captain presented him with an Egyptian stone covered in hieroglyphics, soon after broken, which he copied on paper and sent to Athanasius Kircher, who included it in his *Obeliscus Pamphilius*. One of the crew of this vessel gave him the

hand & foote of rare Mummy, the nailes wheroff had ben overlaid with thin plates of Gold, & the whole body perfect, when he brought it out of *Egypt*, but the avarice of the Sailers & Ships Crue, brake it in pieces & divided the body among them, which was greate pittie: he presented me also with 2

¹²² *Diary*, vol. 2: 100.

¹²³ *Diary*, vol. 2: 124.

¹²⁴ *Diary*, vol. 2: 368.

¹²⁵ *Diary*, vol. 2: 334.

Egyptian Idols, & some loaves of the Bread which the *Coptics* use in the H: Sacrament, with other curiosities.¹²⁶

In May of 1646 in Milan, Colonel Alexander Burnett not only provided a safe haven for Evelyn's company, but bestowed on him "a Turkish bridle woven with silk & very Curiously embossed, with other silk Trappings, to which hung an halfe moone finely wrought, which he had taken from a Basshaw that he had slaine: With this glorious spoile, I rid the rest of my Journey as far as Paris & brought it afterwards into England."¹²⁷

Evelyn also expanded his collection of art while on his travels. When he purchased the panels of Pietra Commessa for his cabinet, he also acquired "4. rare small statues of stucchi made onely by that rare Artist *Vincetio Brocchi*" and some prints and drawings.¹²⁸ At the Villa Borghese, he bought a small ivory statue of the Gladiator, possibly by Francesco Fiammingo also known as Duquesnoy.¹²⁹ When he toured around Rome, Evelyn hired the artist Carlo Maratti to make copies of works he particularly admired such as four bas-reliefs of the triumph and sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius in the Palazzo dei Signori Conservatori, Annibale Carracci's *The Marriage of St. Catherine* at the Palazzo Barberini, and the Arch of Titus.¹³⁰ These Italian works later embellished his collections in England and served to remind him of his travels abroad.

In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn demonstrates his understanding of the relationship between cabinets of curiosity and gardens. He recommends that the edifices of the garden include

¹²⁶ *Diary*, vol. 2: 468-469.

¹²⁷ *Diary*, vol. 2: 504.

¹²⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2: 198, 417.

¹²⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 253.

¹³⁰ *Diary*, vol. 2: 223, 229, 247.

Porticos to Greater Repositories, but which are built of 2 or 3 storys high serving for {Musick roomes} *Liberaries*, & *Chimelias* of rare Pictures & naturall Curiosities, dispos'd in Galleries, & chambers & clossetts, all of them disjoynd from the Palace or Mansion of the Owner, & sometymes built in the middle or some remoter part of the Garden, encompassed with groves etc, & serving for a most sweete Retirement at the pleasure of the Master. Examples of all which we have very frequently in the Italian gardens, and especially the noble Villas of Aldobrandinos, Mont'altos, Ludovisios etc.¹³¹

Evelyn's own garden at Sayes Court did not contain a full repository, but his "elaboratory" was entered through "a Portico of 20 foot long upon Pillars open towards the Private Garden."¹³² Thus he has a covered portico, possibly used to display art or rarities, and an "elaboratory" for studying the curiosities of Nature situated somewhat away from the main house alongside a living cabinet of curiosity, his "Private Garden of choice flowers, and Simples."

Even at the young age of twenty-three, Evelyn had realized the necessity of a well-equipped library to enrich his studies and the experiments he undertook in his garden and "elaboratory." By 1644, he was already beginning to collect books seriously, a passion that he continued throughout his life, for the extensive and carefully catalogued library that would enhance his studies of art and curiosities.¹³³ For a thorough scholar and studious virtuoso like Evelyn, curiosities did not merely serve as objects of fascination and entertainment, they became objects of scientific study, especially if they related in any way to garden architecture. Based on the objects he acquired, the places he visited while abroad, the groups with which he became involved upon his return to England, namely the Samuel Hartlib circle and the Royal Society, and the books he wrote,

¹³¹ *EB*, 146 [97].

¹³² Leith-Ross, 151.

¹³³ *Diary*, vol. 2: 104. In February of 1644 at the King's printing house in the Louvre, Evelyn "bought divers of the Clasiqve Authors, Poets & others" for his library. See Hunter, "John Evelyn in the 1650s," 84-86; Harris et al., *John Evelyn in the British Library*, 82-102. Of the more than 5,000 books Evelyn owned, the British Library has approximately 300 which are listed here.

particularly the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn could easily be considered not only a virtuoso, but an amateur scientist.¹³⁴

While travelling, he made a point of examining many physic and botanical gardens including the *Jardin des Plantes* of Paris in February of 1644, where he acknowledged the variety of terrain in the site and felt it was “very well chosen, having within it both hills, meadows, growne Wood, & Upland, both artificial and naturall; nor is the furniture inferiour, being very richly stord with exotic plants” and a laboratory for experiments upon them.¹³⁵ Years later, in October of 1649, he furthered his knowledge of plants by partaking in a lecture there by Dr. William Davison, the botanist currently entrusted with the care of the garden and its laboratory.¹³⁶ At the botanical gardens in Pisa, Evelyn took note of both the art and curiosities, preserved and living, in the “Gallery richly furnishd with all sorts of natural raritys, stones, minerals, shells, dry’d Animals & Skelletons &c: exceeding most of these sort of Collection in all *Italy*: to this there is a Garden of Physic & exotic plants:... It also has a very fine Water-Work.”¹³⁷ Shortly after his arrival in Padua in July of 1645, he “went to see the Garden of Simples, rarely furnishd with plants, and gave order to the Gardner to make me a Collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis* by permission of the Cavalier Dr. Vestlingius [Johann Vesling] their Præfect, & Botanic Professor, as well as *Anatomic*.”¹³⁸ This catalogue of dried plants with their Latin names, collected from the oldest botanical garden in Europe, still survives

¹³⁴ See chapter 2 above for a more complete discussion of the influence of Samuel Hartlib upon Evelyn in the 1650s.

¹³⁵ *Diary*, vol. 2: 102.

¹³⁶ *Diary*, vol. 2: 565.

¹³⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1: 114; vol. 2: 180-181.

¹³⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2: 466, 475.

intact in the Evelyn archive at the British Library and demonstrates his desire not just to admire rare or exotic objects, but to learn from them.¹³⁹

Evelyn further increased his scientific knowledge by frequenting discourses on various topics in natural philosophy and consulting with scientists about their work as the opportunity arose. In Bologna in May of 1645, Evelyn called on Ovidio Montalbani, a priest and doctor who experimented with phosphorus, or “*Lapis illuminabilis*,” and demonstrated to Evelyn the ability of this stone “to retain the light of the sun for some competent time, by a kind of imbibation, by a particular way of Calcination: some of these presented a blew colour like the flame of brimstone, others like coales of culinary fire.”¹⁴⁰ After visiting the botanical gardens in Padua in July of 1645, he remained in that city for several months in order to attend courses of anatomy and physic, or medicine, at the University of Padua. As part of this degree, in February of 1646 Evelyn witnessed anatomy lectures which included human dissections performed by Johann Vesling and Joannes Leonius from whom he “purchased those rare Tables of *Veines & Nerves*, & caused him to prepare a third of the *Lungs, liver & Nervi sexti par*: with the *Gastric* vaines, which I transported into England, the first of that kind had ben ever seene in our Country, & for ought I know, in the World, though afterwards there were others.” These valuable though somewhat grotesque objects, consisting of actual human dissections of venous, nervous, and arterial systems shellacked onto life-sized wooden tables, were bestowed upon the Royal Society in 1667 and are now a highlight of the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.¹⁴¹ Back in Paris in 1646, Evelyn attended a

¹³⁹ Harris et al., *John Evelyn in the British Library*, 29-30.

¹⁴⁰ *Diary*, vol. 2: 422-423.

¹⁴¹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 475-476. The tables are well worth seeing, in person or on the website of the Royal College of Surgeons. They consist of actual dissected and extracted human venous, arterial, and nervous systems, laid out on wooden tables as they would be in the body, and veneered into place. Each of the four tables is the height of their respective subject. There is a similar set, not owned by Evelyn, at the Royal College of Physicians. These are the only two such sets known to have been created.

chemistry course given by Annibal Barlet. His 129 page manuscript of notes, detailing “chemical operations, materials, instruments, and furnaces” and copiously illustrated with diagrams and equipment, still survives.¹⁴² Interestingly, Barlet’s own work on chemistry, first published in 1653, was in part titled “... for Knowing the Ergocosmic Theotechnic, that is to say the Art of God in the Work of the Universe,” thus emphasizing the true calling of science in this period, to understand better the creations of God.¹⁴³ In February of the following year Evelyn “frequented a Course of *Chemystrie*, the famous Monsieur *Le Febure* [Nicasius Le Fèvre] operating upon most of the Nobler processes.” Le Fèvre was made chemist to King Charles II and apothecary to the royal household in 1660, was admitted to the Philosophical Society on December 4, 1661, was a founding member of Royal Society, and was the author of *Traicté de la chymie*, in its second edition in 1669.¹⁴⁴ Evelyn was taught by him on several other occasions, including at his home at Sayes Court on January 22, 1649.¹⁴⁵ Evelyn was so intent on this subject that he constructed his own laboratory, complete with a classical portico, in the garden of Sayes Court.¹⁴⁶ Having returned again to Paris after a year at home, in March of 1651 Evelyn met physician and apothecary Friar Nicholas Blanchot and was shown his laboratory in which chemical and alchemical, or spagyric, remedies were concocted using, among other things, Mercury and Antimony.¹⁴⁷ He consulted Sir Kenhelm Digby on other

¹⁴² F. Sherwood Taylor, “The Chemical Studies of John Evelyn,” *The Annals of Science* 8.4 (1952): 285-286; Harris et al., *John Evelyn in the British Library*, 30; British Library, Evelyn Papers, MSS 32, 61, 552.

¹⁴³ Taylor, “The Chemical Studies of John Evelyn,” 286. My own translation of the title. The full title is *Le vray et methodique cours de la physique resolutive, vulgairement dite chymie Représenté par figures générales et particulières. Pour connoistre la theotechnie ergocosmique, c'est à dire, l'art de Dieu, en l'ouvrage de l'univers*. For more on the relations of religion and science at this time, see Chapter 4 of this work.

¹⁴⁴ *Diary*, vol. 2: 534; vol. 3: 86, 336.

¹⁴⁵ *Diary*, vol. 2: 547.

¹⁴⁶ Harris et al., *John Evelyn in the British Library*, 30; Leith-Ross, 151; *GG*, 175.

¹⁴⁷ *Diary*, vol. 3: 27-28.

chemical and alchemical matters while in Paris, but concluded that “the truth is, Sir *Kenhelme*, was an arrant Mountebank.”¹⁴⁸ Evelyn’s request for the *hortus hyemalis* and tables of the cardiovascular and nervous systems and his willingness to devote several months of his travel to formal lectures indicate his level of interest in scientific study and emphasize that he saw his entire sojourn as an opportunity for education.

After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, Evelyn became an active participant in the Philosophical Society and was instrumental in persuading the king to grant its charter, making him one of the founding members of the Royal Society. He attended meetings fairly regularly during the Society’s first several years and was a member of the Geographical Committee which continued the work Samuel Hartlib had begun on the improvement of husbandry. *Sylva*, Evelyn’s ever-popular volume on the propagation of trees, was the first book ever published by the Royal Society in 1664. After the manner of Hartlib, it was actually a compendium of treatises relating to trees and orchards with Evelyn as the main author and editor. Though his immediate participation in the Society’s activities waned over the years as Evelyn was diverted by many other concerns, the well-being of that institute was never far from his mind. In 1667, he convinced Henry Howard, Thomas Howard’s grandson, to donate the extensive Arundel library to the Royal Society. Evelyn’s care for the Royal Society is also apparent in the dedicatory preface to *Acetaria*, published in 1699 and originally intended to be chapter twenty of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum*, which also would have been published by the Royal Society had Evelyn ever completed it. The first several pages of this small volume consist of a lengthy panegyric beseeching the Right Honourable John Lord Somers of Evesham, Lord High Chancellor of England and current President of the Royal Society, to whom the volume is dedicated, to find for the Royal Society, “... an Establishment in a more Settled,

¹⁴⁸ *Diary*, vol. 3: 48.

Appropriate, and Commodious Place; having hitherto (like the Tabernacle in the Wilderness) been only Ambulatory for almost Forty Years."¹⁴⁹

Evelyn's interest in science in the garden was manifested not only in his travels, his collecting practices, his garden, and his involvement with the Royal Society, but in the *Elysium Britannicum*. Book I shows him struggling, unsuccessfully and to his own great frustration, to meld his beliefs in science, atomism, classical philosophy, and religion into a coherent explanation of the essence and chemical composition of the Elements and the spirit of the Universe.¹⁵⁰ The first several chapters of the truant Book III were intended to teach the land owner how to actively participate in scientific activities and study chemistry and botany in the garden. Chapters one and two would have discussed, respectively, experiments in "... Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting, and altering the Species, Forms, and {briefly called} substantial qualities of Plants and Flowers" and "... the Gardiners Elaboratory, and of distilling, and extracting of Waters, Spirits, Essences, Salts, Resuscitation of Plants, with other rare Experiments, and an account of their Vertues."¹⁵¹ It is likely that Evelyn would have acquired the material for the second chapter from his extensive notes from Annibal Barlet's and Nicasius Le Fèvre's chemistry courses. Chapter three would have instructed the landowner or garden architect on the technique "Of Composing the *Hortus Hyemalis* and making Books of Natural, Arid Plants, and Flowers, with other curious ways of preserving them in their Natural." This would have aided the landowner in thoroughly studying, preserving, naming, and cataloguing the plants of his or her garden as Evelyn did with the Botanic Garden in Padua. The fourth chapter of Book III would have dealt with various forms of

¹⁴⁹ *Acetaria*, vii-viii. He goes on to compare the current president to Solomon, building a temple for knowledge.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 4 of this work for further discussion of this most troublesome area of the *Elysium Britannicum*.

¹⁵¹ *EB*, 22-23 for all chapter titles.

miniature art, such as “... Painting of Flowers, Flowers enamel’d, in Silk, Wax, Gum, Horn, Feathers, Shells, Calicos, Moss, Pietra Commessa {Paist} Mettal, Inlayings, Embroderies, Carvings, and other artificial representations of them,” all of which are used specifically to create scientifically accurate representations of plants.

Certain parts of Book II of the *Elysium Britannicum* also encourage the land owner and gardener to engage in a variety of scientific observations. Evelyn recommends that the gardener maintain a detailed catalogue, or *Albus Memoriae*, and carefully labeled planting map, drawn to scale, of all the beds in both the Coronary Garden, or *giardino secreto* of rare flowers, and the physic garden.¹⁵² He also suggests that “... in the *Recension* [the album], ought our Gardiner exactly to describe the peculiar colours, markes & age of every flo: the the better to observe how it improves or degenerates, then which there can be nothing more delightfull & instructive.”¹⁵³ Thus these two albums serve to track the daily appearance and growth of each plant with scientific attention to detail. The physic garden presents opportunities for cataloguing, but also for “... enlarg[ing] our roome & opportunities for new & rare experiments for enfranchising strange plants & civilizing the wild & rude; for the easier knowledge of Physical Simples, for the culture {& entertainment} of forreigne plants, for the composition of medicines & the use of the Family & lastly (by all these) for the contemplation of Nature & the accomplishment of our Elysium.”¹⁵⁴ Clearly Evelyn is aware of the scientific possibilities of the physic garden. He offers the large physic garden of Paris as an example, particularly citing its diversity of terrain and “An Elaboratory endowed with a Professor & lecture twice a yeare opning in a course of Chymistry & curiosities of the Simples,

¹⁵² *EB*, 397 [316], 399 [317], 406 [326].

¹⁵³ *EB*, 399 [317].

¹⁵⁴ *EB*, 403 [321].

Conservatory & other {whatsoever other} conveniences; to may seeme to be requisite.”¹⁵⁵
 As has been mentioned, Evelyn maintained an “elaboratory” at Sayes Court, located at the side of the enclosed Coronary garden of simples or rare flowers, in which he presumably conducted experiments, thus implementing his own teachings.¹⁵⁶

Evelyn’s “elaboratory” was not the only feature of interest in the Coronary garden; it also contained his prized transparent beehive, a gift which Dr. John Wilkins, a fellow member of the Royal Society, had presented to a delighted Evelyn in 1654.¹⁵⁷ Evelyn heartily advocates the study of bees proclaiming that “they are of such use for contemplation and diversion, that there is not any which merits more esteeme or reccommends it selfe with more solid advantage.”¹⁵⁸ He provides detailed illustrated instructions, including those of a transparent hive, for

our Gardner, how he may best convert this so much celebrated creature into one of the rarest & most considerable Ornament of our Elysium: And that shall be by prescribing some few directions, in what is least knowne save amongst the curious, & how he may frame a Philosophicall Apiarie, so as to for Speculation, together with some briefe observations touching their Government.¹⁵⁹

The obervations he mentions involve a detailed comparison between the societies of bees and people, using one of the smallest creatures to set a moral example. Evelyn goes on to endorse the silk worm, insects in general, and birds for scientific observation. He declares that

¹⁵⁵ *EB*, 404 [322].

¹⁵⁶ Leith-Ross, 151.

¹⁵⁷ *Diary*, vol. 3: 110; Leith-Ross, 151. The transcription she provides of Evelyn’s numbered annotation for his plan of Sayes-Court lists both the Elaboratorie (57 and 58) and the Beehive (64) as being in the small, enclosed “Private Garden of choice flowers, and Simples” (54) which is between the house and the garden at large.

¹⁵⁸ *EB*, 273 [220].

¹⁵⁹ *EB*, 274-275 [222]. Evelyn’s considerations of the morality and piety of insects is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

Insects [are] infinitely worthy our consideration {as in which the nature of vivification & figuration is best inquired into} and have bin the subject of many admirable discourses of the greatest Philosophers: ... Nature is no where more compleate and truely stupendious then in the least of th all her productions.¹⁶⁰

He then recommends the observation of their anatomy under a microscope, a fairly new scientific instrument “without which, the pleasure & contemplation of Insects will prove greatly deffective,” referring the reader to Robert Hooke’s *Micrographia* of 1665 and *L'occhio della mosca* of 1644 by Giovanni Battista Hodierna.¹⁶¹ With such a device, one could study the anatomy of these small wonders and

contemplate that incomparable Atome, the *Cyron*, hardly to be discerned by the most *Lyncæan* eye, whilst yet it contains bones, snout & proboscis, by which it perforates the skin & sucks our blood; his joynts feet, tayle, {& very} haire, & {then} top consider what lurkes within, as of necessity, for the rest {furniture} of its vital functions, stomach, Intestines, liver, heart, braine, veines, vital-f arteries, nerves, muscles, fibers, & innumerable other parts or members at least analogicall & without which it could have neither sense nor motion {much lesse imagination}; add to this, these not onely confusedly, but beautifully ordered & disposed {that they have voluntary motion & therefore imagination & that determinate & not at random}, a speculation able to confound the proudest Atheist, & abase the sublimest thoughts.¹⁶²

Evelyn emphasizes that, though insects are minute, they contain within their small frames a complexity that, when fully explored using comparative anatomy, could aid in revealing the workings of the mind of God who created them, “a speculation able to confound the proudest Atheist.” This passage reveals Evelyn’s Baconian approach to Nature, using scientific observations to support religious piety, a concept dealt with in more detail in the next chapter. As with plants, Evelyn recommends that the reader not only scientifically contemplate Nature, in this case the habits and anatomy of insects, in as

¹⁶⁰ *EB*, 299 [244].

¹⁶¹ *EB*, 300 [245].

¹⁶² *EB*, 310 [256].

much detail as possible, but “study wayes of preserving them being dead that he may make a collection of them, to be kept {reserved} in boxes as one of the rarest Cabinet pieces.”¹⁶³ With this mandate, Evelyn brings the entire subject of science and curiosities in the garden back to the beginning of the discussion in this section, demonstrating that to him, even the most scientific of pursuits is also a matter of wonder and, conversely, the pursuits of a virtuoso can have a serious scientific purpose.

Variety in the Garden

Variety is one of the most essential and all-encompassing attributes of Baroque gardens and is embedded in almost all aspects of this art form. By the very nature of their outdoor location and construction, primarily from plant materials, gardens are greatly subject to the effects of the elements. Time also plays an important role as gardens are one of the few art forms that cannot be experienced in their entirety from a single vantage point; they necessitate a fourth dimensional approach. It takes time to follow a path through the areas of a garden and contemplate the details of and relationships between each of them. Time also changes the appearance of a garden from one year to the next as trees grow and planting arrangements change. Each season causes new plants to bloom, others to shed their leaves, and new colour combinations to appear. The weather can quickly transform the atmosphere of a garden, for instance when a peaceful sunny afternoon ends in thundershowers. Even during the course of a day, the quality of light from the sun or moon alters the ambience of such a place. A garden requires a series of perambulations throughout several years before the visitor can truly know the endless variety of its many moods.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ *EB*, 312 [258].

¹⁶⁴ *GG*, 6.

Aside from their inherent environmental fluctuations, Baroque gardens employ diversity in more deliberate ways. They aspire to incorporate a variety of terrains, including mountains, meadows, forests, rivers, and the sea, both within themselves and viewed from vantage points looking out over the land.¹⁶⁵ Where a particular type of terrain is lacking, it may be constructed artificially to increase variety and the sense of a microcosm of the world in the garden. If a mountain or river is lacking, one will often be built within the garden on a smaller scale. Terrain types within the garden also range from formally designed areas, such as *parterres*, to those left more wild, such as *boscas*.

Baroque gardens are sometimes described as a series of outdoor rooms, extensions of the house, most of which are unable to be seen until one is upon them. This idea of experiencing a new or unexpected space, a surprise around every corner, is another manifestation of variety. Within each of these areas, be they grottos, groves, walks, or *parterres*, further variety is achieved through special attractions including statues both ancient and contemporary, fountains containing sophisticated automata, elaborate water displays and tricks, and an extensive collection of rare or foreign trees, herbs, and flowers.¹⁶⁶ As with terrain, the greater the diversity of plant and tree species, the more complete was the achievement of a microcosm representing the known world. One final, but hardly unimportant, aspect of variety in Baroque gardens is that – between the prospects over the surrounding landscape, the statues and elaborate play of water in fountains, the intricate plantings in *parterres*, the sound and refreshing coolness of the water dripping in trickles or shooting in jets, the colour, scent, and taste of fruits, flowers, and herbs, and the sights and sounds made by birds and animals – a garden is one of the few art forms that affects all five senses.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ GG, 84.

¹⁶⁶ GG, 84.

¹⁶⁷ GG, 6.

By the end of his travels, John Evelyn was able to comprehend variety in the garden in all its numerous forms. This can be seen in the attention he pays to the great diversity he sees in the gardens he visits and in his descriptions of prospects from both vantage points and villas. One of the first Italian cities he visits is Genoa where he is given a tour of the Palace of Hieronymo del Negros. Although he says he admired the collections in the palace, he finds

nothing which more delighted me then the terrac, or hilly Garden, where there stands a grove of stately trees, furnish'd with artificial Sheepe, Shepheards, & Wild beasts, so naturaly cut in a grey-stone, fountaines, rocks, & Piscina's, that casting your eyes one way, you would imagine your selfe in a Wildernesse & silent Country, side-ways in the heart of a greate Citty, & backwarde in the middst of the Sea; and that which is most admirable, all this within one Aker of ground, and I thinke the most stupedious & delightfull in the whole World.¹⁶⁸

He is enchanted by the diversity of landscapes that can be created in just one acre and obviously understands the intent to create a microcosm of the world's environments. Early the next year in Naples, he demonstrates his appreciation of various terrains and their uses on a larger scale when he describes the view from the Monastery of the Carthusians as a

goodly Prospect towards the Sea, and Citty; the one full of Gallys, and ships, the Other of stately Palaces, Churches, Monasteries, Castles, Gardens, delicious fields & meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoaking; the Promontory of Minerva, & Misenum; Capra, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipe, Puteoli and the rest, doubtlesse one of the most divertisant & considerable Vistas in the World.¹⁶⁹

Evelyn continues to promote all levels of variety in the *Elysium Britannicum*, particularly a mix of terrains and the necessity of addressing all five senses. When introducing the topic of rocks, grottos, and mounts, he insists that

¹⁶⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2: 173-175.

¹⁶⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 325-329.

the World would {be no more} neither be beautifull nor {so} usefull with out the varietyts of the glabrous & uneven surfaces, Hills, rocks, Cliffs, & Valleys ... than a face without a Nose {forehead} Eyes & {sweete &} cheekes dimpled cheekes, some more eminent, others more depressd, ... & a face without a nose would have ben as taking, as the universe without Hills, Rocks, Mountains, & comely environings, whose various ascents, lofty tops, & sweete declivityts, give ornament & use.¹⁷⁰

He then challenges the “skillfull Gardner” to “designe for variety” and keep visitors amused and on their toes in anticipation of what new spectacle awaits them around the next bend, wall, or hedge, tantalizing their senses all the while. He explains to the garden architect that rock formations are essential in this endeavour because

there certainly [is not] a nicety more agreable... then after the Eye has bin entertaind with the pleasure & refreshments of Verdures, {the fragrant} Flowers, {the christall Fountaines} and other delicious and sense-ravishing objects, to be unexpectedly surpris'd with the ~~can~~ horror and confusion of naturall or artificiall *Rocks, Grotts, Caverns, Mounts & Precipices* well reppresented; when besides that they most naturally suite with the *Waters & Fountaines* ...; so do they greatly contribute to the pleasure and divertisement of Gardens & may be reckned (in our esteeme) amongst the most desirable of all the hortulane varieties.¹⁷¹

The physic garden, what Evelyn calls the “Philosophico-Medicall” garden in chapter seventeen of Book II, is of great practical use for the scientific study of plants “For what can be more convenient & full of diversion, then the contemplation of their infinite varieties, & wonderfull effects of those Plants which are best known by the names of Simples {&} of which our Botanists have filled such {prodigious} volumes, & the shops of the Apothecarius are {almost entirely} furnished?” In order to sustain the greatest possible array of medicinal plants and herbs throughout the year, creating a microcosm of the known medicinal plants in the world, the physic garden requires the most extreme assortment of grounds. If these do not occur naturally, the garden architect

¹⁷⁰ *EB*, 187 [133].

¹⁷¹ *EB*, 187 [133].

is advised to produce them artificially making this one of the few instances where Evelyn welcomes the aid of Art to drastically reshape Nature.

For here it is that we finely admitt & make use of the Mountaine & the March, the Woody, & the Champion, the Cold & the hott, dry & moyst in ~~Summ~~ the Sandys, Clayie, stonie, rockie, chalky, fat, leane, watry, hott, hungry, whatsoever ~~may~~ best is most variable and so for the differing aspects, that they varie, & imitate all the Climates & Seasons; And therefore in case these ~~va~~ accomplishments happen not (as rarely they doe) to encounter, our industrious Gardiner must study, & contrive how he may assemble them by Arte: by raising of hills depressing of Vales, digging profundities, & changing the face of the ground into all ~~advantages~~ shapes: for here to affect uniformity would be ridiculous & uselesse; nor would it so well resemble the face of Nature upon which the {various} furniture of this Garden ~~dos grow~~ is produced.¹⁷²

Evelyn is very aware that the garden is intended to affect all of the senses at once. Even a single component such as a stream can stimulate several senses at once with the sound of murmuring gurgles, falls that can be artfully arranged to produce “a kind of musicall & grave harmony,” beds laid with coloured stones, reflections in the water, rainbow mists, and trout and other fish, whose antics can be observed for entertainment and which can later be eaten allowing visitors to experience their taste.¹⁷³ His most all-encompassing statement on the ways in which the garden affects the sense occurs at the beginning of the chapter on echoes, music, and hydraulic motions:

It has been rightly observed that a Garden hath of all other diversions the prerogative alone of gratifying the senses virtuously; the tinctures of its flowers ~~shames~~ are able to make all the most beautifull colours of the painter to blush for shame, ~~Let him~~ {dare he} produce his *Virmilion* & his *Ceruse* before the Rose or the Commonest *Lilly*, when yet Solomon in all his glory, was not cloathed like any of these? What artificial perfume, or most precious extract will compare with the redolency of the purple Violet, the Orange, the Gesamine, & the precious Nard! and dos not the productions of {its} fruite entertaine the most ~~luxurious~~ {curious} {~~& disti~~} palat with the rich Melon & the juicy Grape, ~~not to mention~~ the nectarine, Abricot, Cherry & a

¹⁷² *EB*, 403 [312-322].

¹⁷³ *EB*, 182 [129].

thousand varieties more, not to mention here, the ~~Regal~~ Imperial pine, reported by all that have tasted it, to resemble the gusto of whatsoever the most ~~stall~~ luxurious or distinguishing *Epicure* can summon to his wanton imagination: And when the *Poets* would describe the utmost delight of the touch, they present us with a Prospect of the *Golden Age*, when ~~the~~ the whole world was but one Garden, ~~where we see~~ in which we see the tendernesse of the Grasse & flowry bankes invites every body to lye downe, and enjoy the easinesse of those soft & fragrant beds whilst the murmuring of the {christall} streames, & the warbling of the musicall birds, charm'd them to repose, as if this last ~~alone~~ were alone able, to vanquish, & captivate all the rest of {of} the senses; especialy, where their naturall & rurall aires are exalted by the ravishing accents of Vocal or Instrumentall Consorts, reduplicated by the undulation of Echos repercussing the voyce, & repeating the notes ...¹⁷⁴

Evelyn promotes variety within specific elements of a garden as well. A water organ can provide an endless variety of music as long as new scores are composed for it by “profound *Musitians*.”¹⁷⁵ Concepts for fountains, waterworks, and automata are bound only by the limits of imagination combined with engineering ingenuity. Evelyn notes that he has seen lattice hedges made of fine shoots of water, hollow metal balls balanced on spouts of water, *giocchi* which can drench unwary spectators from any side, a vast assortment of spickets that produce different water effects in fountains, and “*Raine-bows*, {Halos} *Stormes*, *raine Thunder* and other artificiall *Meteors*,” the loud noises produced by air forced through pipes, not to mention innumerable fountains where water emerges from orifices in statues. He refers the reader to the missing chapter nine of Book III, “Of the most famous Gardens in the World, Ancient and Modern” for further examples of water works and then proceeds to list several of Italy’s most impressive public fountains to give the reader a small taste of the creative potential of water.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ *EB*, 225 [167].

¹⁷⁵ *EB*, 241 [185], 243 [189].

¹⁷⁶ *EB*, 184-185 [131-133].

Although Evelyn provides several detailed and illustrated examples of automata, or hydraulic mechanisms, in chapter twelve of Book II, he cannot include every possibility in one volume and so, “to satiate the & thirst of those {more} curious persons,” he refers his readers to other books entirely devoted to the subject, such as “*Bettinus, Grunbergius, Matinus, Kirkir, Finugius, Drebell, Boekler, Harstorffer, Schoti, {etc}*”; not forgetting our Countriman *Flud*,” surely these would contain enough ideas to get them started.¹⁷⁷ Evelyn has a similar problem when discussing the Coronary Garden, or *giardino segreto*. After spending no less than 47 pages attempting to give an idea of the great variety of flowers and shrubs which might populate a coronary garden and declaring that this is far from the end of the list because such flowers as “Tulips are divers of them raised of Seede, which comes with infinite varietie of Colours, & so as nor art can Imitate, nor truely wordes expresse, especially when Science is applied to the natural production,” he recommends to his readers the extensive catalogues of flower gardeners and collectors such as Pierre Morin of Paris and John Ray of England, among others.¹⁷⁸

In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn displays a clear understanding of the many levels of variety one can experience in the garden and emphasizes to his audience the importance of this concept.

Theatre in the Garden

The idea of theatre is ubiquitous in Baroque art at every level, from painting and sculpture to royal pageants, and garden architecture is no different. Several of the thematic concerns of Baroque gardens can be examined in terms of theatre. The idea of a prospect over the garden or countryside from a deliberately placed vantage point suggests that the relationship between Art and Nature in the garden can be viewed theatrically. The

¹⁷⁷ *EB*, 252 [199].

¹⁷⁸ *EB*, 344 [285], 393 [310].

garden presents a stage or constructed space, created with the aid of Art, in which all of Nature is displayed in a controlled microcosm, a theatre of all aspects of Nature or *theatrum mundi*.

Movement through a Baroque garden can be equated literally with a theatrical production as the progression from one enclosed area or “room” to the next reveals the iconographic themes of the garden in a series of scenes not unlike those in a play. The narratives and ideas unfold as the “actors,” the combination of statues, fountains, plants, and other features found in each “room,” are encountered and contemplated in various sequences.¹⁷⁹ The slowly unraveling themes, which provide entertainment and variety not only for the eye, but for the mind, often deal with classical mythology, the virtuous qualities of the landowner, or the complementary rivalry between Art and Nature.

These consecutively revealed scenes in each “room” could serve as an excellent model for the classical system of memory used in rhetorical practice, a method of persuasive speech considered one of the highest forms of art from the classical era onwards. In this system, a separate idea can be mentally stored in and then “read” from the iconography of the images in each area of a constructed space, a theatre of memory.¹⁸⁰ The iconography or allegorical themes of a garden are read from the imagery in each “room” of the garden in much the same way. John Dixon Hunt extrapolates on this concept by postulating that, since much of their imagery and theory was classically derived, gardens could be interpreted, at an abstract level, as theatres of memory intended to evoke nostalgia for the art, society, history, and achievements of the classical era.¹⁸¹ He cites the much-admired garden of Arundel House in London as having exemplified this

¹⁷⁹ *GG*, 64.

¹⁸⁰ *GG*, 68-69; MacDougall, “Imitation and Invention...,” 131. Both scholars base this extrapolated use of garden imagery and iconography on the theories of Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966).

¹⁸¹ Hunt, “Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens,” 197.

concept in its displays of classical sculpture both inside the house and in the garden.¹⁸² John Evelyn's design for the garden of Albury Park, home of Henry Howard, grandson of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, deliberately incorporated memories of the classical past. As mentioned above, it contains a conscious homage to Virgil's tomb, what Evelyn called a "*Pausillippe*" in reference to its actual location in the Grotta di Posilippo near Naples, clearly intended to honour and stimulate reminiscence upon the death of one of the most acclaimed classical authors and, by association, the loss of the culture he represented. The terraces, exedra, small baths, and cascade at Albury Park are possible references to several other classical and contemporary Italian gardens, thus completing the setting for the contemplation of a longed-for lost age.¹⁸³ Hunt also proposes that gardens, especially in the sense that they are collections or cabinets of rare botanical specimens from the entire known world, can be understood as memory theatres of the lost Garden of Eden, able to be recovered to a small extent by human ingenuity.¹⁸⁴ He acknowledges Evelyn's comprehension of this concept by offering a quote from the *Elysium Britannicum* in which Evelyn equates the botanical, or "Philosophico-Medical," garden with a *theatrum mundi*, a theatre displaying the known world, saying that it "may suffice to comprehend the ~~chi~~ principall & most usefull plants, {&} and to be as a rich & noble compendium of what the whole Globe of the Earth has ~~growing~~ {flourishing} upon her boosome."¹⁸⁵

Aside from this more profound idea of theatres, Baroque gardens often contained actual theatres in the form of grottos, nymphaea, and amphitheatres. These could serve as

¹⁸² *GG*, 81.

¹⁸³ *GG*, 149-152. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of the tomb at Albury Park. Evelyn had visited Pausilippo in early February, 1645. *Diary*, vol. 2: 337. See also Chambers, "The Tomb in the Landscape," 40.

¹⁸⁴ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 198.

¹⁸⁵ Hunt, "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens," 198; *EB*, 403 [321].

stages intended for live performances of theatrical arts. They might also contain a fountain with sculptures and automata, the moving parts of which would repeatedly narrate a story or scene, a mechanized theatre.¹⁸⁶ Large lawns, *piscinas*, canals, or ponds could become settings for reenactments of historic or mythological land or sea battles.¹⁸⁷ In both Italy and England, court processions, masques, and other political events often had garden themes, were set in gardens, or used them as a destination for further festivities.¹⁸⁸ In attractions such as an amphitheatre planted entirely with rows of rare flowers or a cascade leading to a water theatre of fountains, Nature itself is literally placed on stage, again playing with the roles of Art and Nature in the garden.¹⁸⁹

Evelyn was aware of the underlying concepts of the theatre and the *theatrum mundi* in both gardens and in Nature in general. In October of 1644, while an English merchant was giving him a tour of Genoa, Evelyn notices that the entire city is

built in the hollow Cavety, or bosome of an exceeding high mountaine, & strangely steepe, & rocky; so as from the *Lantern & Mole* to the foote of the hills, it represents the steps or ranks of the seates of a Theater; The streets & houses ranged accordingly, one above another, as our play-houses set their benches for the spectators: or rather, scenes on the stage.¹⁹⁰

He literally compares the city to a theatre and states that this stepped arrangement of its streets and buildings gives “an amazing prospect to the sea,” therefore placing Nature on

¹⁸⁶ Hunt, “Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens,” 198.

¹⁸⁷ *GG*, 60-63.

¹⁸⁸ *GG*, 110-118.

¹⁸⁹ *GG*, 172-3. Hunt provides examples of such attractions in the Boboli Gardens, Florence, Italy, the garden of Charles Howard at Deepdene in Surrey, and in John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum: the Theater of Plants, or an Herball of a Large Extent: Containing Therein a More Ample and Exact History and Declaration of the Physicall Herbs and Plants That Are in Other Authours, Encreased by the Accesse of Many Hundreds of New, Rare, and Strange Plants from All the Parts of the World Shewing Vvithall the Many Errors, Differences, and Oversights of Sundry Authors That Have Formerly Written of Them Distributed into Sundry Classes or Tribes, for the More Easie Knowledge of the Many Herbes of One Nature and Property, with the Chiefe Notes of Dr. Lobel, Dr. Bonham, and Others Inserted Therein* (London : Printed by Tho. Cotes, 1640).

¹⁹⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1: 109; vol. 2: 172.

the stage. He makes similar comments about the cities of and views from Gaeta and Naples.¹⁹¹

Several of the gardens Evelyn visited in Europe contained theatres of one sort or another. At the Palace of the Count of Liancourt, he is delighted by

a little Theater made to change severall fantastick Scenes; the stage so contriv'd, that with figures of Women & men, painted on light & thin boards, & cut out in to shapes, a person under the stage unseene puts them up, and manages the Actors, & accompanying with different Tones presents a Farce or Comedy as the Puppet-players do.¹⁹²

At the end of February of 1644, he visited St. Germain-en-Laye where, in subterranean grottos, he observed automata that create moving scenes including Orpheus playing harp music for dancing animals, Neptune in a chariot drawn by seahorses, and the story of Perseus and Andromeda.¹⁹³ At Frascati, in May of 1645, Evelyn could not help but be impressed by the immense water theatre of the Villa Aldobrandini with its myriad displays of water and automata fed from above by a thundering cascade:

Just behind the Palace ... rises an high hill or mountaine all over clad with tall wood, and so form'd by nature, as if it had ben cut out by Art, from the summit whereof falls a horrid Cascade seeming rather a greate River than a streame, precipitating into a large Theater of Water representing an exact & perfect Raine-bow when the sun shines out: Under this is made an artificiall Grott, where in are curious rocks, hydraulic Organs & all sorts of singing birds moving, & chirping by force of the water, with severall other pageants and surprizing inventions: In the center of one of these roomes rises a coper ball that continually daunces about 3 foote above the pavement, by virtue of a Wind conveyed seacretly to a hole beneath it, with many other devices to wett the unwary spectators, so as one can hardly step without wetting to the skin: In one of these Theaters of Water, is an *Atlas* spouting up the streame to an incredible height, & another monster which makes a terrible roaring with an horn; but above all the representation of a storme is most naturall,

¹⁹¹ *Diary*, vol. 2: 323, 325-6.

¹⁹² *Diary*, vol. 1: 73; vol. 2: 112-113.

¹⁹³ *Diary*, vol. 2: 111.

with such fury of raine, wind and Thunder as one would imagine ones selfe
in some extreame Tempest.¹⁹⁴

This passage emphasizes the great variety of waterworks, the seemingly endless curiosities, some of which could be of scientific interest, and the play between Art and Nature, a natural hill is transformed into a pageant of ingenious artistic creations many of which mimic Nature. The water theatre is also very classically influenced in design and statuary which, combined with its other qualities, makes it one of the most accomplished examples of Baroque garden theory in practice.

Throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn constantly expresses a general desire both to remember and recreate the Golden Age of the classical era and to honour and contemplate episodes from the Bible. Thus it could be said that a garden created using the *Elysium Britannicum* as a guide would, whether intentionally or not, become a memory theatre for both the classical and Biblical pasts.¹⁹⁵

An Analysis of Intentional Omissions in the *Elysium Britannicum*

Although Evelyn demonstrates a good command of garden theory and knowledge of a garden's many components in the *Elysium Britannicum*, there are certain quite noteworthy aspects that he does not address. While there are dozens of illustrations in the *Elysium Britannicum*, most of them depict the details of construction or the artistic possibilities of specific areas of the garden, items such as pipe building, plant care, automata, and beehives. Nowhere does Evelyn offer an overall plan, layout, or design, either in the text, or in a sketch, for the garden as a whole. He also offers neither specific thematic programs nor precise suggestions for the deployment of iconographic elements within the grounds of the garden.

¹⁹⁴ *Diary*, vol. 2: 392-393.

¹⁹⁵ Hunt would seem to agree with this interpretation. See *GG*, 81.

The same situation occurs with plants and flowers: long lists of species are included, but there are no sketches of flower beds or patterns for parterres, groves, or orchards. He does provide a very general sketch of possible bed arrangements for the Coronary garden, but this is to illustrate the method of keeping a detailed catalogue, or *Albus Memoriae*, of the flowers. The Philosophico-Medico garden is given the most complete treatment which includes not only a fairly detailed sketch of the whole, including a gated wall, bed arrangements, a mount, woods, and a swamp, but also an extremely detailed four-page description of which terrain, height, and cardinal direction on this plan is best suited to the hundreds of various simples and shrubs he lists. There is no specific mention of artistic features in this area of the garden.

The only architectural structures in the *Elysium Britannicum*, that merit drawn designs are the residences of birds and bees. He does not include drawings of examples of structures for human use such as galleries, repositories, or loggia, though he does explain in the text that they should be classical in style. In keeping with this, he provides detailed illustrated explanations of various types of automata, yet only provides lengthy lists of possible statuary.

It is possible that Evelyn intended to furnish precise layouts for each aspect of the garden, including a plan of the whole, and simply never found time. It is also possible that he felt that all artistic decisions should be left to the land owner and garden architect, both of whom ought to have read the books Evelyn recommends and have travelled to Italy to see the gardens to which he refers and to educate themselves and develop their own ideas for the layout and artistic elements of their gardens. But the instances mentioned above, his focus on medicinal simples, flower catalogues, bee hives, and the mechanisms of automata, suggest that Evelyn offered the most detailed information in situations that concerned the scientific, as opposed to artistic, elements of the garden. It is possible that he felt that the design components of the garden are of secondary importance to the

purpose and function of the garden which, in his mind, is the contemplation of Nature, through scientific study, with the intent of acquiring a more complete understanding of the mind of God, Nature's Creator. A thorough examination of this last concept, which is manifested in many ways throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*, is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Contemplating Religion and Morality in Evelyn's *Elysium Britannicum*

In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn is attempting to marry ancient philosophies of horticulture and life style with the scientific and religious doctrines of his intellectual community. The Hartlib circle genuinely aspired to improve all humanity through the uniform public distribution of scientifically proven advances in agriculture. This was attempted, though not successfully, in the hope of helping “our poor souls” to attain a state as close as possible to that of the prelapsarian Adam and Eve, our original progenitors created by God, in preparation for the inevitable Day of Judgement that they believed would arrive with the millennium. Science and progress in the mid-seventeenth century were very much driven and were inextricably linked with piety and a desire to know God better through the empirical study of Nature. While Evelyn was part of this community in the 1650s and sympathized with their ideas, he never managed to embrace fully the concept that science should be used to help all of society recreate that blissful state enjoyed long ago in the Garden of Eden. Instead of husbandry or agriculture as a whole, he focuses on garden architecture, an art form that caters to the educated, wealthy, and elite, yet his message to them is Baconian or Hartlibian. The *Elysium Britannicum* is his attempt to reach the portion of the public that he can truly relate to and show them how to improve all aspects of their souls by piously contemplating Nature in a garden that they will find delightfully reminiscent of those visited during their travels on the continent.

It has previously been demonstrated that, although Evelyn makes many references to generic Classical sculptures for various parts of the garden, he does not suggest that complex Classical or mythological themes, based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or the

mythology surrounding the Muses, should dominate the ornaments of the garden.¹ The programmatic themes suggested in the *Elysium Britannicum* are more concerned with divine Christian contemplation and moral lessons learned from historical examples, but Evelyn does not exclusively advocate visual references to traditional religious subjects. Throughout the *Elysium Britannicum*, he is constantly teaching his audience, landowners and garden architects alike, how to practice various forms of divine contemplation in specific parts of the garden. Evelyn's purpose is not only to instruct his audience on the construction of an Italianate garden, but to provide a didactic manual on Christian spiritual worship in Nature that incorporates both meditation on Biblical passages and the scientific observation of natural phenomena.

Like many other books on gardening from this time, such as John Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*,² Evelyn begins the *Elysium Britannicum* by invoking the Garden of Eden, the first garden made by God and given to Adam and Eve to tend.

When the Almighty {God} had exiled our Fore-fathers out of Paradise, the memorie of that delicious place was not yet so far obliterated, but that their early atempts sufficiently discover'd how unhappy {ily} they were to live without a Garden: And though the rest of the World were to them but a Wildernesse {and that God had destin'd them this employment for a sweete & most agreeable purition of their Sinns}, Adam instructed his Posteritie how to handle the Spade so dextrously, that in processe of tyme, men began, with the indulgence of heaven, to recover that by Arte and Industrie, which was before produced to them Spontaneously; and to improve the Fruites of the

¹ See Chapter 3, "Classicism in the Garden" above in the present work.

² John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris, Or, a Garden of All Sorts of Pleasant Flowers Which Our English Ayre Will Permitt to Be Noursed up with a Kitchen Garden of All Manner of Herbes, Rootes, & Fruites, for Meate or Sauses Used with Us, and an Orchard of All Sort of Fruitbearing Trees and Shrubes Fit for Our Land Together with the Right Ordering, Planting & Preserving of Them and Their Uses & Vertues*, (London, 1629).

Earth, to gratifie as well their Pleasures and contemplations, as their necessities and daily foode.³

Evelyn explains that Adam and Eve, though they had been exiled from the Garden of Eden, still remembered it as a place of happiness and paradise and so sought to recreate it from the wilderness they now lived in. From the Fall onwards, the people of the world were left to eke out their subsistence using tools and their knowledge of agriculture, but they soon became so proficient at this that, employing “Arte and Industrie,” they learned to create not just cultivated land, but gardens. These served to “gratifie as well their Pleasures and contemplations,” thus rising above a subsistent level of function, while simultaneously striving to recreate the Garden of Eden, the perfection of Nature made by God “[s]o that to define a Garden now, is to pronounce it ... A place of all terrestrial enjoyments the most resembling *Heaven*, and the best representation of our lost felicitie.⁴

Gardens are equated with the lost paradise of Eden and with Heaven because they contain the best parts of Nature which is the highest achievement of God.

They were planted by the hands of God, honourd with the presence of our Saviour, and the greatest miracle of our Religion: Kings, and Philosophers, and Wisemen spent their choycest houres in them; and when they would frame a Type of Heaven, because there is nothing in Nature more worthy and illustrious they describe a Garden, and call it ELYSIUM.⁵

Evelyn believes gardens to be sacred places intended for divine contemplation, an activity which is facilitated by the scientific study of natural philosophy. He says that “the Principles of Gardning are the principles of all Nature, all the Elements, & contains in it more real Philosophy than any Art, Science, or Profession whatsoever...”⁶ Thus gardens,

³ *EB*, 29 [1]. This history of the Biblical evolution of man-made gardens from wilderness to agriculture to gardens, achieved with the addition of Art, implies Evelyn’s understanding of the first, second, and third Natures discussed at the beginning of the previous chapter.

⁴ *EB*, 31[2].

⁵ *EB*, 31[2].

⁶ *EB*, 41 [10].

because they are based on “the principles of all Nature” and are the settings for “the greatest miracle of our Religion,” are well worth the scholarly attention of “Kings, and Philosophers, and Wisemen” because they embody “more real Philosophy than any Art, Science, or Profession whatsoever.”

An Analysis of the Composition of Nature as the “Soule of all things”

The latter part of Book I is dedicated to a lengthy, and largely crossed out, discussion of Nature as “[t]he Roote, Spawne{erme}, *Entelechia* and Soule of all things, and the first li{n}ke to the divine {sublimest} Throne.”⁷ These chapters, with which Evelyn was so displeased, attempt to analyze scientifically the physical chemistry of the spirit of Nature in terms of the Elements (Fire, Air, Water, and Earth) which comprise this essence. These four principal members can be reduced to the physical substances, sulphur, mercury, and salt, which represent various temperaments and humours depending on the proportions in which they are present in any part of Nature. This religious/scientific exploration is undertaken in an attempt to reach a greater understanding of the workings of Nature which was created by God and is thus “the first li{n}ke to the divine {sublimest} Throne.” Evelyn insists on including this complex exercise in natural philosophy in his treatise on gardens because

To the Culture of a Garden, the Knowledg of the Nature of the *Elements* is of absolute necessitie, and especially of the Earth, which ... is the most difficult to comprehend: Also the variety of *Climates*; the degrees of Heate and Cold; the qualities of the Aire, and of the Water; all which exceedingly cooperate and agree {signifie} to th’ accomplishment of our designe; seing the causes of all Generation, germination and commencement of things so much {universally} result from their mixture and temperaments.⁸

⁷ *EB*, 36 [6]. Evelyn crossed out Chapters 3-9 of Book I because he was dissatisfied with his discussion of the elements and Nature as the soul of all things. In Book I, chapter three, he has added a margin note stating that “My purpose was quite to alter the philosophical part of this first booke.” *EB*, 36 [6].

⁸ *EB*, 36-37 [6].

A careful reading of chapters three through nine of Book I, despite Evelyn's dissatisfaction with them, provides a clear idea of how closely intertwined science, nature, and religion are in his thoughts. He incorporates into chapters on each of the Elements a discussion of the role that Element plays in supporting the "Universall Soule" and the various humours and qualities of that Element. He then shifts from these cosmological concerns to the chemical composition of the Element, thus making the transition from the spiritual realm to the scientific. To this end, each chapter also includes both empirical experiments and observations the gardener should make concerning the qualities of each Element and its effect on the weather and the environment and thus on the plants in the garden. As an example of such an experiment, Evelyn provides instructions for the gardener on the construction of a hygroscope which uses a wild oak vine wound around a stick "to detect the degrees of wett & dry, or any change of Weather."⁹ He proposes that the gardener should be able to determine the type and proper treatment of a foreign plant by experimenting with local plants to see which will grow in the soil in which the exotic one was transported.¹⁰ Evelyn cites Francis Bacon for promoting empirical research, scientific contemplation and observation, pertaining to the diversity of seed formations.¹¹ He then comes full circle and resumes a more spiritual discourse, pondering which part of a plant is most likely to contain its "vegetable soule" and concluding that it must be the seed.¹²

Evelyn relates each Element and the celestial bodies to the "Universall Spirit." The study of these is an attempt to understand the complex composition of Nature, the soul of all things, the creation of God. In chapter four, "Of the Fire," Evelyn states that

⁹ *EB*, 47 [13].

¹⁰ *EB*, 67 [25].

¹¹ *EB*, 77 [38].

¹² *EB*, 79 [40].

the constellations, representing Fire, house “the universall Soule as an *homogeneous* Substance” composed of “Spirituell *Sulphur*” which descends to Earth to give individual spiritual existences to the animals, vegetables, and minerals of our planet.¹³ He compares Water, which gives life and spirit by coursing through the planet, to blood in the human circulatory system.¹⁴ He says that the Earth is equivalent to the womb of the “Universall Spirit” of Nature and interacts with the other three elements to provide a receptacle for the diverse inhabitants of the planet.¹⁵ And lastly, he says of the sun that, as opposed to the “invisible fire which is the Soule of the Universe,” this celestial body is a

visible ~~fire~~ which we may call the Soule of our Gardens, of all the Celestial inhabitants the most vigorous and active instrument; It {is} the ~~life of the World & the~~ Eye of the World, and the gemme of heaven, {&} the measure of Tyme, ~~and the Life~~ & the very life of nature herselfe; for it ~~nourishes~~ renews, nurses, augments, changes, fecundates, & vivifies the Seedes and the plants; ... where he touches not, nothing matures ~~so that were it art~~ {nothing arrives to perfection but not for} him, not only our *Gardins*, but ~~man~~ {even our *Gardner*} himselfe would cease and come to nothing.¹⁶

The physical progeny of the Soul of Nature would not survive without the nourishment of the sun, “the Soule of our Gardens.” It is this heavenly body that causes the Earth, the womb of Nature, to give birth to all life.¹⁷ Evelyn claims that the moon, as a smaller heavenly body, has a great effect on Salt, a component of the Elements, and on favorable planting times. The other celestial bodies, planets and stars, have a lesser impact on plants directly, but still influence Nature.

¹³ *EB*, 42 [11].

¹⁴ *EB*, 49 [14].

¹⁵ *EB*, 52 [15].

¹⁶ *EB*, 55 [16].

¹⁷ *EB*, 56 [17].

Practicing Divine Contemplation in the Garden

In a letter to Sir Thomas Browne, dated January 28, 1658, Evelyn provides an extremely clear and direct statement of his intentions with respect to religion and divine contemplation in the *Elysium Britannicum*.

We will endeavour to shew how the aire and genious of gardens operat upon humane spirits towards virtue and sanctitie, I meane in a remote, preparatory and instrumentall working. How caves, grotts, mounts, and irregular ornaments of gardens do contribute to contemplative and philosophical enthusiasme; how *Elysium, Antrum, Nemus, Paradysus, Hortus, Lucus, &c.*, signifie all of them *rem sacram et divinam* [things sacred and divine]; for these expedients do influence the soule and spirits of man, and prepare them for converse with good angells; besides which, they contribute to the lesse abstracted pleasures, phylosophy naturall and longevitie.¹⁸

At the time of writing this letter, he “cannot say to have finished any thing tollerably, farther than chapter XI. lib2” of the *Elysium Britannicum*, the chapter titled “Of Statues...,” and yet he already feels strongly that the atmosphere and inspiration of gardens “operat upon humane spirits towards virtue and sanctitie.” He also endorses the concept that the various attractions and areas of the garden ought to “contribute to contemplative and philosophical enthusiasme ... for these expedients do influence the soule and spirits of man.” Aside from the spiritual benefits of gardens, they also promote the more corporeal interests of good health and the study of natural philosophy.

In Book II, aside from instructing his audience on the physical construction of an Italianate garden, Evelyn follows through on the “endeavours” he proposed to Sir Thomas Browne. He teaches his readers how to practice divine contemplation in every aspect of the garden. He achieves this by providing historical and Biblical examples of religious practices in such places as groves, grottos, and mounts, all necessary parts of the garden. He recommends gardens as the most appropriate place for burial. Piety and proper moral

¹⁸ Browne, *Letters*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 300-302.

conduct are to be learned from such creatures as bees, ants, and birds through observing the daily life of the garden. Statues with religious themes are to be placed in the garden as blatant visual cues to encourage devout meditations. It can be postulated that Evelyn intended the *Elysium Britannicum* as a didactic manual on practicing piety in the garden based on the title of the now lost eighth chapter of Book III, “Of *Hortulan Entertainments, Natural, Divine, Moral, and Political; with divers Historical Passages, and Solemnities, to shew the Riches, Beauty, Wonder, Plenty, Delight, and Universal Use of Gardens.*”¹⁹

After providing practical instructions for his readers concerning the design and development of groves, Evelyn launches into a lengthy history of the sacred uses of groves which in his estimation are “the choycest & most sacred of all the *Hortulan* delights.”²⁰ He establishes groves as always having been places of divine contemplation for all peoples saying

that [groves] were consecrate to pious uses, and that not onely by superstitious persons to the *Gods* and *Heroes*: but the *Patriarchs* themselves did ... retire to such places to compose their meditations, and celebrate their sacred mysteries, both of prayer and sacrifices.²¹

Later in this discussion, he elaborates on this idea and more clearly defines his purpose in including this religious history saying that

The thing which we would mainly drive at is {being} to shew how these pleasures {ornaments} as they become Hortunlane, have bin {of old, & may yet be} improved to holy & sacred uses... ~~And we~~ For our owne part we find it by experience, & professe it that there is nothing strikes more awfull {&

¹⁹ *Acetaria*, xxx. This is an expanded, and later, version of the title of this chapter. In John Ingram’s transcription of the manuscript the title reads, “Of Hortulan Entertainments, Divine, Moral, and Natural, to shew the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and universal use of a Garden. {Garden Buriale etc.}.” In the later version, “Of Garden *Burial.*” is a separate chapter.

²⁰ *EB*, 150 [103]. Evelyn crossed out most of the historical part of this discussion indicating that he was likely dissatisfied with it and was possibly intending to rewrite it at a later date.

²¹ *EB*, 151 [104].

sollemne} reverence into us, then the gloomy umbrage of some majestically groves... of goodly and tall trees, ... extremely apt to compose the mind, & infuse into it a kind of naturall Devotion, disposing to prayer, and profound meditation.²²

Here Evelyn describes his own feelings of piety and “sollemne reverence” in relation to groves. His implied suggestion is that the reader too might learn to experience this sense of “naturall Devotion” while wandering through the groves of their gardens, as did the ancient Gods, Heroes, and Patriarchs. He is quite clearly advocating the grove as a place of divine contemplation and “sollemne reverence.”

Evelyn cites several instances from the Bible of Christian worship being practiced in a grove, for example

Abraham did but imitate what the children of God had practised before him...and settled his abode at Barsheba, he design'd a certaine place for Gods divine service: And there the text says. *he planted a Grove and called upon the name of the Lord.*²³

He then proceeds with a lengthy (and partly crossed out) account of both pagan (Greek, Roman, Persian, and Druidic) and Biblical instances of groves used as sacred places in which to practice religion. These events, particularly those referring to the Bible, for instance the story of Abraham cited above, could be seen as suggested topics of divine contemplation suitable for a grove.

Evelyn's discussion of groves as places in which to practice divine contemplation provides a model for his similar discussion of grottos and mounts. Here again he is providing his audience with primarily Biblical examples, this time of rocky terrain, of places associated with religious devotion and piety that can be microcosmically mirrored in the garden. I believe he intends his readers to ponder these Biblical narratives as part of their meditative practices while visiting similar places in their gardens.

²² *EB*, 155 [107].

²³ *EB*, 151 [104].

He describes grottos, the more tortuous and deep the better, as

most disposed {fitt} for retirement & {holy} solitude, to which a lampe hanging in the farthest & darkest part, will greatly {much} contribute, as greatly disposed {ing} for {to} devotion & profound contemplation: For thus {so} the holy *Hermites* lived in {the} tymes of Persecution.²⁴

This informs the reader of how to construct a grotto so that it is specifically appropriate for “devotion & profound contemplation.” Evelyn then suggests that this will create an atmosphere similar to the dwellings of holy hermits. Although he does not offer a lengthy list of such characters from ecclesiastical history, he still provides a suggestion of what religious subject the land owner should meditate upon while in a grotto.

Evelyn describes all possible rock formations²⁵ of the garden as places that lend themselves to “devotion, contemplative & Philosophicall Enthusiasme” and suggests that they are retreats not only for hermits, but for all who have transcended to a level of reverent meditation creating “that sublimity of mind as to be superior to all worldly cares that they might not be obnoxious to impertinent disturbances.”²⁶ A few lines later, he more succinctly explains this concept that certain features of landscapes inspire sublime reverie in devout people.

The sight of vast objects, as Rocks, & Mounts and willd Prospects, and the attent consideration of some naturall object in a Solitary place ... dos dispose some men to ecstasie, transporting their thoughts beyond {the} ordinary limits, & raises strong affections in them: And for this cause doubtlesse did so many Prophets & holy men retire to them.²⁷

Evelyn emphasizes the necessity of retiring to the solitude of mounts to allow the mind to focus on pious contemplations and become open to communing with divine beings such

²⁴ *EB*, 193 [139].

²⁵ *EB*, 198 [145]. Here he includes “Mounts, Prospects, Præcipices, Grotts, etc, to which we might add Pythian vaults, Legislative mountaines, Hills of Blessing & Cursing.”

²⁶ *EB*, 198 [145].

²⁷ *EB*, 198 [145].

as “the Artes, {the Virtues, Gods, & Daimons, Angels, Counsell, & deities yea} the wide and ample Firmament itselfe, with all its varieties of Starrs & Planets.”²⁸ He concludes his lesson on mountains by reaffirming that they are places of divine meditation and inspiration where one could truly experience a connection with God and the celestial world.

And this shall suffice to shew the use of inclosed Mountaines, & Solitary Recesses for ~~devotion~~ contemplation, Devotion, ~~inspiration~~ {Enthusiasme}, Rapture, Divine {Inspiration} and Legislative informations, for Cursing, & Blessing, Oratories, & Altars: ... where the inspirations came both to Gods, eminent ~~people~~ {prophets} of old, to the Sibylls {according to their measure of light} & to others: To such places did the Patriarchs, Prophets, & our B: Saviour retire for the exercise of the sublimest ~~devotion~~ & most seraphique devotion:²⁹

As with groves, it is my opinion that Evelyn is attempting to educate his readers, land owners and gardeners alike, on methods of practicing divine contemplation daily in their gardens. To this end, he includes in his religious history of mounts an exhaustive, evangelical, sermon-like list of Biblical events that took place on mountains, possible parables upon which to meditate while perambulating the remote recesses of a garden.³⁰ As the “Patriarchs, Prophets, & our B: Saviour retire for the exercise of the sublimest ... & most seraphique devotion,” so too should those who contemplate the Bible in groves, on mounts, or in grottos in a garden.

²⁸ *EB*, 198 [145].

²⁹ *EB*, 202 [147].

³⁰ *EB*, 202 [147]. “For tis observed... That our B: Saviour affected the mountaines more then all the places of the Earth, {besides} that the Arke ~~rested~~ {reposed} on a Mountain after the Flood: ... On a Mountaine Abraham was to offer his Son: On a Mountaine he {God} appeared to Moses, On a mountaine {he} received the Law, On a Mountaine he shewd him the Land of Promise, On a *Mountaine, he ravished Eliah*: On a Mountaine he commanded the Temple to be built: On a Mountaine Christ resisted the noblest Temptation: On a Mountaine he made his blessed Sermon: On a Mountaine he passed nights in prayer: To a Mountain he fled when they would have made him King: On a Mountaine he was Transfigured, On a Mountaine he finished our Redemption & died for us, From a Mountaine he Ascended and over A mountaine it is likely ~~we sh~~ he will ~~come~~ {appeare} againe to judge both the quick & the dead:”

Evelyn specifically includes the gardener as a participant in these activities by reminding the audience that

... with holy David may our devout Gardiner exclaim, I lift up my eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my Salvation. For His [Christ's] Sepulcher was in a Rock Grott, & that Grott was in a Garden, to which our Saviour did so frequently resort; & as if he would consecrate both the place & the profession [of gardener] above all others, he chose {there} to ~~be-seene~~ appear first in the forme of a Gardiner, & to sanctifie those ~~places~~ retirements with his glorious ~~body~~ presence.³¹

Here Evelyn once again elevates the status of the gardener both by placing this artist within a Biblical scene, equated with no less a figure than David, and by linking him or her with Christ at the moment of his resurrection, when he revealed himself to Mary Magdalene in the guise of a gardener after rising from his hortulan sepulchre, thus “consecrat[ing] both the place & the profession above all others.”³² Evelyn has actually placed the gardener in a garden in the act of contemplating the resurrection of the deliverer of his salvation, in effect transforming his earthly garden with its grottos and mounts into a stage for mentally reenacting one of the most pivotal narratives of the Bible.

Gardens as Places of Burial

Evelyn advocates the inclusion of burial sites in gardens because “Sepulchers, Oratories, & whatsoever ~~may~~ {dos} render it sacred & sollomne ... may best compose the mind for devotion and ~~serious~~ profounder contemplation.”³³ Graves naturally lead one to thoughts of death and to pondering one’s own mortality and afterlife, all of which are forms of divine contemplation. Evelyn reminds his audience that “it was in a Garden that

³¹ *EB*, 202 [147]. In the quote above, the words in square brackets are mine.

³² See Chapter 2 above for further discussion of Evelyn’s opinion on the status of the gardener.

³³ *EB*, 145 [96].

our B: Saviour himselfe consecrated that Sepulcher in which never man lay but that *The anthropos* the God man *Christ Jesus*” was interred before he was resurrected.³⁴ He again provides a specific Biblical episode upon which to meditate, this time while standing before a tomb in the garden, thus continuing his didactic campaign. He believes that we should follow Christ’s example saying that

... there are none so fitt places to bury in, then in our Groves & Gardens, where our Graves may be ~~perpetually flourish~~ decked with {vegetan &} fragrant flowers perpetually ~~Greenes~~ verdures, & pereniall plants the most naturall *Hieroglyphicks* of our future Resurrection and Immortalitie; besides what they will conduce to meditateon & the taking of our minds from dwelling too intensely upon other more vaine objects: And here we might worthily declaime against our Custome of interring our dead in the body of our churches, as both ~~very~~ undecent, & ~~very~~ unhealthy, and a moral presumption.³⁵

Evelyn observes that perennial flowers and evergreen trees and shrubs not only provide decoration, their undying greenery connotes “Resurrection and Immortalitie” which makes them particularly appropriate for graves in gardens. He believes it is more fitting, healthy, and decent to bury the dead in a garden, or possibly a well-tended cemetery, as this allows them to return to nature, from which they were created. Evelyn concludes that the deceased will be more content buried in gardens since that is “where they most delighted themselves ... being alive.” He imagines that “their ghosts might sometimes ~~de~~ refresh themselves in them, as in *Elysian* fields,” thus pointing out the bond between a grave in a garden and the paradise represented by such a landscape.³⁶ Gardens, once again, provide a setting that is “conduc[ive] to meditateon & the taking of our minds from dwelling too intensely upon other more vaine objects” thus allowing those who mourn to

³⁴ *EB*, 156 [108].

³⁵ *EB*, 156 [108].

³⁶ *EB*, 211 [154A].

do so in a place that lends itself to divine contemplation.³⁷ Evelyn intended to elaborate on garden burial in the now lost chapter of Book III entitled “Of Garden Burial” and would likely have reemphasized these concepts there.³⁸

Following his own advice, Evelyn incorporated a tomb into Albury Park, a garden he designed in 1666 for Henry Howard, grandson of Thomas Howard, the collector Earl of Arundel. At the back of this garden, directly in line with the house, a tunnel was built through a large hill that served as a natural mount for this property. As has been mentioned, Evelyn referred to this tunnel as a “*Pausilippe*” in reference to a similar tunnel, the Grotta di Pausilippo near Naples, above which was a tomb thought to be that of Virgil himself.³⁹ Douglas Chambers has suggested that this allusion to a tomb serves not only as a direct tribute to one of the most renowned hortulan classical authors, but as a *memento mori* in the garden.⁴⁰ Such a device in any garden would promote “the taking of our minds from dwelling too intensely upon other more vaine objects” and cause a visitor to pause in the enjoyment of this facsimile of paradise in order to ponder his or her own mortality. This particular sepulcher serves not only as a *memento mori* of Virgil the poet, but, in a more philosophical and melancholic sense, of the lost Classical era itself.⁴¹

³⁷ Evelyn himself, and his wife Mary, did not follow the advice he gives here. They were buried in the Evelyn chapel in the Wotton Parish church at which I had the pleasure of personally paying my respects in September, 2001. While there, I was told by the church caretaker that both his and his wife’s skulls had been stolen from the church in 1992. When asked if they knew what had happened to them she very earnestly replied, to my endless amusement, “No, we don’t know who took ‘em, but I’m suuuure it was the Satanists!”

³⁸ *Acetaria*, xxx.

³⁹ See Chapter 3 above, “Theatre in the Garden.” Evelyn had visited Pausilippo in early February, 1645. *Diary*, vol. 2: 337. See also Chambers, “The Tomb in the Landscape,” 40.

⁴⁰ Chambers, “The Tomb in the Landscape...,” 43.

⁴¹ *GG*, 149-152.

Ideas of the poignancy and nostalgia surrounding garden burial were present in Evelyn's thoughts as early as January 29, 1645 when he was visiting the tomb of Cicero in Naples.

they shew'd us Ciceros Tomb standing in an Olive-grove, now a rudes [rubble] of huge stones without any forme or beauty; for here that incomparable Orator was Murther'd: I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the Sweetnesse of this passage, the Sepulchers mixed amongst the verdures of all Sorts.⁴²

He records the scene of a crumbling tomb in a grove which brings to his mind the details of the demise of the famous Roman orator, yet “the Sweetnesse of this passage, the Sepulchers mixed amongst the verdures of all Sorts” also seems to inspire a sense of peace and enchantment. This tranquil setting is perfect for the quiet contemplation of the lost classical era and of human mortality.

Scientific Observations of Insects and Birds

There are other methods of practicing divine contemplation than meditating upon Biblical passages while regarding a specific area of the garden. Evelyn and his colleagues in the Hartlib circle believed that the scientific study of Nature is yet another means of learning more of the mind of God and so, in the *Elysium Britannicum*, he proposes the meticulous, scientific observation of the actions of the more minute inhabitants of the garden: bees, ants, silkworms, and birds. For “with how much more stupor & admiration shall we looke upon the workes of God in these severall Instances, and be encourage our Gardiner {to} philosophise, study & learne out their natures; it is certainly one of the greatest Antidotes against Atheisme.”⁴³ Evelyn reminds his audience that, though they may be small “despicable things,” in large numbers they are a formidable weapon and

⁴² *Diary*, vol. 2: 322-323.

⁴³ *EB*, 311 [257]. Here “these severall Instances” refers to the wonder of the minute anatomies of insects.

“God himself calls them his Army, & by divers of them he chastiz’d *Pharo* {in *Egypt*} & has since brought them upon other Countryes.”⁴⁴ Here Evelyn provides specific Biblical narratives to reflect upon while studying these creatures. He encourages the gardener to remain devout and in particular to recognize that “there is nothing so trifling & little, which God cannot arme to overthrow & confound us when we displease him: of all men therefore it behoves our Gardiners to be {as} pious and religious persons, that none of these plagues so fatall to his labours destroy the workes of his hands.”⁴⁵ The gardener can express this pious devotion and avoid the wrath of God by scientifically observing some of His smallest creations.

One of the most exemplary insects to study is the bee. Evelyn devotes many pages to a detailed lesson on bee husbandry and the construction of apiaries, a topic with which he had first-hand experience as he had been given a transparent beehive by Dr. John Wilkins in 1654.⁴⁶ He describes the bee as being “of such use for contemplation and diversion, that there is not any which merits more esteeme or reccommends it selfe with more solid advantage.”⁴⁷ He believes that bees are excellent models for human society and that much can be learned of moral and proper behaviour from studying them.

If we will contemplat, the *Bee* is a rare *Architect*, forming her hexangular cell for every foote or Angle; They have a Citty, King, Empire, Society, They prey not on flesh, fat or blood but on the sweetest flowers, yet so feede on them as not to deface either their beauty, or rife their or discompose their chast folds: Idleness they abhorr, & when any difference arises, Musique reconciles them againe, & therefore they are the *Muses* birds & dedicated to {prophetic &} auspicious to Poets & eloquent men ... Add to {it} this that they traine institute martially & live as in a well disci ordered camp, keeping exact discipline, send out Colonies, march under their leaders at the sound of the Trumpet & are of all the *entoma* workes of Nature Creatures, the most

⁴⁴ *EB*, 311 [257].

⁴⁵ *EB*, 312 [258].

⁴⁶ *Diary*, vol. 3: 110.

⁴⁷ *EB*, 273-4 [220].

affected to Monarchy, & the most Loyall, & reading a Lecture of obedience to Rebels in every {mans} Garden: ... & so ought we ~~direct all~~ direct all our labours for the publique benefit: And all these considered in this one creature is indeede stupendious, ~~in search~~ & indeede of so profound contemplation ... For of all the Living creatures ... The Bee is the wisest, the most artificial & approching nearest to the understanding of men ...⁴⁸

Bees are excellent mathematicians and architects, avid monarchists, vegetarians, diligent workers, nature conservationists, appreciative of music, good communicators, loyal and regimental in lifestyle, yet beneficent by nature. They are obviously physically different from people, yet it is not difficult, upon observation and contemplation, for Evelyn to perceive parallels between them and our (imagined) selves.⁴⁹ Although he does not analyze them precisely in terms of religion, Evelyn values them as Nature's staunch royalists who even obey a queen. He likely interpreted this as God, who created bees as He created all Nature, offering support by example for the government Evelyn so faithfully believed in. He finds them "the most artificial," meaning that they excel at art, in this case the perfect hexangular architecture of their hives. Evelyn greatly admires their morals, loyalty, discipline, organizational skills, obedience, and work ethic. He sees their behaviour as exemplary and worthy of being that towards which human society should strive.

In an article discussing the apian discourses of Hartlib and his circle, Timothy Raylor expounds upon the common notion, both Christian and classical, of bees as "a unique natural source of divine wisdom." He continues, stating that "Christian thought also dictated that the mind of God might be understood through a proper study of his handiwork in nature; for nature, like scripture, was a book written by God."⁵⁰ As has

⁴⁸ *EB*, 274 [221].

⁴⁹ Raylor, "Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees," *CC*, 106. These ideas do not originate with Evelyn; they were quite common at the time. Raylor refers to Samuel Purchas's 1657 publication of *A Theatre of Politicall Flying-Insects* in which he records at least 300 theological analogies using bees.

⁵⁰ Raylor, 105-106.

previously been discussed, the Hartlib circle, Evelyn included, held this concept as one of their main tenets and believed that the empirical scientific study of Nature, which was governed by the laws of God, would reveal His true disposition and allow humankind to improve towards its ideal state, that of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. They focused on husbandry, including that of bees, as it provided not only spiritual revelations and moral lessons through the study of God's creatures, but also pecuniary rewards, in this case honey, mead, and wax.⁵¹

Samuel Hartlib himself wrote an entire treatise on *The Reformed Commonwealth of Bees* in 1655. In this work, compiled from a variety of ancient and contemporary sources from several countries, Hartlib treated the subject as a history of the trade of bee husbandry from classical times to the present. He tested the classical practices of bee keeping with a contemporary Baconian empirical approach, focused on the potential of these minute workers to bolster the British economy, and intended, in an omitted chapter titled "The Morality and Theologie or Divinity of Bees," to emphasize their worth for spiritual husbandry and divine contemplation.⁵² Evelyn largely relied on this volume, a copy of which was in his library, in his extensive discussion of the methods of keeping bees and the moral, spiritual, scientific, and political lessons to be learned from them.⁵³

Evelyn does not end his pontifications upon insects with bees; he is equally impressed with the feats and society of ants who construct elaborate burrows, live in a

⁵¹ Raylor, 97-101. Raylor provides a detailed analysis of the economic benefits of bee husbandry. In the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn also discusses the economic benefits of raising both bees and silkworms for their honey and silk, respectively.

⁵² Raylor, 95-106, 117. See 106-115 for a detailed discussion of Hartlib's reasons for omitting this chapter while Cromwell was still in power.

⁵³ Raylor, 97. See pages 109-112 for Raylor's discussion of the common associations of bees with monarchy. Hartlib, writing in 1655 with Cromwell still in power, had to be particularly careful not to appear overly in favour of monarchy and so focused more on the economic benefits, history, and particulars of bee husbandry than on their religious and monarchic analogies, yet he left the word "Common-wealth" in the title of his book.

democracy, and follow a regimen of hard work and discipline. He believes people could learn much from the “instruction, silent, & moral examples” of these creatures each of whom performs the task to which it is best suited in order to help the rest of the colony, all of them working together for the benefit of all.⁵⁴ As with bees, he admires the moral and behavioural qualities of ants as opposed to their religious connotations, but the scientific study and contemplation of them would still bring one closer to an understanding of Nature which was created by God.

Silkworms are also excellent vehicles for pondering the stranger workings of Nature. In raising them, one can observe their several metamorphoses until finally each one “weav[es] its owne Sepulcher, & then ... emerg[es] againe out of its silken urne, a perfect emblem of our Resurrection.”⁵⁵ Thus, through the scientific observation of the lifecycle of the silkworm, one can see reflections of the miracles of Christ in Nature.

Birds are to be studied, or at least appreciated, in an aviary in the garden because they provide music which Evelyn believes to be not just an entertainment for pleasure but divine in origin and possessed of “harmonical proportions.”

‘Twas not then for nothing that the divine *Plato* held the soule it {selfe} to consist of Harmony, and that all the world was made by it & subsisted of it; ... We will therefore say no more to ~~introduce~~ demonstrate the absolute necessitie of introducing Musique into our Gardens, which ... may upon all occasions give us the diversion of a pleasure so ~~divi-celestial~~ {divine} & abstracted, ~~and at with the fountaines whilst the~~ & greatly conducive {ing} to extasy & the most heavenly raptures, whilst ~~the Fountaines & waters seeme to dance, and~~ {our soules being drawne as it were out of our bodys}.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *EB*, 307 [252-253]. Here there is a passage as long as that on bees which describes the society of ants in terms of our own. Evelyn does not refer to ants as living, politically or societally, in a utopic community. He only mentions democracy. This is noteworthy considering that one of the main goals of the Hartlib circle was to establish a more utopic mode of living for all of England, a state where everyone could subsist easily, if not bountifully, through improvements to husbandry and education, thus eliminating poverty. It suggests that Evelyn, being a monarchist with a privileged upbringing, likely did not support this concept.

⁵⁵ *EB*, 295 [240].

⁵⁶ *EB*, 231 [174].

Evelyn informs his audience that music is so divine that it has the ability to draw the soul, which itself might “consist of Harmony,” from the body. He declares that “whither this divine Art was taught by birds or Angels, there is nothing certainly more agreeable then the chirping of these winged choristers ... For doubtlesse amongst the various innumerable ornaments of our Gardens, none is more to be valued then the Volarie, none more divertissant affording so much profet in the contemplation of their nature.”⁵⁷ He thus encourages the observation of birds for their song, as well as a great diversity of insects for their societies and life cycles, all in order to approach nearer to the divine in Nature.

Moral Statues in the Garden

The practice of divine contemplation does not arise exclusively from the scientific study of Nature or from meditating upon Biblical narratives while in the natural environs of the garden. Evelyn believes the artificial decorations of a garden, arranged in an appropriately moral program, are capable of being equally effective in teaching the practice of divine contemplation since they have an immediate visual impact on the visitor.

Evelyn supports his conviction concerning the power of Art by citing many examples from ancient Greece and Rome. There, statues of famous historical figures “generated magnificent & Majesticall *designes* {thoughts} even in the commoner persons of those Ages” and were situated abundantly in public places “not onely in their Gardens; but likewise in the Market{s} *places* {piazzas} & highways” in order to provide inspiration to the entire populace, not just those fortunate enough to possess a villa

⁵⁷ *EB*, 254 [200].

garden.⁵⁸ Evelyn feels so strongly about the benefits of public art that he uncharacteristically denounces his beloved nation for its appalling lack of it. He emphatically declares that

other Countrys out do us in publique workes, in which they are {more} sumptuously liberal, & it is a just reproch of our northern ~~du~~ stupidity & avarice when such an inconsiderable Towne as Viterbo in Italy can shew a publique fountain that cost more art & mony than all the Fountains this day in England, & such elegances do {greatly} not only contribute to pomp & shew, & to celebrate {& encourage} Workmen, but the very sight of them has some effect upon the manners & comity of {the} men who behold them, & dos sweeten & enliven their spirits: as do large streetes, uniforme buildings, & greate & stately Palaces & well Churches decently adorn'd, & I wonder how greate persons who enjoy them can be wicked, & do unworthy things in them.⁵⁹

According to this impassioned speech, statues and all public art and architecture improve the moral quality, “the manners & comity” or civility, of all the inhabitants of civilization and should cause people not to “be wicked, & do unworthy things.” Evelyn proposes that, apart from their positive impact on the disposition of the populace, public productions also have the potential to prevail powerfully upon political persuasions.

those noble {glorious} Monuments and Memories of well deserving & meritorious persons, had to nobler designes; not as a bare and transitory entertainment of the Eyes {onely}, or gentle deception of the tyme; but as it had a seacret & powerfull influence even to {wards} the advancement of *Monarchy*, by their continuall representations of {great &} vertuous Examples so as in that poynt, Art became a piece of State.⁶⁰

Evelyn is clearly aware of the effect that monuments and statues can have on the minds of people and so, taking advantage of this knowledge, he finds that

The same may be applied {also} to the encouragement of Industrious & Ingenious men, when they shall behold the honour which is don to such as by their Art & Science had obliged the World: For thus were the Effigies

⁵⁸ *EB*, 204 [149], 211 [155].

⁵⁹ *EB*, 186 [133].

⁶⁰ *EB*, 211 [155].

of Greate & excellent persons us'd to be plac't both in the Gardens & houses.⁶¹

“Industrious & Ingenious” people will be motivated to do their best in life if they can see that they will be remembered in statuary, both publicly and in villa gardens. They will be encouraged by the knowledge that they will inspire future generations as they themselves have, presumably, been similarly affected by the public works of their era.

Evelyn advises the landowner and garden architect to include statues of famous historical and Biblical figures, not mythological, in the garden in an effort to create a thematic decorative program that stimulates the intellect and encourages moral behaviour. He promotes historical figures in the garden saying that

As a Garden without Water hath no life, as depriv'd of its radicalt humor; so without *Sculpture*, it has no action; for by this it is that we reppresent the figures of ~~Men~~ those {greate} Heros, & Genious's that have so well deserv'd of Gardens, & so much celebrated by the Antients, affording an ornament not onely of exceeding pleasure to the eye, but to the intellect it selfe, and the furniture of the most profitable discourses, whilst we behold our *Elysium* ~~inri breathing~~ & enriched & (as it were) breathing with the statues of those Gallant & illustrious Persons, whose actions have filled our Histories with the most glorious ~~act actions~~ instances, & whose inventions & industries have stored our Gardens with the ~~best~~ {noblest} of her diversions.⁶²

He makes no mention of mythological figures here. He suggests instead that statues of “{greate} Heros, & Genious's ... Gallant & illustrious Persons,” people who shaped history or were great thinkers, are suitable and “well deserv'd of Gardens,” both as a reward for their contribution to society and as an example for others.⁶³ He specifically

⁶¹ *EB*, 211 [155].

⁶² *EB*, 204 [149]. Evelyn declares in several places that statues, made by Art, bring life to the garden which is already filled with living Nature. He refers to them later in this passage as “lively reppresentations.” On page 211 [155], he cites Pliny as having said that Art rivaled Nature in major cities because “there were almost as many *Statues* as living men.”

⁶³ Evelyn is aware that both Pliny the Younger and Cicero advocated retirement to a villa as a suitable reward for a lifetime of contributing, actively or contemplatively, to society. See the preface to *Acetaria*, xii-xiv, for a specific instance of his knowledge of this principle, which he is at that time invoking near the end of his own life, just after retiring to Wotton.

includes among these those “whose inventions & industries have stored our Gardens with the **best** {noblest} of her diversions” and insists on acquiring “the statues of our most famous Gardners ~~in pictures of plaster~~ {statue} to adorne the *Pinacothecæ* {Repositories} & *Porticos* with some of their elegies ~~in short~~: {& to preserve their memories}” once again elevating the garden architect to an exalted place in an artistic setting amongst the educated geniuses of the world.

Evelyn explicitly advocates the inclusion of statues with Biblical subject matter in the garden, which, according to his own arguments, provides inspirational topics upon which “the intellect it selfe” can meditate in the garden. He does admit Greek and Roman mythological pieces into the garden, but they are not considered part of the main thematic program. They usually consist only of generic classical subject matter intended to provide ambience to various areas of the garden; the most prized specimens are preserved in the garden gallery.⁶⁴ He accepts even these with reservation and only in certain instances and he wishes to

speake a word or two concerning the Reppresentations themselves; since (as we ~~sayd~~ affirmed) all are not to be admitted promiscuously; nor indeede (amongst Christians) all that we find they did of old, entertaine in their Gardens.⁶⁵

After providing an extensive list of typical mythological subjects appropriate for various areas of the garden such as groves, mounts, or fountains, Evelyn declares that “These all had places in the Gardens of old, and may safely for the most part, be {modestly} introduced into our *Elysium*, with such applications & cautions as we shall hereafter ~~shew~~ declare.” He follows this warning with a lengthy anecdotal admonition against “obscene *Scar-crows*” and any other lewdness in subject matter and concludes by deciding that

⁶⁴ See the discussion of this in Chapter 3 above, in the section on “Classicism in the Garden.”

⁶⁵ *EB*, 207 [152].

the use of these statues ancient representations, we shall not impugne: But concurr with those who shall {rather} recommend {to our Gardners} the introduction of the statues of the *Patriarchs, Adam, Kings, and Heros* which we find in the sacred stories, such as *Adam, Noah, Abraham, (for he Jacob* (for they in made planted Groves): {Also} *Solomon, Nabal, Susanna, {St Paulinus}* etc: and in the prophane, The most morall & {famous} excellent *Zoroaster, Ossyris, {Semiramis} Hesiod, {Thalia}, Democritus, Epicurus, Xenophon, Hieron, Philomet, Agathocles, Menander, Aristomenes, Crates, Lysimachus, Cyrus, Aristophanes, Dionysuis, Mensorates, {Aristotle}, Varro, Cato the Censor, Tremellius, Virgil, {Mecoenus}, Seneca, Pliny, Theophrastus, Fabricus, Curius Dentatus, Quintus Cincinnatus, Furius Antinus, Cicero, Lucullus, {Dioscoridus}*. And of later times, *Constantinus Pogonatus, Higin Cornelius-Celsus, Matthiolus, Hippolito d'Este, Petro Aldobrandino*, not to omitt our *Parkinson, Johnson & Gerhard, Clusius, Taber[nae] Montanus, Lobel, & sundry others* which we might enumerate, worthy of eternal memories both for their writings, & aff inventions, & affectations to Gardens, whose statues may abundantly, & with better reason, supplie the ornament {of} with those fained and impure Deities which did formerly ~~decere~~ {prophane} the Gardens of the superstitious *Ethnicks*:⁶⁶

Here, Evelyn clearly sides in favour of “morall & famous” historical and Biblical, subjects, including those offered by England’s talented citizenry. He prefers these over “those fained and impure Deities which did formerly ~~decere~~ {prophane} the Gardens of the superstitious *Ethnicks*” as being morally superior and better examples to ponder when practicing divine contemplation in the garden. Within this passage, he provides an ample array of appropriate figures, Biblical, ecclesiastical, and philosophical, “worthy of eternal memories both for their writings, & aff inventions, & affectations to Gardens,” all of whom should generate reverent reflections in the minds of his audience. With specific regard to the “Philosophico-Medicall” garden, Evelyn recommends

a moderate mixture of such Stattues as represent to the life the Effigies & memorie of the most skillfull & illustrious Botanists, Physitians & Philosophers it which {they} may be rarely placed upon the Ascents of the

⁶⁶ *EB*, 210 [154].

Mount, & in some other signall places about the Garden, what can it want of the ultimate perfection & accomplishment of this part of our *Elysium*.⁶⁷

And so it can be seen that Evelyn's ideal garden program is an homage not just to Biblical, classical, and contemporary "*Patriarchs, Kings, and Heros,*" but to "skillfull & illustrious" scientists who represent the new Baconian zeal for experiments upon Nature in the garden, intended to provide another avenue for the pious contemplation of God's creation.

⁶⁷ *EB*, 407 [326].

CONCLUSION

Although John Evelyn was initially inspired to undertake the *Elysium Britannicum* by Samuel Hartlib and his circle, he demonstrates conformation to only some of their convictions. Samuel Hartlib, modelling his practices on the philosophies of Francis Bacon, believed that the improvement of agricultural practices through scientific experiment and the subsequent reform of education, with the intent to disseminate these new methods to the large agrarian population of England, would ultimately lead to a general increase in quality of life for the entire nation. These improvements would, in theory, begin a trend towards the betterment of every aspect of humankind with the eventual goal of re-attaining the perfect state bestowed upon humanity in the Garden of Eden. This utopic aspiration was all to be accomplished before the next millennium, the possible date of the Second Coming of Christ and the Day of Judgement. While Evelyn clearly agrees that science and religion are inextricably linked in the sense that a close empirical scrutiny of Nature, from hydraulic automata to insects, will reveal the inner workings of the mind of God, he does not intend to circulate this message to the general populace or to use his horticultural knowledge to reform their education or enhance their lot. After all, the subtitle of his manuscript is "The Royal Garden." His audience is clearly the educated, specialized garden architects and the elite, wealthy landowners who possess enough land that they can spare several dozen acres for the pursuit of art and intellectual pleasure. Evelyn's focus on horticulture as a form of art shows a clear lack of concern for improving the agrarian life of the common farmer. This attitude is also manifest in Evelyn's "History of Trades," abandoned in part because of his discomfort with the working class, and his proposed college, the purpose of which was to preserve knowledge among elite scientists in a private, secluded villa setting, propagating their findings only within the confines of their intellectual circle. His entire outlook is more in keeping with the early members of the Royal Society, a group of virtuosi and scientists, both amateur

and actual, established with the blessing of the restored monarchy, and more concerned with observing obscure natural phenomena for their own scholarly entertainment than with analyzing mundane natural conditions for the benefit of the common person.

The *Elysium Britannicum* was made at time when Evelyn felt retreat from the world was the only viable option, thus he has proposed a place which, if ever built, would provide the ultimate intellectual sanctuary for religious contemplation and the Baconian pursuit of natural philosophy. In order to appeal to the virtuosi and amateur scientists who would inhabit or construct such a place, Evelyn proposes physically transplanting an Italian garden, an art form greatly admired by his peers, to the environment of England. In theory, this Elysium is derived from classical texts, particularly Virgil's *Georgics*, and is concerned with other issues such as variety, theatre, and the juxtaposition of Art and Nature. In appearance, it contains all the components and amenities of an Italian garden: grottos, mounts, groves, fountains. But unlike its Italian counterpart, which intended to revive or at least reminisce upon the Golden Age of ancient Rome, the thematic programs of Evelyn's garden would promote reflection upon the modern moral concerns of Protestant England, would celebrate the history of natural philosophy, and would encourage contemplation on the presence of God in all of Nature.

In 1699, near the end of his life, realizing that it was unlikely he would be able to complete the entire *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn published chapter twenty of Book II, titling it *Acetaria: a Discourse on Sallets*. In the introduction to this small volume, between an appeal to the president of the Royal Society to provide for it a new home and the presentation of the final printed version of the table of contents of the *Elysium Britannicum*, Evelyn wrote the following:

Nor do I think, Men will ever reach the End, and far extended Limits of the *Vegetable Kingdom*, so incomprehensible is the Variety it every Day produces, of the most Useful, and Admirable of all the Aspectable Works of God; since almost all we *see*, and *touch*, and *taste*, and *smell*, *eat* and *drink*,

are clad with, and *defended* (from the Greatest *Prince* to the Meanest *Peasant*) is furnished from the Great and Universal Plantation, *Epitomiz'd* in our *Gardens*, highly worth the Contemplation of the most Profound Divine, and Deepest *Philosopher*.⁶⁸

In this passage he encourages his audience - gardeners, landowners, virtuosi, and natural philosophers alike - to continue exploring and contemplating the infinite wonders of God and the universe through Nature and the plants He created, "*Epitomiz'd* in our *Gardens*." This is the essence of the *Elysium Britannicum*.

⁶⁸ Acetaria, xx.

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APPENDIX I

John Beale's Draft Plans for "A Physique Garden" and "A Garden of Pleasure", 1659¹

A Physique Guarden
And the preparation of Composts
Fit for all kinds of Gardens.
And fit for experiments of generall use
by I B sometimes F. of K.C. in C.²

- Chapt: 1 sheweing by a paradoxe, Howe a wilde & ragged ground may bee fittest for a
Garden.
- 2 One bed yearely to be renewed for novell experiments.
- 3 A Partition where severall composts should bee prepared.
- 4 Lord Bacons hot bed what, & for what it is fittest.
- 5 Johnsons Gerards hot bed described, & for what it is fittest.
- 6 A third kind of hot bed described, as fitter for Trees, for a hedge, & hedge plants, for a
nursery, & for triall of unknowne seedes, & strange plants.
- 7 Other greate variety of Composts, besides dung & fine mold; & much more powerfull.
- 8 The choice of dungs.
- 9 Marle richer then dung for some uses, & more durable, as Blith fully proveth. How it is
best compounded.
- 10 Stiffe clay howe to bee prepared, & mud howe beste to bee compounded.
- 11 Lime better with sand than with clay, & howe fittest for gardens.
- 12 Bottomes of woode folds, & rotten woods, howe good to mellow stiffe clay.
- 13 Chalke, & other ouer heaters, for what nicetys fittest.

¹ The only full copies of Beale's prospectuses that I have been able to locate are in *Cult & Cult*, Appendix III, 226-231. Here they are cited as being part of the Hartlib Papers, HP 25.6.1a-4b. This is his proposal for one part of what might have become the *Elysium Britannicum*. It is much more focused on the care of the plants and soil than on the ornaments of the garden.

² The initials stand for "John Beale sometimes Fellow of King's College in Cambridge."

- 14 From Plinyes iudgement three directions for Indian rarities; And first the Riches of the soyle, which may bee helped by ballast of ships; by Sea sand; & by stalkes of Indian & forreigne plants putrified.
- 15 The rich compost of the Parisian Experiment cited by Mr Hartlib, which is by fermentation & sublimation, examined, & further prosecuted.
- 16 Plinyes Second directions, The Temper of the heavens: Our greatest distresse much rayne, the Proper remedies. To double the Sun rayes; Howe to lengthen our Autumne, And to præoccupate our spring. And to interrupt the Vehemence of extreame Winter. Howe to alter & wholly to reverse the force of Winds: And howe to make such choice of Plants as will warme the ayre for others: & howe to prevent blasts.
- 17 Plinyes third accomodation, plenty of wholesome waters. The Concernement of it. what waters hurt. what do good. what are best for the bloome & leafe; what best for the rootes. what remedies in over wet sumers. what remedies in droughts.
- 18 These [sic] Niceties Not trifles, nor much cumbersome, but of mighty operation.
- 19 what plants are annoyed by our unseasonable application to a rich mold.
- 20 Wilde plants oft-times more valuable than garden plants: And from bare hills & champion grounds, better, than from the richer vale. This applied for the benefit of our Physique garden.
- 21 Lord Bacons rules Howe to acquire variety of simples in their naturall perfection by severall kinds of Earth.
- 22 Howe the same earth layd in severall postures yieldeth severall plants, & alter againe in severall seasons.
- 23 For some plants tis best to transport them together with their soyle, as a cart load, or more at a time.
- 24 Some plants prepare & fit their Soyle for other plants, as Corne for Corneflowers. &c

- 25 Plants of some kinds best raysed without seede or rootes.
- 26 A short digression for more garden roome.
- 27 How to dispose the allyes to prepare variety of rich mold.
- 28 what earths are best, Comparing Lord Bacons iudgement with Virgills, & other experience.³
- 29 Eight or nine rules Concerning dung.
- 30 The severall usuall wayes of enriching land sumd up to a briefe viewe.
- 31 Snowe an enricher of land, & howe.
- 32 Fit allso to knowe & practice the severall wayes of impoverishing land: And Howe.
- 33 Virgills choice of soyle fittest for ollives. Secondly for Vines; compared with Columellas, Mr Hartlibs, & Glaubers composts. what the benefit of shavings of horne: Of a sinke; of a sprinkleing of duste; Thirdly Virgills choice of soyle for pasture. Fourthly for arable.
- 34 Virgills discovery of 9 qualityes of soyle.
- 35 Some qualification of Virgills obiection, That trees require distinct climates. Not altogether a iust discouragement.
- 36 Choice of soyle proper for severall kinds of plants.
- 37 Severall wayes of fermenting the most barren earth into the speediest fertility.⁴

³ Here Beale is comparing the classical with the Baconian, but in a more practical manner than Evelyn tends to.

⁴ Up to this point, Beale is almost entirely concerned with growing plants and with the composition of soils and composts. By the time he writes *Acetaria*, Evelyn has reduced everything on soils, composts, and the propagation of plants, respectively, to three fairly concise chapters. The last three chapters of Book II deal with plant care, sickness and pests, and the Kalendarium, yet they are not nearly as lengthy as the chapters that Evelyn dedicates to other aspects of the garden.

38 That Hee is neyther worthy of a Garden, nor a true owner of it, That hath not the use of
the Lymbec to extract oyles, salts, spirits &c.⁵

39 An encouragement to Ladyes & Gentlewomen to assiste us in finding out & dressing
this unforbidden fruite, In which they may have the happines to excell the greatest
of ancient philosophers.⁶

⁵ Beale dedicates chapters 2 and 38 to “novell experiments” with plants. Evelyn has a very lengthy chapter in Book III (Chapter 2, “Of the Hortulan Elaboratory...”) dedicated to experiments on plants as well as large sections of other chapters. This is a manifestation of the scientific studies of Bacon and Hartlib on the garden activities suggested by both Beale and Evelyn.

⁶ Unlike Evelyn, Beale openly invites educated women to participate in the world of gardening. Nowhere in the *Elysium Britannicum* is there an invitation specifically to women intended to encourage and welcome them to participate in the artistic, scientific, or philosophical activities of the garden

A Garden of Pleasure
 Encouraged & directed
 By the Ideas of Phantsy
 And by the Iudgement & Authority
 Of the Sublimest Wits of Ancient
 And Moderne Ages,
 Domestique & Forreigne
 And reduced to the choicest rules
 Of Secrete, Mysterious, and Reserved Arts

by I B sometimes F. of K.C. in C.

First drawne for the private use of a
 persone of Honour

But with a regardfull aspect to the generall
 benefit of all that Love fayre guardens.

The Argument

Chapter first deviseing, Howe & why a Garden of delight should bee a retirement as well
 from other mens eyes, & overlooking windowes, as from common through
 fayres.⁷

2 Adviseing Not to enforce the platforme to any particular phantsy, but to apply unto it
 the best shape, That will agree with the nature of the place.⁸

3 deviseing by an insinuating paradoxe, Howe the most imperfect figure may by the
 mysteryes of Art & phantsy receive the most gracefull Ornament, & fittest for a
 garden.

4 Chapt. advising not to inflame unnecessary expenses, except wee hope That Pan will
 regratify Midas in preferring his golden touch before Apollos harpe.

5 Yet allso fixeing bounds & giveing caution against a wastefull frugality.

⁷ This supports Evelyn's ideas of *villeggiatura*, see Chapter 3, "Classicism in the Garden."

⁸ This is said in support of leaving Nature alone, untempered by Art, unless that becomes necessary.

- 6 Directing in what points wee should disaffect the charges & cumber of Art, when the production of Nature wilbe more proper: Confirmed by the excellent concept of Sir Philip Sidney.
- 7 A prosecution & illustration of Sir H Wottons Concept, That as Fabriques should bee regular, soe gardens should bee irregular, or caste into a very wilde regularity.⁹
- 8 The advancement of the Lord Bacons ayme at Ver perpetuum.
- 9 The choice & application of such Flowers as are most apt to perfume the ayre of the walkes with the use & confirmation of the Lord Bacons observation That the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the ayre, than in the hand.
- 10 Howe to fit the perfumes of severall walkes for severall uses & severall seasons.
- 11 Directions Howe to order some crosse allyes with Indecative plants in the border to the use of a diall; yet soe as the phantsy bee not too faynte, & too open.
- 12 A Search into the Mystery, How colors may bee sorted into beauty, & how they may bee melded into a tawdry deformity.
- 13 A deeper search into the different beautyes, & deformityes of simple colors.
- 14 A further scrutiny into the grounds & rules of compounding colors into a multiplied delight & perfection. And proved, That thiese [sic] are not to bee accompted tedious curiosities, but the result of divine information manifested in the holy records. The point explained in eleven rules.
- 15 A search into the powerfull operations effluxions & motions of colors. This allso proved to bee no vaine or unconsiderable Curiosity And layd downe in seven rules.¹⁰

⁹ Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London, 1629). Beale is quoting Wotton's very influential description of the relationship that a house and garden should have. Beale and Evelyn both agree that Nature should be left to its own devices to as great an extent as possible, though Evelyn has many chapters concerning artificial embellishments, whereas Beale has none.

¹⁰ Evelyn only mentions the colour of flowers in passing in one or two places in the *Elysium Britannicum*. He does not focus on it.

- 16 Howe the Wit, spirite, Genius & Inclination of Men may bee discovered & betrayed in the election of flowry beautyes.
- 17 That an unsensibility of delight in gardens may rather bee an effect of dullness, than of gravity.
- 18 How the pleasure of Garden delights ought to bee consecrated.
- 19 what pot herbs or Esculent plants may bee allowed in a garden of pleasure.
- 20 Better to bee confind with the Carthusian from flesh & the shamble, than bee still (as most of our English yet are) in our state of ignorance Concerning many esculent plants.
- 21 Pleads an allowance of place for Physicall plants.
- 22 The iust recommendation of the medicall art.
- 23 A sufficient knowledge of simples easily obtainable.
- 24 Bespeakes roome for novell experiments; And first to enfranchise such plants as are strangers.
- 25 Secondly to Civilise such as are wilde, and to amplify, & adorne our store by alterations.
- 26 Thirdly to find out improvements to the benefit of Mankind; with directions in it.¹¹
- 27 whether the large trees of the Orchard should bee admitted into the Garden: Or the Orchard necessarily divided from the garden.
- 28 Howe the ancient Ornaments of a Watchtower, The Ostiary Statue, Vertumnus, The obscaene Scarcrowe, The Fountaine sealed & Casternes, & Lavors may bee best qualified, or diverted to moderne elegancies.

¹¹ Chapters 20-26 clearly demonstrate the influence of Bacon and Hartlib. Beale recommends learning as much as possible about medicinal plants to improve England's "state of ignorance" in this field. He then suggests performing experiments on plants to discover their properties and potential means of cultivation in order to benefit the well-being of humanity. He maintains that this is a concern even in a garden of pleasure.

29 whether the ancient Chrystal apiaryes, & moderne Aviaryes may bee required in a garden of pleasure.¹²

30 The old Hortulane Lawes, Rules, or directions, sheweing Howe & howe far The owner should admit & entertaine his guests, and Howe guests should deport themselves in a garden.¹³

¹² Evelyn dedicates a very lengthy chapter (Book II, Chapter 13) to the subject of birds and insects.

¹³ This is the same as Evelyn's chapter in Book III and is quite definitely a statement on the *Lex Hortorum*. See Chapter 3 of the present work, "Classicism in the Garden."

APPENDIX II

Table of Contents of the *Elysium Britannicum* as transcribed by John Ingram in 2001¹

Referred to as "Table 1" in the present text.

ELYSIUM BRITANNICUM
OR THE ROYAL GARDEN
IN THREE BOOKS

BOOK I

Præface Pr:	pages:
Chap 1 A Garden derived, and defined, with its distinctions and sorts.	1
2 Of a Gardiner and how he is to be qualified.	3
3 Of Principles and Elements in general.	6
4 Of the Fire.	10
5 Of the Air, and Winds.	12
6 Of the Water.	13
7 Of the Earth.	15
8 Of the Celestial influences, particularly the Sun, Moon, and of the Climates.	16
9 Of the four Seasons.	19
10 Of the Mould and Soil of a Garden.	23
11 Of Composts, and Stercoration. {with some conjectures concerning an account of the Causes of Vegetation and fertility.}	
12 Of the Generation of Plants. {Vegetation}	30

¹ *EB*, 21-23. Ingram has provided a complete version with Evelyn's margin notes, 421-428.

BOOK II

1	Of the Instruments belonging to a Gardiner, and their various uses. {& Termes used by Gardiners etc.}	41
2	Of the Situation of a Garden, with its extent.	52
3	Of enclosing, fencing, plotting and disposing of the Ground	54
4	Of a seminary, ([illegible] grafting} and of propagating Trees, Plants and Flowers. {Grafting}	61
5	Of Knots, Parterrs, Compartiments, Bordures, and Embossments. {Topiary work and hortulan architecture}	74
6	Of Walks, Terraces, Allees, Carpets, Bowling-greens, Malls, there materials and proportions.	77
7	Of Groves, Labyrinths, Dædales, Cabinets, Cradles, Pavilions, Galleries, Close-walks, and other Relievo's.	89
8	Of {Planting} Transplanting.	111
9	Of Fountains, Cascades, Rivulets, Piscenas, Canales, Water-works.	117
10	Of Rocks, Grots, Cryptas, Mounts, Precipices, Porticos, Ventiducts, and other Hortulan refreshments.	133
11	Of Statues, Obeliscs, Columns, Dyals, Pots, Vasas, Perspectives, Paintings, and other Ornaments.	[149]
12	Of Artificial Echoe{'}'s, Automats, and Hydraulic motions.	167
13	Of Aviaries, Apiaries, Vivaries, Insects, etc.	200
14	Of Verdures, Perennial-greens, and perpetual Springs.	259
15	Of Orangeries, Oporothecas, and Conservatories of rare Plants and Fruits. {with the manner of raising them}	262

- 16 Of Coronary Gardens, Flowers, and rare Plants, how they are to be propagated, govern'd, and improv'd; together with a Catalogue of the choicest Shrubs, Plants, and Flowers, with a touch at their Vertues, and how the Gardiner is to keep his Register. 275
- 17 Of the Philosophical Medical Garden. 321
- 18 Of stupendious and wonderful Plants. {Sensitive} 331
- 19 Of the Ortyard, and what Fruit-Trees, Olitory and Esculent Plants, may be admitted into a Garden of pleasure. {and Sallets} 362
- {20 Of Sallets}
- 201 Of a Vineyard, and Directions about making Wine. 380
- 212 Of Watering, Pruning, Plashing, Nailing, Clipping, Mowing, and Rolling. {of Pressing {repastinating} & stirring} 395
- 223 Of the Enemies and Infirmities to which a Garden is obnoxious, together with the Remedies. 405
- 234 Of the Gardiners Almanack, or Calendarium Hortense, directing what he is to do monthly, and what Fruits and Flowers are in Prime. 415.

BOOK III

- 1 Of Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting, and altering the Species, Forms and {briefly called} substantial qualities of Plants and Flowers. 433
- 2 Of the Gardiners Elaboratory, and of distilling, and extracting of Waters, Spirits, Essences, Salts, Resuscitation of Plants, with other rare Experiments, and an account of their Vertues. 559

- 3 Of Composing the *Hortus Hyemalis* and making Books of Natural, Arid Plants, and Flowers, with other curious ways of preserving them in their Natural. 629
- 4 Of Painting of Flowers, Flowers enamel'd, in Silk, Wax, Gum, Horn, Feathers, Shells, Calicos, Moss, Pietra Commessa {Paist}, Mettal, Inlayings, Embroderies, Carvings, and other artificial representations of them. 631
- 5 Of Crowns, Chaplets, Garlands, Festoons, Flower-pots, Nosegays, Posies, and other Flowry Poms. 633
- 6 Of the Hortulan Laws. {& Privileges} 643
- 7 Of the Hortulan Study, and of a Library assistant to it. 649
- 8 Of Hortulan Entertainments, Divine, Moral, and Natural, to shew the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and universal use of a Garden. {Garden Buriale etc.} 657
- 9 Of the most famous Gardens in the World, Ancient and Modern. 727
- 10 The Description of a *Villa*. 867
- 11 The Corollary and Conclusion. {Authors of *Books* on these Subjects Either asked or yet to be consulted}

FINIS

J. EVELYN

APPENDIX III

Table of Contents of the *Elysium Britannicum* as seen in the preface to *Acetaria*, 1699

Referred to as "Table 2" in the present text.

The Plan of a Royal Garden:
Describing, and Shewing the *Amplitude*, and *Extent*
of that Part of *Georgicks*, which belongs to *Horticulture*.

In Three Books

BOOK I

Chap. I. Of *Principles* and *Elements* in general.

Chap. II. Of the Four (vulgarly reputed) *Elements*; *Fire*, *Air*, *Water*, *Earth*.

Chap. III. Of the *Celestial Influences*, and particularly of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and of the
Climates.

Chap. IV. Of the Four *Annual Seasons*.

Chap. V. Of the *Natural Mould* and *Soil* of a Garden.

Chap. VI. Of *Composts*, and *Stercoration*, *Repastination*, *Dressing* and *Stirring* the *Earth*
and *Mould* of a Garden.

BOOK II

Chap. I. A Garden *Deriv'd* and *Defin'd*; its *Dignity*, *Distinction*, and *Sorts*.

Chap. II. Of a *Gardiner*, how to be *qualify'd*, *regarded* and *rewarded*; his *Habitation*,
Cloathing, *Diet*, *Under-Workmen* and *Assistants*.

Chap. III. Of the *Instruments* belonging to a *Gardiner*; their various *Uses*, and
Machanical Powers.

Chap. IV. Of the *Terms* us'd, and affected by *Gardiniers*.

- Chap. V. Of Enclosing, Fencing, Plotting, and disposing of the Ground; and of Terraces, Walks, Allies, Malls, Bowling-Greens, &c.*
- Chap. VI. Of a Seminary, Nurseries; and of Propagating Trees, Plants and Flowers, Planting and Transplanting, &c.*
- Chap. VII. Of Knots, Parterres, Compartiments, Borders, Banks and Embossments.*
- Chap. VIII. Of Groves, Labyrinths, Dedals, Cabinets, Cradles, Close-Walks, Galleries, Pavilions, Portico's, Lanterns, and other Relievo's; of Topiary and Hortulan Architecture.*
- Chap. IX. Of Fountains, Jetto's, Cascades, Rivulets, Piscina's, Canals, Baths, and other Natural, and Artificial Water-Works.*
- Chap. X. Of Rocks, Grotts, Cryptae, Mounts, Precipices, Ventiducts, Conservatories, of Ice and Snow, and other Hortulan Refreshments.*
- Chap. XI. Of Statues, Busts, Obelisks, Columns, Inscriptions, Dials, Vasa's, Perspectives, Paintings, and other Ornaments.*
- Chap. XII. Of Gazon-Theatres, Amphitheatres, Artificial Echo's, Automata and Hydraulic Musck [Music].*
- Chap. XIII. Of Aviaries, Apiaries, Vivaries, Insects, &c.*
- Chap. XIV. Of Verdures, Perennial Greens, and Perpetual Springs.*
- Chap. XV. Of Orangeries, Oporotheca's, Hybernacula, Stoves, and Conservatories of Tender Plants and Fruits, and how to order them.*
- Chap. XVI. Of the Coronary Garden: Flowers and Rare Plants, how they are to be Raised, Governed and Improved; and how the Gardiner is to keep his Register.*
- Chap. XVII. Of the Philosophical Medical Garden.*
- Chap. XVIII. Of Stupendous and Wonderful Plants.*
- Chap. XIX. Of the Hort-Yard [Orchard] and Potagere; and what Fruit-Trees, Olitory and Esculent Plants, may be admitted into a Garden of Pleasure.*

Chap. XX. Of Sallets.

Chap. XXI. Of a Vineyard, and Directions concerning the making of Wine and other Vinous Liquors, and of Teas.

Chap. XXII. Of Watering, Pruning, Plashing, Pallisading, Nailing, Clipping, Mowing, Rowling, Weeding, Cleansing, &c.

Chap. XXIII. Of the Enemies and Infirmities to which Gardens are obnoxious, together with Remedies.

Chap. XXIV. Of the Gardiner's Almanack or Kalendarium Hortense, directing what he is to do Monthly, and what Fruits and Flowers are in prime.

BOOK III

Chap. I. Of Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting, and Altering the Species, Forms and (reputed) Substantial Qualities of Plants, Fruits and Flowers.

Chap. II. Of the Hortulan Elaboratory; and of distilling and extracting of Waters, Spirits, Essences, Salts, Colours, Resuscitation of Plants, with other rare Experiments, and an Account of their Virtues.

Chap. III. Of Composing the Hortus Hyemalis, and making Books, of Natural, Arid Plants and Flowers, with several Ways of Preserving them in their Beauty.

Chap. IV. Of Painting of Flowers, Flowers enamell'd, Silk, Callico's, Paper, Wax, Guns [Gums], Pasts, Horns, Glass, Shells, Feathers, Moss, Pietra Comessa, Inlayings, Embroyderies, Carvings, and other Artificial Representations of them.

Chap. V. Of Crowns, Chaplets, Garlands, Festoons, Encarpa, Flower-Pots, Nosegays, Poeses, Deckings, and other Flowery Pomps.

Chap. VI. Of Hortulan Laws and Privileges.

Chap. VII. Of the Hortulan Study, and of a Library, Authors and Books assistant to it.

Chap. VIII. Of Hortulan Entertainments, Natural, Divine, Moral, and Political; with divers Historical Passages, and Solemnities, to shew the Riches, Beauty, Wonder, Plenty, Delight, and Universal Use of Gardens.

Chap. IX. Of Garden Burial.

Chap. X. Of Paradise, and of the most Famous Gardens in the World, Ancient and Modern.

Chap. XI. The Description of a Villa.

Chap. XII. The Corollary and Conclusion.