



Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

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Presentation

After one year exactly, as we intended, the second volume of *Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal* journal is ready to be launched. This is only possible due to the excellent team working at and for G&LP success. My special thanks to Paulo Baptista and Rosie Peddle. We are also especially thankful for all the authors who submitted articles to this volume and went through a laborious process as well as to the referees for their careful and demanding reading which made each article more rigorous and more interesting than the former versions.

We are pleased to announce that the same structure has been kept and in the articles' section the journal has grown and one more article has been included. It is also important to underline that the main goals previously highlighted for our journal were adhered to: namely that 70% of the journal is dedicated to sharing Portuguese scientific research on gardens and landscape studies and that the other 30% is happily going to include main subjects that are interesting to all the fields of gardens and landscape studies.

We are also proud to say that all articles have gone through a double-blind referee process, after which authors have introduced the referee's suggestions into their texts. Proof-review and editing work were the last steps each of these articles have gone through. Thus, this volume stands as an international quarterly created with the collaboration of foreign authors and foreign referees.

This volume starts with an article by Aurora Carapinha which offers the perspective of the scholar on the essence of Portuguese gardens and her vision as to why they are the last guardian of the Mediterranean matrix. These conclusions are based on an inventory made by her in former years which includes more than a thousand items. Somehow still an heir of this tradition or at least of these ideals, Margaret Jackson's garden built in the 21st century aims to attain the Mediterranean garden concept against the flow in an Algarve totally dominated by a certain idea of tropical paradise created with lawns and palm trees. My article offers the unique manuscript by Margaret Jackson: more than 170 pages in which we are able to watch step by step the creation of this vernacular garden. Paulo Baptista's article on photography of Portuguese landscapes prompts a completely different notion of Portuguese representation, and relationship with landscape, and of the role photography had in the 19th century for this expression of the art, especially Biel's album *A arte e a natureza em Portugal*. The following article is on garden sculpture, but with a very particular taste for ancient art. Ricardo Mendonça highlights some details of the production of stone and lead sculptures in Portuguese gardens such as at the Palace of Fronteira, the Tropical garden in Belém and the garden of the National Museum of Ancient Art. Finally, Abigail Dowling from the University of California, offers us an article which is also a revision of the knowledge we have on Pier de Crescenzi's treatise, the most outstanding book on good farm management of the 14th century and absolutely influential for the whole Mediterranean world, especially following the printed editions of the 16th century.

In the section "On Projects", Alexandra Gago da Câmara tells us about a successful example of a project where art history, gardens and tourism are perfectly matched and that might be a solution for the lack of opportunities in these fields. In the end, we are also able to include the book reviews by two landscape architects, Aurora Carapinha and Rute Sousa Matos, on very important studies for the field. Aurora Carapinha has written the book review of *Paisajes Culturales del patrimonio mundial* (2012) coordinated by Ana Luengo and Mechtild Rossler for UNESCO and Rute Sousa Matos has written the book review of a very particular chapter of *The Dynamic Landscape: Design, Ecology and Management of Naturalistic Urban Planting*, coordinated by Nigel Dunnett and James Hitchmough (2004).

It is an honour for us to say that this volume of *Gardens and Landscapes of Portugal* is an example of multi-disciplinary approaches given by different disciplines with contributions from landscape architects, art historians, historians and sculptors. It stands also as an example of multi-generational contributors, including articles of renowned scholars alongside those from PhD candidates. It stands as an example of scientific research that also promotes Portuguese heritage and never neglects the mainstream subjects of an international forum of gardens and landscape studies. This is the path we wish to follow.

Ana Duarte Rodrigues



ABSTRACT

I seek to define the garden and estate spatiality in the Portuguese culture having as a starting point history and biophysical conditions. I argue that Portuguese gardens spatiality finds its roots in the Mediterranean matrix.

Aurora Carapinha is professor of landscape architecture at the University of Évora and associated researcher of CHAIA.

ARTICLE

The essence of the Portuguese garden is a long-term subject of my research. This research has been absorbing and of predominant importance. Each visit I made, each description I read, each document I analysed would reveal a garden different from any other. And this comes from the particular nature of the garden space which determines that each garden is a unique construction, even if only in terms of concept, as a happy place and representative of many powers and various meanings which would spread in time and be repeated in space. Each garden chooses its place and simultaneously synthesizes the landscape's potential diffuse estheticism as prompted by Assunto (ASSUNTO 1973: 61). Thus it is not strange that gardens in the Portuguese culture are different from their European counterparts. The difference that we are talking about is not this one because this one is inherent to a garden's own condition.

The difference that we wish to talk about is the resemblance we find with the concept developed by Kubler (KUBLER 1988: 3)¹. The concept of plain architecture: Architecture without any superfluous decoration gives an answer to a functional programme and not to a meaningful symbolic narrative built with humble materials. This is the difference. The garden in Portugal has a plain expression, is built with a plain spatiality. And we recognize it even in those gardens which are considered representatives of golden moments of art for gardens in Portugal. It is designed through a plan which runs away from the normal canon consecrated by treatises and shows itself in plain solutions. It offers a spatiality which takes advantages from the physical qualities of materials. It is built with poetic material and deviates from great symbolic speeches. It has a great human scale, even when time's spirit would convey another expression. The areas of production overcome areas exclusively for pleasure. However, it is revealed with symbiosis and reconciliation among natural elements understood as objects of pure and detached contemplation and with understanding for factors of production and utility.

The different terms with which we define the amenity and happiness of any garden is the best evidence to confirm this. An incursion into the terminology used to define gardens reveals two moments. One when kitchen gardens dominated – "hortas, vergéis, hortos, pomares, almuinhas"², concentrated in the 16th century (CARAPINHA 1995: 34-36). These horticultural unities guarantee not only the *food* for the body but also for the

1 It is important to mention that the concept of plain architecture it is a reality that goes beyond the period cited by Kubler, but something that is reflected in a very clear way in the spatiality of Portuguese culture living space.

2 "Almuinha" is a word of Arabic origin (*al munia*) which means simultaneously space of vegetables production and of pleasure located in the periphery of Spanish-Muslim towns and that can still be found in Portuguese toponyms.

soul. After the 16th century we can see the appearance of another category: the *quinta de recreio* (pleasure garden, villa).



Fig1- Water as defining element of an certain pleasure space with the trilogy tank/pergola/seat. Estate in Évoramonte, Évora. All photos are by the author except when mentioned.



Fig.2 -“Horto de recreio” (pleasure garden), Quinta da Fonte Cansada, 17th-18th centuries, Estremoz.



Fig.3 – Entrance to the “horto de recreio” of the Quinta dos Olhos Bolidos

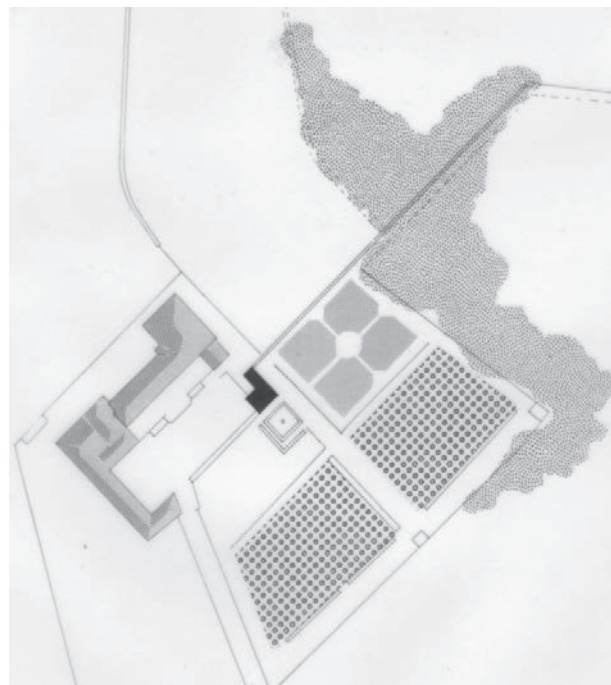


Fig. 4 - Quinta do Paço do Fontelo, 16th century where the pleasure architecture is pointed out in black – the cool house which establishes the connection between the building and the garden, orchard and wood. All plans are by the author.



Fig.5 – Pérgola at Casa do Canedo, 18th century, north of Portugal. Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

An estate (Quinta) is an agricultural entity of horticultural, fruit and vineyard production. It will only become a space for leisure in the late-15th century and at the beginning of the 16th century. It presents itself as an organized whole which results from a group of sub-spaces: copse woodland, architecture, garden, orchard, kitchen garden. Versatility is one of the *quinta de recreio*'s spatial features. Leisure and production share the same space, both invading each other, and establishing formal and functional relationships. From this intimate relationship comes a space that apparently does not show a global structure. It is not perceived as linear, immediate and sequential, but made of tiny moments. The whole is sometimes organized independently from the building (Carapinha 1995: 201).

Quinta de Recreio for pleasure stands out in the universe of landscape heritage for its quantity but especially also because of its geographic distribution and permanence through time.

They are similar to other models for pleasurable living which have developed since the 15th century in Italy, and after throughout the whole of Europe.

The principles which convey orchards, kitchen gardens, “hortos”, “almuinhas” and woods’ location and establishment, whether they come up individually or integrated into an estate, are related mostly to functional aspects in order to convey optimal production and protection conditions.

Its location and form is given by nature, exposition, land slope, water presence and by the vegetable species to cultivate. The dimension depends on the water and human resources available. These practical presuppositions determine a great communion with the place's characteristics and complexity of the composition principles which appear mostly in landscapes exclusively for pleasure. Production/pleasure, Pleasure/production is a connection whose order is arbitrary and which makes a perpetual appearance in the garden in Portugal. This characteristic will lead all others in Portuguese gardens.

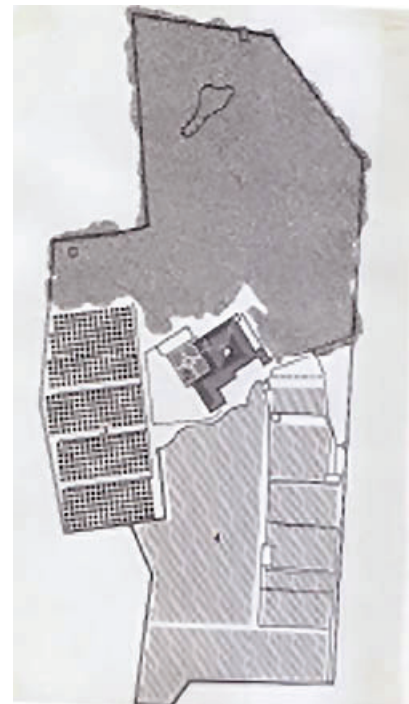


Fig. 6 – Quinta de Nossa Senhora da Consolação do Bosque, ancient Capucho convent, 16th century, Borba.



Fig. 7 - Quinta de Recreio of the Marquises of Fronteira, 17th century, Lisbon.



Fig. 8 - Bower covered by *Wisteria sinensis* in the middle of orange trees at Quinta da Luz, 19th century, Castelo de Vide.



Fig. 9 - Bower with an hydraulic structure associated in the middle of the kitchen garden, Quinta da Sancha-a-Cabeça, 18th century. Montemor-o Novo.



Fig. 10 - Coolhouse, built in *Camelia sinensis* in 19th century, Celorico de Basto's environs. Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.



Fig. 11 - Coolhouse at Quinta dos Olhos Bolidos from where we have views of the orangery, wood and pleasure garden, 18th century, Castelo de Vide.



Fig. 12 - Tank in Quinta de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, 18th century, Castelo de Vide.

The Mediterranean matrix

The timeless and geographic permanence of this model is, in the first analysis, not easily understood. The diverse cultural moments and the theoretical context which determine the changes in garden design have been known in Portugal³. Portuguese architects and foreigners were aware of this reality and their formulations were responsible for the conception of some *quintas de recreio*. However, their achievements were the exception which confirm the rule and therefore integrated and adapted the national model. The formal permanence conveyed by the alliance between production and leisure overcomes any foreign influence and seems to stay unchanged by the vagaries of history. Some experts consider⁴ that erudite culture reveals some tonalities in Portugal – and resilient constancy is a good example of that – resulting from our geographical situation, in the extreme west of Europe and far from the great centers of the artistic vanguard. For us to subscribe to this idea we have analyzed the geographic overlap from diverse points of view. The geographic position of Portugal is not only some distance from the great cultural centers, the national territory also has some completely distinct natural features. The soils are not rich, the

3 As proved by the exhibition held at the National Library of Portugal between 15th May and 31 July 2014. See the exhibition's catalogue Rodrigues (ed.), *Uma história de jardins. A arte dos jardins na tratadística e na literatura*, Lisbon: CHAIA/BNP, 2014.

4 Jacinto Prado Coelho shows the isolation and desfazamento of Portugal and its culture in comparison with the rest of Europe, when he mentions: “*Só com apreciável atraso vamos acompanhando a evolução Europeia na mentalidade e nos costumes; e quando, provincianamente, nos deleitamos com coisas novas, já estão a passar de moda nos países de origem. É esta uma queixa repetida. No século XVIII, o Cavaleiro de Oliveira comparava Portugal a um relógio sempre atrasado: «nada de novo lá entra que não tenha já envelhecido em outros países»*” (Coelho 1992: 30-31)

climate has simultaneous periods of drought and hot weather and irregular distribution of rainfall which is not the best for plant's development. Portugal has a Mediterranean climate and these natural features determine the look of the Portuguese landscape. Even if we are in a peripheral, position when, taking into consideration the world defined by the Mediterranean basin. Even if Portugal has a location on a frame which separates, and simultaneously gathers, the regions of Mediterranean climate and Atlantic, we do not find in Portugal "the fertile plains of cereals in Europe, with mountains where humidity keeps the landscape fresh the whole year with the rain from all seasons allowing to be rebuilt" (RIBEIRO 1987:60-61) which characterize the landscape of Atlantic countries. Because of those natural mediterranean conditions Portugal, "is a place of sustainable effort" (GUERREIRO 1991:20).

These biophysical conditions define a different relationship between man and territory, made from struggle and constant vigilance, and convey an irregular design of landscape, the development of a promiscuous agriculture and multifunctional growing systems. Fields, prairies, woods and kitchen gardens mix interpretations, and are built in various layers and adapted to the topographic accidents, to the soil and water conditions and to the strong sunlight.

They are not well defined distinct spaces as those in Central Europe where the climate, the soil and the relief allow an almost Cartesian landscape design, the individualization of elements in each growing system and their independent benefits. There, countryside is countryside, prairie is prairie, wood is wood. Here, we have the countryside, the countryside/prairie, the prairie/ countryside among coppice systems. Even the kitchen garden is a mix of orchard and horticulture. The diverse unities of *ager* are culturally polyvalent. The landscape that comes from there is diverse, multiple, irregular, rich in contrasts, overlapping.

When we understand the garden as the bringing together of the potentially diffuse aestheticism of landscape, we accept that distinct landscapes will produce distinct gardens. The landscape normalized, mono-functional and organized by sectors, matches a garden with a regular plan where pleasure and production are separate worlds.

In Portugal, the garden cannot be formed aside from the irregular, culturally promiscuous image of landscape which covers the territory. The condition between production and pleasure in the Portuguese garden is a fact, a natural fate, as well as the mixture presented by the diverse components of the *ager*.

We can argue that the landscape features pointed out and considered decisive for the definition of the particular spaces for gardens in Portugal, are not unique to the national territory but can be found all over the Mediterranean basin. We consider this assertion to be legitimate. However, in order to better define that and its relevance in Portugal, there is another point to be made about our geographic position: the detachment and isolation it conveys, towards Europe and its artistic formularies.

As long as this geographic condition has contributed, in the opinion of some experts, to the cultural inferiority and technological delay, we find, in respect to the art of gardens, that it functions, not as a negative condition, but as something that allowed the only continuation of the essence of the Mediterranean garden in the European context.

In a first analysis this statement seems strange because many of the books on art of gardens convey an image of the Mediterranean European garden completely different from the concealing of production/recreation that we find unique in the Portuguese garden. However, we cannot forget the examples pointed out as master-pieces resulting from a vast range of vicissitudes and historical influences, some of them outside the Mediterranean culture⁵.

⁵ See, for example, the influences Centro-European on the flower-bed drawings in the Italian mannerist garden, so many times considered paradigm of Mediterranean landscape for leisure.

A very short re-visiting to examine the garden roots in diverse countries of the interior sea basin will sustain that statement. The Greek word used for garden — *Kepos* — is ambiguous. It is used both for spaces, which function is mostly sacred, or divine, and for the study of prestige spaces (royal gardens), public, private, kitchen gardens and orchards (CARROL-SPILLECKE 1992:84-101 and CARROL-SPILLECKE 1990:485-486 and FERRIOLO 1989:86-94). However, this diversity is more virtual than real because all those spaces are a combination between kitchen gardens, orchards and vineyards, a symbiosis between *otium* and *negotium* that did not exist even in the Hellenistic period. They are an integrated part of the productive landscape which determines the territory that, together with the city, defines the Greek *polis*⁶. In the surrounding “*hortuli*” around the cities, in the Republic as well as in the Roman Empire, the conciliation between these two components was common. As a result of what they symbolize the Roman divinities connected with the garden Priapo, Venus, Flora and Pomona testify to this ideal which also appears in Virgil’s *Georgics*⁷.

The love for Nature, revealed by Byzantines, and the role which it occupied in daily-life is reflected in the interest for agriculture and horticulture, as well as in the plant themed designs of mosaics which decorated the interior of the first churches, and in the general use of toponyms and names related or derived from elements and natural attributes. As an extension of nature’s strength, veneration and moral dimension and happiness this feature is typical of Byzantine culture and is connected to Roman culture. This context was the starting point where A.R. Littlewood started to characterise the gardens of Byzantium. His study reveals, once more, the communion between production and leisure which is a feature of *amoenus* places of the Mediterranean and expressed by the terms *ampelokepion* and *ampeloperibolion*, usually used with the sense of orchard, kitchen garden, vineyard and garden (LITTLEWOOD 2002; 1992: 102-125).

This tradition was continued, beyond the fall of the Roman Empire of the Orient, in 1453, by the Ottoman culture which had already integrated the art of gardens of Islam, which in itself is also an example of the communion between the beautiful, the entertaining and the productive⁸. This is the ideal that will appear in many countries of the Mediterranean basin, determined by mesological reasons and by cultural influences.

And following on from this Mediterranean feeling in the garden we should deepen our understanding of the Italian humanist *ville* considered historically as being the first example in the Christian Europe context as a space for leisure and where utilitarian character is supposedly absent. Its appearance is explained, ideologically by the cultural framework conveyed by *Studia humanitatis* (which has spread the idea of *aurea mediocritas* and of *Santa Agricoltura*) and by the prompt answer they gave to urban pressure, to city life, to which they were not a denial but a complement.

The advisory principles of its formulation were the ones conveyed by *Res rusticae Scriptores* where the ideal model of space for leisure was well expressed in nature’s context: accumulation between entertainment and utilitarian. In many treatises of agriculture, published in the northern and central Italy during the 16th century, we clearly find this conciliation. Even the fact that theories on gardens are found in agricultural treatises is a result of that. In the works by G. Tatti (1561), A. Gallo (1572). G. Saminati (1580-1590) and Bussato (1593), as well as in Pietro Bembo’s texts, and in Palladio’s architecture treatise, we find the idea repeated that a garden incorporates

6 The garden of Alcinoos, the garden of Laerfus and the gardens of the tombs of Alexandria where fruit trees and vegetables were cultivated are an example of that permanent conciliation, (Carrol-Spillecke 1992:84-101 and Carrol-Spillecke 1990:485-486 and Grimal 1969:63-89 and Thompson 1963).

7 Virgil, *Les Bucoliques, les Géorgiques* (tradução, cronologia, introdução de Maurice RAT) *Georgics* IV, vv. 119-138, pp. 158-159.

8 This duality of the Turkish garden is well settled in the Spanish fray Haedo’s report who visited the town of Algira in the 17th century (Petruccioli 1985:78-79).

beauty, pleasure and utility⁹. This idea brings together and establishes points of connection between the Italian and Portuguese models. It reinforces the conclusion already prompted by us. However, reasons of various and complex order¹⁰ have lead to the dissipation of this primordial feeling for the Mediterranean garden in the Italian Peninsula and lead instead to a major growth in the representation of pleasure¹¹.

There are two elements determinant for the creation of spatiality in any garden: vegetation and water. Ilídio de Araújo defines the garden as: “an intimate place meant for people’s leisure and which area is in its majority covered by vegetation, balancing its environment” (ARAÚJO 1989). This definition makes clear the dominance and absolute necessity of vegetation in the garden and in consequence the need for water.

In the Portuguese garden the vegetation covers walls, defines unities, designs spaces, polarizes compositions, and makes verdant places. The vegetation transforms the garden into a sequence of “little gardens”. The perpetual character of the vegetation used contributes to the quality of the space. This strong presence of vegetal species with perennial leaves, does not result from a selection inherent to the aesthetical creation but it is determined by the environment. Most plant formations in Portugal are dominated by species with leathery leaves, evergreen, as well as by conifers, with similar physiological and physiognomy characteristics.

This biophysical conditioning offers the garden a unifying Eternal Spring, not only because of the presence of structural vegetal elements all along the year – which does not happen in Central Europe – but also because of the range of the evergreen colours, as Herman Lautensach called them¹². This feature is underlined by fruit trees and herbal flower blooms.

In the Portuguese garden, the vegetation is used mainly in its natural form, even if settled by rectangular pattern. This is defined by the hydraulic system, by its walks or by the vegetation. When it is used as topiary art and techniques, it presents as a geometric natural system, connecting the role the composition has in the space with aesthetical and theoretical principles. Its use is restricted to the pleasure garden where erudition is recognizable.

The reason for the preference of the natural form determines in our opinion, once more, what the productive side garden shows in Portugal and the perennial character of the plants. Throughout the year this offers a chromatic and aromatic diversity, a formula which never fails, that takes it away from the concept of natural artifice that we find all over Europe, and makes it closer to the concept of *natura naturans* and its aesthetical value.

9 The Book VI, in *Le vinte giornate dell' agricoltura et de piaceri della vita* de Agostino Gallo intitula-se “*como si possono far'horti per vaghezza, et per utilità*” (TATTI, 1561: 79). In *Trattato D'Agricoltura de Saminati* the conciliation between useful and beautiful in Italian ville stands out: “... fra tutte le delitie dela villa, niuna più diletta che la vaghezza et utilità che si tranno da un ben ordinato giardino di diversi alberti fruttiferi, da un delizioso orto di tenere et fresche erbetto et vaghi fiori compartito...” “transcrito por (Barsali 1964:256) Bussato em 1593 reitera este ideal ao escrever o 1º capítulo, da sua obra *Giardinao di Agricoltura, que se intitula, “Quello che debba avertire un padre di famiglia il quale desidera piantare un bello delizioso et utile giardino”* (Palladio 1988:201) . We find references to this duality production/leisure in Italian gardens in Masson 1961; Bentamn, Muller, 1975; Puppi 1972: 94-108; Lazarro 1990.

10 From what we understand as the influence of gardeners originally from Central Europe who brought new spatial languages as well as the development, after the second half of the 16th century, but with more expression all along the 17th century, of the taste for collecting exotic species, coming not only from the New World, but also Asia and Europe.

11 The geography of Portugal in the periphery, the appeal of the sea, which is translated by an history of character much more Atlantic than European has set us apart from the European ideal.

12 Ribeiro and Lautensach 1988: 544; 554; 569.

Among the fruit trees used in Portuguese garden the citrus stand out¹³.



Fig. 12 - Quinta Real de Queluz where orange trees are designated in orange.

An analysis of the agricultural landscape and of the Mediterranean art of gardens reveals that the emblematic value of citrus is not only Portuguese but Mediterranean. However, historical vicissitudes determined that it became should last mainly in Portugal. When Predrag Matvejevitch speaks on clots in his *Breviário Mediterrânico* he tells us: ... *transplanted (the citrus) to the Mediterranean basin, have ended to belong there and became its emblems* (MATVEJEVITCH 1994: 87). When Goethe speaks about his nostalgia for Italy he sings of the lemon trees in flower, the golden orange trees coming out from dark green foliage (GOETHE 1979: 103). The studies by Sereni on Italian landscape and those by Fernand Braudel on the Mediterraneo¹⁴ (BRAUDEL 1983: 124, 469, 641; SERENI 1969: 67, 177) confirm the importance of citrus cultivation which happens in productive areas as well as in areas dedicated to leisure. We also have to point out the orange trees in Italian *villae*. Francesco da Sangallo in 1525, proposes to Villa Madama a *luogo per aranci*. In a project for a garden by Giovanvittorio Soderini — a revolutionary in 16th century garden design because of the new forms he introduces — he suggests the use of orange and lemon trees as elements of space composition. Georgina Masson refers to Villa Imperiale, in Pesaro, considering it typically renaissance not only because of the design but also the cultivation. Among the plants listed mentioned particularly noteworthy are orange trees which are managed to climb, covering the walls, the thirty-four citron-trees that fill the flower-beds, two lemon trees, and multiple hybrids, named *bizzarie*¹⁵ (MASSON 1969:196).

13 It is important to mention that orange trees since the 16th century until the 19th century were an essential export product which balanced Portuguese finances. And once more this is due to the climatic characteristics which make possible orange tree cultivation from the north to the south in Portugal which does not happen in Spain or Italy.

14 E. SERENI, *Storia del Paesaggio Agrario Italiano*, Roma-Bari, 1969, p. 67, p. 177; Fernand BRAUDEL, *O Mediterrâneo e o Mundo Mediterrâneo*, 2 vols, Lisboa, 1983, I vol., p. 124, II vol., p. 469, p. 641.

15 Georgina MASSON, *Italian Gardens*, London, 1969, p. 196.



Fig. 13 – Cloister of the Convent of Cartuxa (the area of orange trees is 1ha). Photo by David Freitas. Photo archive CME (Reference DFT170).



Fig. 14 – View of the Cloister of the Convent of Cartuxa. Photo by João Rodrigues.

These and many other examples that we could point out, prove the use and the important role citrus had in the Mediterranean garden design. However, in the context of this European region, they survive today, especially in the written and iconographic document. On the other side, in Portugal, it is a live and contemporary reality which puts us closer to the landscape compositions of Islamic culture¹⁶.

Water and its pathways are the heart and soul of the Portuguese and Mediterranean garden. The vegetation with its different forms and typologies only makes clear the disguised design water conveys in its own way.

The regular composition derived from cultivation (especially in the kitchen garden and orchard), the dimension of the flower-beds and of the different subspaces, the distribution of the parts, the leveling of the ground and the consequent fragmentation are equally contributory with the presence of water and the hydraulic system. The design's fragmentation comes from that.

Aqueducts, mines, wells, tanks, gutters, fountains and water basins focus on and run through the space defining regularities and continuance of the plan as well as irregularities, punctuations and fragmentation of the design, following the presence of a spring and other hydraulic conditions. From this results a kaleidoscopic space full of surprises and pleasure. There is clearly a preference for plain hydraulic systems. The proper qualities of water such as murmuring, a reflecting mirror and the fresher environment are preferred instead of its scenographic and symbolic manipulation.

The biophysical characteristics, the liberation from academic rules and Italian forms, as well as the appreciation of vernacular architecture, announced by Kubler, as setting features of the “plain style”, are present in the creation of the garden in Portugal. This makes Portuguese gardens different to all other erudite Mediterranean gardens and makes them the last representative of that singular Mediterranean matrix which seeks to make beauty and utility equal in the sense that usefulness only seems to convey beauty, while beauty cannot avoid being useful: the inherent values of the concept of the garden.

¹⁶ *A vegetação do Mediterrâneo entra mais pronunciadamente para o sul, para além das cordilheiras de África, do que para o Norte, no interior europeu* (MATVEJEVITCH 1994:93). Portugal is located more southern than many Mediterranean countries, and closer to North Africa.

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ABSTRACT

In this article I seek to demonstrate that more sustainable solutions exist for Algarvean gardens than those used in the majority of the cases. The starting point for this study was Margaret Jackson's garden in Algarve, not only because it was projected taking into consideration an idea of the Mediterranean garden, but also because a very singular manuscript was revealed to us where she describes all the steps taken in the construction of this vernacular garden. Without any doubt new solutions for water safe, especially based on the choice of the species, as well as a search for Mediterranean identity have been pursuit.

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ARTICLE

The loss of Mediterranean identity in Algarvean gardens dominated by lawns and palm trees, partially influenced by English tourist's taste, partially by hotels which pretend to offer a tropical summer beach environment, deepens the problem of landscape sustainability in this south region of Portugal. There are just a few gardens whose owners are members of the Mediterranean Garden Association who go against the flow and understand the need for water, the advantages of cultivating autochthonous and adapted species throughout history and the respect for the *genius loci*. I have visited some of these gardens in July 2013 and became completely convinced by their sustainable beauty¹. In this article I seek to analyze the creation of one of these vernacular gardens. Who were the persons involved in the creation of the garden; what is its function; how is characterized the design and its elements; what are the species of trees, shrubs and flowers chosen; where did they come from and what are the advantages conveyed by this garden in the actual context.

The methodology followed to approach this case-study was the experience of the garden *in locus*, from where we have brought a significant photograph archive. Besides this, we had access to documents and drawings on the creation of the garden and talked with the person who is mainly responsible for its design. To analyze the output of this garden we studied the concept of the Mediterranean garden and conveyed a concept of an Algarvean garden for the present context. There are two major questions that will cross this article: the sustainability and the identity of a garden. The sustainability is approached especially in terms of water safe through the choice of species. On the subject of identity we just point out the design and the species used with the goal of analyzing how it approaches (or not) the idea that we have for the moment on what should be an Algarvean garden. History and plants acclimatization are taken into consideration as well as the knowledge we have for the moment on typical species of southern Iberian gardens.

¹ I am deeply grateful to Mrs Rosie Peddle and Mrs Margaret Jackson for showing their marvelous gardens. One of the gardens created with these principles was approached by Marilyn Medina Ribeiro, "Creating an Algarvean Native Garden", *Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal*, CHAIA/ CHAM/ Mediterranean Garden Society, nr. 1 (May, 2013), pp. 46-48. ISSN 2182-942X. URL:<http://www.chaia_gardens_landscapesofportugal.uevora.pt/index%20home%20presentation.htm>



Fig. 1 – Margaret Jackson's garden in Algarve. Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

Whatever the approach, the success of the sustainability movement relies on a real will on the part of developers and behavior of all citizens. The *Mediterranean Garden Society – Portugal branch* is an example of strong communal initiatives that favors control of water consumption and care for the preservation of a cultural heritage which is the Mediterranean flora. The identity of this garden needs although deepen studies to filter what is the essence of the Algarvean garden inside the Mediterranean heritage, what it has in common with all Mediterranean gardens and in what could and should be different to achieve to a certain cultural identity besides the geographical one. The regions with Mediterranean climate, with hot and dry summers and wet winters can be found not only in the Mediterranean Basin, but also in Chile, California, South Africa and Australia. However, the fact that a certain plant grows in a certain region is not enough if we want to protect a specific landscape heritage which is a cultural construction. Michel Baridon has already evoked Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier (1861-1930) as a follower of Mediterranean climate and light to inspire his gardens, but he underlines also the respect for the cultural past of this world region (BARIDON 1998: 1115). Thus, if Mediterranean garden as a concept can include all gardens that grow under Mediterranean climate, in each of the different regions of this climate the history and the autochthonous species should be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the Algarvean garden in this context derives as a concept not only from the geography but from an ancient heritage of Spaniard-Moorish gardening traditions, conveying one of the best examples of gardens adapted to the “orange climate” as Forestier defined them.

It is already very common to discuss sustainable architecture², but not gardens. Nevertheless, this topic is fundamental for water management, food production and cultural identity which can be major legacies for the future generations. If we are to ensure that future generations can enjoy a satisfactory quality of life, a sustainable approach towards the use of water, even in the smallest scale, is now vital. In a region such as Algarve it is even more important because of the danger of desertification. The protection of water supplies can be made through the correct sown species for a certain region. The ambition of having a landscape garden or a garden in the English style in the Algarvean region demands a huge effort on water supplies and should be avoided. Furthermore, it has nothing to do with the region's landscape heritage and the result does not please. As Olivier Filippi points out: “While English plantsmen pride themselves on their collections of plants for dry conditions, gardeners further south are desperately watering their lawns, but achieve nothing more than a mediocre imitation of an English garden” (FILIPPI 2013: 10).

² For example, see *Pour une meilleure prise en compte de l'environnement dans la construction*, (“Towards a better integration of environmental issues in construction”); *Bonnes pratiques de la filière construction* (“Good practice in the construction industry”) and *Manuel d'application des réalisateurs* (Constructor's guide).

The case study that I bring here is a vernacular Mediterranean garden created by an English retired architect called Margaret Jackson at Quinta das Salinas in Algarve, between Quinta do Lago and Vale do Lobo, an area renowned by its luxury villas with houses and domestic gardens which could be mostly interpreted as “garden-scenarios”: to be seen and not to be lived. The garden we are about to study is the opposite of this kind of gardens because it is a living area, created and taken care by the owner and made with sustainable principles.

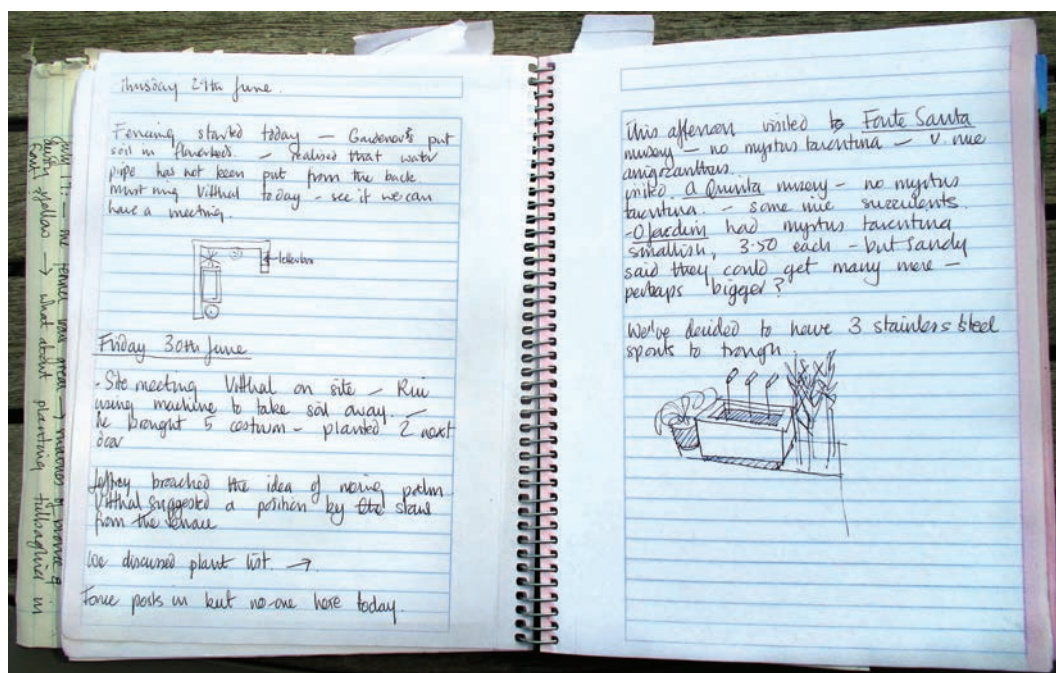


Fig. 2 – Pages 28 and 29 of Margaret Jackson’s manuscript. Photo by Margaret Jackson.

The reason why I became interested in studying this garden was not only its beauty, not only its sustainability, but also because of the precious document discovered there: Margaret’s “garden diary”. John Dixon Hunt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn had already stand out that one of the reasons why History of Gardens is usually on elite gardens (such as king’s, noble’s or great landscape architect’s) is simply because for vernacular gardens “materials for their study seem not to be available” (HUNT and WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN 1993: 1). An exercise book with 170 pages with notes on the creation and maintenance of a vernacular garden, that was never thought or prepared to be published, as you will see by its modest presentation, is a unique document for future studies on 21st century vernacular gardens, Algarvean gardens identity and micro-scale sustainability.

Margaret and Jeffrey Jackson are from Altrincham in the North of England, and 19, Quinta das Salinas is already the third villa that they have bought in Algarve. They have experiment a different kind of garden in an area of 840 m2 in rectangular shape, because they had already had a typical garden with lawn and palm trees. It started to be built in 2006 and Margaret and Jeffrey have moved into the new house the 12th August 2006 (DOCUMENT 1: 43) and the garden was nearly finished in September 2006 (DOCUMENT 1: 50). Nevertheless, through Margaret’s “garden diary”³ we are able to observe the garden’s creative process and its maintenance until 2008. The manuscript is a quite normal exercise book where she takes appointments and drawings on its landscape architecture, how all the elements were built and set in the garden, but also on the seeds bought, notes on sown and growth of plants and some cuts from journals with relevant information for garden maintenance all along 170 pages. The diary was not used sequentially (like many artistic documents). The first page dated does not mention the year, but we know that it was in June (DOCUMENT 1: 9), and then there are entries in July, August, September, October, November and December⁴. However, after the last date of 18th December 2006, appears in the following page 31st

³ Margaret’s “garden diary” is an exercise book where she has written through 170 pages on the garden’s creation and the whole manuscript is presented as Document 1 in the Annexes of this article. The page numbers indicated in this file correspond to the manuscript pages.

⁴ These dates go from page 9 to page 54 of Document 1.

May (DOCUMENT 1: 55). This happens because Margaret has used the front and back of the diary at the same time, thus in the first fifty-four pages she describes the landscape contractor's work, the building of the garden and in the back, for the same period of time, starting in September, she takes notes on the seeds⁵.

Margaret's "garden diary" is not an agenda because it is much more on past actions than on sentences for the future. However, it also has some appointments to remind Margaret of future things to do for Autumn 2008, such as to remove myrtle hedge nearest home; to collect all amaryllis together; and to take out the so called Agapanthus from under the palm tree behind pond-group (DOCUMENT 1: 56).

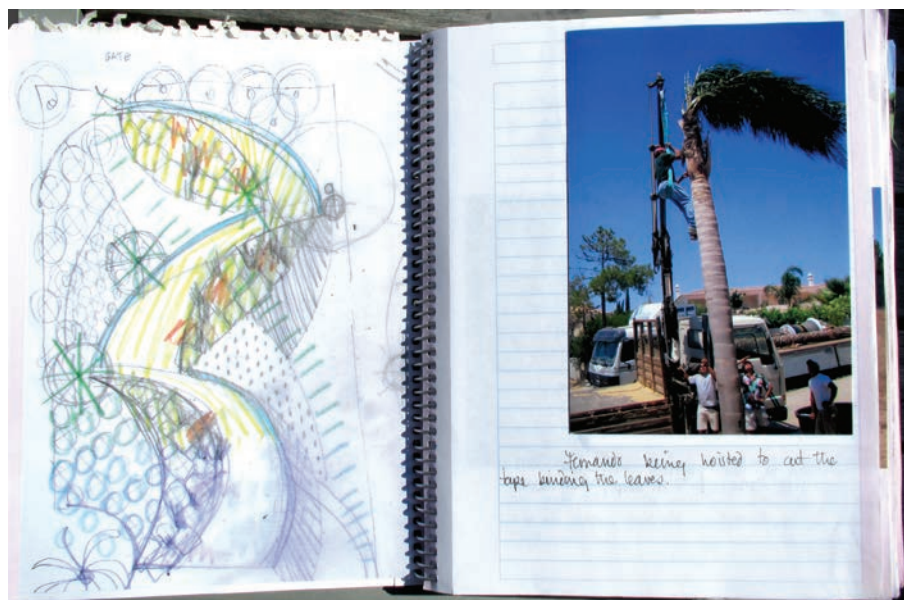


Fig. 3 – Drawing and photo by Margaret Jackson in Margaret Jackson's manuscript.
Photo by Margaret Jackson.

The idea for the garden design comes from Margaret, but she will build it with the help of some other professionals. She sent an enquiry to three landscape contractors before deciding for Vitthal Bernd Fuchte who is a young German landscape contractor, very keen on the environment; on the respect of the spirit of the place and its most natural way. Most of times there was an agreement between Margaret and Vitthal with the exception of the backyard. Vitthal's idea for the steps at the rear of the back garden was to give a wide impression at the bottom and at the top. He also stand out that it should be thin in the middle which did not pleased Margaret and being as polite and discreet as it was given to me to observe she just confessed it to her garden diary: "I am secretly horrified" (Document 1: 11). Her intention was to have a narrow path all the way up.

The other person who is fundamental in the creation of the garden besides Margaret and Vitthal is Marco who was already the gardener from their former house in Algarve and is still working in Margaret's garden today. Margaret had always the intention to keep this gardener who is her "right hand". For example, when she sends the inquiry to the contractors she already prompts that "after the garden is complete no maintenance will be required as we will keep on our present contract gardeners" (DOCUMENT 2: 3). Marco had an important role in the garden shape. After the building of the garden by the landscape architect Vitthal, it was Marco and Margaret who finished the garden design.

The first drawing by Margaret was sent together with the inquiry to the landscape contractors. There we see the S's shape in a rectangular plot made with gravel that goes from the swimming pool to the olives' gate. Along the S shape pathway she proposes a myrtle hedge and grasses to underline the shape. Then, all along the left wall there should be aloes. Four circles give certain equilibrium to this S shape, but only one has signaled that it should be

5 These dates go from page 170 to page 86, covering the chronological period of September 2006 until December 2007 and then there are just a few pages for 2008 (pp. 56-59).

a myrtle hedge. And, finally, some rocks are also designed. The drawings show the character of planting required. The garden's design is very abstract and closer to picturesque plans than to Mediterranean ones if we recall ourselves that the form which unifies the Mediterranean basin is the square: the courtyard, the "patio", the cloister. A closed square organized from the exterior to the center. Margaret's garden in this sense does not convey the basic idea of what is a Mediterranean garden. It is still very picturesque, thus in this sense it is still very English.



Fig. 4 (LEFT) – Photos of vases by Margaret Jackson in Margaret Jackson's manuscript. Photo by Margaret Jackson.

Fig. 5 (RIGHT) – Group of vases in Margaret Jackson's garden. Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

We can see how each detail was thought out. Drawings by Margaret as well as her photos show us how each composition was made with some groups of plants in pots. Even the steps location, their feature, everything, was designed and created by Margaret as we can see by her drawings, photos and her notes, such as this one: "I got them to put some stones by the tree and also to start put the rocks around the steps" (DOCUMENT 1: 19).

In the "caderno de encargos" which correspond to three pages, Margaret gives as many indications as she can. She indicates that the contractors should place the existing rocks and provide extra as shown. It is also said to "spread the whole site with 200mm layer of approved organic with the existing sand" because the intention was to "improve garden so that planting [could] take place anywhere" (DOCUMENT 2: 3). Then, they should spread a layer of brown and pink gravel on the finished levels. The contractors will also install the watering system and provide the lighting.

We can see that the creation of the garden was not concluded in the project but it was worked out during the building made by landscape contractors. For example, she used a lot the process of taking pictures of the garden during its construction and drawing the missing elements on the photo to try out different solutions and test some thoughts, such as for the hedge's design when she writes on the lateral side of the photo: "One of my thoughts about the hedge – not the final one" (DOCUMENT 1: 23). When Margaret says she cannot sleep at 12.35 pm of the 20th July 2006 because she was not satisfied with the planting scheme in the front of the house she describes working out a scheme in the middle of the night which included three silver young olive trees, *Agapanthus*, *Convolvulus Cneorum*, *White bougainvillea*, *Pittosporum*. This stands as an evidence of her enthusiasm for the garden creation.

The first step was to plant the trees that were bought and some that already existed in the garden and were relocated. Margaret has bought some plants, herb garden and fruit trees at *O Jardim* in November 2005⁶. The fruit trees are all very typical of the Mediterranean climate, but also very proper to Algarve: peach, apricot, fig tree, lemon and avocado, for example. Later in August 2006, Margaret bought some more fruit trees, such as a walnut, two mango trees, two almond trees and another apricot (DOCUMENT 1: 43). Mango trees are not at all typical of Algarvean landscape, but as many other species have been introduced and acclimatized to this region. Some other plants came from her other house and had already seven years, such as a cycad (DOCUMENT 1: 5). In August 2006, Margaret was slowly taking all her plants from her former house (DOCUMENT 1: 43). But most of palm trees were bought at *Flor do Sol* palm nursery in Lagos. Margaret was keen on a *Livistona Dickensis* which was considered too expensive (2500€) and instead has bought a coco palm with trunks, another group of three coco palms, a butia with blue green leaves and *Dracaena Indivisa* (DOCUMENT 1: 13). The mature trees arrived wrapped in plastic and lying down brought by a huge truck on the 27th June 2006.

In June 2006, the strata (rock retaining wall) was already made and the granite sets, the palm tree (*Washingtonia*), two coco palm trees and another large tree were already at the front of the house (DOCUMENT 1: 9). One of the function of the palm tree at the front of the house was to provide shade for Jeffrey's car, but Vitthal said the *Washingtonia* was not the best tree for this purpose although it had the advantage that it does not produce a lot of litter and instead he suggested *Tipuana Tipu*, Persian Lilac (*Melia Azederach*) or Jacaranda. Nevertheless, Margaret's husband preferred the palm tree and agreed on finding a better solution to provide shade for the cars (DOCUMENT 1: 9).

The setting of these big trees is quite complex and was recorded by Margaret with photos (DOCUMENT 1: 15-18). In one of the photos we see how the coco palm was settled and lying on the floor two *Melia* trees that together with two *Albizias* would provide the shade for the cars. Olive trees were also bought and the price is registered by Margaret in her diary because it was quite high (900€) but considered worth because it really looked nice (DOCUMENT 1: 21). With the olive tree arrived a *Phoenix Robellini*.

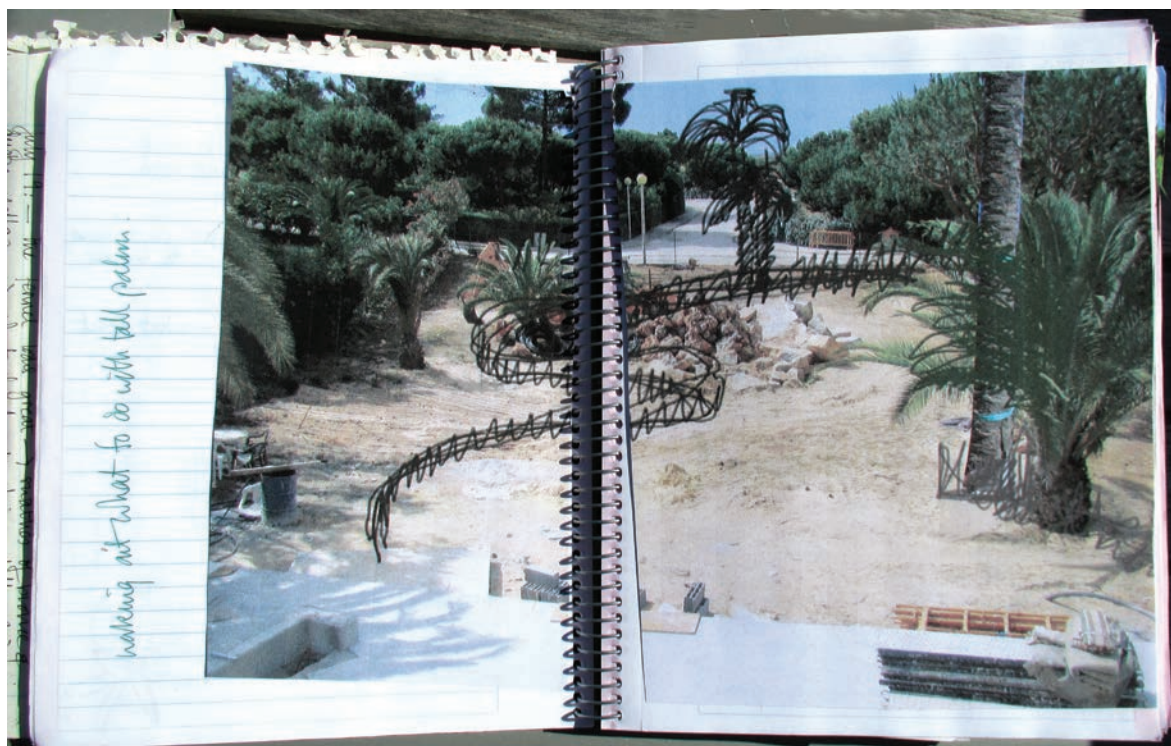


Fig. 6 – Drawing on photo by Margaret Jackson in Margaret Jackson's manuscript. Photo by Margaret Jackson.

⁶ This list is at Document nr 1, p. 1.

Margaret used the technique of designing on photos of the garden to work out where to put the *Phoenix Dactilifera* which could be right in the area between the pool and the garden or in the middle of the garden (DOCUMENT 1: 26-27 and 30). The process of trial and error involved in the making of any garden can be seen here relating to the *Phoenix Dactilifera* which had already been planted in the front of the house. However, Margaret records that she was unhappy with its position (it clashed with the coco palm) and wondered if it could be moved (DOCUMENT 1: 25). Finally it was Jeffrey who was to broach the idea of moving the palm and Vitthal suggested a position by the stairs from the terrace (DOCUMENT 1: 28). Later in the diary there is a photo showing the *Phoenix Dactilifera* in its original position and how close it is to the coco palm with the following legend: “The palm that was moved!” (DOCUMENT 1: 35). The diary shows also photos with alternative positions for the *Phoenix Dactilifera* drawn on - one is dismissed because it would have blocked the sea-view from their bedroom (DOCUMENT 1: 30-38).

The area of transition between the house and the garden is marked by the pool and some light plants such as the bamboos which create a soft separation and two *Cestrum*s (DOCUMENT 1: 28). Besides the modern swimming-pool, there is a pond with a natural design. Again this goes much more along with the picturesque than with the square ponds of Mediterranean gardens.



Fig. 7 – Nenufars’ pond in Margaret Jackson’s garden. Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

Jeffrey was a little reluctant to have a pond because of the noise frogs do during night. However, Margaret finds a pond really adds life to a garden. Thus, finally Jeffrey was convinced by Vitthal. In the pond that looks like a natural lake, Margaret and Marco had put there some small fish (to eat the mosquitoes), one frog and water lilies. Later, in August, when Margaret was already living in the house, her gardener Marco gave her six small coy carps and four gold fish and then a pair which swims together half gold/half black and one that is a silvery green/gold. Margaret’s notes on these details on the color and species of ornamental animals are an evidence of her aesthetical sense.

Vitthal finally completed his work in October 2006 (it was programmed for three weeks and took three months) and at this point Margaret and Marco set to work. Margaret had asked particularly not to have raised

beds surrounded with rocks but page 47 shows how several beds were made: gravel paths separated from bare-earth planting beds enclosed with rocks. They couldn't pull the beds apart completely as some of the rocks were too big. However, they took some rocks away to allow the beds to 'melt' into the garden and when they had done that Margaret ordered more gravel and spread it everywhere (DOCUMENT 1: 54).



Fig. 8 – Living area in Margaret Jackson's garden. Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

Equally, the paved seating area, under the existing pine tree and shaded by a *phoenix canariensis* (a victim, like two others in the garden, of the red palm beetle), needed work. Margaret had bought some very expensive old paving slabs which she had asked Vitthal to lay with an uneven border to allow spaces for plants to spill over but what in the end there were only straight lines. Thus, Marco arranged for Stefan came to take up some slabs and reposition them properly (DOCUMENT 1: 53).

Finally, the design for the back garden was gaining form in October 2006 with climbers for the back fence (DOCUMENT 1: 53). The beds at the back were covered with gravel (DOCUMENT 1: 54). After Vitthal had completed his work in November 2006, Margaret and Marco set to ask for gravel everywhere. Marco and his assistant only finished to put gravel everywhere on the 18th December 2006 (DOCUMENT 1: 54). When the winter rains started, Margaret had to move a few things – the hop bushes (Dodoneas) from the back and all the olive trees into the 'Mediterranean' area at the back (DOCUMENT 1: 53). Margaret recognizes the easy grow of many plants already in December because of October's rain and November's sunshine.

The species found in Margaret's garden are mostly typical of Mediterranean climate which do not need a lot of water and hate automatic irrigation systems, as well as dispense a lot of water during the hot season because they are used to high temperatures and dry climate in summer and moderate climate with rain during winter. Nevertheless, the characterization of the plants in Margaret's garden needs further studies by botanists and historians to seek the origin of the plants. Furthermore, a study should be made to evaluate the extent to which they correspond to Algarvean and Iberian identity which can be done by comparison with the list included as an annex of this article (DOCUMENT 3). The approach done so far suggests that although they are proper of the Mediterranean climate they might not be all of Iberian identity and we should determine the percentage of plants that are not endemic and have not been acclimatized throughout history.

Another topic that needs to be pointed out in Margaret's garden is the fact that she has gathered an amount of different species in her garden superior to what is normal in a domestic garden: 193 species (see list of species in DOCUMENT 3). Among these we can find here some of the most typical species of southern Portugal, such as thymus, rosemary, peach, apricot, plum, fig tree, loquat, lemon, olive, walnut, and almond tree.

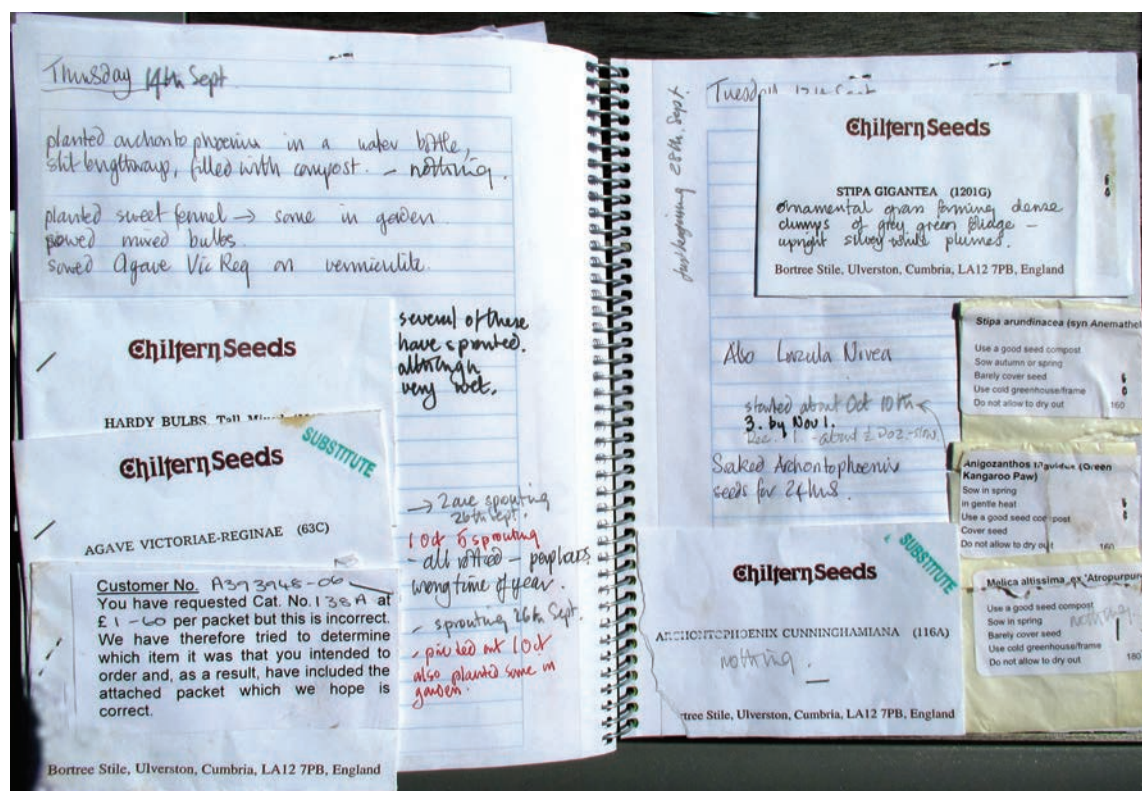


Fig. 9 - Pages 164 and 165 of Margaret Jackson's manuscript. Photo by Margaret Jackson.

Margaret buys many plants in the *Fonte Santa* nursery, the *A Quinta* nursery and *O Jardim*. Nevertheless, Margaret has bought most of the seeds to *Chiltern Seeds*, located in England, and there are the empty seed packets stapled to the exercise book of the following seeds: *Helenium Autummale*, *Mellanthus Major*, *Isoplexis Isabelliana*, *Miscanthus Sinensis*, *Eryngium Agavipolium*, *Achillea Millefolium*, *Anthriscus Sylvestris*, *Iris Forrestii*, *Astrantia Major*, *Erianthus Ravennae*, *Geranium Maderense*, *Aeonium Castello-Paivae*, *Stipa Barbata*, *Scabiosa Rumelica*, *Gaura Lindhetmeri*, *Crambe Maritima*, *Achillea Cartilaginea*, *Echium Pininana*, *Agave Victoriae-Reginae*, *Stipa Gigantea*, *Argeont Phoenix Cunninchamiana*, *Alstroemeria Pulchella* and *Crambe Cordifolia*. On the cards, Margaret has taken notes related with the plant's features and character. Nevertheless, on the exercise book at the lateral side, Margaret has taken notes when they sprouted, if they are surviving, when they were picked out, when and how much she has planted of a certain seed. But also, if it had rain or not and for how long. All these choices are an example of the ability of art of gardens and of the owner's commitment to improving water safe. Household water use in detached houses is around 50% higher than in housing blocks. A considerable portion of this is due to garden watering, for which the use of drinking water is not absolutely necessary (GAUZIN-MULLER 2002: 50-51). Mediterranean choice of plants decreases considerably the water use. For example, in Margaret's former house with a lawn in the height of summer the lawn received water for 15 minutes morning and evening whilst the plant beds of this Mediterranean garden style receives 5 minutes morning and evening: a third of the water consumption.

Margaret's garden is the proof that the knowledge, taste and behavior of all citizens, of all gardeners, have a key role to play in sustainable development.



Fig. 10 – Composition with rocks in Margaret Jackson's garden.
Photo by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

A wide range of plants is covered in this garden and their relevance to environmental issues, their formal and technical quality and the variety of solutions they provide constitute proof that the environmental alternative is not only desirable, but easier feasible, within reasonable budgets and in the context of contemporary gardening. This will support the creation of a Mediterranean-wide strategy at a new balance between quality of life, protection of the environment and cultural heritage.

The aims of application of sustainable principles to land development are usually thought in a macro-scale and their efficiency depends on each citizen's behavior at a very micro-scale. Thus, as we all already know the principles of sustainability we should deepen their efficiency in the most variegated small scales: sustainable gardens can be a contribution for a promising future.

PRIMARY SOURCES

DOCUMENT 1 - Manuscript by Margaret made between 2006 and 2008 on her garden in Algarve

DOCUMENT 2 – Inquiry sent by Margaret to some landscape contractors

DOCUMENT 3 - List of the plants in Margaret's garden

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URL:<http://www.chaia_gardens_landscapesofportugal.uevora.pt/index%20home%20presentation.htm

ANNEXES

DOCUMENT 1 - Manuscript by Margaret made between 2006 and 2008 on her garden in Algarve

[p. 1] Here are some of the plants I bought from O Jardim last November – the cycad has new leaves, is doing well as is the [Phoenix] robbelini but I'm not sure about the cordyline.

Plant list for 19. Salinas Around the house and pool

Alocasia
Agapanthus
Alstromeria
Anigozanthus,
Melianthus,
Clivia,
Hemerocallis,
Callas,
Hedychium, (ginger),
Musa,
Cycas revolute,
Canna indica,
Ligularia,
Ferns with variegated vincas,
Cuphea,
Pittosporum undulate,
Monstera deliciosa
Glechona,
Leonotis,
Snall bamboo,
Philodendron,
Strelitzia,
Scaveola
Phormium tenax

Herb Garden

Vines,
Bay tree,
Bela Luisa,
Salvias,
Origanum
Thymus
Rosemary

Fruit trees

Morus alba
Peach
Apricot
Plum
Fig tree
Loquat
Lemon
Avocado

[p. 3]

What on earth is this called – something attenuata? [Agave attenuate]

Michella gave me this Sparmannia [Africana] and in the vases are the 4 red german roses.

[p. 5]

These are some of the plants that I am taking to the new garden – I have had this cycad in a pot for at least 7 years. – Probably can't get it out without breaking the pot, which is a shame – perhaps if I soaked it in the pond for a day or two? The aloe is one with branching flowers.

[p. 9] Thus 15th June

The garden so far: - met Vitthal on site this afternoon – his men have been on site since Monday (although yesterday was a public holiday) forming the strata – rock retaining wall – His foreman (Rui?) had pointed out that if the granite setts are to go down on Monday then the palm tree will have to go in first – Vitthal is obviously under pressure elsewhere – however he agreed he could put in the 2 coco palms, the Washingtonia and another large tree at the front before the end of the week after next (Fri 29th June). We next talked about shade – I said Jeffrey wanted shade for his car – Vitthal said Washingtonia wasn't the best tree for shade although it has the advantage that it doesn't produce a lot of litter. He suggested a Tipuana Tipu, Persian Lilac (or Melia Azederach) or Jacaranda. Jeffrey and I have talked about this over dinner and he thinks the palm would look better and that we will deal with the cars some other way. Then we discussed the back of the garden – I said we needed fill

[p. 11] for the dip in the middle and an even slope. We discussed which the stones on site to make a flight of steps. V's idea is wide at bottom, thin in middle, wide at top. I am secretly horrified. – I want narrow all the way up and that is what I shall get – when Vitthal is not there.

-just the thing for the top – my pot.

[p. 13] Tues 27th June

Yesterday was palm day. Last week I went on Wednesday with Vitthal to Flor do Sol palm nursery at Lagos – it was a blisteringly hot day and we met there at 12.30! I was mostly interested in the palm by the front door. We liked the Livistona Dickensis but was 2,500€+ and thus we saw some beautiful coco palms with lovely trunks – chose one of these – also coco palm group of 3 for the side, a butia with blue green leaves & interesting pattern of dead stalks on its trunk. I chose a Dracaena Indivisa – and asked for a white mulberry thinking of the shade we get from our present one. Anyway, they all arrived yesterday – at about 2.00 pm. They first put in the front coco palm – needed a huge truck to bring the palms – wrapped in plastic and lying down. – of course today was the day Carlos & 3 russians were rendering the front wall, Carlos the tiler was doing the steps in the front garden and the workers from Sto had painted the side wall by kitchen & didn't want anyone going past there. However, slowly, everything was put in place.

[p. 14] [drawing]

[p. 15] The coco palm going in. Lying on the floor are two Melia trees – we decided to use them on the left hand side of the cars – will provide some shade we hope – also have 2 Albizias to put in.

[p. 16] [drawing]

[p. 17] Rui being hoisted to cut the tape binding the leaves.

[p. 18] putting in the phoenix dactylifera - the hole had to be 1,5 m deep! By hand!

[p. 19] In the morning I had arrived as they were moving the palm in the back garden. I got them to put some stones by the tree and also to start put the rocks around the steps.

[photo]

The men had come back to site Thursday 22nd June – taken pine out, spread soil – formed steps.

[p. 20] The strata rock retaining wall garden sheds. I think they will look good with succulents etc.

[p. 21] Tues 27th

Soil is to be arriving today – must ask Rui to loosen up soil at bottom of floreiras.

The bamboos are lovely against the building.

We discussed a trough with water running at the front.

Musn't forget my mill wheels, other stones.

Ask Carlos to clear all garden & discuss completing steps.

Tues 27th – evening.

When I arrived today soil was there – problems about putting it in flowerbeds – Carlos says not waterproof yet. Olive arrived & put in place – also trough – 900€but really very nice. Also Phoenix Robellini.

[p. 22] [photo]

[p. 23] [photo] One of my thoughts about the hedge – not the final one

[p. 24] [drawing]

[p. 25] Wednesday 25th

No gardeners today – but coming tomorrow to move some soil into flowerbeds.

Decided I really don't like the Phoenix Dactilifera in front – I shall have to break it to Vitthal

Could I move it to back – What about over the road?

[p. 26] Working out what to do with tall palm. [The Phoenix] [photo]

[p. 27] [photo]

[p. 28] Thursday 29th June

Fencing started today – gardeners put soil in flowerbeds – realised that water pipe has not been put from the back must ring Vitthal today – see it we can have a meeting.

[drawing]

Friday 30th June

Site meeting with Vitthal on site – Rui using machine to take soil away – he bought 5 Cestrums – planted 2 next door.

Jeffrey broached the idea of moving palm. Vitthal suggested a position by the stairs from the terrace.

We discussed plant list –

Fence posts in but no one here today

[p. 29] This afternoon visited *Fonte Santa* nursery – no Myrtus Tarentina – v. nice Anigozanthus.

Visited *A Quinta* nursery – no Myrtus Tarentina - some nice succulents.

O Jardim had Myrtus Tarentina smallish, €3.50each – but Sandy said they could get many more – perhaps bigger?

We've decided to have 3 stainlers steel spouts to trough.

[drawing]

[p. 30] [photo]

[p. 31] [photo] phoenix dactilyfora by steps

[p. 32] [photo]

[p. 33] [photo]

[p. 34] [photo] Yucca Elephantipes that Vitthal suggested for back garden.

[p. 35] [photo] The palm that was moved!

[p. 36] [photo] View with Yucca Elephantipes

-check about obscuring view of road etc.

[p. 37] [photo]

[p. 38] Wednesday 5th July

The large palm was moved today – to the left of the steps as otherwise it would have blocked the sea-view from our bedroom – in fact it looks very good.

They also brought the Yucca – it is bedded in at the moment.

They have also put the “pia” in place.

And they have put the pipes for irrigation under the area to take granite setts. [photo]

[p. 39] Thursday 20th July.

Garden resumed again after much delays – planting today – unfortunately while I was not there – a bit disappointing.

I thought it needs to be a bit more powerful along the front – Agapanthus/ Pittosporum/ etc.

12.35 –can't sleep – worked out a scheme.

3 silver young olive trees.

Agapanthus

Convulvulus Cneorum

White bugainvillea.

Pittosporum

I'm also a bit concerned about palm in planting box – too low for one thing also looks lonely – needs a cycad perhaps ferns –

Also planting along swimming pool too low for final level of gravel.

[p. 40] planting around the house [photos]

[p. 41] Monday

Started doing the path. Marco brought all our pots yesterday (he brought all the large plants on Thursday). [photo]

[p. 42] Wednesday 2nd August

Yesterday Vitthal suggested a pond – and Jeffrey agreed. We had set out hedge and planted first bit.[photo]

Beginnings of pond.

[p. 43] Thursday 3rd August

They started laying the gravel yesterday planted Dodonaeas at the back & Vitthal brought... what? It is now Sunday evening – the pool is looking fine! Today Marco & I netted one frog & some small fish & took them to the pond – also some water lilies. It looks

really good.

I am slowly taking all my plants. I went to QM on Friday – bought a walnut, 2 mango trees, 2 almonds, a loquat, & an apricot – also 2 dracaena....?, a different coprosma, Euphorbia Wulfeni & some succulents.

We are moving on Wednesday – unfortunately we won't be able to close the fence – altho' Vitthal is leaving Aug. 15th.

[p. 44] [photos] Pond on Saturday.
Pool side planting

[p. 45] Monday 12th Aug.

I was there 9.30 – nice to be there first.

Who came? Cinesom first. Carlos & 2 men – then Jeffrey – then alarm people– then furniture was delivered.

Vitthal arrived with Cabrita + young goman – worked on pool which is looking really fine – O yes Val was there to sort out sockets – he talked to Vitthal to arrange power for pump. [photo]

[p. 46] [photo] Pond from the terrace.

They set out & planted more hedge – I went to QM Friday and bought some more fruit trees – delivered Monday (today). Together with 2x Dracaena Fragans, whose name I couldn't remember.

[p. 47] [photo] planting around existing palm tree.

[p. 48] [photo]
View of front courtyard.

[p. 49] Tues 29th August

We have been in now for nearly 2 weeks. Vitthal has been in Germany since 13th Aug. He is going to start back next Monday. Before he left the garden was done up until the path – leaving the last triangle. Marco came last Saturday – we thinned out the hedge & planted the Myrtus Communis bushes along the fruit hedge. Marco brought in 6 fish – small coy carps – we feed them every day – they are just getting used to it – a gang of 4 gold fish – then a pair who swim together – half gold/half black and one that is a silvery green/gold.

I think the last [triangle] should be dry – but looking at the mound of earth etc left I'm not sure I'll get my way!

I'm going to plant the nespera opposite my workshop for shade & ask Vitthal to bring another tipuana for the garden work area!

[p. 50] Saturday 2nd Sept.

No photos yet – haven't found the camera!

Marco here a.m. for 2 hours– tidied up the shed and the garden yard area – I've started sowing seeds – perhaps it's still a bit hot. We'll see.

Sunday 10th Sept.

Vitthal back this week – nearly finished.

Planted some bulbs today – urginia and pancratium etc.

Vitthal brought 2 cactii

Also another old olive and boxes of lavenders etc.

Wednesday 13th Sept.

Garden practically finished – waiting for fence man.

I've started planting more seeds – mostly grasses.

[p. 51] [photo]

[p. 52] Oct 12.

Agreed final price with Vitthal this afternoon.

Oct 19. – since then Vitthal has brought 1 variegated fig and 2 mandevilla boliviensis: also João came and explained the Venturi – open valves to Venturi & close middle one & open slightly – causes change in pressure which sucks up liquid – I have to work out flow rate from contador but it's so wet I don't like to add even more water – but I should do it as the rain will wash the salt away.

I've been thinking about design today. Marco moved Strelitzia Nicolai from pool.

[p. 53] Climbers for the back fence.

Ex. Mandevilla

Plumbago

-orange trumpets.

Ipponema.

Oct 26 – it's been raining for 2 weeks very heavy & windy. I've started moving a few things – the hop bushes [Dodoneas] from the back and all the olive trees into the 'Mediterranean' bit at the back. Also Marco moved the palm tree – triangular – to the top – I've bought various things to climb on the back fence.

Dec. 18th – lovely weather. Marco (+ assistant) have finished putting all the gravel everywhere. It took three loads but it's finished now and looks much better. Stefan (M's Rumanian friend or neighbor) came on Thursday (+ assistant) and hacked up some of the paving & put it back a bit more naturally – looks much better. – all we have to do now is sort out the rocks The garden is looking good – some things are starting to grow.

[p. 54] Nov 9th

The first sunny day for a long time. Marco came today at 8 o'clock – bringing fishfood and estrume. He spent the morning bringing gravel through the back – we are starting to cover the beds with gravel.

Nov 10th

Another beautiful day – went for a walk- picked some more lupins & cistuses for the garden.

(cont.) really well after the rains then the recent sunshine – it will soon be spring!

[p. 55] May 31st – Judy's birthday – she stayed for 2 nights. Marco here this morning planted out Cerinthe, nasturtiums and a couple of euphorbias. (All grown from seed.)

I've just got soaking wet checking and adjusting watering – I must remember to do this every week – there's always something.

Achillea Colorado is looking wonderful – the white ones are slow – perhaps in the front they would look ok.

I've marked some Hemerocallis and dahlias with their colours for when they are moved.

I need to pot up the Catanache & Coreopsis and carry on with planting out.

The garden looks good – if a bit overloaded – needs sorting out in the autumn.

[p. 56] July 2, 08

Things to do for Autumn

1. Remove myrthe hedge nearest home.
2. Collect all amaryllis together
3. Ditto (large blue flowers) [Agapanthus] – take out from under palm tree behind pond-group with some others – a nice darker blue.

[p. 57] [nothing]

[p. 58] 18th Oct. 2008

planted out some seeds Mary gave me at our last Garden Club meeting at Michelle's – Cleome Isomeris & coreopsis gigantean – both tough Californian yellow plants – we'll see.

Also sewed some helianthus & rudbeckia.

[p. 59] [a page taken from the internet on *Isomeris arborea*]

[pp. 60-67] [some cuts from journals on how to transplant flowers and watering and also on a killer pest in the Algarve; hedges]

[p. 68] 30th Mar 2008

Back from UK – brought some pellets for sowing seed – sowed Echinacea (again!) also Camassia, Hymenosporum Flavus & cytiscus albus – also passiflora, malva & tagetes minata (ha!)

[p. 69] [cut from a journal on “Attack of the Red Beetle”]

[p. 70] [cut from a journal entitles “Metallic, twisting and sculptural, yet soft and woolly to the touch”]

[p. 71] [another cut from a journal]

[pp. 72-73] [cut from a journal on a kitchen garden, entitle “Beautifully productive”]

[pp. 74-75] [cut from a journal]

[pp. 76-77] [cut from a journal on *Miscanthus sinensis*]

[pp. 78-79] [cut from a journal on American switch grass]

[pp. 80-81] [cut from a journal on *Stipa barbata*]

[pp. 82 – 85] other cuts

[p. 86] 16 Dec. 07

Walk round garden late afternoon (4.30) still sunny, to decide on a few things.

Marco has rearranged the bed under the rear palm – moving a lot of rocks – I think a zamia furcurea (cardboard palm) would be a good plant there – I think Natura has them – I've got one in a pot but it looks good there.

By the rosa mutabilis – take out the um plant & move pot – they are now hidden by the rose – put in either: red hot pokers or Miscanthus sinensis

I need a sculptural tree for the middle – a brachychiton?

buy the cactus & pachypodium from Q. d. r. garden center

take out sparmannia & buddleia

[p. 87] [nothing]

[p. 88] [photo] [Coreopsis 'Unwins gold'] sowed these in Nov. just as the weather has turned cold – put these in my room – we'll see!

[p. 89] Monday 17th Sept 07

Spent the morning potting seedlings of scarlet amaryllis, trident aloes & cyclamen.

Also emptying a lot of pots with seeds which never grew – particularly hemerodactylus, white broom, etc.

Have sowed some erythrina crus-galli seeds that Marco gave me.

[pp. 90-91] [cuts from journal]

[p. 92] [yellow tickets]

[Sollya heterophylla]

planted this at the back fence – May 07

[Passiflora pinnatis]

at the side, behind the tithonia

[p. 93] Sunday 13th May

sowed Lilium Regale, Cleome, Camassia & Iris Unguicularis in large pots/plastic bags – Glaucum Flavum put in garden.

Also sowed some 'fill a bed' [packets of miscellaneous seeds]

[photo] [Nasturtium 'Black Velvet'] - planted out

About 10

May 31

[p. 94] Sat 5th May

Sunny day but cold wind – been very windy this last week – rain on Wednesday – generally unsettled.

I've sown coreopsis & cerinthe & gloriosa superba in large pots this week – germinated straight away (with plastic bags).

Today I've sown some plantago, tagetes minuta, Echinacea & cardoons in large pots with plastic bags – planted nasturtiums in half of a plastic water bottle.

I've also planted out some alliums from miscellaneous bulb seeds and a couple of euphorbia.

Wednesday 9th May – hot weather has arrived - potted on all the cerinthe and the black velvet nasturtiums – very good quick germination for both – only problem is finding afternoon shade for so much.

Sowed some catanache in the compost pellets. This morning that fresh seed taken from the aloe by the large yucca last week has germinated.

[p. 95] [image] sowed morning glory in these

Already sprouting

Tues May!

[pp. 96-97] [cuts from journal on the best mahonias]

[p. 98] [more cuts from different sources] planted out May 31

[p. 99] Fri 27th April

Sowed some Gloriosa Superba I bought in UK this last weekend when we stayed for 4 days in UK.

Some losses while I was away – only one Yucca Elata survived – perhaps too wet – and I think I'm going to end up with only 2 succulent euphorbias although the others have thrived.

A few hermodactylus & hymensporum have germinated.

Also some seeds in half bottle – should have labelled them!

Sowed morning glory [Ipomoea] in large pots & in peat pellets.

Also cerinthe and coreopsis 'sea shells.'

The setaria grass has germinated well but looks a bit grim.

[pp. 100-101] [cuts from a journal on Newcomers to the grass menagerie]

[p. 102] [photo]

[p. 103] Sunday 15th April

Beautiful day – Marco & F came this morning to spread sand on the gravel much better to walk on. Nahid came to look at house & garden.

Planted out some white thrift with 2 *eryngiums agavifolium* & some *pancratiums*.
Also bought some marigolds which I planted where the red hot poker were.

I've bought 2 *spireas* – I'm going to get some *viburnums opulus* tomorrow

[p. 104] Easter Monday 2007

Lovely morning for gardening – mild, not too hot. It has been relatively cold with a wind recently – today more spring-like. The *freesias*, which have been wonderful, are just going over – next year I must order some more red & white – white for the front to tone down the yellow & red in the back – I must make a note of where the red is now.

There is an amazing *amaryllis* - green flowers with magenta base + white stripes – must move it and get some more.

I planted out some *cardoons* today – must sow some more for under the palm in the old path.

[p. 105] What has been most successful with seeds?

Up till now:

Achilleas – germinated & survived winter

Gaura

Aeonium c. p. “

Scabious

Crambe cordifolia

Crambe Maritima

Geranium maderense

Melanthus major

Bronze fennel

Echium pininana

Eryngiums agavifolium

We'll see whether the *isoplexis* and the *libertia formosa* survive.

Also *cardoons*

And ordinary *euphorbias*

Also *ipomoeas* sown in April.

[p. 106] [three tickets from Chiltern Seeds]

[*ipomoea tricolor*]

All growing well by April 15th

April 7th – Easter Saturday – Sunny and cold ... morning but thunder & grey skies this afternoon – no rain yet (4 o'clock).

Sowed: ½ *plantago* seeds over *pyrethrum* that nothing has happened with.

Erysimum.

Some *setaria* – (the *setaria* that I put in pots in the shed all germinated 15/4/07)

Lobelia tupa.

[p. 107] April 3rd

Sowed: *scabious* 'chat noir'

(3 pots): rest of *ipomoea* – the first lot germinated strongly but faded in the cold.

: *tagetes minuta* – 2/3 packet

Planted out: the last *geranium maderense* – I think I've ended up with 5.

Potted up: varied *euphorbias*.

-3 *angelica*.

[one ticket Chiltern Seeds] (*Erysimum Asperum*) just showing, 15 April.

[p. 108] [nothing]

[p. 109- 113] [cut from journals]

[p. 114] Before I go away I think I should plant all the *fennel*, all the *achilleas*, all the *gaura*, and *knautia* in fact everything I can – I also planted a *miscanthus* this afternoon – I shall put one in the front garden as well – I should have 6 in total.

Cardoons – I planted some with *Euphorbias* sprouting strongly. I shall plant some more this week with the grasses.

Tues 20th Mar – back (without luggage) from skiing – weather has turned very cold with North wind. But still sunny.

-All seeds ok *Isabellianas* faded away – I'll be lucky to get 4.

-Sowed some *marjoram* & *echinacea* today. & planted out large *melianthus* & some more of the *coronilla glauca*.

[p. 115] Planted out the *cyclamen* in a tray as recommended – 28th Feb – nothing yet 20/3/07

[one ticket of Chiltern Seeds] [Cyclamen Hederifolium] They gradually germinated potted up about 10
4/09/07

Sunday 4th Mar 07

Not such a good weather day. Marco came this morning with lots of bulbs which he planted – iris, ixias, gladioli (?), dahlias, liatris, anemones, lilies – we'll see.

We also got some asphodels from the waste ground and in the afternoon planted out some eryngium agavifoliums and a couple of geranium maderiense.

[p. 116] [two tickets of Chiltern Seeds]

[Yucca, Mixed species] - These germinated very well - ready for transplanting 20/3/07
none germinated 14/09/07

Monday 26th Feb.

Lovely weather –sunny & warm.

Sowed varied yuccas today – in pots.

-I've been planting out various things that have lingered too long - box cuttings and various bulbs – must carry on!

[Yucca Elata]

Mary gave me a half packet of those planted out 28th Feb.

20th Mar – 2 seeds just sprouted.

14 Sept 07 – one seeding is surviving quite well.

[p. 117] [one ticket of Chiltern Seeds]

[Euphorbia, mixed Hardy species]

4Mar – sprouting

Already- say

About 50%

23rd Feb 07 planted these today

-tried to put some seeds together

-going to put some cardoon with succulent Euphorbia.

-Lovely day today after hard rain yesterday a.m.

[p. 118] [one ticket of Chiltern Seeds]

Wednesday 21st Feb. 07

-Lovely day

Garden club today. Visited Diana's & Christine's garden. Mary gave me a Euphorbia Wulfeni & a frangipani branch. (where is my tree peony?) At the plant table I bought two red hollyhock seedlings and 2 cobaea seedlings.

This afternoon I planted out some aeonium c-p in cracks in the paving.

I also sowed a packet of succulent Euphorbia's. What next?

4 March 07

[Euphorbias] sprouting already

20 Mar – potted up 2.

[p. 119] [one ticket of Chiltern Seeds]

4 Nov 07 – nothing showing from these [Hermodactylus Tuberosa] although 2 grasses Briza Media & Setaria all doing well.

Cytisus Albus, Pittosponum Undulatum and Hymenosporum Flavum all into 3 pots – I've put them in the propagators in my room so well see – also a whole packet of Hemodactylus.

About a month ago, maybe 5 weeks I collected some seed from a neighbour's Datura – soaked half for 3 days – sowed both lots. In 3-4 wks the soaked seeds germinated & grew strongly – I have potted up 4 or 5 today.

[p. 120] Sat. – potted up II Echinacea purpureum – trying to get as much potted up before I go away.

Just before I go away I'll sow the grass seeds I've got into bottles.

Left these [Echinacea purpureum] outside while I was away – they were either too damp or it was too sunny – only 3 survived and they look a bit peaky! Why is it always the plants that you really want that do so badly! – All died! (Mar 4).

20 Feb – Tuesday Carnival – everywhere very quiet - spent a day at home. Planted out a dozen or so of the Achillea Colorado, and three lots of the Bowles millium effusum.

Sowed three lots of grass – all of Festuca Amethystina (Festuca glauca did nothing) & ½ Briza Media & Setaria macrostachya.

[one ticket of Chiltern Seeds] Yesterday sowed ½ packets of PTO

[p. 121] 17th Jan

Planted some seeds from (3) Sesbania soaked for 3 days (still as hard as a rock) – also some variegated campsis given me by Mary.

The Weather continues fine – Garden Club yesterday – brought home some seed pods of *Spathodea* – promised Hilary a bronze fennel and something else.

Went to Albufeira today with Mary McCarvill for a little talk with Alan Mason and the other garden group – interesting to hear other people talk about their gardens.

27th Jan – met with Mary at Garden Club.
She gave me the tree Paeony she'd bought
I'm keeping it inside at the moment – it is so cold outside.

I potted up all the *eryngium agavifolius* today (18). Also some *aeoniums* c.p.
I also collected some seed heads from *verbena bonariensis* and sowed them in a bottle.

[pp. 122-129] [cuts from different journals]

[p. 130] [some tickets]
[*Echinacea Purpurea*]
II of these sprouted within 3-4 days.

Jan 6 – planted out the *Echinacea* seeds collected from garden in tray (not sure which bit was seed!)
Planted out *Heleniums* – very small seed.

29 Jan – *heleniums* just starting to sprout.

I have collected some *Urginea* from garden -I'll plant them a bit later.
Mid-February - quite a few have sprouted but very delicate-looking.

[p. 131] 20th December

Sowed some *Miscanthus Sinensis*.
Isoplexis isabelliana – sprouted very easily 2-3 days.
Libertia Formosa – only 1 or 2 after 3 days.

29th Dec 2006

Sowed whole pocket of *organic? Echinacea* & most of *pyrethrum rosea*.

[one ticket of Chiltern Seeds] [*Melianthus Major*] - 2 of these growing on strongly. Jan. 07.
3 potted up & doing well 29 Jan 07
3 more sprouted mid-Feb. – planted the rest of these Dec. 28th 06

4 Jan – still beautiful weather – dry sunny – hot during the day – cold at night.

[pp. 132-141] [cuts from journals]

[p. 142] [one ticket from Chiltern Seeds] [*Isoplexis Isabelliana*] – sprouted quickly.
Mid-Feb. I finally picked out about half a tray.

I have also collected from my garden seeds of several grasses which have sprouted, also *alliums* which have not & some *verbena bonariensis* – must plant some *echinaceas*.

Jan 11 – planted out yesterday some (5) *echiums peninana* and *gaura* (about 6).

Mid Feb – *libertia* ready for pricking out.

[p. 143] [two tickets' from Chiltern Seeds] Saturday 16th

Sowed non-anonymous mixtures (m20) & *Miscanthus Sinensis*.

The *miscanthus* has sprouted well 1cm high. Jan 6/07.

Sunday 17th Dec.

Sowed ½ pocket of *libertia formosa* & 1 packet *Isoplexis isabelliana* in seed trays wrapped in plastic.
29 Jan 07 - *Libertia* is sprouting well – ½inch high.
The *Isoplexis* sprouted quicker but looks a bit fragile.

[p. 144] *Agave VR* – only 2 surviving – look weak
Aristotochia – only 6 surviving.

Geranium maderense – 3 in pots, 1 seedling.

Knautia Macedonia – about 10 plants but struggling a bit – perhaps the wrong time of year.

Grasses
Bowes millium effusum – ready for potting easy.

Stipa gigantea about 10 plants – easy enough.

Stipa arundinacea – sprouted but didn't prosper – wrong time of year?

Pampas grass – 5 potsful – easy

Iris forrestii – sprouted ok but failed after – no roots – rot – wrong time of year.

Aeonium cp – picked out half – surviving

Gaura – potted out – very easy – 20 plants.

Echium pininana – potted up – 10 plants.

[p. 145] [cut from journal]

[p. 146] Saturday 2 Dec/06

Pouring with rain today – yesterday was beautiful – a public holiday – I went to Fonte Santa & bought 6 pistache, 2 Nandina, 4 small myrtles, + 2 blue bushes, etc.

Monday we had torrential rain – Marco came round to check all ok – his house in Quinta do Mar – basement - water chest high!

The rest of the week – weather not bad. Thursday with Marco we planted more stuff & changed around the top area near back gate.

Sunday Dec 17th

Fennel – all potted up, doing well, some ready for planting out! - About 20 plants.

Crambe Cord – ditto but only 4 plants.

Crambe Marit – 2 strong seedlings in jiffy pots + 2 more sprouting.

Achillea 'silver spray' – all potted up – doing well.-about 20

Achillea 'Colorado' – not quite as strong but all potted up & ok – 20 plants.

[p. 147] Nov 21st.

Sowed ½ Ipomoea Tricolor seeds. & ½ Melianttus Major. Also 1 'fillabel' (Packet of mixed seeds of shrubs & trees).

Potted up gaura /achillea silver spray & knautia macedonica.

It has been nice for last 4 days but rain is forecast.

Sunday 26th Nov. – Yesterday we put gravel down – working all day in garden – paid 150€ for small lorry load of gravel. Looks so much better.

Marco moved a lot of rocks too.

Today I potted up 4 geraniums. & ten or so Ipomoeas which were 4" high in 6 days.

-The shrubs were just beginning inside

-The ones I left out were doing nothing. Beautiful day today – not bad yesterday but very windy & wet the 2 days before.

[p. 148] [one cut from journal] Autumn sowing.

[p. 149] Oct 18th Monday

Started to rain today. Vitthal came with variegated fig. & two climbers.

I started re-positioning hedge yesterday seeds are doing quite well although I'm not sure how I'll keep them over the winter.

-Gaura is up, achilleas doing well, echium penina & knautia.

-aeonium is up but tiny also anigozanthus flavidus – I wonder why the grasses have done so poorly. I might leave them until the spring.

[pp. 150-156] [cuts from different journals]

[p. 157] Friday – cont.

Sowed Achillea Millefolium Colorado & Eryngium Agavifolium

[two tickets of Chiltern Seeds] – sprouted straight away. But not very many.

1 Dec – tiny seedlings.

Jan 28 – potted up.

18 seedlings – some are firstly sprouting in 2nd bottle.

Sprouted straight away.

All doing very well in pots.

Potted up Agave VR seedlings – look a bit fragile– checked archontophoenix etc – nothing – put new seeds in my room.

[p. 158] [three tickets of Chiltern Seeds]

Friday 6 Oct

Sowed: Anthriscus, Astrantia & Iris Forrestii. It is quite cold in the evening now – I'm going to put them in my room for 2 weeks and then outside – see what happens!

Have sprouted in my room.

[p. 159] [many tickets one over the other] sprouting beg. Nov.
sowed *Allium Karataras*.

[p. 160] Sunday Oct 1

pricked out 3 *crambe cordifolia*

pricked out *bronze sweet fennel* and planted some in garden.

Pricked out *echium pininana*

Also *Knautia Macedonia*

Saved some grass seeds from garden

[two tickets of Chiltern Seeds] Sowed these today together with ½ pocket of *Angelica Atropurpurea* – sprouted 10 Oct. Picked out Nov 30.

Sowed these in flower pot. One has spouted 25/10/06.

[p. 161] [three tickets from Chiltern Seeds]

[*Scabiosa Rumelica*]

Sprouting 26th Sept. Picked out into fully pots 10 Oct.

28th Sept – Thurs.

Planted *Crambe Maritima* & *Gaura Lindheimeri*.

[*Gaura Lindheimeri*]

Started to sprout 05/10/06 all Nov 1. Potted up

-some planted out in garden Jan- 07

[*Crambe Maritima*]

-one sprouting Nov 1.

3 sprouting Nov 20.

-only 2 now – potted up.

Dec!

[p. 162] Sunday 17th.

Sowed: *Echium pininana*

: also *Knautia Macedonia*

-struggle to find shade for the seeds.

Monday

Planted *Achillea Cartilaginea* ‘Silver spray’ – sprouting 26th Sept.

[two tickets of Chiltern Seeds]

Also some *Scabiosa Atropurpurea*

Sprouting 26th Sept....

Picked out into fully pots 1 Oct.

5 planted out in garden 3 to Mary 1 to Michelle

[p. 163] [paper with a list of Chiltern Seeds, Ulverston Catalogue No. M20 – 2006.

[p. 164] Thursday 14th Sept.

planted *archiontophoenix* in a water bottle, slit lengthways, filled with compost – nothing.

Planted sweet fennel – some in garden.

Sowed mixed bulbs seeds.

Sowed *Agave Vic. Reg.* on vermiculite.

[three tickets of Chiltern Seeds] –Seven of these have sprouted although very wet.

[*Agave Victoriae-Reginae*]

2 are spouting 26th Sept.

1 Oct 5 sprouting

- All rotted – perhaps wrong time of year.

- [*Sweet Fennel*]

- Sprouting 26th Sept.

- Picked out 10 Oct. al so planted some in garden.

[p. 165] Tuesday 12th Sept.

[five different tickets] Also *Luzula Nivea*

[*Anigozanthus Flavids*]

Started about Oct 10th

3 by Nov 1.

Dec. 1 about ½ Dozen – slow

Soaked Archontophoenix seeds for 24 hours.
Nothing!

[p. 166-167] [cuts from journals]

[p. 168] [three different tickets] Sunday 10th Sept.

Only one flowered. But the other two put forth leaves.[Urginea Maritima bulbs]

[p. 169] [three tickets] Saturday 9th Sept.

planted 3 more lots.
[Aristolochia ringens]

Nothing 26th Sept.
-maybe – Oct 19th
Started Nov 1 – 7 seedlings

These sprouted but did not thrive – should be sown Feb- Mar.
[Allium Neapolitanum]
Nothing 26th
[Festuca Glauca]
Nothing 26th s

[p. 170] Seeds.

02/09/06

Started with alstroemeria pulchella

[two tickets of Chiltern Seeds] nothing Sunday
Nothing 26th

Crambe cordifolia (which Mary says will not do here).

Sprouted Sunday. 17th
Doing well 26th Sept.
Planted out 1 Oct.
4 surviving.
Nov. 20.

Margaret Jackson

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Dear

Re: 19 Quinta das Salinas

Here are the drawings and a brief spec for the garden at Salinas.

The basic idea for the garden is that round the house and pool it should be quite densely planted - palms, strelitzias, yuccas, phormiums etc. but that the rest of the garden should be completely covered in pea gravel divided by drifts of grasses, gaura, achilleas, sedums etc. backed by myrtle hedges with outcrops of rocks with one or two small palms, or beaucarneas etc. as shown on the drawings.

The back garden will be fenced by the contractor with a pedestrian gate at the rear. Screening to the side will be an informal hedge of various kinds of fruit trees. To the right a lower screen of parkinsonias, white broom, dodonaeas, tamarisk, echiums etc. and this can be carried around the back with olive trees and some replanted palms as shown on the drawing.

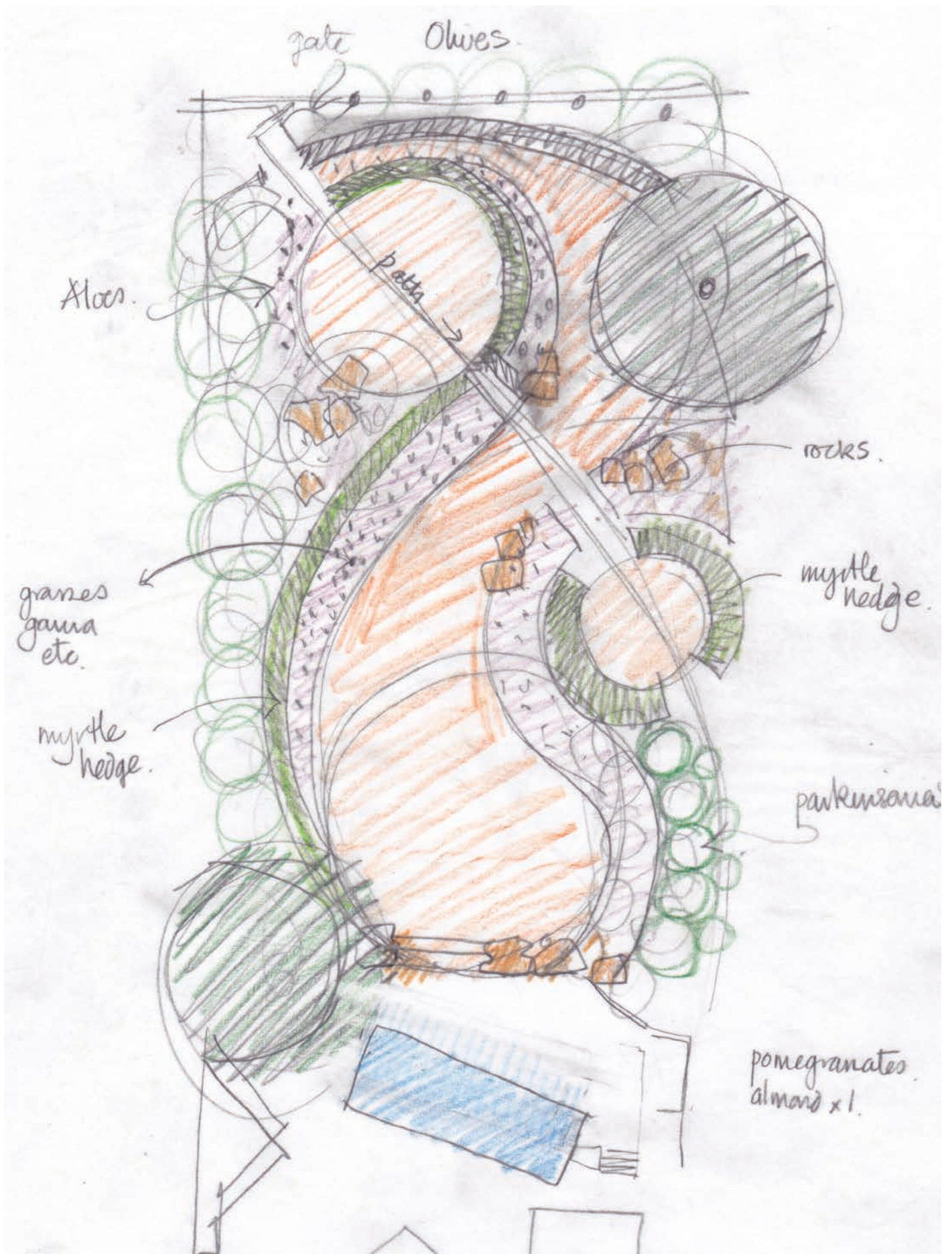
My idea for the back garden is that it should not be too full at the beginning - that the trees, hedges and larger plants supported by a watering system that will allow me to fill out the planting later.

Could you give me an estimate with the various items priced separately.

The site will be ready from about June onwards. The contractor expects to complete at the beginning of July. Could you let me know your proposed start date along with your estimate.

Let me know if you need any further information,

Regards,



19. Quinta das Salinas

1.00 Preparation

- 1.01 Clean and level site (approx 850 sq. metres)
- 1.02 Remove all builders' waste and debris from site including from the beds around the house
- 1.03 Take out all existing hedges and remove from site
- 1.04 Take off and keep for later use 300mm of sand all over site.
Provide clean broken stone (approx 150 cubic metres) fill to bring the site to 300mm below finished levels and spread the retained sand over the site.

2.00 Rocks, Stone paths and Gravel

- 2.01 Place the existing rocks and provide extra as shown.
- 2.02 Spread the whole site with 200 mm layer of approved organic matter and mix with the existing sand. The intention is to improve the whole of the garden so that planting can take place anywhere.
- 2.06 Provide and lay the reclaimed natural stone paths as shown on the drawings
- 2.07 Spread a layer 75mm thick of brown/pink pea gravel to finished levels.

3.00 Watering system

- *3.01 A 6-way Hunter Pro-C controller (or similar approved) with a rain sensor should be installed in the store as shown and connected to the pump provided by others. The layout of the irrigation will have to be approved before work starts.

4.00 Lighting:

- *4.01 Provide and fix 6 no outdoor spotlights wired to pump room.

5.00 Planting

- 5.01 Three no. existing Phoenix Canariensis palms to be relocated as shown on the drawing.
- 5.02 Hedges: Provide and plant Myrtus Communis Tarentina, min 300wx400h @3 plants per metre.
- 5.03 generally the drawings show the character of planting required. This should be listed and priced separately and will be discussed and approved before the work begins.

6.00 Maintenance

- *6.01 After the garden is complete no maintenance will be required as we will keep on our present contract gardeners. However any substantial shrubs or trees that fail during the first year will have to be replaced free of charge unless of course it is due to lack of water or other neglect on our part. You will be able to inspect the garden at any time during this period to ensure that your planting is properly cared for.

DOCUMENT 3 - List of the plants in Margaret's garden

The Latin names come from Margaret's exercise book; the observations were given by Margaret herself.

Plants in Margaret's garden

Latin name	Observations
<i>Achillea Cartilaginea</i>	These grew the first year but gradually dwindled
<i>Achillea Colorado</i>	ditto
<i>Achillea Millefolium Colorado</i>	ditto
<i>Achillea clypeolata</i>	ditto
<i>Aeonium Castello-Paivae</i>	These grew well and have lasted
<i>Agapanthus</i>	
<i>Agave attenuata</i>	
<i>Agave Victoria Regina</i>	
<i>Angelica Atropurpurea</i>	
<i>Anigozanthus</i>	
<i>Albizias</i>	
<i>Allium Karataras</i>	
<i>Allium Neapolitanum</i>	
<i>Alocasia</i>	
<i>Alstroemeria</i>	
<i>Alstroemeria pulchella Cactii</i>	seeds did not do well
<i>Anigozanthus</i>	
<i>Anigozanthus Flavidus</i>	seeds did not do well
<i>Anthriscus, Astrantia &</i>	seeds did not do well
<i>Arechontophoenix</i>	seeds did not do well
<i>Aristolochia</i>	
<i>Aristolochia ringens</i>	
<i>Bowes millium effusum</i>	
<i>Brachychiton</i>	
<i>Briza Media</i>	
<i>Bronze fennel</i>	grew well from seed and seeds itself happily throughout the garden
<i>Buddleia</i>	
<i>Cactii</i>	
<i>Callas</i>	
<i>Camassia</i>	
<i>Campsis</i>	
<i>Canna indica</i>	
<i>Cortaderia Argentea Var. Rosea</i>	this grew well from seed but was too big for my garden - given away
<i>Catanache</i>	grew well from seed and seeds itself happily
<i>Cerithe</i>	ditto
<i>Cestrums</i>	
<i>Cleome</i>	
<i>Clivia</i>	
<i>Convulvulus Cneorum</i>	
<i>Cordyline</i>	
<i>Coprosma</i>	
<i>Coreopsis</i>	grew well from seed and seeds itself happily throughout the garden
<i>Coronilla glauca</i>	grew well from seed
<i>Crambe cardifolia</i>	grew from seed but did not thrive - too hot
<i>Crambe Maritima</i>	diito
<i>Cycad</i>	

<i>Cycas revolute</i>	
<i>Cyclamen</i>	
<i>Cyclamen Hederifolium</i>	grew from seed but did not thrive - too hot
<i>Cytisus albus</i>	
<i>Cuphea</i>	
<i>Dodonaeas</i>	
<i>Dracaena Fragans</i>	
<i>Dracaena Indivisa</i>	
<i>Echinacea</i>	
<i>Echinacea purpureum</i>	I tried several times to grow from seed but did not thrive
<i>Echium pininana</i>	grew from seed but too big for my garden
<i>Echium</i>	
<i>Erysimum</i>	grew from seed but did not thrive - too hot
<i>Erysimum Asperum</i>	ditto
<i>Eryngium Agavifolium</i>	ditto
<i>erythina crus-galli</i>	
<i>euphorbias</i>	grew well from seed and seeds itself happily throughout the garden
<i>Euphorbia Wulfeni</i>	ditto
<i>Fennel</i>	see 'Bronze fennel'
<i>Festuca Amethystina</i>	seed didn't germinate well
<i>Festuca Glauca</i>	ditto
<i>freesias</i>	
<i>Gaura</i>	
<i>Gaura Lindheimeri</i>	grew well from seed and seeds itself happily throughout the garden
<i>Geranium Maderense</i>	grew well from seed and seeds itself.
<i>Glaucum Flavum</i>	
<i>Glechona</i>	
<i>Gloriosa superba</i>	
<i>Hedychium</i>	
<i>Heleniums</i>	
<i>Helenium Autumnale</i>	
<i>Helianthus</i>	
<i>Hemerocallis</i>	
<i>Hermodyctylus Tuberosa</i>	seed did not germinate
<i>Hymenoporum Flavus</i>	
<i>Ipponema Pittosporum undulate</i>	
<i>Ipomoeas</i>	
<i>Ipomoea Tricolor seeds</i>	didn't thrive
<i>Iris Forrestii</i>	ditto
<i>Iris Unguicularis</i>	ditto
<i>Isomeris</i>	
<i>Isoplexis isabelliana</i>	
<i>Knautia Macedonia</i>	
<i>libertia formosa</i>	grew well from seed and over the years made large clumps.
<i>Leonotis</i>	
<i>Ligularia</i>	
<i>Lilium Regale</i>	
<i>Lobelia tupa</i>	grown from seed and seeds itself in the gravel
<i>Luzula Nivea</i>	didn't do well
<i>Malva</i>	

<i>Mandevilla</i>	
<i>Mandevilla boliviensis</i>	
<i>Melia Azederach</i>	
<i>Melianthus Major</i>	grown from seed and seeds itself
<i>Milium Effusum Aureum</i>	
<i>Miscanthus Sinensis</i>	
<i>Monstera deliciosa</i>	
<i>Morus alba</i>	
<i>Musa</i>	
<i>Myrtus Communis</i>	
<i>Myrtus Tarentina</i>	
<i>Nandina</i>	
<i>Nasturtium</i>	
<i>Nasturtium 'Black Velvet'</i>	grew well from seed but didn't thrive
<i>Pachypodium</i>	
<i>Pampas grass</i>	see 'Cortaderia Argentea'
<i>Pancratium</i>	
<i>Passiflora</i>	
<i>Passiflora pinnatis</i>	
<i>Philodendron</i>	
<i>Pistache</i>	
<i>Pittosporum undulate</i>	
<i>Pittosporum</i>	
<i>Phoenix Dactilifera</i>	
<i>Phoenix Robbelini</i>	
<i>Phormium tenax</i>	
<i>Plumbago</i>	
<i>Pittosponum Undulatum</i>	
<i>Pyrethrum rosea</i>	
<i>Rosa mutabilis</i>	This does very well and I take cuttings every year
<i>Rudbeckia</i>	
<i>Small bamboo</i>	
<i>Scabious</i>	
<i>Scabiosa Atropurpurea</i>	grew from seed
<i>Scabiosa Rumelica</i>	
<i>Scarlet amaryllis</i>	
<i>Scaveola</i>	
<i>Sesbania</i>	
<i>Setaria</i>	
<i>Sollya heterophylla</i>	
<i>Sparmannia Africana</i>	
<i>Spathodea</i>	
<i>Stipa arundinacea</i>	grew from seed but too big for my garden
<i>Stipa Barbata</i>	didn't germinate
<i>Stipa gigantean</i>	ditto
<i>Strelitzia</i>	
<i>Strelitzia Nicolai</i>	
<i>Sweet Fennel</i>	
<i>Tagetes minata</i>	
<i>Tipuana</i>	



ABSTRACT

The relationship of Portuguese visual culture with landscape was sparse, difficult and troubled, until the last quarter of the 19th century. However, in the first decades of the 20th century naturalism became established as the prevailing aesthetical movement in Portuguese painting, mostly in academic institutions and art salons, with wide public preference. Naturalism imposed itself so strongly into Portuguese art that it even shaded and delayed, to some extent, the rising of modernism, until the late 1920's. Since the beginning of the hegemony of naturalism coincide with the disclosure of Portuguese landscape photographic prints through illustrated magazines, postcards and photographic albums, did that contribute to the change, particularly Emílio Biel's photographic album *A Arte a a Natureza em Portugal?* In this article I seek to make a revision of this state of the art.

Paulo Baptista is curator at the Portuguese National Museum of Theater and co-editor of *Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal*.

ARTICLE¹

Although there are no systematic studies on the representation of landscape in painting and drawing in Portugal, the lack of attention that this genre received in Portuguese visual arts is the evidence and symptom of its incipency. Even within artistic movements that traditionally were closely related with nature, like the *Barbizon School*, the impact of the representation of landscape in Portuguese painting and drawing was "meager, difficult and tormented". Those are the terms Margarida Acciaiuoli employed to characterize the relationship between Portuguese artists and landscape, in her rereading (ACCIAIUOLI 2006: 21-22) of José-Augusto França's reference study on Portuguese 19th century art (FRANÇA 1966). Acciaiuoli suggests that an insuperable difficulty has always existed when Portuguese artists confronted nature².

Ultimately the perspective of Acciaiuoli has been somehow exaggerated since we cannot fail to notice the important and sensitive contribution of Henrique Pousão (1859-1884) to Portuguese landscape painting. Although his untimely death and the fact that he spent much of this short life abroad, diminished the intensity which no doubt was missing in the context of Portuguese landscape painting. On the other hand, as has been pointed out by França³, in opera staging, set designers such as Rambois and Cinatti⁴ established, in his words, a strong tradition of landscape representation on Portuguese stages, but they were both foreign artists, as remarks Acciaiuoli (ACCIAIUOLI 2006: 21-22). The detachment of the Portuguese visual tradition regarding landscape could be translated as the structural constraints of a country that secularly overlooked the sea relinquishing the mainland, isolated by the lack of roads

1 I must express a special acknowledgment to Ana Duarte Rodrigues for her support to this work.

2 ACCIAIUOLI 2006: 24-26: "An insuperable difficulty, an insurmountable immensity that seems to defeat painters and even novelists. It doesn't mind the fact that Romanticism and Naturalism had made landscape as the subject of their representations. What counts is this feeling of inappetence for the real, for transcendence, that Nature would represent. [...] And it is, therefore, evident that the worship of nature constituted in time, in most aspects, a pure fiction or even worse, being only a mere background for genre painting, masking the alienation of concrete places".

3 José-Augusto França cit. ACCIAIUOLI 2006: 21.

4 Italians Giuseppe Luigi Cinatti (1808-1879) and Achille Rambois (1810-1882).

and railways, construction of which only started in the second half of the nineteenth century. But seascapes were also belittled, so we can clearly state that there is a structural visual inability to represent the landscape. However those readings of Portuguese landscape drawback in Portuguese art forgot the contribution of photography

From the last quarter of the XIXth century, photography brought a substantial contribution to change the relationship between Portuguese visual culture and landscape, particularly through the intervention of Emílio Biel, Oporto's photographer and photographic editor devoted to publishing albums on heritage, with dramatic photographs of Portuguese landscapes, especially in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* (1902-1905), a monumental album and therefore the widest Portuguese photographic survey.

*A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*⁵ is an album printed in collotype, with the dimensions of 40 to 30 centimeters, with over 400 pages and 350 photographic reproductions of high quality, with the theoretical collaboration of some of the most important Portuguese scholars. Such a monumental edition surprises us since it is edited in a country where nature and landscape had so far played, as we mentioned, a secondary role in visual representation. Although the editor of this monumental album was a German born emigrant, Emílio Biel (1838-1915), established in Oporto, Portugal, a foreigner (as were Rambois and Cinatti), but who was capable of understanding and assuming Portuguese cultural values as his own. It was Biel who dared to embark on such an ambitious project, carefully prepared and planned with his collaborators for more than 15 years.



AANP, Portas de Rodão [Rodão Gates Tagus River].

Emílio Biel came to Portugal in 1857, probably one of the many fellow countrymen that followed King D. Fernando II (1816-1885), the German consort king who married the Portuguese Queen D. Maria II (1819-1853). King Ferdinand II was one of the more influential personalities in Portuguese society and culture. During the long period of his beneficial influence, several cultural circles with a particular interest on German culture flourished

⁵ Hereinafter referred to by the abbreviation AANP.

in Portugal. Emílio Biel became a member of those circles⁶. Although we ignore the details of Biel's German past and schooling, as we shall see, he mastered humanities and sciences and, as stated by the Portuguese writer Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1847-1921), he took to Portugal as his genuine homeland, putting together the poets Johann Goethe and Luís de Camões⁷. His attention to Camões made him publish the epic *Os Lusíadas* in the occasion of the tercentenary of his death in 1880⁸.

In 1880 Emílio Biel was already the most important figure in Portuguese photography, a role he would keep until his death in 1915, just before the entry of Portugal into World War I⁹. The important role he was able to play in Portuguese photography was largely due to the social and cultural constraints that activity underwent during the decades following the introduction in Portugal of established studios during 1860's.

Until very late¹⁰ the photographic activity in Portugal depended almost exclusively on the short stays of itinerant photographic portraitists who roamed the cities of the Iberian Peninsula or scaled Lisbon en route to South America. This intermittent activity did not favor the establishment of photographic studios and did not promote the curiosity of the fledgling Portuguese bourgeoisie for the expensive photographic portrait¹¹. Political constraints were largely responsible for the delay in the establishment of the first photographic studios in Portugal that only occurred just before 1860¹². In this context, Biel's studio or *Casa Biel* (Biel's house) as it was referred by his customers and the press, has become the most important Portuguese studio, reporting a total of 50,000 portraits made in 1893.

The remarkable success of the commercial photography allowed *Casa Biel* to explore other aspects of photographic activity, in particular photographic edition, an activity in which Biel became a pioneer in Portugal. Emílio Biel began the first attempts at photo editing before 1880 using collotype¹³. From then on Biel's studio became the most important Portuguese photographic editor until 1915. The technical mastery of the collotype process allowed him to carry out a wide range of photographic editions, having started in 1880 with the mentioned edition of "Os Lusíadas", an endeavor that granted him a notable reputation in the Oporto society as much as his marriage to the daughter of the Oporto German consul. Such events almost coincided.

The earliest attempts of *Casa Biel's* collotype printing were the reproductions of drawings for *Lusíadas* edition (1881) but soon they tried objects of religious art and views of monuments and shortly after also of landscapes. For a full understanding of the importance that Biel's ventures accounted for the photographic editions in Portugal we must briefly review the previous photographic editorial activity.

One of the first photographic edition in Portugal was the *Revista Pittoresca e Descritiva de Portugal* published between 1861 and 1863, under the direction of the Royal architect Joaquim Possidónio Narciso da Silva.

6 Biel became member of the German circle of Anton Hermann Röeder, principal of Roeder College's attended by the Portuguese princes, later the German School of Lisbon. Later Biel joined the German circle of Oporto, gathered around Edward Katzenstein, the German empire's consul in Oporto's. Biel came to marry Katzenstein's daughter.

7 Vd. *O Commercio Portuguez* [Portuguese journal], 5th year, N° 133, 13/6/1880, p.1.

8 It is possible to speculate that this gesture could have political meaning as these celebrations did represent a statement of freemasonry and republican ideals and values against the amorphousness of the Portuguese monarchic regime, but there are several facts that may discount such a gesture from Biel despite his proximity to the Portuguese Royal family.

9 In 6 March 1916.

10 Until the beginning of the 20th century, some photographers were still itinerate in the sparsely inhabited interior Portuguese regions.

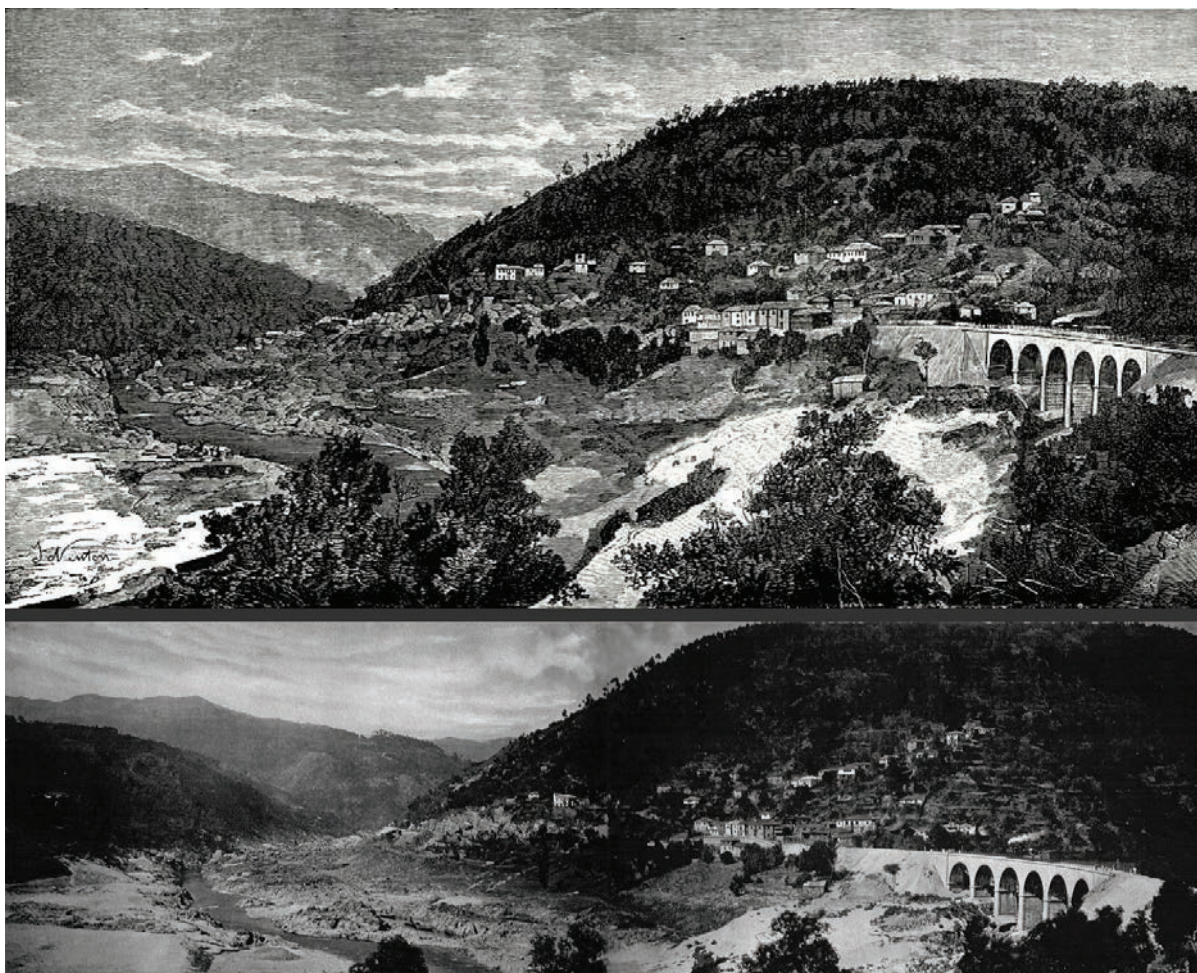
11 The situation lasted longer because the Portuguese political situation of civil war only stabilized definitely under the regime of *Regeneração* (Regeneration) after 1851, when a period of social appeasement and prosperity slowly began.

12 Only in the 1880's could a few studios emerge photographing in a truly industrial scale.

13 A photomechanical process that the Portuguese photographer Carlos Relvas acquired, bringing an Austrian technician from the photomechanical studio of C. H. Jacobi to Portugal to demonstrate the process to a group of photographers that included Biel.

That publication only included one set of 24 photographic plates of Portuguese monuments mounted on printed cardboard. The *Revista Pittoresca* [Picturesque Journal] was the first of a series of small publications with views published during the second half of the 1860s and the following decade, produced with the same technique¹⁴. The main drawback of those editions was the impossibility to produce large number of copies and the high cost of the editions. Unlike handmade photographic print collage editions, collotype printing allowed for the production of significant print runs of photomechanical proofs with high image quality and consistency, crucial aspects for photo editing and reasons for Biel to choose this process.

Coming back to the photographic activity of the *Casa Biel* it is important to mention that since the beginning of the 1880s we can see a broad and systematic process of photographic survey throughout Portugal, the first steps towards a large repertoire of Portuguese art and landscape. This survey can be followed through the woodcut engravings published in many issues of *O Occidente* [The West], an illustrated journal that began publication in 1882 and continued for over 22 years (BAPTISTA 2010: 130). *O Occidente* published a large number of pictures after *Casa Biel* photographs¹⁵, that allow us to pursue the photographic campaigns that Biel's photographic studio was making nationwide¹⁶.



Emílio Biel *O Occidente*, woodcut; bellow corresponding *Valle do Douro Viaducto do Laranjal* collotype.

14 *Monumentos Nacionais* [National Monuments] by Henrique Nunes (1868), *Panorama Fotografico de Portugal* [photographic panorama of Portugal] by various photographers including Carlos Relvas, *Álbum Lisbonense* [Lisbon Album] by Augusto Xavier Moreira and the album of Lisbon photographs by A. S. Fonseca.

15 Through the woodcuts by Caetano Alberto da Silva (1843-1924), one of the most relevant Portuguese engraver.

16 Subject partly addressed by MATOS 2013: 129-149, however the author doesn't make the connection between the woodcuts published in *O Occidente* and *AANP*, though a significant number of images were printed from the same photographs.

The importance of the Biel's landscape surveys and the quality of his photographs has to take into account that the technical constraints on landscape photography¹⁷ were largely due to the fact that, during the first decades after the advent of photography, the innovations sought to meet mainly the needs of portrait studios and commercial photography. Therefore the introduction of the dry plate, in 1880, was a definite step to ease outdoor photography. Then, the photographic practice relied to a large extent on the technicians' experience since most of the photographic knowledge was empirical. That is why the staff was so important in photography studio organization.

The questions concerning employees deserved particular attention by Emílio Biel and this was probably one of the reasons for the success of his studio. Through Biel's studio passed some of the most important Portuguese photographers¹⁸, but the true photographic cornerstones of *Casa Biel* and *AANP* were Ferdinand Nils Brütt¹⁹ and José Augusto da Cunha Moraes (1855-1933). Both became the partners of Emílio Biel for photographic publishing ventures. Ferdinand Brütt was a fellow German and an early partner in Biel's photographic studio. The Angolan photographer José Augusto da Cunha Moraes for whom Biel had printed the photographic album *África Occidental*²⁰ (Western Africa) in 1885, joined Biel's studio afterwards. With this staff, at the turn of the century, the *Casa Biel* published some of the most important Portuguese illustrated editions²¹. Part of those albums already included some of the pictures that later would integrate with *AANP* revealing a pragmatic way of managing his publishing house.

In the overall work of *Casa Biel* and for its size, *AANP* stands out; probably it doesn't have the same consistency of other works such as *O Douro* or the *Caminhos de Ferro do Douro* (Douro Railway) album, but it can be unequivocally considered the most important; insofar as it represents in itself a whole project, with early roots in and full awareness of both aesthetic and historiographical terms.



AANP, Ruins of Jesus Convent, Setúbal and Leiria Castle.

17 As mentions the art historian Françoise Heilbrun: *Photographing nature was no simple matter in the nineteenth century, because a different exposure time was needed for the sky, the sea, land or foliage. The "pioneers" came to terms with the technical constraints of their art and their photographs transformed our perception of the landscape [...] the emulsion was not fast enough to catch the blue of the sky, the skies seem empty* *vd.* HEILBRUN 2004: 7.

18 Reference should be made to Guilherme Boldt, Domingos Souto, José Carvalho, José Peres, Constantino Guedes or Domingos Alvão.

19 Birth and death dates still unknown.

20 José Augusto da Cunha Moraes, *África Occidental: Álbum Photográfico e Descritivo da Africa Occidental*, 1885

21 From 1896 to 1902 the Casa Biel published two works by Viscount Vilarinho S. Romão, *Vinicultura e Viticultura* (Viticulture and Winemaking) and *Minho e as suas Culturas* (Minho and its Cultures); and two albums from a series of photographic monographies on Portuguese regions, *Portugal-Gerez* (1887) and *Portugal-Espinho* (1898) and printed the collotypes of *Le Portugal Au Point de Vue Agricole*, 1900, an album published in the framework of Portuguese presence at the 1900 Paris universal exhibition.

A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal is the first project in Portugal that ambitiously assumes the need for the systematic recording and dissemination of heritage, translating an acute awareness of the necessity for an architectural, landscape and ethnographic heritage survey - ideas which continue to be extremely compelling today. This dimension was certainly enrolled during *AANP*'s conception by Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849-1936), one of the most important Portuguese scholars of his time, a theorist and researcher of art and heritage who became the main scientific mentor of Casa Biel's editorial activity, collaborating intensively on its publications and especially in the preparation of the mentioned album.

As José-Augusto França remarked, Joaquim de Vasconcelos was one of the outstanding personalities of his time and the real first Portuguese art historian, in a scientific sense (FRANÇA 1966: 115-123). The notorious role that Vasconcelos played in Portuguese artistic culture owed much to the solid instruction he received in German high school. Moreover, much of his work benefited from the cultural complicity with the German scholar Carolina Michaëlis (1851-1925), whom he married and with whom he shared many of his cultural projects carried out in the course of their long career. França praises above all the important and pioneering role of Vasconcelos as an historian and theorist of Portuguese art²². The collaboration between Biel and Vasconcelos dated at least from 1882 when Biel supported Vasconcelos in the controversy on Portuguese art that brought him into opposition with Conde Almedina²³. Later Vasconcelos assumed the role of scientific mentor and supporter of *Casa Biel*'s publishing activity. It is possible to recognize in Biel's deeper interest towards heritage matters, especially when *Casa Biel* carried out the urgent photographic survey of the Convent of S. Bento da Avé Maria²⁴ under the influence of Vasconcelos. Vasconcelos' broader interpretation on the concept of heritage, as stated in his famous lecture on Romanesque art in northern and central Portugal (FRANÇA 1966: 115-123), highlighted the importance of the relationship between architecture, archeology, symbolic, folk art, the classification of ornamental subjects and the awareness of 'rurality' and 'archaic' values which naturally call attention to the environment and to landscape.

As mentioned before, *Casa Biel* had a long practice of landscape photography proved by the Railway albums as well as the numerous landscape engravings printed in *O Occidente*²⁵. We have to point out that Biel himself was a true lover of nature and practiced activities such as floriculture, gardening, farming, and he was a passionate lepidopterist. He bought an estate in the Gerês hills where he devoted himself to raising deer and he published a photographic album on Gerês landscapes, the aforementioned *Portugal-Gerez*, prepared in 1887 to be offered to the Portuguese royal family. Therefore Biel's taste for nature and landscape was more than an aesthetic attitude: it was almost a way of life.

22 One of more important of Joaquim de Vasconcelos findings (1895) were the first four boards of the painting today known as *Painéis de S. Vicente de Fora*, perhaps the most important work of Portuguese ancient art.

23 The controversy revolved around the *Exposição de Arte Ornamental* of 1881 (ornamental art exhibition) at Janelas Verdes Palace (today the Ancient Art National Museum) and the choice of the objects displayed. Biel published the catalog of the *Exposição Distrital de Aveiro*, an exhibition Vasconcelos organized in 1882, to demonstrate of its arguments in the afore mentioned controversy, therefore strengthening the relationship between them.

24 S. Benedict of Hail Mary convent in Oporto, on the verge of its collapse, in 1897.

25 Only a small part of Biel's photographic archive survived.



AANP, Braga Bom Jesus and Cava de Viriato, Viseu.

The profound changes that *Casa Biel* introduced in the practice of Portuguese landscape photography was particularly evident in the photographs of the album *Douro railways*. Most photographs from that album have a completely new photographic approach, either through their deep tonal richness, a remarkable testimony of the technical skill of *Casa Biel's* photographers and printmakers, or by the scenic and monumental panoramic framework that interpret the rude and rugged beauty of the Douro valley with its deep riverbed dug through abrupt slopes. The human presence in those landscapes is so insignificant it only serves as reference scale.



Emilio Biel, Douro railways collotypes.

In parallel with their important visual dimension, Biel's railways albums also have an important political significance. On one hand, they intend to document the paths of the new railways and the works carried out by the railway companies in their construction, especially the most complex such as viaducts and tunnels. On the other hand, politically and sociologically, we can place these albums, as one of the strongest Portuguese positivist claims of progress represented by Fontes Pereira de Melo (1819-1887) minister consulate, known as the *Fontismo* age in 1860 and 1870 decades. This situation is parallel to the French photographic campaigns of *Chemins de Fer du Nord* under Napoleon III and also to the photographic survey of the American Pennsylvania railroad (HEILBRUN 2004: 11-12).

Since we can date the images of the railways albums, thanks to the engravings published in *O Occidente*, we can rule out the fact that the works of Peter Henry Emerson (1856-1936) and Edward Peach Robinson (1830-1901)²⁶ could have influenced this phase in the landscape photography practice of Emilio Biel and his collaborators²⁷. However, regarding later works of Biel, namely some of the photographs of *AANP*, we can not exclude the possibility that some photographs benefited from the contact with the photographs of the Englishmen shown in Oporto.

Imbued with *Mission Heliographique's*²⁸ similar spirit but three decades later the *Casa Biel* made at least two attempts to publish a repertoire on Portuguese art and architecture, during the 1880s. The projects failed to succeed due to the high costs involved and Biel's failure to raise solid financial support.²⁹ However, Emílio Biel had all the preliminary works for the edition of *AANP* in 1902 and thus could start printing the booklets. The majority of the photographs had already been taken, as we can witness throughout the *O Occidente's* woodcuts illustrated journal. The edition had its funding ensured thanks to a model that several former Portuguese illustrated journals had already used, profiting from Portuguese immigrants in Brazil's subscriptions³⁰. This colony found in those publications a way to contact with their hometowns in mainland Portugal. Biel seized this process and to its favor divided the album geographically, covering all Portuguese regions. Probably it was this step that failed in previous projects he attempted unsuccessfully.

In the foreword of *AANP* Biel lucidly characterizes the constraints posed to this work by the Portuguese context³¹, in particular the awareness of the relatively little interest in the Portuguese cultural background for the natural [ie by the landscape] which was one of his main motivations to get to work since, as he stated before, nearly all cultured countries of Europe had already published their heritage repertoires.. He clearly emphasised in the foreword his Portuguese citizenship and the initiative to take action as Portuguese cultural institutions did not, such as the case of the aforementioned Camões homage.

26 Both had the importance to claim for photography a place among the arts.

27 Most photographs of Biel's railways albums had been published before the participation of those two notable British photographers in the International Oporto Photographic Exhibition in 1887.

28 The French mission that carried out the photographic survey of French architectural heritage in the 1850s under the supervision of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, the governmental agency for heritage.

29 The first project was ambitiously titled *Portugal Antigo e Moderno* (Old and Modern Portugal), pretending to publish a monumental edition of eight hundred collotypes *vd.* "Obra importante" [important work] in *O Primeiro de Janeiro* [Oporto], 15º Anno, Nº 20, 24/01/1883. The newspaper articles written about *Portugal Antigo e Moderno* mentioned that Emilio Biel went to Lisbon to find financial support; the text was to be written by Joaquim de Vasconcelos. The absence of further news about *Portugal Antigo e Moderno* allows us to guess that it was abandoned. But Biel didn't give up and as soon as 1884 started to publish a collection of collotypes under the title *Arquivo Fotografico* [Photographic Archive], with texts from writers Marques Gomes and Mello Freitas. Unfortunately this album, published in fascicles, did not go beyond the eighth issue.

30 Such as *Arquivo Pitoresco* (1857-1868).

31 BIEL: 1902-1905, preface: "We never delude ourselves about the real difficulties in which we would stumble. Small country, where only a limited elite is interested in art, and where the love of nature, which is a symptom of civilization and culture, has not yet reached the same intensity nor the extent that it has already assumed in other nations, it was logical that under the economic point of view, our attempt represented, if not a sacrifice, certainly an act of good will and faith, born of the enthusiasm, perhaps from self-love, and if they want to do us justice, some of that natural inclination we all have for what is our own; fortunately its a common Portuguese sentiment".



AANP, Monchique.

The *Aveiro* set of photographs from *AANP* is probably the best example on his search for pictorial qualities like those Peter Henry Emerson pursued, particularly in his series of East Anglia, mastering the ambience of lagoons under misty atmosphere that suited his taste for soft focus landscapes (JEFFREY 1981: 29). However the maritime haze and brightness of the Aveiro lagoons in Biel's album provide more contrasting images. In other examples from Biel's album the bright light in the stacks of salt create unprecedented values of contrast masterly rendered in the collotype print, with great technical expertise only possible due to a deep understanding of the landscape values. It is crucial to remember, as we mentioned before, the technical constraints that faced landscape photographers in the late XIX century, reinforcing the decisive role played by *Casa Biel* technicians to print flawless collotype proofs of such contrasting scenes.



AANP, Aveiro photographic series.

The Serra da Estrela Mountains series owes a lot to the dramatic *Douro railways album's* images. As in the *Aveiro* album, the prints have strong contrasts, for instance in the image of a ring of dark rocks framing and highlighting the white icy surface of the *Lagoa escura* [dark lagoon] or, in another case, of a waterfall falling from dark abrupt slopes.



AANP, Dark lagoon, Serra da Estrela Mountains.

In the *Surroundings of Coimbra* fascicle the aforementioned Carolina Michaëlis even proposes an illustrated guided tour in Coimbra's surroundings:

Today we invite you to ramble a simple and poetic reverie, amateurish, by the outskirts of the city. No scholarly concerns, let us enjoy strolling the justly celebrated beauties of this land of enchantment, clod able for the love harvests willed and sung by all patriots that a fortunate fate distinguished with the gift of the lira. So, on every step verses of the most distinguished bards who tried to set characteristic features of Coimbra's landscapes, and verses that breathe deep love, tender emotion and deep longing, such as those of Silva Gaio and Alberto Correia de Oliveira [two Portuguese poets] occur inadvertently to our memory, exteriorizing the gentle impressions we harvest.³²



AANP, Surrounding of Coimbra series.

It is important to notice that, from an aesthetic point of view, the proposed tour is already distant from the romantic landscape that Garrett devised or from the Dinisian³³ bucolic appeal for the return to rurality that still dominated visual [and literary] culture of the Portuguese 1800's *fin de siècle*. The informed proposal of Carolina Michaëlis suggests a resemblance between the Coimbra photographs and the dense landscapes of Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901)³⁴ and also points out places of interest like the *fountain of love*, named after the romantic drama of Pedro and Inês³⁵, in an unprecedented symbolist dimension.

³² BIEL: 1902-1905, *Arredores de Coimbra* [Coimbra surroundings] fascicle.

³³ Almeida Garrett (1799-1854) and Júlio Dinis (1839-1871) are two of the most important XIX century Portuguese writers.

³⁴ Swiss painter.

³⁵ The love of Portuguese King D. Pedro I (1320-1367) and Inês de Castro (d. 1355), a poignant drama that inspired romantic and

The sets of *Sintra* and *Douro* area also worth mentioning since the *Sintra* fascicles give great importance to the Pena castle of Ferdinand II, a special homage of Emílio Biel to his king, countryman and patron but also one the first significant photographic testimonies of Ferdinand's Romantic aesthetical gesture³⁶. On the other hand in the *Douro* fascicles, although assigning some importance to images which evoke Oporto Wine business, it does include impressive examples of Douro landscapes.



AANP, Pena castle.

This partial approach leaves out of our scope many of the geographical areas enrolled in *AANP*. It worth mentioning views from small predominantly rural towns³⁷ and from small cities³⁸. Although in an urban context, many of those views reveal complementary aspects that confirm the reading of landscape in the context of Biel's work. On the other hand throughout the album there is a significant number of "loose" images geographically inserted in the alignment³⁹ that indelibly reinforce the overall presence of landscape even in urban and monumental fascicles. These landscape images seem to justify the option for the inscription of the term *nature* in *AANP*. Besides the mentioned series of Mondego, we must highlight some views of *Minho*⁴⁰ but especially the photographs *Margins of Nabão*, *Liz River*, *Mortágua*, *Gates of Rodão*, *Fornos de Algodres Bridge* or *Juncais Bridge over Mondego River* and some landscape photographs such as *Cava de Viriato*⁴¹, *Bussaco* and *Monchique* (Algarve). Another set of images to remark on are the ruins of monuments in landscape context, such as *Leiria castle* or *Setubal Jesus couvent*⁴².

symbolist writers.

36 Built from 1842 to 1854 after Baron Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege's project. The surrounding park was planted at the same time.

37 Such as *Mafra*, *Monção*, *Vila Viçosa*, *Lagos*, *Amarante*, *Caminha*, *Montalegre*, *Chaves*.

38 Such as *Valença*, *Barcelos*, *Barroso*, *Bragança* and *Amarante*.

39 As it was sold in fascicles, without page numbers, we are unsure of the correct sequence.

40 Minho landscape was important in national imaginary for being the ever green part of the country.

41 Near Viseu, traditionally supposed to be the land of the Lusitanian mythical resistant leader against the roman occupation.

42 That can be regarded for the romantic interest in ruins but also as an appeal for its preservation.



AANP, Gates of Rodão, Fornos de Algodres Bridge, Margins of Nabão, Mortágua, Watermill, Minho and Liz River.

Finally to accompany the edition of the album, subscribers received special gifts, large format collotypes some printed from images that already appeared on the fascicles but other from unpublished photographs. These photographs have a special meaning since they were not linked to the defined program; therefore they represented a free choice by the editor identifying his own intimate taste to highlight landscapes such as *Choupal-Minho* and *Serradella-Minho*.



AANP, Choupal-Minho e Serradella-Minho.

In an article about the Landscape representation as discursive space (KRAUSS 1982: 313) the American art historian Rosalind Krauss proposes an approach to nineteenth century landscape photography as an aesthetic discourse that organized itself around the space of exhibition. Krauss evaluates the changes that came upon pictorial representation of landscape after 1860, transforming it into a “flattened and compressed experience of space spreading laterally”, “sharp value contrast which had the effect of converting the orthogonal penetration of depth into a diagonal ordering of the surface”, “serial landscapes, hung in extension, mimed the horizontal extension of the wall”. All these changes overcame the “constitution of the work of art as a representation of its own space of

exhibition [...] changes that became the history of modernism”. Through this perspective Krauss led us to understand 19th century landscape photography discursive space as an aesthetical discourse. Krauss identifies in those photographs a number of features which constitute a representation of aesthetic values such as “flatness, graphic design, ambiguity and intention towards aesthetic significations: sublimity, transcendence”. This discourse, defined after Peter Galassi’s⁴³ classical account on the origins of photography (GALLASSI 1982: 11-29), as Krauss remarks, “legitimises” them. Quoting Galassi, Krauss clarifies the argument that in the aesthetic discourse photography “was not a bastard left by science on the doorsteps of art, but a legitimate child of the Western pictorial tradition” and that legitimation comes from an analytic perspective “that tends to flatten, to fragment, to generate ambiguous overlap”. Krauss finds in the photographs of the American Timothy O’Sullivan proofs of that aesthetic discourse but doubts that complete achievement might be possible since the O’Sullivan photographs were not published in the 19th century. But this same argument can also be applied to Biel’s work with the great advantage that it was expressly held for subsequent edition, as in *AANP*. Most of aesthetical values pointed by Krauss were described ahead, on the account of Biel photography. Ironically, the display in Portuguese railway carriages of Biel’s collotypes of the *Railways* albums until late 1960’s is a proof of their modernity.

Actually *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* as well as the whole work of Emílio Biel can be regarded as a landmark in Portuguese photography, in the historiography of Portuguese art and in photographic illustration but it assumes a special dimension as the first photographic Portuguese landscape survey.



AANP, Saline-Aveiro.

43 Former MoMA curator for the photographic collections.

Portuguese landscape photography, and particularly Biel's album AANP, gave a major contribution to Portuguese visual culture in the beginning of the 20th century. The importance of this contribution had a significant aesthetical dimension on the one hand because such a relevant number of striking photographs was published and on the other hand because it was one of the first Portuguese photographic editions or photobooks, as we would call it today, with a large edition that enlarged its impact.

An interesting coincidence is the simultaneous publication of Biel's landscape repertoire with the beginning of the late Portuguese landscape painting movement. The study of the close relationships between Portuguese photography and fine arts has not yet been done but most likely Biel's landscape survey can be granted some responsibility in the development of that artistic movement. Ultimately Biel's work contributed to clarify in some extent the ambiguous relations of the Portuguese visual culture with nature overcoming that significant barrier to-revealing nature.

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ABSTRACT

Copies of classical sculpture became particularly common in the decoration of gardens between the XVII and XIX century. In Portugal they seem to tell a particular story that relates this fashionable taste for the "antique", with a new awareness of sculpture by local producers. Some evidence shows that lead casts imported from Holland and England played a stronger role than marble copies imported from Italy, and in this sense they probably influenced the Sculpture Laboratory that after 1771 was charged with the mission of adorning the Royal Villas. Soon after 1834 this trend ended or had been changed, but amidst Revivalism, classical sculpture was still recognized as a symbol of beauty that endured in time.

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ARTICLE

Without having a consistent tradition in acquiring classical sculpture and its reproductions, Portugal has known several case studies of particular interest within the mainstream of international purchases. The cast collection brought from Rome by D. Miguel da Silva (c. 1480-1556) in 1525 was one of the earliest examples of plaster casts made from the antique to be found outside of Italy (HOLANDA 1984: 11). When this clergyman fell out of favor, the collection was handed over to Prince Louis, son of king D. Manuel I. On this occasion, in 1548, the humanist painter Francisco de Holanda (1517-1585) was charged with the task of moving it from Paço de Fontelo at Viseu to Lisbon (MOREIRA 2000: 89). Even if these casts were not preserved, their testimony echoes a similar statement to the collection of Paduan lawyer Mantova Benavides (1489-1582) (CANDIDA 1967), perhaps the most ancient of this kind. In Portugal, an additional sign of appreciation for the Antique could also be recognized in the Della Robbia relief busts that around this time existed at the Bacalhoa Villa (RASTEIRO 1895: 40).

All these works must have had particular value as exclusive objects especially if we consider that not a single Roman statue would be found in Évora, by the learned intellectual André de Resende (RESENDE 1553: 41). The closest testimony of interest over the same subject occurred in 1568 when D. Álvaro da Costa (1525-1577), son of the Vicer-Roy of India D. João de Castro, brought a statue of an *Hercules* on his return from an embassy to Rome (DESWARTE 1992: 17). This statue that once had stood in courtyard of the Villa Giulia was offered as gift by Pope Pius V, and can still be seen today in the Villa of Penha Verde in Sintra. Even if these cases witness the continuous spread of interest for classical antiquity across Europe we can't however say that the country was particularly engaged into the humanist concept of the Renaissance that promoted the interest for sculptures unearthed in Italy. Through it all, the infatuation for the "Classics" was mostly directed towards literature and so, books remained the strongest foothold for the appreciation of archeological objects. In this sense, this proposal must be understood within the conventional settings of fascination for the exotic objects, such as those brought from India and Asia (MONCADA 2014); all of which are associated with a prevailing taste for Gothic art, and with many works of art which arrived from Flanders.

Nevertheless, in Italy ancient statues acquired a particular importance as models for painting and sculpting, pushing higher standards of taste and pressing artists to a defining reconstruction of the ideal of Art. Much of the appeal foreigners felt for the “Eternal city” was unquestionably related to the remains of the Roman Imperialism upon which a new stage of religious splendor would be built. Interestingly enough, their status remained unrivalled, and that could explain the reason why in 1797, 83 out of 100 works of art handed over to the French, on the terms of the treaty of Tolentino, were antique statues. (HASKELL and PENNY 1982: 109) Much of this fascination explains that no other work of modern sculpture has ever been as reproduced as often as all of those well known heroes echoed from mythology.

In Portugal it was only in the XVII century that a trend arose to adorn the interiors of noble houses with busts of eminent Greek and Roman individuals. Among these, it is worth singling out the set of 12 busts existing at the Calhariz Palace in Palmela, and probably acquired in Genoa by the ambassador D. Luis de Sousa between 1675 and 1683 (SOROMENHO 2001: 180). Although these examples fall short when compared with other refined copies made in Rome or Florence, they do however show a consistent sense of appropriateness that would be superbly complemented with the garden fountains brought from Rome and Genoa, around the same time. Although the authors of these last works are not known to us, it is worth mentioning that D. Luís de Sousa had earlier acted as a middle man in a commission made by the Count of Ericeira, for a fountain designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and carved by Ercole Ferrata (DELAFORCE, MONTAGU, GOMES, SOROMENHO 1998; VALE 2012).

Later on, stone bust copies would become established as premier adornments for noble palaces even outside imposing rhythm on arcades or inserted into niches as can be observed in the Palaces of Belem, Galveias and

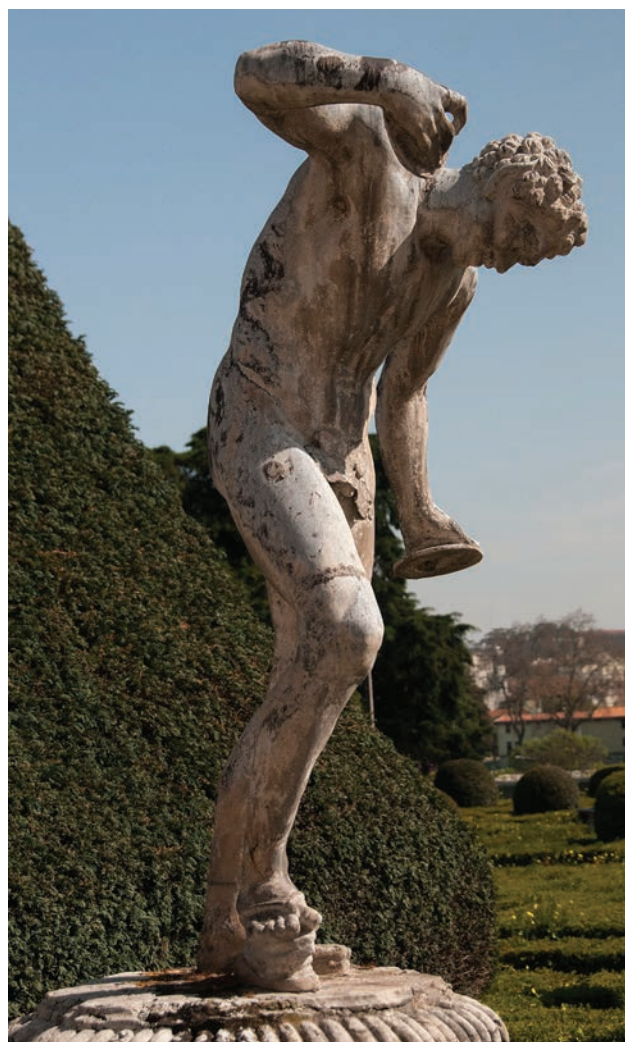


Fig. 1 – *Dancing Faun*, last quarter of the 17th century, Fronteira Palace.

Marquis of Pombal. The first approaches of local workshops to this kind of decoration must have begun with this subject matter although, this appeared mostly as unmannered representations of noble figures facing the horizon or other allegorical figures. Furthermore, the mixing of subject matter can make it particularly inappropriate to blend Roman emperors, with philosophers and mythological characters into senseless ornamentation. It is also worth mentioning the crowning on the south gate of the Botanical Garden of Ajuda (RODRIGUES 2009: 223) with two herms of the *Doryphoros* and the Emperor *Adrian* that was probably made by the stone mason João Gomes around 1787-1792. It is our belief that the identification of depicted prototypes, in many other Vilas could reveal a great deal of information regarding the arrival of classical sculpture in Portugal, and about the evolution of the craft of sculpture in the country.

Perhaps the most noticeable use of classical sculpture reproductions in garden decoration, can be found in the *parterre* of the Fronteira Palace where among several lead statues installed in the last quarter of the XVII century, we find casts made out of the *Dancing Faun*, de *Borghese Gladiator* and de *Venus de' Medici*. (Fig. 1) Ana Duarte Rodrigues and

Ronald Clark have recently emphasized the similarities between this set and the one existing at Herrenhausen garden, pointing out that both commissions were probably manufactured in the same workshop in Holland (RODRIGUES 2013: 151). From this period, it is also worth pointing out that in 1649 Philip IV of Spain, had deliberately sent, the painter Diego Velazquez to Italy, in order to acquire a set of bronze casts, destined to refurbish the Alcazar palace (TARRAGA BALDÓ 2007: 173).

After this, the most noteworthy example of the same use of casts in garden decoration in Portugal can be seen in the royal villa of Queluz where is housed one of the largest collections, of lead casts ever made by John Cheere's, (1709-1787) outside of England (NETO and GRILO 2006; RODRIGUES 2013a). This collection was commissioned by Prince D. Pedro between 1755 and 1756 is composed of 5 sculpted groups and 57 isolated statues, among which, are a "Venus" and a "Hercules" that probably were casted from the same moulds as *Venus de' Medici* and the *Farnese Hercules*, depicted in William Hogarth's view of John Cheere's workshop, precisely three years before the Queluz commission (HOGARTH 1753). For a long time both gardens would be enjoyed by foreigner visitors that passed through the country, but strangely, not a word would be said about them by the sculptor Machado de Castro (1731-1822). In fact in his analysis of the Equestrian statue of King José I made in 1775 he would actually state that besides the Mafra's Basilica imported statues and other modern statues made in the meantime, no other collection was worthy of attention (CASTRO 1810: 291). This statement is particularly unfair, especially with regards to Queluz, were among others, there could be found worthy examples of timeless sculpture that had also found their way to Versailles, such as Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine woman* or Giamlorenzo Bernini's *Rape of the Proserpine*, (FRANCASTEL 1970: 133). It is possible that Castro had changed his mind after working in the Royal Villas around Lisbon, and in fact, some works made in the Sculpture Laboratory, seem to prove this awareness and appreciation for metal casts.

Other less valuable examples of this new awareness of classical sculpture can be seen in the De Visme villa, for which the Paduan sculptor Jacopo Gabano carved around 1774 a marble replica of the "Uffizi Mercury" (VALE 2005: 138). In this case the subject matter is barely recognizable not only for the differences of expression but especially for its asymmetry and the additions in the trunk tree of ornamental leaves that contrast to the plain and simple bole we find in the original. Another inexpressive replica of the same model and material can be seen today in the garden of the National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon, although it was originally purchased around the same time for the Marquis of Pombal's Palace in Oeiras, were it once stood, probably behind the lateral arcades of the Poet's Cascade, as has been pointed out by José Meco (MECO, José (2013). These last interventions are deemed to be images of the beauty of classical statues, thus confirming that the lifelike ideal of Greek and Roman Art was best grasped through imported casts from Holland or England and not from ordinary sculpture purchased in Genoa or Padua. As we will see later, this could explain that local sculptors were particularly acquainted with both sets of casts existing in Fronteira and Queluz. Moreover, in a time when plaster casts were still relatively scarce in their workshops, this was unquestionably the best way to have a glimpse of how the best free standing statue could look.

Nevertheless, stone sculpture continued to play a key role in garden decoration and casts remained an exquisite product imported from foreign countries. If such reasoning can be allowed, the equivalent in Portugal to metal casts was terracotta sculptures, like the ones made by Machado de Castro for the Royal country house of Caxias between 1782-1817 (RODRIGUES 2009: 396). Yet again, mythology offered an excuse to promote a relationship between man and nature, for which Machado de Castro would create several works mostly inspired on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. One of these works was a *Flora Farnese* made after 1799, and placed alongside the central hall of the *parterre*. This work that ended up being destroyed in the middle of the 20th century, seems a rather



Fig. 2 – *Farnese Warrior*, Alessandro Giusti attr., 18th century, National Museum of Ancient Art.

that, up until now, has been known as an *Hercules* is in fact a *Farnese Warrior*, also known as “Commodus Gladiator” (GASPARRI 2010: 29), presumably representing the Greek hero Achilles. (Fig. 2) It is easy to understand the reason why this last work could pass as original given the slight modifications that were introduced such as the substitution of the body of Troilus, on top of the left shoulder, with a distinctive club usually assigned to Hercules iconography. To make this identification more believable he additionally added a beard to the face of Achilles, thus making the resemblance more convincing. Nonetheless, the differences towards the originals show up in both marble sculptures, especially in the superficial handling, and confirm that the original sources for these replicas were engravings, possibly the ones made by François Perriers in his “*Segmenta nobilium signorum e statuarum*” (PERRIER 1638: 13, 62). The setting for which this commission was initially designed are unknown, together with the places they have passed through before being stored in the royal Ajuda palace, but the high quality finishing points to them being made by an experienced Italian sculptor that mastered certain subtleties, as those shown on the base, establishing a fine division between the staging zone and the foothold.

We do sense a difference of “language”, so to speak, regarding the works made by Machado de Castro but, in fact, the authorship was only assigned to Giusti much later in 1837, when the painter Joaquim Rafael requested these works should be acquired for the Fine Arts Academy recently established (A.N.B.A. 1837). A plaster model existing at the fine Arts School of Lisbon with exactly 1/3 of the final dimension of the *Flora Farnese*, seems to prove this work was indeed carved in the Sculpture Laboratory, hence making clear the importance this would have in the tradition of making public statues in Portugal.

The particular interest of Machado de Castro for classical sculpture is well documented through its writings, speeches and books, but his plaster cast collection was particularly praised by several novelists, among which Julio de Castilho and Latino Coelho thought it should be recognized in a museum, thus providing the ultimate inspiration for those aspiring to call upon the muses (CASTILHO, Júlio de 1881: 100). Many art historians such as José Fernandes Pereira (PEREIRA 2000: 27), Ana Duarte Rodrigues (RODRIGUES 2004: 189), Miguel Faria

unusual choice, given the circumstance that his master Alessandro Giusti (1715-1799), had also reportedly left us with his own interpretation of this same model. The reappearance of the *Flora Farnese* could thus be interpreted as an impulse to correct the asymmetry that the Italian had wrongly copied from an engraving (MENDONÇA 2012). Although admitting the possibility that this work did come from the Sculpture Laboratory, Sandra Saldanha, is inclined to recognize them as studying materials used within the Mafra school of sculpture (QUADROS 2012: 243). We find it hard to conceive that a work of this size and quality could exist in a school, especially when it expresses a clear attempt to adapt a given model and to convey a particular setting as we came to see in the *Hercules* that forms a pair with the mentioned *Flora Farnese*. Furthermore it is important to stress both works had always belonged to the Ministry of Public Works, just like many other statues that were waiting for a permanent location (MENDONÇA 2014b).

A closer attention to the *Hercules* makes it clear that the sculptor wasn't paying much attention to details, since the statue

(FARIA 2008: 65), Ricardo Mendonça (MENDONÇA 2012) and Sandra Saldanha (QUADROS 2012: 242) have addressed this subject matter, and the importance of plaster models was particularly clear in the latest exhibition held at the National Museum of Ancient Art in 2012 (M.N.A.A. 2012). However, there is only one successfully identified plaster cast from the collection that King D. João V had designated for a Fine Arts Academy around 1750, but never took place (CASTRO 1818: 221; it is a relief plaque seen by António Ribeiro dos Santos in Castro's workshop around 1799 (SANTOS 1799: 20) that was cast from the tomb of Pope Alexander de VIII and depicts the canonization of five saints carved in approximately 1707 by Angelo de Rossi (F.B.A.U.L. Esc. 823).

Although part of the cast collection of Machado de Castro came from Maфра, his interest in sculpture compelled him to continuously enlarge this collection. From our own analysis, there seems to have been a clear preference for statues found at the Caracalla Baths and formerly in the Farnese collection, since in a new commission for the Royal Villa of Belém, Machado de Castro, yet again, was compelled to carve a *Hercules Farnese* on which his assistant, João José Elveni worked in 1806 (RODRIGUES 2004: 217). (Fig. 3) Around the same time, the sculptor had also carved a *Dancing faun* later found in the same place, for what is today's Tropical Botanic Garden (MENDONÇA 2012). Both works are represented in the so called "Book of Statues C" (MNAA c. 1806); a volume composed mostly of drawings copied after engravings that were possibly used to test the multiple possibilities of decorating the Belem garden and for that reason were left unpublished (published by RODRIGUES 2004, VOL. 2).

Machado de Castro seems to have been particularly fond of *Hercules Farnese*; in fact, from all the statues he has praised the most, this is the only one that was systematically quoted simultaneously in his writings, drawings, and also in his creative work like the "Allegory to the Fine Arts" (M.N.A.A. c. 1800) in which the statue is portrayed on his back, as representative for the craft of sculpture. It seems rather unusual that also in this case he chose to represent this statue in the same size as the stone replica existing at the Tropical Botanic Garden. Nevertheless, this was unquestionably a very solid choice considering the popularity the Farnese Hercules achieved during the Baroque, and for which several reproductions became particularly notorious both in enlarged form such as 8 meter tall copper reproduction, placed in 1717 at the Wilhelmshöhe park at Kassel, but also in small delicate porcelain reductions such as the ones produced by the Real Fabrica Ferdinanda in Naples after 1780. In Portugal around 1775 the Rato Porcelain Factory was also engaged in the production of these sort of replicas that measured 50 cm (A.A.P. 1917: 52). This is the true scale of the wide spread industrialization of copies after the antique, that invaded wealthy houses all across the world for which the recognition of depicted characters played an important role in their acceptance, hence paving the way to defining concept of general knowledge (HASKELL and PENNY 1982: 98).

The interest for reproductions in this period followed the increasing popularity the originals had achieved on the *Grand Tour*, hence making the upper classes want to experience a glimpse of the golden Arcadia in the com-



Fig. 3 – *Farnese Hercules*, (c. 1806), Joaquim Machado de Castro, Tropical Botanic Garden.

fort of their own homes. Gardens become particularly exquisite, but in Portugal, these degrees of sophistication with high quality reproductions of statues were only possible for a few, and, as it has turned out, even in the royal house, they did not quite manage to fully accomplish all their plans.

The connections between the *Hercules* and the *Flora Farnese*, have previously been pointed out by Ana Duarte Rodrigues, and in fact the choice to represent a life-size statue after two gigantic sculptures more than 3 meters tall could mean that at one point they were intended to occupy the same garden. However, the relationship between the works of Machado de Castro and Alessandro Giusti may lay in a set of fountains formerly referred to, and brought from Rome and Genoa around 1680 by D. Luis de Sousa (SOROMENHO 2001: 35). This assumption was arrived at by comparing the existing fountain at the Calhariz palace with the remains of an identical fountain that today exists at the National Museum of Ancient Art, for what had probably been a set acquired in Rome (Fig. 4). The other fountain existing at the Tropical Botanic Garden was probably acquired in Genoa, and its identification is based on the description of the assets from the Morgado de Santarém transcribed by Miguel Soromenho (Fig. 5). It was only by identifying the missing parts of these fountains, scattered between the Tropical Botanic Garden and the National Museum of Ancient Art that we came to suspect that a larger group of sculptures could bear the same origin connecting them to the activity of the Sculpture Laboratories.

Somehow this could explain the arrival of other works at the Tropical Agricultural Garden Museum after 1726, when King João V bought the Villa of Belém from the Count of Aveiras. Teresa Leonor do Vale had already noticed the coincidence that the *Roman Charity* (1737) was made by Bernardo Ludovisi (c. 1693-1749), a sculptor that four years before had equally collaborated with king João V in the sculpture program for the Basilica of Mafra (VALE 2011: 246). This coincidence seems rather unusual especially if we consider that the Mafra construction site was the starting point for both the Alessandro Giusti's school of Sculpture, and the Sculpture Laboratory's and hence the place where originally the *Farnese Warrior* and *Flora* were carved. Therefore, it is possible that



Fig. 4 – Triton fountain support, Genoa (?) c. 1675-83, Tropical Botanic Garden.

some works that were placed in Belém, came from a sculpture collection of several works from Royal Villas and Palaces and which were moved around in the XIX century. Some of these sculptures were moved by Barros Laborão to Lisbon after the shutdown of the Mafra Laboratory and some of them ended up being placed in the Ajuda Palace construction site, waiting to be placed in the royal villa of Belem. Consequently, it is likely that other sculptures were stored there, not as a collection but rather as a “warehouse” of ornamental sculptures waiting to be placed on a permanent location. Another sculpture that must have existed in the same warehouse is João José Aguiar's allegorical statue that was left unfinished and therefore abandoned. The only conclusive data on the *Farnese Warrior* and *Flora* is that they were stored there between in 1837 and 1851 when the permission to hand them over to the Fine Arts Academy was finally obtained (A.N.B.A. 1851-56.).

It is possible that the injunction to provide more suitable surroundings for the garden of the Country House of Belem had started around 1802 when a cast collection was sent from Italy to

establish the Fine Art Academy in the Ajuda Palace under the guidance of painters Domingos Sequeira and Vieira Portuense (COSTA 1936: 91). It is unclear what role this collection (destroyed in 1807), would have had on the production of sculpture, but in 1807 the former Director of the Academy of Portugal in Rome, Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi would use a plaster cast as a reference to help explain a monument that the great Antonio Canova (1757-1822) sought to design for the future King João VI (MENDONÇA 2014). This work depicting the *Genie of National Independence* was to be an exact inversion of the much acclaimed *Apollo de Belvedere*, and cost the same 8000 *scudi* as the *Perseus* from the Vatican Museum (Fig. 4). The inventive mastery of the Italian is particularly clear when comparing the composition of both statues. The similarity with the *Apollo de Belvedere* is disguised by using strict asymmetry in the upper torso and introducing several iconographic attributes such as the lower shield that is held in the left hand against the floor, and the long scepter wielded by the right hand. This indeed is a true lesson that reconciles originality and identity, and should have provided a more useful lesson for Faustino José Rodrigues (1760-1829).



Fig. 5 – Triton fountain support, Rome (?) c. 1675-83, National Museum of Ancient Art.

Although this monument was never realised, a closer look at the foyer of Ajuda Palace reveals that Faustino Rodrigues was particularly acquainted with the clay model existing at the National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon (Fig. 5). The striking resemblance between the work entitled *Love for Virtue* is more than a common point but this unusual similarity can only be proven if we take into account that also the statue called *Love for Homeland*, bears straight resemblances with the lead cast of the god *Mars* existing at the Queluz Palace. In the first case an asymmetry to the pose was introduced but overall these similarities are shown not only in the composition lines, but also in many small details, proving that this unfortunate notion of creativity was excessively close to plagiarism. On the other hand, this case proves that Machado de Castro and his followers were never truly confined to the Mafra Baroque aesthetical concept, as has been implied by some art historians (PINHO 2002: 99, note 92). At most, one can only point to an ineffective notion of creativity by Faustino José Rodrigues that in an attempt to upgrade his style into Neoclassicism jumbled the differences between quoting, coping and plagiarizing. If the lessons of both Canova and Machado de Castro had been learned, these notions wouldn't have been mixed up. The Portuguese clearly stated that the artist should devise the human figure into parts, operating what came to be known as “Beauty combined” (*belo reunido*) seeking the best limbs and parts of the human body in each of the finest statues that came down to us from Ancien Greece (RODRIGUES 2006: 55).

Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting that this effort was based on reasonable examples taken from casts and sculpture. And even the baroque *Mars* made by John Cheere that came to inspire the *Love for Homeland* is itself based on an unidentified model that equally inspired the author of the *Roman Centurion* existing on the Fronteira Palace. Both examples were probably known, to this sculptor as could be inferred by cast made after the *Dancing Faun* existing in this last palace; a work that as we have seen earlier, was also carved in stone by the Sculpture Laboratory. Therefore, these examples seem to demonstrate that a relatively restricted number of copies of classical sculpture were repeatedly used for the most prominent noble houses, expressing a dominant notion of taste and providing the resources for a particular statement of Portuguese sculpture and sculptors.



Fig. 6 – *Genie of National Independence* (c. 1807), Antonio Canova, National Museum of Ancient Art.

From here on, and although classical reproduction became increasingly common, their importance faded away amidst the astonishing availability of other works taken from Gothic, Renaissance and Mannerism, motifs and promoted in the Revivalist as senseless ornamental art. At most, classical sculpture would be used in staging scenes adapted to raise patriotic feelings in a time when Art found itself used in the public space. Ironically the belvedere of São Pedro de Alcântara was born from a failed project to adorn the Public Park (Passeio Público) with statues of Portuguese heroes from the time of Discoveries (MENDONÇA 2014). Finally, the personal commitment of sculptor Francisco de Assis Rodrigues (1801-1877), to this venture would be embodied into a set of portraits that his assistants carved into marble at the Fine Arts Academy of Lisbon. The Town Hall took advantage of this disposal and in 1844 demanded their handover, and it was only after being discouraged to place them in the Public Park that these works were installed in the Belvedere of São Pedro de Alcântara, where previously had been placed a *Naiade*. The first set of busts was composed solely by Portuguese heroes, such as *Luis Vaz de Camões*, *Vasco da Gama*, *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, etc.

The care taken in the first arrangement with a precise iconological programme clashes with the random criterion used later in 1876, in the display of several stone copies of classical sculptures. Once again, the Town Hall made use of its power, to enforce the Fine Arts Academy to hand over several sculptures among which was the *Farnese Flora* and *Warrior*, the river *Tagus* that today stands at Marquis of Pombal palace, as well as several busts mostly made by students as exercises of carving of stone (A.N.B.A. 1876). None of these statues was delivered but the busts were randomly dumped as can be verified by the inclusion of a portrait of the *Anton Raphael Mengs*, a painter that bears absolutely no connection to history of Portugal, or the place itself. In an attempt to cover up and justify this misuse of sculpture the bust of *Menelaus*, was labeled as an “Ulysses”, that reportedly founded the city of Lisbon on his return to Ithaca. Other busts that were included such as those of *Marcus Aurelius*, *Capitoline Venus*, *Antinous*, *Homer* and *Minerva*, do not seem to follow any specific order considering that they are usually shown in grouped affinities regarding their character as mythological figures, notable rulers, or influential writers. Not all of these works were made by students and in fact some are clearly older like the *Antinous*, which bears trepans in the hair styling, hence proving this particular specimen was probably part of the warehouse of ornamental sculpture that was placed in the fine Arts Academy.

Above all, the identification of copies, replicas and other variants of classical sculpture displayed in gardens, testify to a new aware-



Fig. 7 – *Love of Virtue*, 1826, Faustino José Rodrigues, Ajuda National Palace.

ness of sculpture in the Fine Arts. In this sense, not only was classical sculpture the basis of a mechanical approach to sculpture carving, but also paved the way to the definition of taste.

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ABSTRACT

Pier de' Crescenzi's *Liber Ruralium Commodorum* (ca. 1305) represents the extent of European knowledge of environmental manipulation for the estate. Even so, most analyses of Crescenzi concern design. This article deals with how he conceived of nature, the elite estate, and resource management. A close reading of the text demonstrates that he saw the environment as an interdependent system, and he believed the estate should be managed according to the tenets of classical humoral theory. He urged the manipulation of environment to create pleasing sights, scents, and textures, which created humoral balance and social distance for the owner and his elite guests. For Crescenzi, landscape mediation was a means to create a harmonious system that balanced productivity, delight, and spiritual and physical renewal for the owner's consumption.

ARTICLE¹

In his famous manual, *Liber ruralium commodorum* (hereafter *Ruralia*), composed in the early years of the fourteenth-century (RICHTER 1995: XII), Pier de' Crescenzi relays his idealized vision for the elite rural estate. He addresses many topics related to estate management, from how to survey land to select the optimal site to how to manipulate nature most effectively to increase productivity and mold its reception. It is the question of whether Crescenzi's intention to inspire "delight" anticipates the deliberate aesthetics of the later Renaissance that has preoccupied Crescenzi scholars (FABIANI GIANNETTO 2008: 90-91). But if we want to understand the full implications of Crescenzi's vision of the ordered, productive, and pleasing estate depicted in the *Ruralia*, we would be well advised to reflect first on prevailing medieval theories about nature. In this article I wish to explore how Crescenzi conceived of nature and its role in creating a hallmark of medieval rural elite culture, the estate.

As with other medieval intellectuals, Crescenzi saw the world as an interdependent system. Nature and all life were governed by the universal precepts of humoral interaction. Each living thing depended on bodily balance among the four humors: blood, black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm. These four elements were combined in all matter and themselves made two distinct pairings of characteristics: hot and cold, dry and moist. While an individual's unique makeup would be partially responsible for inborn predispositions to a certain imbalance, and thus disease, imbalance could also be caused by external factors, such as air and environment (GARCÍA-BALLESTER 1993: 105). With careful organization of the estate, Crescenzi told his readers that they could impress visitors with the natural splendor of the estate, create a physically and spiritually salubrious locale, and maximize productivity, all of which reinforced the social importance, political authority and wealth of the owner. Humoral theory was a way of comprehending the reciprocal impact of continuous human-environment interaction—what we might call

¹ This article was adapted from a conference paper I gave for CHAIA at the University of Évora in February 2014. It benefited immensely from the feedback and convivial discussion of the participants. I would also like to thank the GL&P's two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. The ideas for this article initially germinated in the spring and summer of 2013 when I was in residence at the Huntington Library in Los Angeles, CA and the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Gardens in Washington, D.C. Their generous fellowships allowed me to study the late medieval and Renaissance agricultural manuscripts and *incunabula* held in their collections, as well as benefit from the wide-ranging expertise of other scholars in residence at both libraries on all matters landscape.

“ecology”—and manipulating it to human purposes.

Crescenzi deployed the knowledge he acquired over a lifetime of studying topography, geology, agriculture, and environmental humors to recommend the best site for the most healthful placement of the estate. This also extended to more specific placement of the manor house, gardens, orchards, fields, vines, outbuildings and quarters of the laborers to create the most healthful landscape for the elite inhabitants. Crescenzi filtered his extensive knowledge of nature, which he had obtained both through reading of the texts of classical and medieval thinkers and personal observation, through humoral theory to depict his ideal villa retreat and proffer advice on how to create and manage it. However, he also acknowledged that ideal sites are just that, ideal, and for this reason he discussed at great length practical means to mold the environs to create a productive villa that would be healthful, rejuvenating, and pleasing to the senses. In particular, his model villa required attentive management of the estate’s air, water, and soil balance to maximize productivity of desirable goods, such as cereals, fruit, meat, and wine. He also employed his mastery over cultivation techniques to manipulate those very same principles of nature to encourage what we consider the “practical” elements of physical health, such as purified air and water. But spiritual health was also strongly linked to physical health and mental delight through humoral interaction. Every element of the estate, including those parts that we would not consider aesthetically pleasing, such as the fields, functioned together to engender both delight and health in its visitors.

The *Ruralia* in Scholarship

Despite Crescenzi’s situational and systematic approach to estate management, very few scholars study the text outside of the first three chapters in the famous book on pleasure gardens, Book 8. These three succinct chapters outline the ideal layouts of gardens for those of limited, moderate, and ample means. Later chapters in the same book on pleasure gardens offer detailed instructions on how to create marvelous things out of fields, trees and herb gardens. The overlooked chapters deal more explicitly with the practical realities of management, for example water supply and soil quality. There is no modern English translation of the whole text, although a nineteenth-century modern Italian translation is readily available. So rather than a close reading of the whole Latin text, scholars have often relied solely on later, mostly fifteenth-century, illuminations and woodblocks of gardens and sixteenth-century (and later) translations in an attempt to recreate medieval gardens. Unfortunately, these later illustrations better exemplify how late medieval illustrators, and the elites who consumed the images, perceived Crescenzi’s directions than they do the literal sense of Crescenzi’s text (CALKINS 1984: 168). Few medieval copies of the manual exist but his text traveled quickly. Charles V, King of France, commissioned a translation in 1373 as part of his attempts to strengthen and centralize the French state (AMBROSOLI 1997: 43-49); however, it was printing that propelled the text to monumental importance (AMBROSOLI 1997: 43-49). The *Ruralia* was more popular, and arguably more influential, in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries when landscape manipulation attained greater distinction as “art,” than it ever was in its originating century.

Crescenzi’s vision of nature and the elite estate was heavily influenced by his intellectual curiosity as well as his own experiences on his farm. He was born in Bologna sometime in 1235 (RICHTER 1995: X). He was educated at the university of Bologna and practiced law all over northern Italy until he retired in 1298 (FABIANI GIANETTO 2008: 88-89). When he retired, he retreated to a villa just outside of Bologna where he devoted himself to the practice of what he had learned in his many years of agricultural study (CRESCENZI Preface). The *Ruralia* was not innovative or new. James Harvey called it “an arm-chair compilation” (HARVEY 1981: 76). It is an amalgamation of Crescenzi’s local experience and his extensive knowledge of Roman works on agriculture,

medieval natural philosophy, and medieval medicine (RICHTER 1995: XXV-LXXIII). The high volume of text devoted to Roman authors speaks to the importance of the late Roman landscape tradition in natural philosophy and agricultural writing throughout the Middle Ages. Recent material scholarship confirms that the structured organization and elaborate elements described by Crescenzi, including game woodlands, arboreal palisades, and controlled vistas, share similarities with the layout tendered in the *Ruralia* (e.g. TAYLOR 2000: 38-55).

The *Ruralia* epitomizes an ideal regarding parks and gardens circulating throughout Europe, which can be glimpsed in the reconstructed layouts of many thirteenth-century English gardens (HARVEY 1981:79-93). Despite Crescenzi's discussions of personal practice and observation, the *Ruralia* concerns primarily *ideas* about landscape. It cannot speak to practice because it is difficult to disentangle repeated, but not employed, Roman traditions from those in common use by analysis of the text alone. To do that requires a survey of archaeological data and practice detailed in financial documents, which is not a labor I intend to undertake here. Thus, I argue it is better to consider Crescenzi's text as a portrait of how an elite intellectual imagined the medieval estate and its gardens.² It illustrates how elite inhabitants of Europe, and the northern Italian states in particular, understood both nature and its role in politics and culture. The *Ruralia* enumerates the many processes by which medieval people thought the environment could be manipulated to give shape, purpose, and symbolic value to land. Crescenzi relates the conscious process of making place and authority in and through environmental manipulation, which was primarily informed by the tenets of humoral theory and practical understanding of resource management. It confirms John Dixon Hunt's theory that late medieval gardens were "pragmatic planning and maintenance" toward "symbolic expression and cultural rhetoric on behalf of a patron" (HUNT 2000: 3). Crescenzi's ideal estate was a multi-purpose compound that provided spiritual and physical rejuvenation for the owner through careful compartmentalization and manipulation of the environment while simultaneously exploiting the land's fertility for pleasing profit.

Spiritual Utility in the Ruralia

The *Ruralia* is divided into 12 chapters addressing the orientation and placement of the estate, the nature of the many plants and animals which can reside within it, and how best to cultivate and manage them in the various parts of the estate: fields, vines, woodland, herb gardens, meadows and groves, and pleasure gardens. The chapters regarding the plants and animals go into great depth; each entry expounds on the humoral constitution of the organism and lists their many uses in the estate, garden, and household, including nutritive and medicinal utilizations. Crescenzi cites directly and regularly from a variety of Roman texts regarding agricultural and pastoralism, including Palladius, Varro and Virgil. He also references other ancient authors, such as Vitruvius, Pliny the Elder and Cato. However, he does not restrict his study to Roman knowledge. Several sections of the oft-quoted book on pleasure gardens are taken directly from the work of a medieval philosopher, Albertus Magnus (ALBERTUS 1967: VI.XIV). For medical information, Crescenzi even drew from the Arabic world. Crescenzi tells us his understanding of humoral theory comes from the work of eleventh-century Islamic philosopher, Avicenna (CRESCENZI 1.1.2), who in turn derived them from the work of ancient Greeks on humoral medicine (PORMANN and SAVAGE-SMITH 2007: 41-55).

Crescenzi follows the directives of humoral theory to shape the environment to be more spiritually beneficial. In the humoral system, the state of the body is connected to the soul (8.1.1). Crescenzi believes that spiritual

2 Throughout this article, I use the excellent 1995 critical edition of Will Richter. It includes both variations in editions and references to some of Crescenzi's more obvious ancient and medieval citations.

renewal and pleasure are both derived from the experience of an optimized environment. The need to rusticate and renew the soul away from “weighty” political matters signals membership in the elite, ruling circle. Crescenzi emphasizes that the estate should be reserved for elite recreation (CRESCENZI 1.7.5). Joanna Bauman has argued that Crescenzi sees social membership as crucial to the reception of the landscape. He judges the king to whom he dedicated the *Ruralia*, Charles II of Sicily, as able to derive “consolation and delight” from the estate but at the same time declared his subjects would be unable to appreciate it in those terms; for them, it can only provide “perpetual utility” (BAUMAN 2000: 215). For Crescenzi, the ability to enjoy the estate is inborn. Elites have finer senses than the courser laborers who cannot enjoy the metaphysical fruits of their labor. Crescenzi regards the laborers as a part of the landscape. Every bit of resource exploitation and artifice employed on Crescenzi’s estate is created and maintained by the laborer, and Crescenzi seeks to optimize their constitutions and shape their behavior, just as he does with the plants and animals of the estate, through optimal placement and then through environmental modification.

Placing and Making the Villa

Crescenzi’s treatise outlines the importance of managing the estate according to the disposition of the area with the goal of optimizing the productivity and salubriousness of the villa, and thus the rustivating statesman’s delight. Thus, considering location is the most important step in the creation of a new estate for Crescenzi. While he acknowledges that no site is perfect, he insists that the initial, correct placement of the estate in relation to local conditions and the directives of humoral theory will minimize the necessity of modification. His directives go beyond simple awareness of the character of the wind, water and soil at a proposed site. He recognizes that those elements are affected by proximity to various topographical features (e.g. mountains, rivers, marshes, etc.). For example, a mountain may block a healthful wind or cause the sun to dry out otherwise moist soil. Ideally, an estate will abut the base of a mountain so as to receive shade in the summer and the sun’s warmth in winter. It will be open to northerly winds and sheltered from the southern winds, which were often labeled as unhealthful by ancient Greek and Roman authors (HIPPOCRATES 3). The cardinal winds were often personified in medieval texts but their character was not fixed and varied by region (OBRIST 1997: 36-38). Negative associations with the southern wind continued into the Renaissance and beyond (HARDY 2006: 60). Crescenzi’s determination to select a site based on the awareness of humoral interactions between topography, wind, water, and soil aids his ultimate purpose; it is easier to create rejuvenating landscapes and more effective growing conditions for trees and crops in environments already well-suited to those purposes. Because Crescenzi also sees a link between environment and behavior, his ideal site will encourage effective labor from the workers, whom Crescenzi frequently dismissed as “greedy” and “lazy” (CRESCENZI 1.7.3).

Crescenzi shapes the reception of the estate through interior organization. He partitions the estate according to purpose in agricultural terms, dividing pleasing garden from productive field. This layout also highlights social difference because according to his understanding of the peasant constitution, pleasure gardens can only be appreciated by elites. He situates suitable sensually pleasing plants in front of the manor house, by the entrance path, to purify the air and enchant the senses. Beyond the humoral benefits of such a garden, this was (and is) a common technique to impress visitors. The archaeologist Chris Tilley has eloquently described paths as “an essential medium for the routing of social relations, connecting up spatial impressions with temporally inscribed memories” (TILLEY 1994: 31). In other words, moving along a pre-determined path, such as those that Crescenzi recommends bisect the park area, is much like following the plot of a story; pre-determined paths through the me-

diated natural landscape are designed to evoke particular cultural and personal memories in those who experience it (HUNT 2004: 145-46). Medieval landscape scholars agree that in both imagined landscapes in literature and in park practice, the experience as a visitor approached a rural residence was crucial to their appreciation of the house and views of the owners (CREIGHTON 2009: 122). Ancient and medieval parks were intended to be an “extension” of the manor house itself (PLUSKOWSKI 2007: 73).

Beyond the purifying pergola garden, Crescenzi also places additional gardens for the master’s enjoyment and refreshment. At some distance from the house, but still within view, he situates a game reserve scattered with sheltering trees. In this way, the master may observe the animals fleeing and hiding themselves in the groves from the windows of the seigniorial house (CRESCENZI 8.3.1-2). He separates the dwellings of the servants and the animals they rear from these contrived oases overlooked by the house. Similarly, he advocates a discrete area for the cellar, granary, dovecote, chicken coop and stables away from the pleasure gardens and game reserve. He urges the cultivation of vines and fields behind the house (CRESCENZI 1.7). This layout emphasizes social membership and distance by pairing the laborers and animals and divorcing the owner and his gardens from intensive labor while preserving his supervisory presence over game and the laborers.

Shaping Nature: Air, Water, and Soil

In every part of the estate, even the pleasure garden, Crescenzi’s advice hinges on the humoral character of the area, as well as its encompassing purpose. For the manor garden near the entrance path discussed above, he urges the owner to plant grass and sweet smelling, cleansing trees to create that refreshing oasis discussed earlier (CRESCENZI 8.1.4). However, he also balances plant aromas, the shade cast by trees, and the character of the prevailing winds. The owner must be wary of too many or overly thick clusters of trees because “too much shade generates impurities” (CRESCENZI 8.1.2). An overabundance of trees blocks the free movement of air, which makes the garden less salubrious and thus less rejuvenating. A secondary reason for the tree/meadow balance is to nurture wood-pasture for the rearing of captive game and livestock (RACKHAM 1986: 122-129). Even in the open meadows and woodland, Crescenzi emphasizes that trees require wide spacing because too much shade “devour[s] the fertility of the fields” (CRESCENZI 8.7.1). Finally, he instructs the reader not to cultivate fruit trees in the garden. Due to their character, fruit trees require additional manure to produce sizeable fruit so they should not be cultivated in the interior garden. He indicates that digging and the application of manure releases noxious fumes, corrupting the otherwise purified air of the grassy, tree-lined oasis (CRESCENZI 8.1.2). However, he does recommend the application of fertilizer, according to the water and soil situation, to increase fertility.

Fertilizer works in combination with water and the sun’s heat to create the appropriate amount of moisture and nourishment for the plants. Any application of fertilizer must consider those elements, as well as the constitution of the plant itself. Too much moisture in the soil harms plants; however, the appropriate amount of moisture is unique to each plant. Cultivated plants require more moisture and different fertilizer than wild plants of the same type (CRESCENZI 2.18.4-7). Likewise, manure should be chosen according to plant, environment, and purpose. Donkey manure is preferable when a garden first is created. Non-aquatic bird dung is useful in most situations, as is that of sheep and goats. But horse manure is inadvisable except in meadows (CRESCENZI 2.13). Composting fertilizer increases moisture coefficient, making it more effective when applied to dry soils nurturing plants with “wet” constitutions. He also observes that rotating crops with fertility-increasing plants, such as vetch and lupine, with periods of fallow increases productivity (CRESCENZI 2.18.25).

Water was the single most important environmental factor that Crescenzi sought to control on the estate. It factors heavily into the initial placement and organization of the estate. Ideally, an estate should contain a natural spring to water the plants in the hot months. However, Crescenzi presents solutions if no flowing water runs through the estate: wells and aqueducts. These must be placed carefully to be both easily accessible to the household and convenient to the workers (CRESCENZI 1.8). In cases when too much water flows, he urges redirection. Too much moisture is not advisable on low-lying, open fields and will encourage rot, even in moisture-loving crops. In such cases, he recommends collection and transport of the water to areas of scarcity for use in other areas of the villa.

Many of the sections on the manipulation of water are copied directly from Roman authors such as Vitruvius. It is unclear if these directives were employed regularly; medieval elites certainly constructed ditches, dikes and locks according to their needs and the restrictions of local conditions (e.g. MAGNUSSON and SQUATRITI 2000: 217-265). Regardless of provenance, Crescenzi's recommendations for the construction and maintenance of wells and aqueducts reflect at least a theoretical awareness of springs and the physical control of water flow. For example, Crescenzi repeats the advice of the Roman agriculturalist Palladius to locate water by observing the spirals of humid air escaping from the ground in the dawn light (CRESCENZI 1.8.2). More practically, Crescenzi notes that certain types of trees and other plants, such as the willow, alder, reeds, and ivy, also signal the presence of water sufficient for a well (CRESCENZI 1.8.4). For aqueducts, he recommends pipes made from lead, wood, or clay but observes that those made from white lead are very harmful to the human body (CRESCENZI 1.9.2). For best flow, the pipe should descend a foot and a half over a length of 60 to 100 feet. If mountains or valleys prevent a straight channel, he instructs the reader to construct supports and arches to create the correct grade. This was very important; the flow of the source, angle, and distance of the pipe controlled the water's flow.

Crescenzi's awareness of water went beyond the manipulation of flow to encompass the disposition of the soil and the character of the desired plant. He maintains that to create the most productive, and thus pleasing, fields and vines, the *paterfamilias* has to balance correct amounts of water, sun, and soil for each field, orchard, or garden and every type of plant. His systematic approach to agriculture has led one scholar to dub him the "Founder of Modern Agronomy" (OLSON 1944: 35). As with the initial situation of the estate, Crescenzi factors the character of the field. For example, he explains that mountainsides receive more sun than valleys so the moisture in the soil evaporates quickly, which means that only "dry" plants grow well in that soil. Demonstrating insight into soil conditions he explains that mountainsides are "dry and unfruitful because all that is in them flows down into the valleys" (CRESCENZI 2.18.1). Mountainsides are maladapted to most types of cultivation because water would constantly wash away the topsoil and nutrients, rendering even fertilizer ineffective (CRESCENZI 2.18.1). Despite these problems, mountainside soil can be beneficial for the right plant; they are ideally suited for plants that require both warmth and dryness, such as grapevines. However, other plants, such as wheat, barley, and rye would be more profitably cultivated in valleys as they require more moisture and also resist decay (CRESCENZI 2.18.4).

Acknowledging that a *paterfamilias* might be obliged to cultivate crops on less-than-ideal hillsides, Crescenzi proffers practical advice on mountainside cultivation. To combat soil-run off, he encourages the digging of furrows to help retain the nutrients in the soil on mountainsides. He explains that furrows must be transverse and embanked. Perpendicular furrows would increase soil run-off (CRESCENZI 2.18.2). However, he also suggests conscious exploitation of the natural decline. Ditches could intentionally direct the flow of the water and soil run-off to the plants in the valley. Crescenzi views the estate's fields as part of a system: the increased fertility of the plants in the valley makes up for the decreased productivity of the plants on the hillsides (CRESCENZI 2.18.3).

Further, he cautions awareness of water flow in fields because too much water or too much soil run-off is just as detrimental to plants as too little water and no nutrients. Even though he considers valleys superior fields, he advises that many large and small ditches must also be cut into the fields of a valley so that torrents of water flowing down the mountainside do not drown the seeds in the valley (CRESCENZI 2.18.5).

Marvelous Things

The observation of the estate's productivity provides the owner satisfaction. Crescenzi says plants "cultivated by appropriate industry" provide pleasure. However, Crescenzi also counsels that the *paterfamilias* should aspire to the cultivation of unusual and seemingly miraculous things in the estate (CRESCENZI 8.8.4). These "marvels" fascinate because although grown with the same effort and care as other plants, they appear to contravene the customs of nature through unexpected combinations serving unusual purposes. For example, latticework fences made of entwined willow branches and hedges that mimic parapets fascinate Crescenzi (CRESCENZI 8.4.1-2). He considers walks and bowers made from nothing but trees as an essential element of the grand pleasure garden for illustrious and wealthy persons (CRESCENZI 8.3.4). Similarly, he believes that trees should be trained to create open summer houses by forcing the top branches of the tree down to form a canopy. In this way, the "house" will "marvelously" protect itself from heat (CRESCENZI 8.4.3). He considers these practices extraordinary exactly because they appear to contradict nature. Unlike the delight Crescenzi derived from the utility and productivity of the fields, vines, orchards, and healthful gardens, his marvelous things delight because they are a seeming paradox. Their appearance defies his understanding of nature, yet it is careful management according to the doctrine of humoral theory and "appropriate industry" that creates them.

Crescenzi's delight in the marvelous extends beyond the trees and plants to their fruits. He devotes significant attention to the many ways in which the *paterfamilias* can create multiple colors and tastes of grapes—and thus wines—that mature at different times by grafting. He also repeats the recommendations of others, such as Albertus Magnus, to graft pears onto other trees so that they bear unusually large fruits (Crescenzi 8.7.3), and that of Martial, to grow cherries without pits (CRESCENZI 8.7.6). He also recommends even more fantastical practices, such as shaping the produce of a plant itself. He reports that placing a clay mold about a fertilized cucumber flower will create a cucumber in the shape of the mold (CRESCENZI 8.8.4). The simultaneous delight conveyed by marvelous garden plants would be transferred via produce to the household table.

Conclusion

Ultimately Crescenzi desires to achieve the perfect harmony between delight, spiritual and physical rejuvenation, and productivity. He realizes his goals through manipulation of humors; that is, he instructs careful human mediation of every element of the environs, especially air, water, soil, flora and fauna to maximize the environment's salubriousness and pleurability. He promotes systematic and interdependent management that recognizes the character of the locale and shapes the environment to its perceived ideal purpose within the estate. In particular, Crescenzi's instructions for the initial founding and construction of the estate drive home how he conceives of nature as a complex network united by humors. An owner must consider the character of the locale, its exposure to sun and moisture, the quality of its soil, and the humoral constitution of the plant, as well as the air and water at that site. Moreover, Crescenzi has to consider the human constitution as part of this ecological system. The mediation of the landscape optimizes the humoral balance of the *paterfamilias* so that he may be revitalized

by the senses and delights of the gardens and other marvelous things and derive satisfaction from the observation of the fecundity of his estate.

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Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

On projects

Tour of Azulejos in the Alentejo: A Project for Cultural Participation

Maria Alexandra Trindade Gago da Câmara
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CONTEXT: WHY THE AZULEJO?

The concept of a cultural tour, which implies the discovery and sharing of a common heritage of a certain geographic area, associated with a pre-defined route, has been introduced to a number of specific itineraries in Portugal in the past few years.

The importance of azulejo as a particular heritage of Portuguese culture and an understanding of it as integrated heritage that should always be perceived in the original context for which it was conceived, is presented as one of the arts which better explain the creation of a thematic tour such as the case of the Azulejos tour in Alentejo.

Azulejo introduced into Portugal deep changes in ornamentation history and in covering wall surfaces, thus it has always been understood as an identifying heritage of Portuguese culture.

Since the 15th century tiles used in Portugal have had an original and expressive treatment. Tiles have been conceived as an artistic object. Both independent or mixed with architecture, tiles have conveyed extraordinary results in religious or civic space dynamics.

Azulejo remains an expressive repository for the representation of ideas and ways of living which have been a reference for multiple arts and artisanal work, cultural and economic activities.

Although the Alentejo region has not been a productive center of surface ceramics, it is especially in this region that we can see fundamental examples from the more important European centers for the production of tiles: Seville, Amsterdam, Talavera and Lisbon.

The richness of tiled heritage in this region, with emblematic buildings important for regional and national scale, allows the development of this Tour which promotes the fruition of this integrated heritage, as has happened with other initiatives.

Following a certain methodology and management model, the project A Rota do Azulejo no Alentejo in preparation since 2012 has the goals of territorial and resources management.

THE PROJECT

The research project the Rota do Azulejo no Alentejo developed by the Centro de História da Arte e Investigação

Artística (CHAIA) of the University of Évora seeks to share in situ and promote the divulgence of Alentejo tiled heritage from the 16th until the 19th century through the creation of thematic routes which demonstrate Art, History, Memory, Site and Community, with the aim of making the past active in the present through the creation of an artistic identity which is also a cultural, social and economic dynamics factor.

The project aims to achieve it with the collaboration of different partners such as regional districts, Tourism office of Alentejo and private entities. Furthermore, it seeks to gather academic institutions and public and private enterprises.

ON GOING

There are already two research and participation activities on going. At the University of Évora, we have organized a colloquium entitled *Sacrae Imagines Ciclos de Iconografia Cristã na Azulejaria* in October 2013. It was an initiative of the Secretariado Nacional dos Bens Culturais da Igreja, organized with CHAIA's partnership which gathered the participation of more than ten researchers with the publication of the conference proceedings. The first monography dedicated to tiles in that area of research has been on Gabriel del Barco and António de Oliveira Bernardes' works to the convents of Saint John the Evangelist Congregation of Arraiolos and of Évora.

The first leaflet has also been edited with a route through the twelve more importance centers of tiles in Alentejo which is also available at WEB ([https://www.academia.edu/5360121/Rota do Azulejo no Alentejo desdobrel](https://www.academia.edu/5360121/Rota_do_Azulejo_no_Alentejo_desdobrel)).

TO DESIGN ITINERARIES

The Azulejo tour in Alentejo is preparing the publication of new monographies and, for summer, a course of short duration on the history of Portuguese tiles for cultural agents associated with tourism and with the reception of visitors to monuments, parallel with the publication of new tour guides in Portuguese and English.

Based on more up-to-date scientific knowledge many itineraries are being created to complement different themes, and to define chronological circuits which share and make available the most important centers of tile heritage in the Alentejo, such as 15th and 16th century tiles from Seville; Talavera tiles and their influence in Lisbon potteries; decorative altar panels and oriental inspiration; pattern tiles of the 17th century; the great masters of baroque tiles in the Alentejo; façade tiles in the Alentejo and contemporary tiles between industry and the artist's work, as well as tiles in open-air spaces such as gardens and walls.

To conclude, as a structural program for the Alentejo region we believe this project will, through responsible and active promotion among all the participants to add value and care for azulejo as a functional heritage, but also with touristic and economic potential, promoting the presence of national and foreign visitors and increasing interest in its presence in this territory.



PAISAJES CULTURALES del patrimonio mundial

AAVV, Ana Luengo y Mechthild Rössler (coord), Ayuntamiento de Elche, UNESCO, Centro de Patrimonio Mundial, Elche, Espanha, 2012, 354pp., ISBN: 987-84-92667-10-9.

Reviewed by Aurora Carapinha

PAISAJES CULTURALES del patrimonio mundial edition was headed by Ana Luengo Añón (ICOMOS) and Mechthild Rössler (World Heritage Center). It is not a catalogue, nor a line up of the 69 “cultural landscapes” conveyed by the list of world heritage.

It is an evaluation, a balanced view of the work made, not only on the adaptations needed by the Convention of World Heritage throughout 40 years, but also on the adaptations and discussions coming forward from the integration of the category “cultural landscape” in the List of World Heritage. This evaluation becomes more interesting because it has been made by a range of experts who had, or still have, a relationship with the institutions which lead world heritage, from an executive or consultant point of view. Thus, this evaluation appears inside UNESCO, from the World Heritage Center and from ICOMOS.

PAISAJES CULTURALES del patrimonio mundial, in as much as it is an evolution, also reflects the transformations which are present after the eighties, but with more emphasis in the last decade of the 20th century on landscape and heritage concepts.

We leave the 20th century with landscape approaches of a post-modernist character, reactive to a colonization of the landscape concept by ecology. We then get into the new century with a concept of landscape which seeks to answer, in our opinion, to its real dimension and meaning: landscape understood as being for the common good or benefit. A representation of the relationship a community resolves, in time and space, with the territory where it lives after dynamic interrelations of ecological, emotional, cultural, social and an economical nature. Parallel to this evolution many changes occurred in heritage concepts. These parallels are pointed out in the foreword by Irina Bokova (Unesco’s general-director) where she points out: “Los últimos cuarenta años relatan una fascinante historia sobre la forma en que han evolucionado la interpretación y la aplicación de la Convención del Patrimonio Mundial, junto con el propio concepto del patrimonio. (...) En el transcurso de las últimas décadas, nuestra perspectiva del patrimonio ha pasado a ser más holística, al integrar factores sociales, económicos, medioambientales y tecnológicos. El reconocimiento de los “paisajes culturales” constituye otro resultado significativo de esa evolución: (...)”.

Besides the opening texts by Irina Bokova, Kishor Rao, Director of the Centro do Patrimonio Mundial of UNESCO, by Mercedes Alons García alcaldesa de Elche and by Pablo Ruz Villanueva, *PAISAJES CULTURALES del patrimonio mundial* is organized into three parts.

The texts by Carmen Añón Felú, Mechthild Rössler and Peter Fowler, which constitute the first part of the book, besides making a point on the former changes, they also ask the reader to reflect on: history and context of the World Heritage Convention’s creation; the qualities, weaknesses and pathways this instrument has still to pursue it; the concept of “Cultural landscape” and the problematic integration of this cultural good created (and which it creates) when it became part of the Cultural Heritage list; the different typologies of “cultural landscapes” of World Heritage; the criteria present in their choice and nomination; the “character” of “cultural landscapes” of World Heritage; the management (or lack of it) of the “cultural landscapes” included in World Heritage List.

Carmen Añón Felú with a vigorous writing style, lively and emotive, is easy reading and, because of that, prompts a very rich discussion about “*A Génesis Y desarrollo de La Convención del Patrimonio Mundial: los Paisajes Culturales*”. There we find references, since 1918, to all the important moments which led to the creation and approval of UNESCO at the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 14th December 1946. There we find the advisers ethical principles, from the intellectuals that were present at the UNESCO’s creation as well as those which rely on the distinct recommendations made by this organization and, more specifically, on the convention this book celebrates. The author does not only make an historical narrative, but also does not fall into a nostalgic retrospective, in fact, it is a well rounded view. In a definitive way the reader is made aware of the context in which all this construction is made and how the World Heritage Convention was innovative. In this innovative dimension, which has characterized UNESCO’s supervision and recommendations for the landscape heritage area, the Recommendation on the Protection to the Beauty and Character of places and landscapes of 1962 are prominent. This is where the role of landscape as fundamental for the physical and emotional human equilibrium is highlighted, as well as it contributes to the people’s artistic and cultural development. Only thirty years later (1992), in Santa-Fé, and twenty years after the World Heritage Convention, “cultural landscapes” with exceptional universal value have been integrated into the World Heritage list.

Mechthild Rössler in a text entitled *El valor universal excepcional de los Paisajes Culturales y los criterios para su inscripción en la lista del Patrimonio* analyzes the criteria and the proceedings expressed in the World Heritage Convention of 1972 and their modifications and how discussions on the inclusion of this cultural good generated from Nature/Culture have been resolved in Practical Advice. Among these changes those that rely on the concepts of integrity and authenticity stand out, as well as those on the delivery of the concept of exceptional universal value to the “cultural landscapes”. The author demonstrates

how the inclusion of “cultural landscapes” in the World Heritage list was, because of its nature, the factor which led to the evolution of the concept of heritage and, furthermore, to the changes on the legal field, especially on the Practical Advice.

The evaluation feature presented by *PAISAJES CULTURALES del patrimonio mundial* is more than once expressed in the text of an essay by Peter Fowler’s *El Patrimonio Mundial y sus Paisajes Culturales: desafíos en le espacio, tiempo y gestión*. Fowler offers us his reflections developed since 2003 on what he considers fundamental to this subject. He recognizes that the expression “cultural landscapes” settled on by UNESCO it is not a dated concept. It is something that has its roots in a much longer period because it recognizes the sense of ownership and identity which goes with the development of human destiny leading to the construction of different landscapes in places that had, to begin with, a neutral value. This differentiation acquires a symbolic dimension, of valuing identity, which goes far beyond the scope of landscape to support the survival of a community. This process of transformation of a territory into a landscape is very close to the essential elements which define the concept of “cultural landscape” presented by UNESCO. It also opens up the universe of “cultural landscapes” to many other landscape categories which travel away from the profile of those which have been considered by UNESCO as representative of “cultural landscapes”.

Fowler also brings to the discussion severe and fundamental criticism (on his own words) on World Heritage nowadays. These do not have much to do with theoretical and ideological questions, but come from management problems recognized in many of the sites included in the World Heritage list. Thus, he considers that “La identificación y la gestión adecuada de los paisajes es uno de los principales caminos a seguir para el Patrimonio Mundial. Ante todo, Patrimonio debe significar «Administración», lo que en 2009 no sucede en todas las partes.”

The second part of the book opens with Ana Luengo’s text which calls our attention to the fact that only 7,4 % of World Heritage cultural benefits are “cultural landscapes” and as the author says: “(...) es que las cifras expuestas no son sino un débil reflejo de la auténtica diversidad y riqueza de los paisajes presentes en el planeta, producto de la relación ancestral entre el hombre y la tierra”.

After this statement Ana Luengo presents three categories on which “cultural landscapes” are organized. This text by Ana Luengo is much more than a plain presentation of the categories for cultural landscapes of exceptional universal value. It is the presentation of an inclusive and integrated landscape concept with which we arrive in the 21st century. Where ecology, culture, identity are mixed and are interconnected to convey an ethos: the place which comprehends the totality of existence.

Present throughout the whole text is that each land-

scape is, as such, a cultural contender, an historical source and a space of world reference. It is a historical fact which is built on alongside another story: the ecological history of each place.

After this opening text, 69 files (made by experts) correspond to the 69 “cultural landscapes” which consist of the World Heritage list (in June 2012) in very detailed writing along with eloquent photography which describe the features and criteria on which rely the designations by evoking the exceptional universal value of each landscape.

The third part of the book consists of the text on the Convention for the World Heritage Protection, Cultura Y Natural and has a very complete and up-to-date general and specific bibliography which will work as references for further studies on landscape.

PAISAJES CULTURALES del patrimonio mundial seeks to propose the idea, if not the obligation, to find new politics of management and landscape planning leading us to look at landscape, at all landscapes, as a possible answer to one of the biggest anthropological problems of our days which is the denial of differences, the homogeneous and uniform supremacy created by globalization.

Jan Woudstra, 'The changing nature of ecology: a history of ecological planting (1800-1980)',

in Nigel Dunnett and James Hitchmough, *The Dynamic Landscape: Design, Ecology and Management of Naturalistic Urban Planting*, London and New York: Spon, 2004, pp.23-57. ISBN 0-415-25620-8

Reviewed by Rute Sousa Matos

In the chapter "The Changing nature of ecology: a history of ecological planting (1800-1980)", Jan Woudstra shows us, in a very interesting way, that the way Man has been using vegetation, both in terms of the selection of the species as well as its distribution, comes from a vision of Nature that has fluctuated throughout history and its political movements. Between a more scientific criterion, or a more artistic one it is proposed that ecological principles and ideals have been used in the designing of the landscape and gardens long before the awareness to the existence of this fact.

In the last 200 years we can isolate and distinguish two types in the application of these principles relative to the use of vegetation: the plant geographic, whose objective is to recreate specific kinds of vegetation distributed around the world; and the phisignomic approach that aims to create the natural character, the patterns and the functioning of the vegetation with no particular regard to the geographical origin of the species.

After the death of Le Nôtre, in 1700, the perception and vision of nature has gradually changed. While in the 17th century the garden designers led, in their creations, a transformation of the wild nature into an ideal and perfect nature, the references from the 18th century are made to the pictorial quality of Nature. In the beginning of the 19th century, and following the painting of Nature, there also appears a new form of plantation – the picturesque plantation – that became the ideal of the use of vegetation in the public parks. In England, Pope, Addison and Shaftesbury, supported this new aesthetic vision of nature. In France, Jean-Jacques Rousseau portrays an image of gardening, where the irregularity aimed at mimicking nature. Nature gardens avoided the architectonic decoration aiming at the creation of an ideal space where pure nature was portrayed.

It is with Alexandre von Humboldt, inspired by his voyages around the world where he studied nature through a scientific methodology and analysis, that there appears a new understanding of vegetation leading to a new practice in planting of parks and gardens, related to the associations of plants as they occur in nature. This technique, known as plant geographical or phytogeographical planting, gradually became more sophisticated with the technological knowledge turning into ecological planting.

This kind of planting emerges in the period of The Enlightenment when also appears a different perception of the concept of nature. The first examples are from the

beginning of the 19th century, mainly in botanical gardens, given that they were considered the best and most adequate means of showing plants. The second peak in the appearance of ecological gardens happened, simultaneously, as a way to educate the audience and because it is a more economical and sustainable way of obtaining plantating schemes. With the evolution of the science of ecology, scientists saw in ecological planting an opportunity of testing the ecological theory. However, it never became a true movement, not even after the concept of ecology was developed and promoted in the beginning of the 20th century, opposite to the policies related with the ecological movements. This concept of the use of vegetation suffered, through time, successive approaches and disparities, the latter ones being due to a more artistic approach, examples of which are in England with Gertrude Jekyll, or in U.S.A. with Downing.

This chapter discusses, in a very appealing way, this scientific approach, the way it was developed and how it was passed along from generation to generation. Without being completely inclusive, it presents some of the main tendencies in five countries (Germany, Holland, U.S.A., Great Britain and Sweden) where this concept of the use of vegetation had a deep influence in the designing of the project of landscape architecture and in the management and maintenance of parks, gardens and landscape spaces having, frequently, been considered exemplar.

In the examples given, for each of the discussed countries, the gradual emergence of the practice of phytogeographic, physiognomic and ecological planting is common, as well as its partial overlapping with ecological science and the political and social movements that occurred in the different times.

Also very interesting is the reference that Jan Woudstra makes to the use of ecological planting to reinforce nationalism, which justifies the almost abandonment it suffered following World War II. More so, in the beginning of the 20th century in Germany, the theories of Lange will influence, being even adopted by, the national-socialist regime. The parallelisms verified in the U.S.A. and in Germany, already in the 20th century, not only reinforce a nationalist ideology, but also, with Tuxen and Leopold, the development of strong research serving as a basis for the ecological recovery, later followed by Carson, Mc Harg and Eckbo. In Holland, Sweden and Great Britain it was verified, in a general way, that this knowledge could inform the new planting that occurred sometimes in association with an artistic approach and a more liberal understanding of ecology. In the postwar years, the debate aiming at the use of ecological planting focused mainly on the management and maintenance of spaces, but also on the integrity of the relationship between native and exotic species.

The practice of ecological planting was, without a doubt, important in the definition of the concept of nature. However, this notion of nature was, and is, subject both to fashions and the bigger or smaller emphasis of the scientific knowledge. From these results, as has happened

in other movements associated with the designing of the landscape, the occurrence of several approaches to the use of vegetation were contaminated in a bigger or smaller degree, by science or by art. Even though the aesthetic considerations have always had a greater significance in the plantating of gardens and the scientific considerations have been emphasized in the large scale works, namely in projects more directed to the recuperation of the natural processes, it is possible to verify ecological plantings with transformations and evolutions that come from artistic approaches, as well as interventions of artistic nature being stimulated by ecological ideals. With this journey throughout the history of ecological planting, that Woudstra provides, we can recognize concepts, cyclically revisited, that are so current that they are present and are the basis of contemporary movements that appeared from the last two decades of the 20th century onwards, namely the “Landscape Urbanism”, the “Green Urbanism”, the “Jardin Planétaire” and the “Tiers Paysage”, among others. In this way ecology and aesthetics are associated in the construction of a space or landscape that is balanced and qualified, a habitat for plant and animal species.