

CHAPTER II

The English Garden in Germany: Some Late Eighteenth-Century Concepts of the Landscape Garden

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Capability Brown's work in Germany is only acknowledged for Schloss Richmond, Brunswick, for which he was asked to produce a design for Princess Augusta, sister of King George III, yet other gardens associated with the English court that had Brownian landscapes include Gotha and Hohenzieritz.¹ Despite these examples and the German translation of George Parkyns' *Six Designs for Improving and Embellishing Grounds* (1793), which promoted the Brownian style, there was no general take-up of Brownian principles in the creation of English gardens. Instead, Germany saw a whole range of different interpretations, of influences that included the Anglo-Chinese garden and more famously the notion of the 'landscape garden' promoted by Humphry Repton, Brown's self-appointed successor, in the early-nineteenth century. During the second half of the eighteenth century different influences overlapped, with various notions of English gardening being incorporated. Two Germans who travelled to Britain during Brown's lifetime and left accounts included the dilettante Jobst Anton von Hinüber (1718–84)² and the garden designer Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell (1750–1823). They were responsible for pioneering new landscape concepts in Germany, the former preferring Kent's model, the latter being a protagonist of Brownian principles. Instead of duplicating an account that concentrates on just gardens directly associated with Brown, this chapter looks at his reception in Germany and two ways in which the English garden was interpreted during and immediately after Brown's life, highlighting the main trends that purported to represent the English garden.

In German historiography of the past century Lancelot Brown has generally been acknowledged for the introduction of the clump, the belt drive, and serpentine bodies of water, and also for the fact that he re-created the classical landscapes of Capri and Sicily.³ This apt observation appears to have influenced perception from an early stage.

¹ Köhler, M. (2001). The German legacy: Richmond in Braunschweig. *Garden History*, 29(1), 29–35; Köhler, M. (2016). Brownian gardens in Germany. *Garden History*, 44(Suppl. 1), 159–174.

² Rohde, M. (1997). *Parkpflegewerk Hinüberscher Garten in Hannover-Marienwerder, im Auftrag der Landeshauptstadt Hannover und der Klosterkammer Hannover*. Hannover: University of Hannover.

³ See for example Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Sein Entstehen und seine Einführung in Deutschland durch Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell 1750–1823* (p. 68). Munich: Hugo Schmidt; Hoffmann, A. (1963). *Der Landschaftsgarten*. In D. Hennebo &

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Jobst Anton von Hinüber and the Posthofgarten in Hanover

Jobst Anton von Hinüber, Electorate Braunschweig-Lüneburg Legation councillor, bailiff of Marienwerder, civil servant (Oberpostkommissar), and chief road engineer (Generalwegbauintendant) of the Electorate of Hanover under George III, was a pioneering landscape improver and a dilettante of the art of gardening. His first Grand Tour to England, in the spring of 1737, led him through the Netherlands and France. Whilst he was again in London in 1763 Hinüber was asked to prepare statutes for a Society for Agriculture in Hanover, using the English Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce as a model. The agricultural society was intended to promote recovery after the Seven Years' War, with Hinüber attracting various influential people from the Electorate of Hanover, including Landdrosten (District Administrator) Otto II von Münchhausen (1716–74), landlord of Schwöbber, Voldagsen, and Nordholz near Hameln. Münchhausen was the author of *Der Hausvater*, a work on husbandry that included sections on agriculture, forestry, and gardening, and was published in six volumes between 1764 and 1773.⁴ In 1764 the Royal British and Electorate of Braunschweig-Lüneburg Agricultural Society [Königlich Großbritannisch und Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft] was founded.⁵ George III, 'Farmer George', King of Great Britain and Ireland since 1760, supported this society by taking it under royal protection. While in England Hinüber consulted agricultural experts and gardeners, including Bartholomew Rocque, Christopher Baldwin, Philip Miller, and Lord Holderness, in order to improve practices in Hanover, which, like many other parts of Germany at the time, were still fairly basic.⁶

As an acknowledgement of his prominent position, Hinüber was corresponding member of the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce from 1766 onwards, and from 1773 was also an honorary member the Kurbayerische Society for Agriculture. Hinüber's comprehensive library was auctioned in 1817, after the death of his son Gerhard (1752–1815),⁷ and included Du Roi's *Harbkesche wilde Baumzucht* [Harbkesche Tree Cultivation] (1772) and the second edition of Friedrich Kasimir Medicus *Beiträge zur schönen Gartenkunst* [Contributions to Ornamental Garden Art], published in 1783.⁸ In addition, foreign publications or encyclopaedias and guides on the identification of woody plants were included, such as William Aiton's *Hortus Kewensis, or a Catalogue of the Plants in the Royal Garden at Kew* published in 1793, edited by his son William Townsend Aiton, Royal Gardener at Kew and Kensington.⁹

A. Hoffmann (Eds.), *Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst* (Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten, pp. 23–26). Hamburg: Broschek; von Buttlar, A. (1989). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Gartenkunst des Klassizismus und der Romantik* (p. 58). Cologne: DuMont.

⁴ von Münchhausen, O. (1764–73). *Der Hausvater* (6 Vols). Hanover. In 1763 Münchhausen presented the 'Entwurf zu vorläufigen Gesetzen für die Patrioten' ['Draft of provisional laws for patriots'] with its respective constitutions; see von Hinüber, H. (1985). *Jobst Anton, Gerhard, Carl Anton Ludwig und Carl Heinrich v. Hinüber, vier Persönlichkeiten aus den Anfängen der Königlichen Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft zu Celle* (pp. 11–14). Celle: Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft. Here, the Münchhausen complete draft of 18 September 1763 and notes of Jobst Anton Hinübers from 22 September 1763 are transcribed.

⁵ von Hinüber, H. (1985). *Jobst Anton, Gerhard, Carl Anton Ludwig und Carl Heinrich v. Hinüber* (pp. 5, 14).

⁶ Otto Ulbricht, I have seen Turnips in the Ealing Fields, ... In Ulbricht, O. (1979). *Sonderdruck aus dem neunzehnten Jahreshaft der Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft* (pp. 67–109); Ulbricht, O. (1980). Englische Landwirtschaft in Kurhannover in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. In *Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*. Berlin. After Hinüber's death Albrecht Daniel Thaer (1752–1828) took over the business in the select committee of the so-called 'Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft', which had its seat in Celle until 1878; see Hennebo, D. (1993). 'Thaers Garten', Schicksal eines bürgerlichen Landsitzes. In Dohna, U. *Festschrift: Wieder wandelnd im alten Park. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gartenkunst für Harri Günther zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 229–39). Potsdam: Potsdamer Verlagsbuchhandlung.

⁷ *Verzeichnis* [Catalogue] *Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv* (1817): Catalogue of books of the deceased Hofrath [Gerhard] from Hindenburg of Marienwerder which are to be auctioned for cash at the council of Neustadt together with a considerable collection of pictures/maps. Hanover.

⁸ *Verzeichnis* [Catalogue] (1817), p. 84, Nr. 647/648, p. 105 Nr. 833. Furthermore, Gerhard von Hinüber's library on the art of gardening contained the four-volume work by Blotz, J. F. *Gartenkunst oder ein auf vieljährige Erfahrung gegründeter Unterricht* [Gardening or teaching based on years of experience] (1795–98). Leipzig, *Kurze Theorie der empfindsamen Gartenkunst* [A short theory of sensitive gardening] (1786) Leipzig, Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker, *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde* [Handbook for garden enthusiasts] (1795) Leipzig, C. C. L. Hirschfeld's *Kleine Gartenbibliothek* [A small library of gardening] (1790) Kiel, as well as his *Gartenkalender* [Garden calendar] (1785) Kiel, Carl Wilhelm Hennert's *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Harbke* [Notes from a journey to Harbke] (1792) Berlin and Stettin, and C. L. Denhardt, *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde und Blumenliebhaber* [Handbook for garden and flower enthusiasts] (1808) Leipzig. See: p. 10, Nr. 73; p. 108, Nr. 862; p. 57, Nr. 398; p. 69, Nr. 512; p. 89, Nr. 702; p. 108, Nr. 867; p. 95, Nr. 747; p. 108, Nr. 86).

⁹ *Verzeichnis* [Catalogue] (1817), p. 89, Nr. 701.

In 1760, after Hinüber took an official position in the monastery estate of Marienwerder near Hanover, he created an English-Chinese garden in the so-called Posthof, his parental property opposite the Steintor in Hanover.¹⁰ His first cousin, Carl Heinrich von Hinüber (1723–92), who had been a secretary of the secret cabinet of the German Chancery in London (*Geheimer Kabinetts-Sekretär*), later a judicial councillor in the German Chancery in London, had already established relationships with England.¹¹ His strong affiliation with England is also confirmed by his founding in 1762 of the ‘Georg’ Freemason’s lodge – after King George III – in Hanover. This lodge was later merged with one of the earliest German lodges, ‘Friedrich’ – after Fredrick Ludwig, Prince of Wales¹² – to form the ‘Friedrich zum weiße Pferde’ [Fredrick on the white horse] lodge, which still exists. Motifs of Freemasonry featuring Enlightenment ideas were frequently included, such as in the gardens in Wilhelmsbad, in Schwetzingen (Merkurtempel), at the Seifersdorfer Tal or in Bückeburg-Baum.¹³

In 1764 Jobst Anton began the improvement and planting of the small garden at Posthof. This included earth moving, creating ponds, with birch log bridges across them; there was walling and a grotto was decorated using coal.¹⁴ In 1785 Christian C. L. Hirschfeld (1742–92), the most important theoretician of the landscape garden in eighteenth-century Germany, described ‘a group of various flowers’ at the entrance of the Posthof garden: ‘The foreign, especially the American trees and shrubs ... [are] cleverly mixed with the native wood species for artistic effect’. Several groups of conifers were planted in front of the house and a Chinese bridge led over several ponds. Hirschfeld referred to ruins which offered a ‘cool place’ near the water, with a ‘small funeral chapel’ located next to it. The edge of the garden featured ‘gentle elevations’, which offered views of the surrounding landscape, the towers of the city and parts of the ‘walls embellished with new tree planting’. Interestingly, the ha-has were referred to as boundaries in the gardens, which replaced ‘a low fence’ or a ‘transparent screen’ with ‘a ditch featuring spikes or planted with thorny shrubs from which there are sweeping view, but no one dares to leap’. The intended effect of the ha-ha was important: ‘Therefore, in many places one no longer believes to be in the garden, but in the landscape itself’.¹⁵

Hinüber’s Second Journey to England, 1766–67

The diaries of the second English tour by Jobst Anton von Hinüber, from September 1766 to March 1767, document interesting English gardening at that time.¹⁶ In 1763 Prince Leopold III Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817) travelled to England together with his architect, Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736–1800), as part of a Grand Tour that also included the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Besides cultural, historical, and economic interests, Franz and Erdmannsdorff studied buildings of Robert and James Adam and Sir William Chambers, and the latest fashions in garden design. The profound influence that this tour of England had can be observed at the gardens of Wörlitz near Dessau, designed between 1769 and 1773, which are comparable with Marienwerder and also adhered to what was referred to as the ‘pictorial’ and ‘sentimental’ principles.¹⁷

¹⁰ In 1643 Rüter Hinüber commissioned the construction of a post court (*Posthof*) with a central building (*Hauptgebäude*) (renewed in 1672) next to the Nikolai graveyard. v. Hinübersche Familienzeitung, Nr. 2, 1904, p. 3: ‘Der erste kin unserm Lande in Englischem Geschmack angelegte Garten verdankte ihm seine Entstehung (auf dem Besitztum bei Hannover, dem sog. Posthofe)’, Nr. 46, 1952; Nr. 60, 1968: ‘Zunächst wandelte er um das Jahr 1760 ein zum Posthof gehörendes Gelände mit großer Sachkenntnis und Liebe zu einem englisch-chinesischen Garten um’, quoted by Kirsch, R. (1988). *Frühe Landschaftsgärten im Niedersächsischen Raum* (p. 160). Published thesis (PhD, University of Göttingen).

¹¹ From 1762 the Electorate of Hanover was governed from London with the involvement of Jobst Anton von Hinüber.

¹² Fredrick Ludwig (1707–51), the eldest son of George II (1683–1760), did not reign. When his grandfather, Elector Georg Ludwig (1660–1727, from 1714 George I, King of Great Britain and Ireland) moved to London with his court in 1714, the then seven-year-old grandson had to remain in Hanover until 1728. After his early death in Hanover, the hope for the return of a ‘German’ ruler evaporated. In England, ‘Prince Friedrich’ was remembered as a supporter of the fine arts.

¹³ See von Buttlar, (1989). A. *Der Landschaftsgarten* (pp. 132–232); Hartmann, G. (1981). *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten: Ihre Bedeutung für den frühen Historismus und die Landschaftsmalerei der Romantik*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, cited in Kirsch, R. (1988). *Frühe Landschaftsgärten* (p. 172).

¹⁴ Rohde, M. Baukosten Register des Jobst Anton v. Hinüber (1718–84) über den Posthof zu Hannover um 1751–84. Hinüber family archive, Burgdorf, manuscript 17.

¹⁵ All quotes from: Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1785). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. V, pp. 197–203). Leipzig.

¹⁶ Jobst Anton von Hinüber, ‘Travel diary England 1766/67 with 21 points’. Hinüber family archive, Burgdorf.

¹⁷ See Rode, A. (1801). *Leben des Herrn Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff*. Dessau; reprinted in 1994, Wörlitz: Kettmann.

Hinüber visited various parks and estates in the London area, including the royal parks of Windsor, Oatlands Park, Hampton Court, Kew, and Chiswick, but there is no evidence that he visited other parks normally included on such journeys such as Stourhead, Stowe, Blenheim, Richmond, Kensington, Claremont, Esher Palace, or Strawberry Hill. Hinüber first visited Windsor Park (Berks), which since the 1740s had been improved by Prince William August, Duke of Cumberland (1721–65), the uncle of George III, Thomas Sandby (1723–98), and Henry Flitcroft (1697–1769).¹⁸ Hinüber observed that '[t]he garden, according to the local conditions, is not large, and consists of a planted walk leading around meadows, but which does not reach the boundaries. In the end, the walk leads into a forest that features several trails'. He used the term 'garde' for the area surrounding the house, which he described as 'well-designed and rather large', and distinguished it from the wider park, where he remarked, '[b]ecause of the beautiful view a great number of telescopes and binoculars were supplied'. Hinüber paid particular attention to the types of ha-ha he saw at Windsor and elsewhere, noting one at Clapham which was brick built and 'Another haha located near a meadow featured a broom hedge which was so low that the view was not obstructed by it' (Figure 11.2).¹⁹

The description of a visual axis within Windsor Park is clearly reminiscent of the wide prospect from the bailiff's house to the Glockenberg at Marienwerder: 'The view ends at an obelisk which can be viewed from Lord Lincoln's Garden'. On the way from Beaumont Lodge to Shrub Hills 'we drove to and across the Chinese Bridge, of which a plan exists ... From thence to the Chinese Island where we found a house decorated with charming and noble furniture'. The island lay on an artificially created 'meandering canal which was very wide and 28 feet deep and which was as wide as the Thames in some villages'. This was Virginia Water, probably the largest artificial water in a landscape park, created c. 1750 by Henry Flitcroft, who then was also active in Stourhead.²⁰ Another Chinese bridge also led to the island. However, this bridge featured 'several arches which are closed by nailed boards of timber', and was comparable to Marienwerder, though at a different scale.

Shrubhill was set at 'the greatest height of the park' and from here the Duke had a 'very nice oblong as an observation point which can still be seen from Lincoln's Garden or "Oldland Park" (Oatlands). It features three towers and was built in a gothic style; the entrance is at the bottom and open to the side are some servants' quarters, while the basement includes the offices', with several 'small observation points or rooms' on the roof. The tower was erected around 1757 and appears to have inspired the so-called Witches Tower (Hexenturm) at Marienwerder, but it was rebuilt by Jeffry Wyatville in 1827 into 'Fort Belvedere'.²¹ From the original tower Hinüber enjoyed the views over 'extensive moorland ... which can also be found throughout the park', and described the side of the hill towards the park as relatively bleak, in contrast to the 'many foreign trees which were newly planted there and are therefore still small' on the other side of the hill. Furthermore, Hinüber observed several so-called 'eye-catchers', including 'a tower built by the Duke outside of the park area of ... Shrubhill at a great distance, only for the sake of the view'. Hinüber did not construct any buildings outside his park, as he might have for instance east of the river Leine; however, his inscriptions refer to existing viewing points in the distance. He was also interested in technical details and the functionality of the nearby cascade and admired 'a complete and rich Venetian gondola' and another 'Chinese ship' on 'a waterbody closer to the garden'.²²

Hinüber obtained travel guides and guides to individual estates, as well as maps whilst he was in England. He then visited two larger estates near Weybridge: Ham Farm²³ and Oatlands, crossed the three-arched oak Walton Bridge designed by William Etheridge, and went on to Hampton Court and Bushy Park. According to Hinüber, Ham Farm had 'many nice cabinets and very beautiful views and facilities, but it does not appear

¹⁸ Roberts, J. (1997). *Royal landscape: Gardens and parks of Windsor*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

¹⁹ Cited in Ulbricht, O. (1979). *Sonderdruck aus dem neunzehnten Jahresheft der Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft* (p. 90).

²⁰ Rohde, M. (1987). Gartendenkmalpflege des Landschaftsgartens von Stourhead. Die Arbeitsweise des National Trust. *Das Gartenamt*, 1, 20–26; Jane Roberts, in Herrmann, L. (1986). *Paul and Thomas Sandby* (p. 151). London: Batsford.

²¹ The tower was drawn by Paul Sandby and reproduced in Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. IV, p. 34) by Chr. Schönberg (reversed and modified). Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1782), p. 253: 'Nr. 8. Gothic Tower from Windsor Park, after Sandby's p. 34' to: Hirschfeld (1785), p. 47: 'A new brilliant work is: *A Collection of one Hundred and Fifty select views in England, Scotland and Ireland, Drawn by P. Sandby Esq. R.A. Vol. 2.* (1781). London. Besides the abbeys, ancient castles, ruins and several romantic views, the work features various descriptions of estates and scenes from the respective parks'.

²² Jacques, D. (1983). *Georgian gardens: The reign of nature* (p. 65, n. 116). London: Batsford.

²³ Kirsch (1988) assumes he refers to Ham Farm near Weybridge (p. 182). Hinüber writes that the journey led him 'over St. Annes Hill ... to Weybridge where Lord Portmoor had a nice, well-built and well-designed estate'.

to be well-maintained'. Hinüber also documented the 'very beautiful conifers in the wood, such as cluster or pinaster pine ... I have seen a cedar of Lebanon which is about a hundred years old and has extensive branches'. Moreover, Hinüber's interest in dendrology is apparent as he noted a 'Scottish spruce' or a 'red cedar', and that the leaves of the cypress were similar to those of the *Mimosa pudica* or 'sensitive plant'. The same interest in exotics is evident at Marienwerder, where he planted them, for instance, in the garden in front of the bailiff's house and on the park dune.

Oatlands Park, Surrey, belonged to Lord Lincoln, a friend of Horace Walpole (1717–97), author of *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (1771). Hinüber was much taken with Oatlands, describing it as 'gorgeous' and a 'very beautiful park and garden', declaring that he would 'try hard to obtain the plans', demonstrating a desire to study the layout more closely and have a record of it at home in Germany. The house was located on a high terrace, but during Hinüber's visit the garden was being refurbished. A prospect hill had just been raised and intended for a temple after the example of the Vesta temple in Tivoli: 'Here, nature and art are happily united, and there is still work done on this beautiful estate, for instance the construction of a temple on top of a mountain which offered the most beautiful view'. The most notable feature of the gardens was a grotto, which Hinüber described as '[t]he most exquisite and the most unique piece in England, perhaps ... which My Lord has built from various rare stones'. Hinüber provided drawings and vivid descriptions and noted that one of the most important aspects was the ornamentation of the estate: 'We drive through the beautiful garden-like park which also exhibits orchards located close to Waltham Bridge', which Hinüber praised as a 'precious simple suspension bridge built in the Chinese taste', of which he was promised an accurate plan. Hinüber was keen to acquire pictures, views, and plans of much of what he saw in England, including 'descriptions and views' of the formal layout of Hampton Court.

At Kew he admired the Chinese buildings designed by William Chambers c. 1757, such as the pagoda built in 1761, which had 'nine levels connected via a spiral staircase'. He also saw the 'East and West Indian plants' there. From Brentford Hinüber went to Syon House and produced a sketch, noting that '[t]here is a good supply of foreign plants, especially conifers'. He also noted a magnolia from North Carolina which 'showed two big white flowers this year – is evergreen. The Magnolia from South Carolina sheds its leaves, is said to be rare and carries blue flowers'. At Twickenham Park, however, he felt there was need of 'some good improvements' since it contained 'a lot of old wood which had been planted in the owner's childhood' and which was 'badly maintained'. In Whitton Park near Hounslow Hinüber sketched a 'beautiful tower on an artificial hill' (Figure 11.6), whilst a 'Chinese wooden house on another hill' later served as a model for a similar construction at Marienwerder. The wooden Chinese house was surrounded by a garden with heated walls, like a kitchen garden, against which were 'espaliered' orange trees. Hinüber was critical of Chiswick, which he described as not designed 'according to the latest tastes', but he did document the restoration of pathways there.

The Hinüber Park in Hanover-Marienwerder (1767–84)

The Marienwerder monastery near Hanover had been leased to Carl Anton von Hinüber (1694–1760), a cousin of his father, Ernst Andreas Hinüber (1693–1758), by Jobst Anton, in 1727. From 1760 Jobst Anton von Hinüber was clerk of the monastery and also managed the estates there. After the latter's journey to England from 1766 until 1767, and with the permission of King George III, he improved an eighty-five acre area around the monastery after the English fashion, and introduced a model farm of some 400 acres in extent. The English garden was to incorporate an area with sand dunes along the river Leine that created a distinctive feature (Figure 11.1).

Hirschfeld visited the completed park in 1783, a year before the death of Jobst Anton, presenting it as a paradigm of the sentimental garden, which was particularly evident from the fictitious cemetery he designed for the characters of Laurence Sterne's novels *Tristram Shandy* and *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768). From the various inscriptions – which were mostly written in English – it is clear that Hinüber intended to create an 'authentic' English garden. However, he had interpreted this in a pre-Brown fashion as the design included alleys belonging to an earlier era as in the transitional gardens of Cirencester and Chiswick. Hirschfeld transcribed the many verses and the accumulation of sentimental features which at Marienwerder mostly consisted of urns, garden chairs, and simple – 'mostly rustic ... but differently' – constructed huts and bridges. A similar treatment was seen in other early sentimental landscape gardens such at Seifersdorfer



Figure 11.1: A section from the *Plan of the surroundings of the monastery of Marienwerder in 1774*. This is the earliest plan after completion of the Hinüber'schen proposals. The park can be roughly be divided into three areas: a) the garden with pond north of the Amtsmannshaus, b) the park on the dune with adjacent views in the adjacent forest area, and c) the outer area with integrated agricultural areas along the river Leine. Source: Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (NHStA), Signatur 12f Ma. W. 4k. Reproduced with permission.

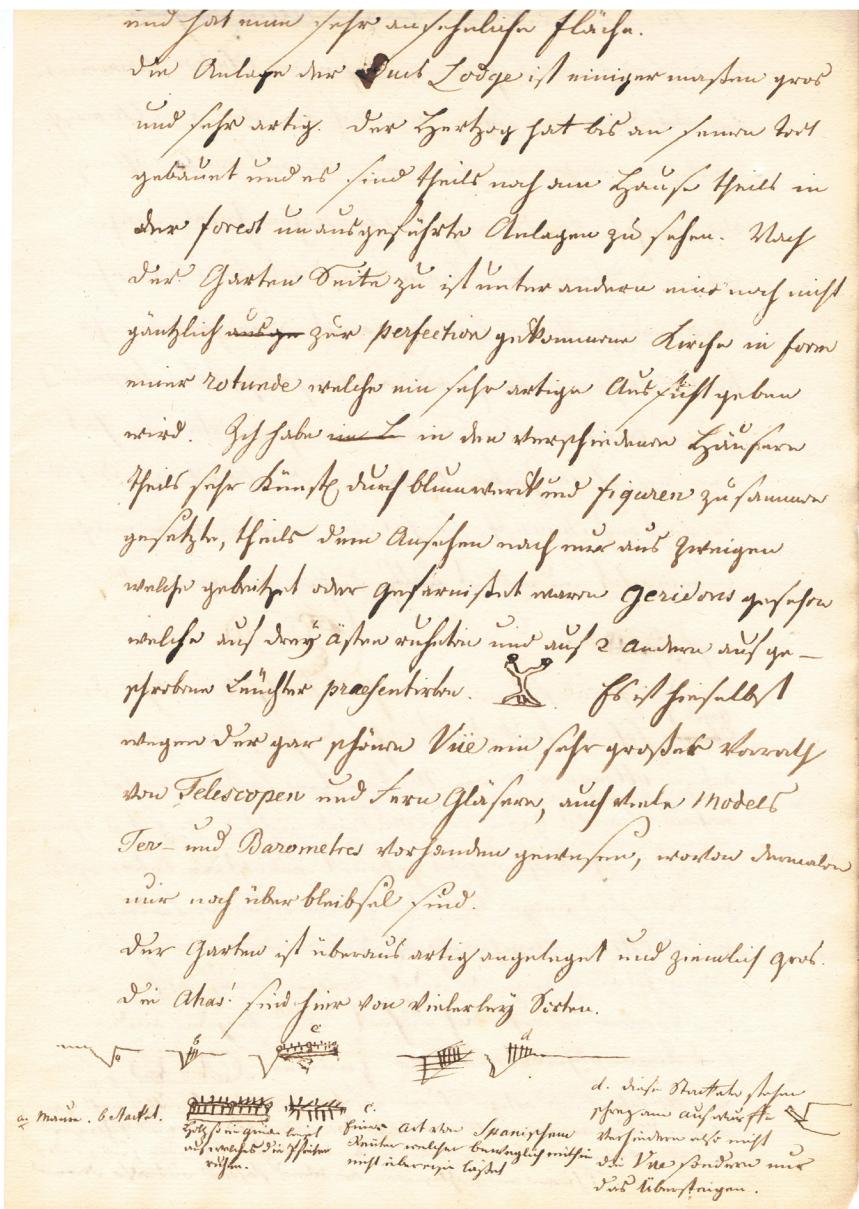


Figure 11.2: Various types of *ha-has*, from *Reise-Tagebuch England 1766/67 mit 21 Punkten*, Jobst Anton von Hinüber, p. 3. a) Simple, acute-angled ditch with wall to the garden, b) Ditch with sunken fence on the slope towards the garden, c) V-shaped trench with rotatable and spiked iron pins as a new principle 'these pins which stick out do not obstruct the view but are supposed to prevent trespassing'. Source: Hinübersches Familienarchiv Burgdorf. Reproduced with permission of Hartmut von Hinüber.

Tal, where in 1781 Christina, the wife of Count Hans Moritz Brühl, had built a tomb and lodge of Lorenzo in memory of Laurence Sterne.

In addition, Hinüber integrated existing woods, but also planted many native trees, including poplars, alders, firs, pines, and copper beech, while promoting an individual character to different areas of the park. The garden unfolded from the monastery to the pond, from a densely planted area featuring trees, flowering shrubs, and contrasting conifers to the more natural appearing vegetation along the river Aue. Paddocks and pastures were integrated within existing features, including woodland. A network of paths and benches offered views to the monastery church, park dune, and the general landscape. A belt walk, inspired from one in Windsor Park,

provided a ‘planted walk leading around the meadows’.²⁴ Hinüber compared some of the ancient oaks with trees at Zeus’ oracle at Dodona, highlighting the connection with antiquity. In certain areas he planted only exotics, including sumac (*Rhus typhina*) at the urn of his late friend Christian von Behr (1714–71), positioned on a river dune at the southern edge of the park. According to Hirschfeld the island in the pond featured ‘flowers, beautifully blossoming shrubs and noble exotic trees’. In order to create a contemplative mood, birch trees, weeping willows and sumac were used, emphasising other areas with ‘cheerful’ planting, such as rose shrubs at a bench near the ‘waterfall’ at the edge of the dunes.²⁵

Hinüber intended to unite the beautiful with the useful in line with Enlightenment philosophy. Adjoining fields were interconnected with paths as a *ferme ornée* and ‘adorned’ with crops. It appears that the Leasowes inspired this approach, which is clear from the various inscriptions which show significant parallels between the two gardens. In fact, the large number of inscriptions and simple built features were the most striking characteristic. Additionally, at both estates the order of set viewing points served to articulate a programme and route, as described by Hirschfeld for Hinüber’s garden. According to Hirschfeld the motif of the Priory Walk at Marienwerder was similar to the Arcadian pastoral idyll of the Leasowes. Hinüber aimed to increase an understanding of the sense of life and to represent historical, literary, and geographical scenes. An obelisk and a ruin – each built on top of a hill – served as focal points. These had been inspired by English examples at Chiswick House and Holkham Hall, Norfolk. The gothic ruin at Marienwerder was built on top of a dune serving as a replica of the old monastery; Hirschfeld noted that ‘[r]ecollection of past times and a certain feeling of regret mixed with melancholy are the general effects of the ruins’.²⁶

A hermitage served as a motif of meditative withdrawal, as a theatrical, even grotesque scene. The garden in Hanover-Herrenhausen, designed by Johann Ludwig von Wallmoden (1736–1811) from 1766 onwards and so contemporary to Marienwerder, featured an octagonal hermitage and an ornamental tomb, hidden within ‘thick and black firs’ and cedars.²⁷ The hermitage at Marienwerder also lay in a dark coniferous forest and both appear to have been designed to create a melancholic mood. Labyrinthine paths evoked different associations; in an open area near a pond surrounded by fields amongst the dunes they led to the seat near the statue of Pan. This scene referenced the ancient *topos* of Arcadia, a Greek pastoral landscape, which Boccaccio reintroduced in his *Ninfale d’Amento* (c. 1340), based on Virgil and Horace, and which became a popular theme for Italian renaissance philosophers and poets.²⁸

Sckell’s Trip to England 1773–76 and the Classic Landscape Garden in Germany

Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell (1750–1823), the son a landscape designer, was granted a stipend to travel as part of his training, to study in England. Between 1773 and the end of 1776 he visited gardens and studied the general state of horticulture, returning to Germany to become the first advocate of the English garden style there. Influenced in particular by both Brown and Chambers, he visited and studied Blenheim, Stowe, Stourhead, and Kew, before returning to Germany, where he set a new trend in the creation of parks, which, unlike Marienwerder, followed what he referred to as ‘Brown’s scenic principle’,²⁹ which he elaborated on in his various publications.

From 1789, Sckell worked on parks in Munich, including Nymphenburg (Figure 11.3) and the Englische Garten, for which he eventually assumed control and laid out as a *Volksgarten* [People’s garden]. In a memorandum of 1807 he had argued that such gardens should not be dominated by sentimental monuments but should take a middle path between princely magnificence and parkland, omitting the now customary

²⁴ von Hinüber, J. A. ‘Reise-Tagebuch England 1766/67 mit 21 Punkten’ (Hinübersches Familienarchiv Burgdorf).

²⁵ Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1785). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. V, pp. 204–231 [220–224]). Leipzig.

²⁶ Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1780). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. II, p. 110). Leipzig.

²⁷ Rohde, M. (2006). Der Georgengarten – Geschichte und Gestaltung. In M. von König (Ed.), *Herrenhäuser Gärten* (pp. 219–36 [p. 226]). Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag GmbH; ‘Allerunterthänigster Bericht über den ehemaligen gräflichen Wallmodenschen Garten. 28. ten März 1818. Wendland. H.L. Wendland junior’. Nds. Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover Sig. Hann. 92, VII, IV, Nr. 7, Bl. 71–73; Mangourit, M. A. B. (1805). *Voyage en Hanovre, fait dans les années 1803 et 1804*. Paris.

²⁸ Roethlisberger, M. (1983). *Licht von Claude Lorrain: Landschaftsmalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten* (pp. 21–22). Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.

²⁹ Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Sein Entstehen und seine Einführung in Deutschland durch Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell 1750–1823* (p. 102). Munich: Hugo Schmidt.

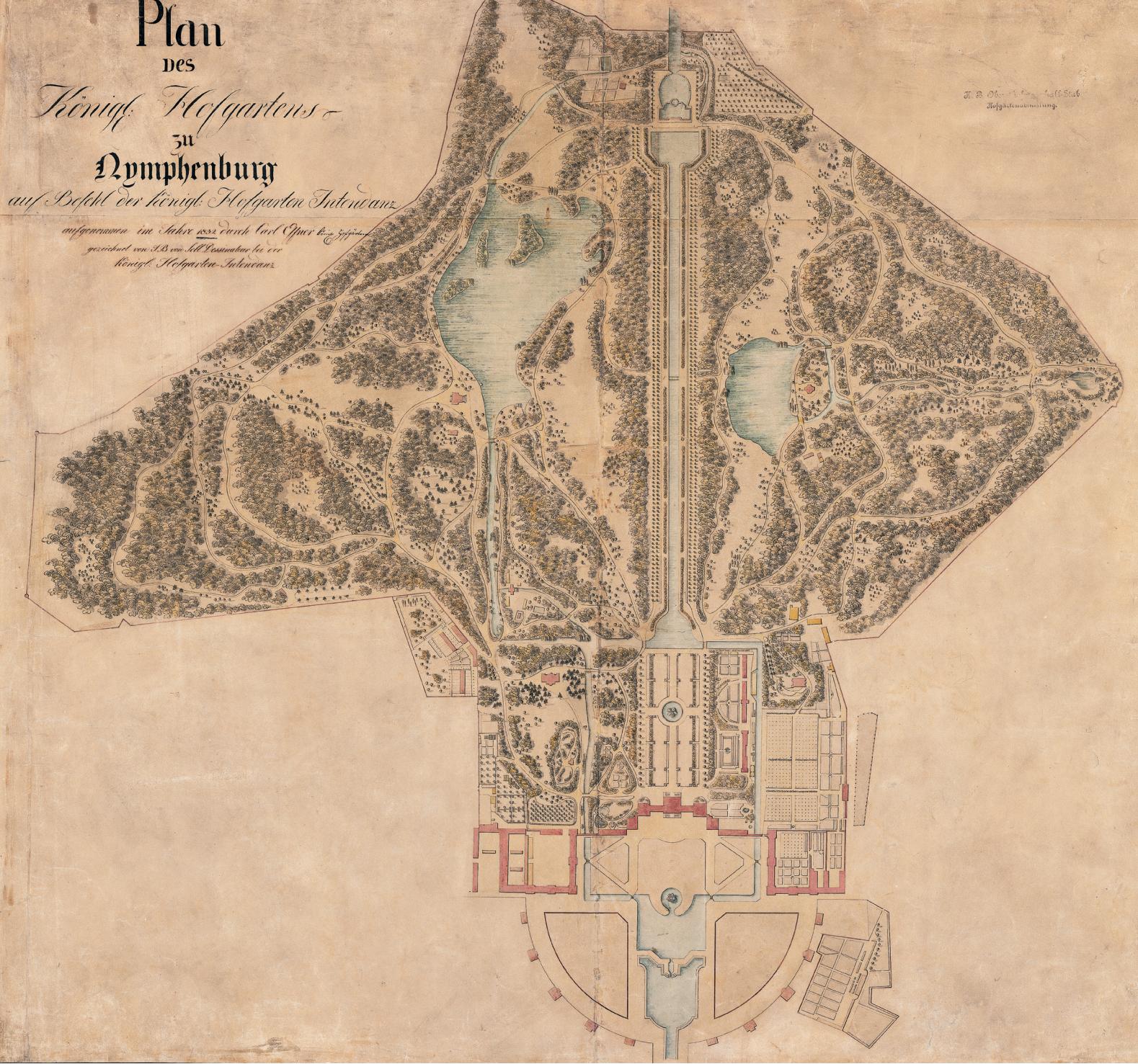


Figure 11.3: Survey of the royal gardens at Nymphenburg, Carl von Effner senior and Johann Baptist von Sell, 1832. These gardens were improved by Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell between 1804 and 1823. © Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung.

ornamentation.³⁰ These parks explored the most beautiful natural forms of classical tranquillity, reduced to the essentials, reflecting Brown's principles.³¹ Sckell's work was characterised by the creation of extensive valleys in otherwise flat countryside with meadows and graduated planting to emphasise the differences in height. He preferred indigenous species, planted in groves or clumps and single tree specimens. Sckell also had taken his

³⁰ Jellicoe, G., Jellicoe, S., Goode, P. & Lancaster, M. (Eds.) (1986). *The Oxford companion to gardens* (p. 504). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³¹ Alfred Hoffmann (1963, Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten, p. 200), sees a special strength of Sckell 'in the ability to reduce the abundance of natural forms in the visual sense to its essentials'. In doing this, Sckell 'has not been outclassed by any other garden artist'.

cue from Brown in considering views and perspectives, and in planting considering the effect of light and shade and the various shades of green of the leaves according to the different seasons. He planned large lakes with subtly planted shorelines, incorporating waterfalls with rocks whenever possible, drawing particular inspiration from Brown: 'At Blenheim, with a little water, a ... powerful current was created, which also brought about an interesting illusion, which was further emphasised by a great ship which was anchored'.³²

In the aftermath of peace in continental Europe Sckell published *Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst* [Contributions to Garden Art] in 1818, which was explicitly inspired by Hirschfeld's earlier works. However, Sckell also drew on his own experience over the last forty years and upon the works and examples from his English contemporary Humphry Repton (1752–1818). Sckell drew particularly attention to what he called Repton's 'zoning principle' in landscape gardens and applied it himself in the planting of trees and shrubs.³³ Sckell was fascinated by Repton's adaptation of Brown's ideas, particularly how Repton differentiated between painting and landscape gardening, and the introduction of formal planting and structure around the house. According to Sckell, a garden should be viewed independently from the park and the landscape, but with an artistic affiliation, which could be seen in Repton's innovative use of his Red Books which featured before and after views of scenes to be improved. Therefore, Sckell considered that Repton had developed a 'formal and functional synthesis' of landscape by practising a 'fluid connection of differently structured, equipped and usable subareas to create a coherent overall work of art'.³⁴ Such was Sckell's absorption of the ideas of both Brown and Repton, making them his own, that he later earned the praise from John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843), who described Sckell as the 'father of landscape-gardening [in Bavaria]'.³⁵ In 1834 Loudon wrote: 'When the natural disadvantages of Nymphenburg, with regard to situation and climate, are considered, it must be allowed to be one of the greatest and the most successful gardening efforts in Germany'.³⁶

Pückler and Lenné: Brown in Nineteenth-Century Germany

During Brown's lifetime there had been an increase in expeditions, archaeological excavations of classical architecture, and distant journeys with accounts fuelling the pursuit of contrast and variety, creating a receptive audience and demand for the new Picturesque approach. The presentation of buildings from the ancient world as well as those encountered as colonial powers extended their reach combined with a new appreciation of medieval architectural history in Europe. Brown's rival for royal patronage, Sir William Chambers (1726–96), had written widely on Chinese styles following two visits in the 1740s and his *Designs for Chinese Buildings* (1757) promoted the 'anglo-chinois' style as seen in his embellishments at the royal gardens in Kew.³⁷

Brown's landscapes began to be criticised even before his death in 1783, but by the 1790s criticism was levelled at the simplicity of his designs by William Gilpin (1724–1804) and Uvedale Price (1747–1829), who instead proposed a 'Picturesque' approach that recognised a sense of the wild and untamed. However, in Germany Brown's classic landscape remained popular largely owing to its continued championing in Repton's publications. Between June 1814 and April 1815, before Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) started construction of his park at Muskau, he had travelled to England to study garden design (Figure 11.4).³⁸ Pückler had been impressed with Brown's improvements at Blenheim and Longleat, where park and landscape merged and where streams became lakes with cascades and islands,³⁹ and in 1821 he even requested that Repton's son and business partner John Adey Repton come to Muskau and provide further advice for the development of the park.

³² von Sckell, F. L. (1825). *Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst* (2nd ed., p. 58). Munich: Hugo Schmidt.

³³ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“: Zeittypische Gestaltungstendenzen bei Peter Joseph Lenné. In F. von Buttlar (Ed.), *Peter Joseph Lenné* (pp. 49–59 [p. 50]). Berlin: Nicolaische.

³⁴ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“ (p. 50).

³⁵ Loudon, J. C. (1828). Foreign Notices. Germany. *Gardener's Magazine*, IV, 494, cited in Woudstra, J. (2002). The Sckell family in England (1770–1830). *Die Gartenkunst*, 14(2), 211–220 (p. 213).

³⁶ Loudon, J. C. (1834). *An encyclopaedia of gardening* (p. 148). London.

³⁷ Clifford, D. (1981). *Geschichte der Gartenkunst* (pp. 356–361). Munich: Prestel; Berrall, J. S. (1969). *Die schönsten Gärten* (pp. 275–276). Düsseldorf/Vienna: Econ Verlag.

³⁸ Bowman, P. J. (2010). *The fortune hunter: A German prince in Regency England* (p. 22). Oxford: Signal.

³⁹ Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, H. (1831). *Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus Deutschland, Holland, England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1826 bis 1829*. Translated by Mrs Sarah Austin (1833) as *Tours in England, Ireland, and France in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard.

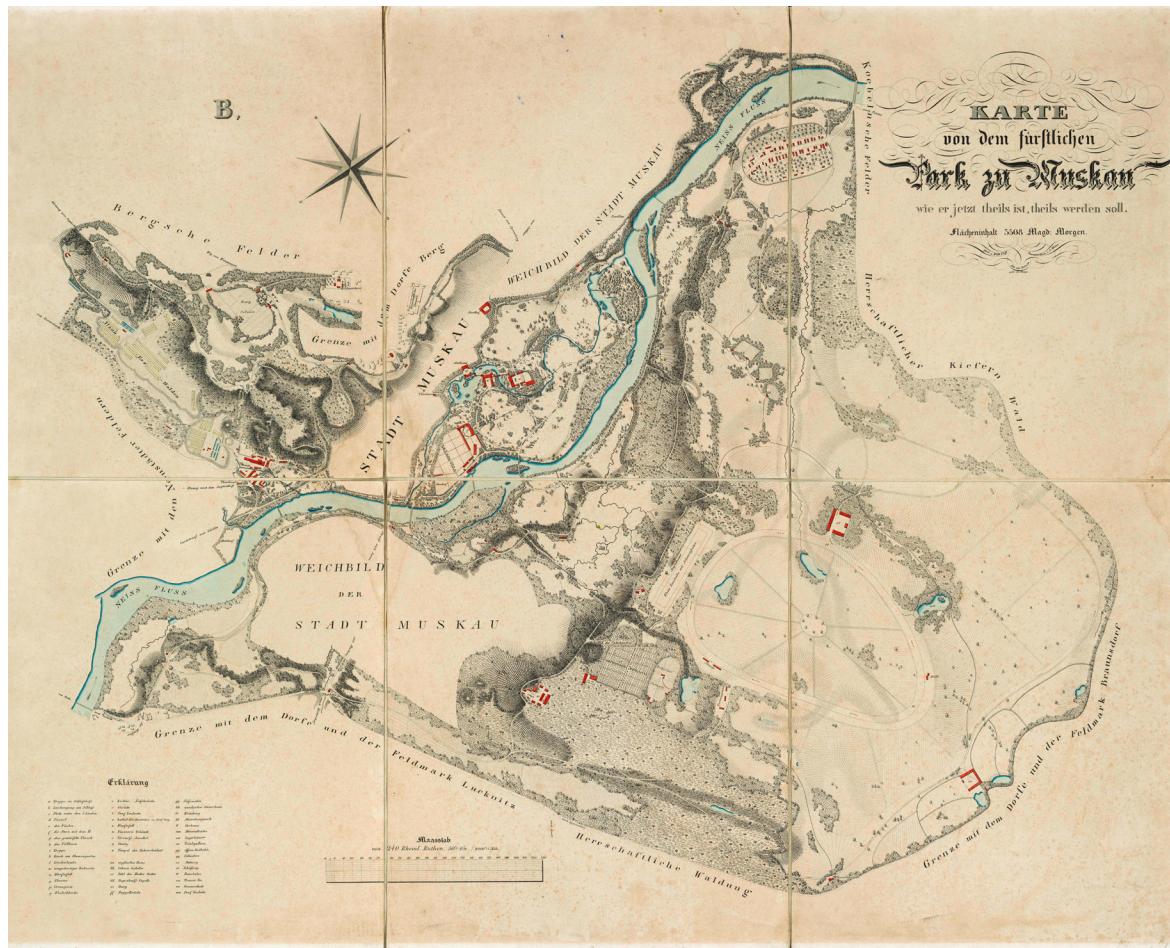


Figure 11.4: Map of the Princely Park at Muskau as it partly is, and partly to become. This represents Pückler-Muskau's vision for the estate in 1834. Original: Stiftung "Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau".

Pückler ultimately created two large landscapes, first at Muskau and later at Branitz. He was also commissioned to complete the Babelsberg park in Potsdam, following the notion of the 'classical landscape garden'.⁴⁰ In 1834 he proposed that 'garden landscape art' should strive for 'naturalness' and 'beauty' and – like a picture – this art was intended to present 'nature as a poetic ideal on the small scale'.⁴¹ Pückler was interested in the artistic developments of the end of the eighteenth century – the desire for diversity and exotic features, for flowers and ornamentation – but he concentrated those 'artificial' designs on the flower gardens and pleasure grounds near the main building. The supposed 'naturalness' was intended to be a feature of larger parks, where the fundamental idea was to create a 'concentrated image' from the whole landscape. By practising this in his designs, Pückler was one of the few German garden artists who achieved this symbiosis without degrading the landscape garden to a mere theme in the background. As a contrast, at the same time, 'integrative and independent gardens' were established, laid out using regular or natural forms within parks that competed with the great experience of nature.⁴²

⁴⁰ Hoffmann, A. (1963). Der Landschaftsgarten. In D. Hennebo & A. Hoffmann (Eds.), *Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst* (Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten, p. 186). Hamburg: Broschek; Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten* (p. 58).

⁴¹ Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, H. (1834). *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerie* (p. 18). Stuttgart, reprinted in 1977, Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung.

⁴² Rohde, M. (2016). Pückler hat die Gartenkunst der gebildeten Welt zugänglich gemacht. In N. Von Velsen (Ed.), *Parkomanie. Die Gartenlandschaften des Fürsten Pückler in Muskau, Babelsberg und Branitz, herausgegeben von der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (pp. 55–67, notes pp. 297–298). Munich, London, New York: Prestel.



Figure 11.5: *Design for Charlottenhof*, Peter Joseph Lenné, 1826. The Charlottenhof park within Park Sanssouci was designed by Peter Joseph Lenné for the crown prince and later King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia and laid out by Hermann Sello from the 1820s to 1840s. The classical appearance reminds us of Brown, while the integration of the architectural layout of some of the other areas reveals the influence of the crown prince, who was an admirer of Italian culture. Source: SPSG SN_CP Planslg 3698. Copyright Foundation Prussian Castles and Gardens. Reproduced with permission.

Peter Joseph Lenné (1789–1866) differed from Pückler regarding the spectrum of his tasks as a garden artist. With more than fifty years of experience as an artist, and many completed projects, Lenné always responded to the needs and desires of his clients, whether he was dealing with aristocratic gardens or projects for the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, Lenné worked with great flair, and developed his own approach. His projects ranged from simple landscape gardens to ‘mixed style’ parks with natural and regular forms that included Repton’s ‘principle of zoning’. The garden historian Dieter Hennebo referred to this as a so-called ‘principle of integration’ since themed gardens could also form individual, ornamental sections within the park without necessarily being connected to buildings.⁴³ In contrast to Pückler, Lenné was interested in historicising examples of former garden styles, which soon competed with the experience of the park as a landscape.

However, rather than including many separately themed gardens, Lenné adorned existing buildings with flowerbeds and flowering shrubs, as for example the parterres in front of the New Palace of Sanssouci for Frederick II, or he created new flower gardens or pleasure grounds, as can be seen in Glienicke or the Princess’s Garden [Fürstengarten] in Charlottenburg. Lenné also tried and tested further developments according to the ‘principle of integration’ in Charlottenburg, in collaboration with the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), and above all with Crown Prince Frederick William IV, where he developed ‘a complete work of art of the highest quality characterized by the merging of a spacious landscape park with extensive formal parts

⁴³ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“ (pp. 49–59).

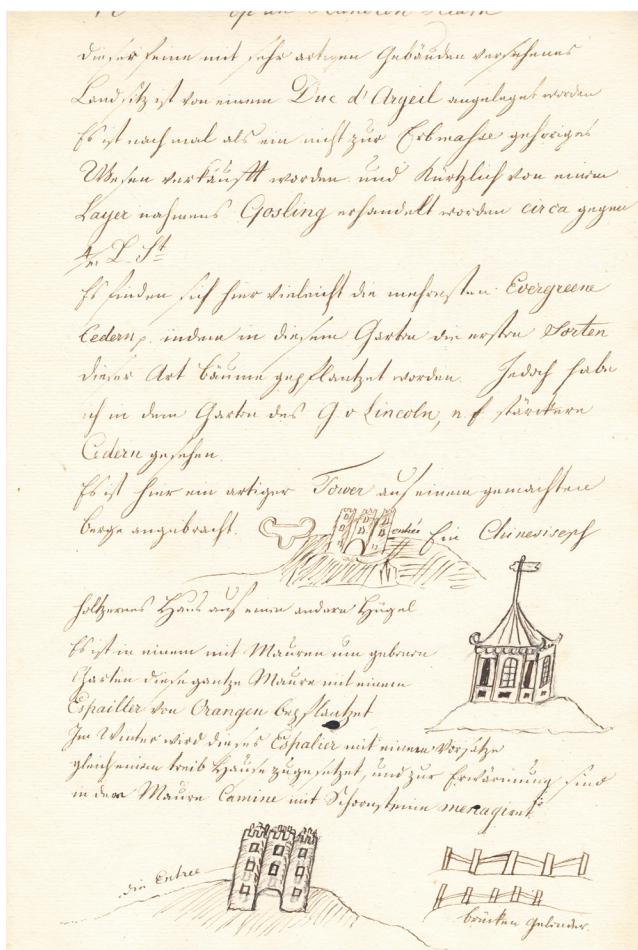


Figure 11.6: Beautiful tower on an artificial hill, Whitton Park near Hounslow, from *Reise-Tagebuch England 1766/67 mit 21 Punkten*, Jobst Anton von Hinüber, p. 19. A Chinese wooden house on another hill later served as a model for a similar construction at Marienwerder. Source: Hinübersches Familienarchiv Burgdorf. Reproduced with permission of Hartmut von Hinüber.

related to the buildings, and the 'autonomous contrasting space' of the Great Hippodrome' (Figure 11.5).⁴⁴ By the middle of the nineteenth century the number of new landscape gardens developed according to Brown's ideas decreased significantly in Germany. One of the exceptions was the work of the landscape gardener Eduard Petzold (1815–91), the long-standing Park and Garden Director of Muskau for Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau, the prince of the Netherlands, who had bought the estate in 1846. Until his death in 1891 Petzold applied the principles of landscape design in the fashion of Brown in his numerous private commissions as well in public green spaces. In doing so he contrasted historical and architectural trends with the principles of landscape design. As with Pückler, Petzold was also interested in pleasure grounds, which he developed according to his own vision and with an increasing palette and within a picturesque arrangement of plants.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“ (p. 56).

⁴⁵ Rohde, M. (1998). *Von Muskau bis Konstantinopel. Eduard Petzold - ein europäischer Gartenkünstler 1815–1891*. Amsterdam, Dresden: Muskauer Schriften. Eduard Petzold completed an exceptionally versatile education and from 1843 he exchanged ideas with Pückler. He wrote more than ten important textbooks, including: *Beiträge zur Landschafts-Gärtnerie* (Weimar, 1849); *Beiträge zur Landschaftsgärtnerie. Zur Farbenlehre der Landschaft* (Jena, 1853); *Die Landschaftsgärtnerie. Ein Handbuch für Gärtnner, Architekten, Gutsbesitzer und Freunde der Gartenkunst. Mit Zugrundelegung Repton'scher Prinzipien* (Leipzig, 1862); with Georg Kirchner, *Arboretum Muscaviense. Über die Entstehung und Anlage des Arboretum Sr. Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Friedrich der Niederlande zu Muskau nebst einem beschreibenden Verzeichniss der sämmtlichen, in demselben cultivirten Holzarten. Ein Beitrag zur Dendrologie der Deutschen Gärten* (Gotha, 1864); 'Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau in seinen Beziehungen zur bildenden Gartenkunst

This might itself suggest a greater affiliation with Brown's disciple and advocate, Humphry Repton, rather than with the master himself.

Conclusion

The case studies of Hinüber Park and Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell's projects reveal a range of influences from Brown's work beyond those that are usually accredited to him. Sckell's works are probably closest to Brown in that they reflected the beautiful natural forms of classical tranquillity, reduced to the essentials that were so characteristic of his work. Remarkably, this also presents the earliest evidence of Brown influenced work on the European continent. However, Sckell clearly evolved and later associated himself more with Repton's views, which took in notions of the Picturesque, as well as Brownian principles. These were widely published and clearly were the way the English garden was understood during the nineteenth century.

Before then another important influence was that of Englishness more generally, as represented at Marienwerder created by Jobst Anton von Hinüber. He was influenced by a range of other sources that came to represent Enlightenment and thus also agricultural progress, which he filtered particularly through the notion of the *ferme ornée*. In the example of the Leasowes, this relied heavily on classical references, and through inscriptions these also dictated the landscape experience of Marienwerder. This was distinct from the Brownian experience of the landscape, but very much part of the prescribed tourist experience of England, and that represented in the writings of Hirschfeld, the main theoretician of the era in Germany.

The nineteenth century, besides a continued presence of the Sckell family in the south of Germany, saw the rise of Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau as a popular author on matters of garden design that very much relied on Repton's approach as a starting point, despite the fact that he also admired Brown's Blenheim. At his own estate in Muskau he surrounded the house with elaborate flower gardens that were artful and other ornamentation to form a setting for his exuberant lifestyle. In contrast, Peter Joseph Lenné took as his main English influence Repton's 'principle of zoning', in which themed gardens could also form individual, ornamental sections within the park without necessarily being connected to buildings. Depending on the demands of his clients, however, he would contrive parks either in a simple landscape form or in the mixed style, as required. What is clear by this stage, though, is that the main awareness of Brown's work was then created through Repton's publications.

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