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BURLINGTON AND GARDEN DESIGN

The Earl of Burlington's career started off as an architect and garden designer. His "...first essay in architecture" was built in 1717, as we are told by Colen Campbell, who published its ground plan and principal elevation in Vitruvius Britannicus (vol.iii, 1725). The Bagnio, as the building is called by Campbell, terminated one of the three alleys of a patte d'oie in the gardens at Chiswick. Together with a variety of little temples, arches and similar constructions it was an integral part of the gardens which were radically transformed by Burlington from as early as 1715.

In refashioning the gardens of his two major estates, Chiswick, Middlesex and Lonsborough, Yorkshire, Burlington showed great inventiveness and originality. In this paper I shall limit my detailed analysis to the gardens at Chiswick, leaving Lonsborough aside as they are slightly later; the problems that they pose are, however, of a very similar nature and some generalizations can be made and applied to both.

The surviving documents for Chiswick clearly indicate that even at the very beginning of his gardening activity the Earl did not benefit from the presence of any outstanding gardener of repute; Burlington was himself responsible for the new layout of the grounds. In his gardening he not only broke away from previous traditions but departed even from the more recent innovations of Vanbrugh and Bridgeman. His originality consisted in his conception of gardens as a creative ground in which different branches of the arts could happily meet together and produce a final artifact which partook of all the best and most striking characteristics of each individual art. In this respect I see Burlington as paving the way for what Walpole called the "capital stroke" of the Earl's protégé, William Kent.

In creating his gardens Burlington looks back to Italian gardens (at Lonsborough he does in fact introduce a direct quotation from the gardens at Pratolino in the series of ponds falling down the side of the hill) and borrows from them the idea of a landscape in which nature and architecture are closely bound together. He also accepts the theatrical nature of the Italian garden, a garden of surprises in which the visitor is constantly pulled towards different and opposing directions in order to explore and experience.

However, my claim is that Burlington's acceptance of the very nature of Italian gardens goes beyond what he actually might have seen in Italy. I shall argue that when designing his gardens he adopts the devices employed in stage design in order to create space. Therefore the theatricality of his gardens is double: in the way their space conforms to the laws of vision which preside in the theatre and in the way their visitors are made to accept the same convention of a spectator in a theatre: that is, at the same time beholder and actor.

Susan Lang was the first historian who perceived the strong ties between English gardening and theatre design. In a paper that she gave in 1972 at Dumbarton Oaks on the genesis of the English picturesque garden she noted the similarity which links the patte d'oie at Chiswick and Palladio's Teatro Olimpico. She also pointed out the fact that all the various

branches of the arts which contributed to the creation of the picture -
sque garden (architectural theory, poetry and literature, philosophy and
painting) were perfectly fused together in the theatre. Her claim was that
this final syntesis in gardening was achieved by William Kent who, besi-
de being a painter and an architect, was, as Miss Lang reminded, an ac-
complished stage designer.

So far Miss Lang's acute perception about the *patte d'oie* has not been
followed up, perhaps because architectural historians who have looked at
Burlington's work have always been reluctant to admit any influence other
than Palladio and Jones and perhaps because Lang could not produce con-
vincing enough evidence from Burlington's papers and collections.

My aim here is to show that there is ample evidence to prove that it is
indeed Burlington's gardening innovations which reflect a deep and conti-
nuous interest in the theatre and more specifically in stage design. This
argument unfolds through 1) the analysis of a particular section of Bur-
lington's collection of drawings, 2) the piecing together of friendly
contacts that he forged with musicians and with artists, both architects
and painters, active as stage designers and theatre decorators, and 3) the
consideration, in the light of the evidence accumulated before, of two
specific areas in the gardens at Chiswick which should prove the sound-
ness of my thesis.

When architectural historians have talked about Burlington's collection
of drawings they have constantly referred to the architectural drawings
he owned, namely to the Palladio's albums, to the drawings by Jones and
Webb, to those by Scamozzi and to the so-called Talman albums. But they
have often forgotten or omitted the fact that he collected other types
of drawings: Old Masters and stage designs.

Let us consider the importance of stage design drawings in Burlington's
collection. First of all, of the approximate 1900 drawings that we have
(not considering Burlington's own drawings and those by Kent), the
stage designs form 1/3 of the collection. But this does not tell the en-
tire story, because many of these stage design drawings were part of
Burlington's collection of Inigo Jones' and Palladio's drawings, dra-
wings which it is possible Burlington bought just because of the author,
with perhaps scant attention to the actual subject of the drawing. Whilst
not wishing to engage in a lengthy analysis of Burlington as a collector,
his tastes etc., it could be claimed that some 1430 of these drawings
were in Burlington's collection preeminently because of authorship:
1099 of Jones and Webb, 337 of Palladio and Scamozzi, 168 Old Masters,
and a single collection of 77 emblem drawings, the relevance of which
to the rest of Burlington's collection is not clear. Of the remaining
396 drawings that must have been acquired for reasons of content and
not per accidens, some 89 (or 22%) are stage designs. So large a per-
centage of his drawings collection cannot but be the result of a clear
and conscious interest on Burlington's part in the art of stage and
theatre design.

The stage designs section of the collection ranked some extremely fa-
mous drawings, such as the Masque designs of Inigo Jones, the designs
by John Webb for Davenant's opera The Siege of Rhodes and for Lord Or-
rery's The Tragedy of Mustapha. These drawings are well known because
they are by Jones and Webb but there are several more of equal if not

even greater interest. They have, however, attracted very little attention, supposedly because, although they have very strong architectural connotations, they did not seem to provide any immediate Jones and Palladian connexion. As if Jones and Palladio were the only 'authorities' Burlington relied on!

These other stage design drawings included some 16th and 17th century drawings by Florentine and North Italian artists (32 attributed to Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554-1627), some from the Parigi circle, some possibly by Bartolomeo Neroni called il Riccio (c.1500-1571)) and 18th century drawings by Ferdinando Galli Bibiena (1657-1743) and, most interestingly for what follows, Filippo Juvarra (1678-1736).

An attempt to account for the provenance of all his stage design purchases would shed some light on two points of interest: 1) how they came into Burlington's collection and 2) at what time they were acquired by him. Although tracking down their provenance is not an easy task and in most cases it turns out to be guesswork, it is clear that the stage designs did not always come into Burlington's possession as part and parcel of another collection, but rather they were sought for their own independent and inherent value, which was an artistic as well as a typological one.

The provenance of the stage designs by Jones and Webb is to be traced with the help of George Vertue's Notebooks. In 1721-22 he entered the following annotation: "several drawings at whole length (about 6 or 8 inches long) of men and women design'd for habits, for masks or entertainments at Court the beginning of King Charles firsts time, by Inigo Jones, & several by Oliver the Limmer" (1). Later on he described their sale: "a fol. book of habits, masks, Sceens, sold at G. Yales. bought by the Ld. Burlington. drawn by Inigo Jones" (2). Elihu Yale, Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, was a magpie collector who died in London on July 8th, 1721; no less than six sales were held of the contents of his house. More drawings were bought by Burlington at the Yale January 31st, 1723 sale where lots 536 to 540 were all unspecified groups of books and drawings (3).

It is not possible to assess with any certainty how many drawings were acquired by Burlington at the Yale sales. I would conjecture that they might have been the more figurative ones and that those of more architectural character came into his collection from John Talman. The Steward's Account Books now at Chatsworth record on May 4th, 1720 a disbursement to John Talman of £170 "for a Book of Designs & Plans &c. by Inigo Jones" (4). The entry is admittedly vague but it is enough to support the idea that these were the architectural drawings by Inigo Jones and John Webb.

When it comes to ascertaining the provenance of the stage designs which have been attributed to Giovanni Battista Poggi and Bernardo Buontalenti (5), the sources consulted fail to give any indication whatsoever. It seems to me that they must originally have been owned by Inigo Jones since he relied so heavily on some of them for his own masques (6).

More problems arise when we consider the seven sets of scenery, each consisting of four pairs of wings, diminishing in size in perspective, in the collection. They are 17th century drawings by a yet unidentified

Italian artist. They obviously formed a collection of their own which was amply perused since most of them are cut round the edges and pasted on cardboard in order to build up a kind of toy theatre which would enable the designer to work out the sequence and movement of the sliding wings. Who cut and pasted the drawings? I cannot answer this question since I have no evidence of collector's marks nor the one which would be provided by an 18th century mounting (the drawings were rearranged in the 19th century). They might have been owned by Jones but there is no evidence for this, they might as well have been bought by Burlington independently.

There are some instances of drawings of theatrical scenery which were possibly acquired in bulk. For example, Vincenzo Scamozzi's famous drawing for a street perspective in the Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza and the drawing by Giambattista Albanese for the frons scenae of the same theatre must have come into Burlington's collection with the bulk of Palladio's drawings which he acquired from John Talman in 1721. In April of that year the Earl paid £170 "for a Parcell of Architectonical Designs and Drawings by Palladio"(7). Again, we are confronted with a vague entry in the Account Books but the fact that in this case it is a 'parcel' rather than a 'book' allows to think that the actual number of drawings acquired was very high and the subtleties of discerning their authorship was certainly not the accountant's task.

However, all the other Italian stage designs in the collection, to which I have already referred, are mounted separately with or without Burlington's double red border as opposed to being gathered in albums, and do not bear any particular collector's mark or are identified by any means of classification. They could have been bought in Italy on either of Burlington's trips, respectively in 1714-15 and in 1719.

Particularly with the 18th century stage designs the hypotheses of purchases while on the Continent seems likely, although one ought to take into consideration the chance that they were brought over to England by some of the contemporary Italian artists patronized by the Earl. In some other cases, particularly with the earlier drawings, the Richardsons, father and son, were the original source. There are in fact instances of drawings with the characteristic Richardson type mount: highly glazed, light brown in tone, with a gold edging to the drawing and other lines ruled round it. The Richardsons were great collectors in their own right and they entertained some relationship with the Earl from at least 1718, which is roughly the date of Burlington's portrait by Jonathan Richardson (National Portrait Gallery, London) showing the Bagno in the background.

All the dates that I have gathered together for the more or less certain acquisitions of drawings of stage designs by Burlington indicate a concentration in the period between ca. 1715 and 1723. These are the years of the beginnings of Burlington's direct involvement in architecture and gardening, a period during which Chiswick in particular is treated as a testing ground.

The pattern of Burlington's collecting of stage designs indicates that the Earl was interested in the whole development of stage design: he did not own only drawings for the Masques or for the Florentine Intermezzi. On the contrary, the fact that the drawings spread from the late 15th

century to his own time, moving from a simple and codified perspectival scene, with just one vanishing point, to far more elaborate sceneries using multiple vanishing points and eventually to the so-called 'scena per angolo', is strong proof of an independent keenness on a particular type of subject, which is not just a straightforward architectural drawing.

I am sure that some scholars would still like to read this evidence as just a symptom of an insatiable desire to own and assemble together anything that had belonged to or had any connexion with the much revered Jones. As I have shown, a large proportion of his stage design drawings in no way can be associated with Jones. But my point is further strengthened by taking into consideration other facets of Burlington's character and patronage of the arts, all aspects which architectural historians have tended to dismiss.

Even before he had become deeply involved with architecture, after his 1714-15 Grand Tour, Burlington had distinguished himself as a lover of music and supporter of musicians. His interest in music was at least partially, if not strongly, directed towards opera and melodrama. It was not a mere spectator's kind of interest, Burlington would mingle with musicians, get himself involved with singers (Senesino was one of his creatures and he organized for him a tour to York in 1732) and with librettists (Paolo Rolli taught him Italian throughout the late 1710s and 20s). This provides us with a powerful and early theatrical connexion that he maintained throughout his life, as his contacts and acquaintances amply show.

In 1716 Richard Graham, dedicating to the Earl his translation of Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica, wrote "Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music &c. are not more the Entertainments of Your Fancy, than of Your Judgement. Your Penetration has render'd You Master of them, in the same Degree with those whom make the profession of them their Business" (8).

The spectrum of Burlington's interests outlined by Graham is wide and includes music, a not uncommon subject at the time but not mentioned enough by modern historians. This passion for music and in particular for opera seems to have been quite popular in his family circle: his mother heavily patronized Heidegger and had the libretto of the opera Antiochus dedicated to her in 1711 (9). His mother and tutors must have conceived of music as an important part of the Earl's upbringing, and something he was meant to take on as more than just a fashionable interest (10).

Around 1711-1712 weekly concerts begun to be held at the houses of the duke of Rutland, the Earls of Burlington and Essex, Lord Percival and other members of the nobility. In 1712 Burlington, or more precisely his mother for him, offered hospitality in his house in Piccadilly to George Friedric Handel. It was a hospitality which was to last three years and mark the beginnings of a lifelong relationship of mutual esteem.

Unlike other patrons Burlington seems to have left Handel completely free as to the type of music he composed while in his household. The young German composer turned to operas rather than oratorios or chapel music. During his stay at Burlington House Handel composed three operas: Theseus (produced in January 1713, with the libretto dedicated to Burlin-

gton by Niccolino Haym), Amadis (produced on June 5, 1715, with the libretto dedicated to the Earl by Heidegger) and Pastor Fido (performed on December 3, 1712 at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, with the libretto by G. Rossi from Guarini's pastoral play of 1585).

The fact that Handel was allowed to compose operas instead of other types of music is of notice: opera implies acting and requires settings, hence it entails the joint work of the musician, the poet, the stage designer, who was an architect by training, and the painter. Opera provided an ideal ground for the Sister Arts to meet, and so it was to be for Burlington.

The debate on the unity of the arts, which had originated during the Renaissance, was particularly lively throughout the whole of the Eighteenth century. The writers of this period were convinced of the existence of a single principle, whether imitation or expression, underlying and unifying all the arts. They believed that harmony and order reigned over everything and that the arts, separate but parallel, have harmony within each and therefore partake of the universal structure of things. Sometimes the arts in combination, namely in songs and stage, i.e. opera, achieve this harmony too. Although the doctrine of ut musica poesis, like that of ut pictura poesis, was largely expounded in French circles, the English soon adapted it to their own interests producing a body of original works, best represented by Hildebrand Jacob's Of the Sister Arts, an Essay (1734) and Charles Avison's An Essay on Musical Expression (172) (11).

The patronage of Handel and through him the connection with opera, is not an isolated instance. Most, if in fact not all the musicians patronized by Burlington came from an operatic background, they included Filippo Amadei, the Castrucci brothers, Pietro and Prospero, Francesco Barsanti and G. Buononcini. Besides, Burlington was among the founding members of the Royal Academy of Music in July 1719. The aim of this newly founded institution was to present regular seasons of opera with a company of leading Italian singers. In order to secure the financial viability of the enterprise, subscriptions were invited. A subscription fee of £200 ensured seats and a share in any possible profits. Among the sixtytwo original subscribers only four took more than one share, contributing £1,000 each. They were: the King, Lord Newcastle, Lord Burlington and the Duke of Chandos.

The extent of Burlington's financial commitment to the Royal Academy of Music becomes more impressive when we take into account the shaky conditions of his finances around these years. Although his annual income amounted to £24,000 he was getting more and more indebted and soon found it difficult to get ready cash. A partial solution to his problem came with the development of the so-called Ten Acres at the back of Burlington House, Piccadilly. A Private Bill to such effect was passed by both Houses on March 21, 1718. But it was a partial solution and he was soon in need of more money. Burlington was also one of the Directors of the Academy, and one of the very few who kept his post through the first two seasons.

The musicians he had patronized between 1712 and 1719 were all employed by the newly established Academy: Handel was appointed Music Director of the Company as well as first composer, Filippo Amadei, Pietro Castrucci and Francesco Barsanti became members of the Orchestra (12).

This type of involvement quite clearly went beyond an amateurish and fashionable pursuit, it is indicative of some very strongly held opinions on the role of music, in particular of Italian opera, in an educated society. It is also part of a much wider programme of improvement and updating of the artistic and cultural life of England which Burlington actively undertook. To deny him any programme or vision of revitalization of English culture means to deny the evidence of facts, including the vitriolic criticism that he provoked from some of his contemporaries (13). This programme was not just limited to architecture but involved at the beginning only painting and music.

As far as these latter two arts are concerned the Grand Tour, which had been preceded by the patronage in England of painters (Sebastiano Ricci) and musicians (Handel), was to be quite eventful. In July 1714 Burrell Massingberd writing to William Kent in Rome, announcing the young Earl's arrival there said "... you will I hope have his encouragement because he loves pictures mightily" (14).

It was in Rome, between September 1714 and January 1715, that the Earl made some contacts which turned out to be of crucial importance in years to come. He met with William Kent and John Talman and it is very likely that some of the contemporary Roman painters that he commissioned works from were suggested to him by Kent (15). He also met the above mentioned Castrucci brothers and Filippo Amadei, all of whom he brought back to England with him in 1715.

Amadei is of special interest to this story as at the time he met Burlington he was in the service of Cardinal Ottoboni. Ottoboni was a renowned connoisseur in musical matters who, for example, ranked Arcangelo Corelli among his protégés. Corelli performed weekly at the Musical Academy in the Cardinal's palace. But the Cardinal's interest in music extended to opera, too, and was such that he actually had a theatre inside his palace, the palazzo della Cancelleria, where performances were staged. The staff of his private theatre included a stage designer, until 1715 this was Filippo Juvarra. In 1711 Juvarra had designed the sets for the opera Teodosio il giovane which Amadei had composed to a libretto written by the Cardinal himself. The libretto to this opera appeared in print in 1712 with engraved plates of the sets.

From 1713 Juvarra had also worked for another theatre in Rome: the Teatro Capranica, which he completely modernized. Burlington had visited the Teatro Caparnica in the winter of 1714, where he had been present at the rehearsals of the opera Astartus by Bononcini, later to be patronized by Burlington in 1719 (16). Juvarra came over to England during the winter 1720-21, at the request of the Duke of Kent, and must have then met again with his old Roman friends in Burlington's employ and caught up with some of the English gentlemen that he had met on the Continent. He certainly maintained a good relation with the Earl of Burlington to whom he dedicated and presented in 1730 an album of drawings entitled Prospettive, which are in fact mostly theatrically based capricci (17).

However, the importance of this web of relations linking together Amadei, Juvarra, Ottoboni and Burlington is strengthened by the presence of William Kent, whose close friendship and almost incestuous professional partnership with Burlington are too well known to explicate further. While in Rome between 1710-1719 Kent had dealings with Cardinal Ottoboni

by whom he was in fact patronized. Evidence for this is to be found in the Burrell Massingberd correspondence where several letters refer to paintings by Kent commissioned by the Cardinal. One letter in particular even raises problems as to whether or not Kent was in Ottoboni's household for a while: in February 1717 he wrote "I have been with ye Cardinal sence I came" (18).

So, as we have seen, between the time of his return from the Grand Tour in 1715, and the foundation of the Royal Academy of Music --a time which coincides with the beginning of works on the grounds at Chiswick and therefore with some crucial decisions as to their new layout-- Burlington had begun actively collecting stage design drawings as well as surrounding himself with a very peculiar group of artists. These included musicians as well as painters and architects, most of whom, if not all, had shared at about the same time the same Italian patron (i.e. Ottoboni). This means that they had known each other before, had in some cases worked together as a team and had been in one of the most fashionable and advanced musical and theatrical institutions of 18th century Europe. They had, in short, some mutual visual and practical experience to draw upon and, more important even, to communicate. Let us see, now, how all these elements can be re-traced in the gardens at Chiswick.

The old Chiswick gardens, which we can see in the 1707 view in Knyff and Kipp's Britannia Illustrata, must have appeared to the Earl, after his continental rambles, as outrageously out of fashion. They consisted of square flower beds arranged according to a rigidly formal lay-out, intersected by orthogonal paths which met in widenings, marked by fountains or pieces of statuary and lined by rows of fruit trees. The main parterre behind the Jacobean house was centred upon it but the dividing avenue of the garden passed to the west side of the house: this rather eccentric feature was to remain the only constant throughout the subsequent developments.

Burlington's need for a complete rearrangement of the grounds, instigated by the experience of foreign countries, coincided with a more general, although still limited, move towards a new taste in gardening in England. By 1715 people's minds had been stirred up by the writings of Addison and Pope in The Spectator, The Tatler and The Guardian.

Both Addison and Pope pleaded for a definite break from constraining nature within the rigid strictures of geometric lay-outs, particularly as identified with the French taste. They advocated the need to bring the countryside into the garden and they praised the beauties of a landscape where man's imprint was not obviously present. On the other hand their 'model' remained somewhat vague and literary, the actual shape of the Addison-Pope garden was left as an exercise for the readers to work out for themselves.

Among the 'practitioners' of the time Charles Bridgeman and Sir John Vanbrugh were the only ones who could claim to have shown a new feeling in their handling of nature. But in their case too the change was a relative one: Bridgeman remained to some extent faithful to the idea of a garden ruled by some form of axial symmetry and dominated by a system of vistas, and furthermore he worked most of the time on large expanses of land where bringing in the countryside was relatively simple. Vanbrugh, who more than Bridgeman has, in my opinion, claim to more dramatic chan-

ges and alterations in gardening, relied heavily on the nature of the grounds he worked on, which he exploited in order to achieve the most striking effects.

Burlington's problem at Chiswick was that of a fairly limited extension of land (ca. 42 acres in 1715), further hampered by its natural flatness. How could he then make the gardens look deeper and more varied? Would gardens seen outside England offer any real solution to his problems or would it rather be necessary to 'invent' something new?

No one, I think, can deny the 'classical' quality which pervades areas of the gardens at Chiswick as illustrated in their surviving visual records, an impression which in the mind of the sufficiently travelled beholder would have been immediately associated with reminiscences of Italian gardens and landscapes.

Although some Chiswick features are clearly derived from the gardening lexikon of Italy and, to some extent, of France, they are used in a completely different fashion and produce an effect unknown to gardeners before. This 'difference' stems from Burlington's merging well known garden elements with the visual and spatial devices of stage design. This I can demonstrate in detail for at least two major areas of the gardens at Chiswick before Kent's intervention there in the late 1720s/early 1730s, namely the main patte d'oie and the Orangery.

The patte d'oie was Burlington's first and major transformation of his gardens; it consisted of a semicircular area, laid west of the Jacobean house, from which radiated three avenues, each terminated by small buildings. The old garden's dividing avenue was incorporated into this patte d'oie as its central alley.

The gardening vocabulary of both Italy and France had the patte d'oie as one of its stock elements but I cannot find any instance in either of those countries of alleys in a patte d'oie terminated by buildings as at Chiswick. In fact, it comes from the vocabulary of the theatre. Of course, small buildings, not always or necessarily temples, were to be found in continental gardens but they did not command vistas in this same way, they rather appeared as side views and alleys generally directed the eye towards open vistas. Unlike its continental counterparts, the Chiswick patte d'oie marries the traditional Italian and French elements of garden design to the less obvious and less exploited devices (iconographical and geometrical) of stage design. Because of the perspectival nature of its construction it immediately brings to mind Palladio's Teatro Olimpico where, behind a classical frons scenae, the spectator sitting in the amphitheatre could see the three ascending streets of a town, each terminated by a building or by some sort of eye-catcher.

When Burlington began work on his suburban gardens, possibly as early as summer 1715, the memory of the Teatro Olimpico was fresh in his mind as he had visited it earlier that year, during his stay in the Veneto. However, he certainly was aware of the fact that Palladio's answer to the long and vexed question (which had troubled writers and architects since the early Renaissance), of how to interpret Vitruvius' rather obscure description of the classical stage, was peculiar and successful but not the only one. Throughout the 16th and 17th century the conventions of stage design had remained more or less constant: the scenery was rigidly perspe-

ctival, with one or more vanishing points and usually depicted a street or a square in a town. Not infrequently the urban references tended to be of some precision, illustrating buildings the spectators could identify with, or assembling together in an imaginary town buildings which were actually scattered miles apart. In these particular cases the very nature of the theatre as Theatrum Mundi acquired an additional dimension: that of an otherwise impossible geographical experience (19).

Vasari ascribed the invention of perspective scenery to Baldassarre Peruzzi; Peruzzi's student and follower, Sebastiano Serlio, categorized the types of scenes following Vitruvius in his book of architecture and perspective published in 1545. In the Second Book of Architecture Serlio, rather than innovating, codified the Renaissance practice sketched above. He produced a very strict interpretation of Vitruvius' three types of scenes: comic, tragic and satyric. The comic and tragic scenes show an urban context, with noble and classical buildings for the tragic scene -- which is meant to function as a backcloth to the actions of noble and dignified characters-- and more simple buildings, including an inn and shops, for the comedy, which is about simple characters and the matters of everyday life. Most of the theatre drawings owned by Burlington are for comic or tragic scenes and conform to the models made popular by Serlio.

On the other hand, the satyric scene illustrated by Serlio in 1545 functioned as the backdrop to the pastoral; it consisted of a rural setting, with "arbori, sassi, colli, montagne" and very little sign of human intervention. The few huts and stone buildings are so rustic that they can hardly be spotted in the original woodcut. Unlike the previous two, this particular type of scene underwent a certain amount of transformation from the 16th to the 18th century. This ensued partly, if not mainly, as a result of changes in dramatic practice, which more and more consistently emphasize the need for a definition of place, so that eventually ^{the environment} came to control the segmentation of the play.

In the 17th and 18th century Serlio's satyric scene became a garden scene dotted by architectural features which are always used for perspectival purposes: they either led the eye towards an open view, thus delimiting and defining the space around, or functioned as eyecatchers placed in the relevant vanishing points. The development of opera was of particular relevance to the transformations occurring in the 'satyric scene'. This new art form combined the unified plot of the main drama, the comedy, with the magnificence and variety of locations of the intermedii. It was associated with pastoral subjects and also united the human element of the comedy with the mythological deities of the intermedii; so the scenery called upon by opera from the 17th century onwards was rich and varied.

The garden scene in the 17th and 18th century had been worked out in an architectural way since, like the urban scene, it was based on the theoretical premise that the stage optically behaved as a camera obscura. In Burlington's gardening language this newly established garden scene, optically structured by architectural elements, is fused with devices from the more traditional urban scene --such as the three streets terminated by buildings. This way he not only creates a hybrid in terms of stage set but manages to heighten the perception of space and depth in his actual

gardens.

Giulio and Alfonso Parigi had been largely responsible for the changes in the so-called satyric scenery; they introduced several mythological gardens in the Florentine Intermezzi between 1608 and 1637. And further developments followed with the work of Giacomo Torelli, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena and, finally, once again, Filippo Juvarra. The work of all these artists was for particular types of theatrical entertainment, namely ballets and operas, and it was also widely known since it had been engraved in Italy and France (20).

Throughout the 17th and 18th century the English stage, in contrast to its continental counterpart, used a far smaller number of sets: the scene stock, as is shown in surviving inventories, may have contained no more than three commonly used sets, one each for interiors, streets and gardens. However, even in this country opera was decorated with especially lavish scenery and maintained the most extravagant requirements. The English scenery for opera and comedy did not depart in its iconography from the established continental tradition, the reason being that in the first two decades of the 18th century the painters of stage sets for both opera and theatre in this country were mostly foreigners.

The first Italians to be employed in England were Marco Ricci and Giannantonio Pellegrini who came over in 1708-9 at the invitation of Lord Manchester, they were followed in 1715-16 by Roberto Clerici who had spent some time in Vienna as a scene painter and machinist. Both Pellegrini and Ricci introduced into England the innovations that Juvarra had brought into Italian stage design. Like many other scene painters their activity was not limited to the theatre, but they were at the same time involved in large decorative schemes as well as pure easel painting. Marco Ricci, together with his uncle Sebastiano, were patronized by Burlington from 1712 and worked on the decoration of Burlington House.

Similarly, the French painter Louis Goupy came to London in 1710 and worked as a stage painter as well as fresco painter and decorator; he was eventually appointed joint scene designer at the King's Theatre (where the Royal Academy of Music had its seat) with the Fleming Pieter Tillemans. Goupy is a particularly important element in this chain of people since soon after his arrival in England he was taken up by the Earl of Burlington and became a member of his household. There he met Handel who became, according to Handel's biographers, his lifelong best friend. In 1714 Goupy accompanied the young Earl of Burlington on his Grand Tour and was only to be superseded in his role of advisor and protégé by William Kent in 1719 (21).

When faced with the problem of re-fashioning Chiswick Burlington was surrounded by a group of musicians and painters, all living in his house, who were closely associated with the theatre. Besides, at this very early stage in his career he was under the spell of James Gibbs. While in Rome Gibbs had been a pupil in Juvarra's atelier and had therefore been exposed to Juvarra's innovative ideas about stage design. In 1715 c. Gibbs had been employed by Burlington to remodel his Piccadilly mansion but he certainly had a hand in Chiswick too, namely in the *patte d'oie* where the Corinthian temple terminating one of the alleys clearly shows his stylistic characteristics.

I believe that the idea of the Chiswick patte d'oie originated in Burlington's mind from stage design suggestions. He had recently seen Palladio's Teatro Olimpico; among his stage designs there was one, which I would perhaps attribute to Bartolomeo Neroni and hitherto unpublished, illustrating an open space from which three roads radiate, very much like the Olimpico. He had been exposed to the innovative scenical solutions offered by Juvarra, in which architecture even in the garden stage-sets is used to produce a new fluidity in spacial perception. Burlington might have then thought that at Chiswick he could combine the features of stage design (the urban scene and the garden one) with those of more traditional gardening in order to achieve a new effect. This intuition must have been reinforced from contact with Gibbs, Ricci, Amadei, the Castruccis, Handel and Goupy. The idea would have naturally appealed to them and they could have contributed suggestions stemming from their own direct experiences. More than any one else these artists, in fact, would have thought in terms of playing with three dimensional effects as well as creating surprise.

The real meaning of Burlington's patte d'oie is grasped when we look at the plan of the Chiswick gardens in a French manuscript diary of a tour of England in the late 1720s (22). The patte d'oie is the garden and it is a theatre at the same time. It is secluded from the house, fenced off by a thick quincunx grove, later on rooted up by Kent, which allowed very little transparency and therefore isolated it from the rest of the garden open to the visitor's immediate experience. But the quincunx plays another role too: it creates the 'walls' of the semicircular space from which the three alleys radiate. These walls of trees act like the walls behind the spectator in the Teatro Olimpico; the open sky above compares with the painted sky on the ceiling of the Vicentine theatre.

The alleys of the patte d'oie suddenly open up in front of the perambulator who had not been aware of their existence before. Unlike in traditional pottes d'oie these alleys do not lead towards open vistas but are blocked by buildings instead, providing a happy fusion between Serlio's street scene and the garden scene as it had developed in order to serve melodrama.

The effect is one of surprise, like in Italian gardens, and of invitation to explore as people will be seen coming down the alleys and out of the topiary which lined them, very much like actors in a theatre. So, the final effect was really a double one: the perambulator is a spectator in that he is presented with a space/stage in which other visitors/actors move, but he is actor at the same time because he is going to be seen by others in these same terms.

A similar type of analysis can be applied to the Orangery for which theatrical sources can be found too. In 1736 Rocque's map of Chiswick published in Vitruvius Britannicus vol. iv, indicated with the name Orangery an area east of the new villa and the recently opened up exedra. The relevant view-box, among the thirteen surrounding the Rocque's map, shows a building with interpenetrating temple fronts, clearly modelled on Palladio's Venetian churches of St. Francesco della Vigna (1562), St. Giorgio Maggiore (1565) and the Redentore (1576-77).

The building was flanked on either side by topiary cut out to look like slots on a stage. Three years earlier Jacques Rigaud (c. 1681-1754) had drawn a set of eight views of the gardens at Chiswick , but his

view of the Orangery showed a building completely at variance with the Rocque one. Rigaud's Orangery, although located in the same area of the garden, was an astylar arcaded building of eleven bays, with a central slightly projecting square body crowned by a low stepped saucer dome. It was flanked by topiary barchesse based on those of the villa Emo at Fanzolo.

My suspicion is that Rigaud was drawing a building which Burlington planned to erect, since measured drawings survive at Chatsworth, but never actually did, possibly due to his financial strictures. Whatever the reasons and whether or not an Orangery was ever built (23), the astylar design pictured by Rigaud is a variation on the theatrical theme explored earlier on with the patte d'oie.

From an architectural point of view the building, the design of which was by Burlington, is strongly influenced by Roman classical architecture filtered through Palladio's reconstructions (the drawings of which were in Burlington's collection and had been published by the Earl in a limited folio edition in 1730), and Palladio's own architecture. However, the choice of an arcaded design is significant in relation to the theatre too.

Before the perfection of the perspective scene by Peruzzi and Serlio the humanists of the early Renaissance, in their revival of Latin and Greek theatre, had produced another type of scenery: the arcaded scene. At first it appeared as an attempt to produce an ideal reconstruction of the classical theatre, namely of the frons scenae, and it was used to illustrate the first printed editions of Plautus' and Terentius' plays. The best of such examples are provided by the vignettes in Plautus' 1518 Venetian edition published by Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani. Jacob Trechsel's incunabulum (1493) of Terentius' plays is another important source too (24). In both books the vignettes show an arcaded frons scenae, flanked by buildings on each side, with the actors coming out of both the arcades and the lateral buildings and acting in the space which was so created.

The sources for this type of scene were Roman buildings, like Octavia's portico, and the surviving elements of the columnatio which could be seen among the numerous ruins of Roman theatres in Italy and France. The arcaded scene was not just illustrated in books, it became a normal theatrical feature, particularly in the North of Italy, in the form of a temporary wooden or cardboard structure and often of a permanent masonry building. The most famous example was built by Falconetto in 1524 for Alvise Cornaro, a leading humanist of Padua, but other examples can be found, for instance in Ferrara, not to mention all the Renaissance courtyards which were used in such a fashion.

When Burlington designed the astylar Orangery illustrated by Rigaud, Burlington was, I suspect, still deeply interested in the theatre and melodrama but he had also developed an equally strong antiquarian keenness and had become aware of the debate which was going on among the leading Italian antiquarians on the nature of classical theatre. The men involved were mostly Venetians, namely Scipione Maffei, Apostolo Zeno and Francesco Algarotti. Burlington had met Scipione Maffei, corresponded with him and exchanged gifts. He owned Maffei's book on the theatre of 1730 and two editions (one in folio and one in quarto) of Maffei's book on Roman

amphitheatres of 1728 (Degli Anfiteatri e singolarmente del Veronese). He also owned Francesco Montenari's book on Palladio's Teatro Olimpico, published in 1733, which praised and supported Palladio's reconstruction of the frons scenae.

The Orangery was an area in his gardens where it would have been easy to experiment and play with the ambiguities that the 'arcaded scene' would allow him. All this interplay is conveyed in a strikingly vivid manner by Rigaud's drawing. The grass area in front of the Orangery has the form of an hemicycle and looks like a stage. It is separated by the rest of the garden by a ha-ha which, in its turn, can be compared to the cavea in a classical theatre and very effectively marks the separating line between the 'stage' and the 'public'. What I have remarked earlier on about the role of the visitor when faced with the patte d'oie applies to the Orangery as well. In fact in this latter case the analysis is confirmed by the Rigaud drawing in which, as recently pointed out by Jacques Carré (20), the ambiguity of the visitor's role is indicated by introducing some figures on the 'stage' of the Orangery whilst other visitors sit on the other side of the ha-ha musing at those on the 'stage'. In this way Rigaud clearly suggests the reversibility of the roles, unveiling one of the meanings of the gardens.

From his friend Pope and from his visits to Italy and France, Burlington's generally reforming, innovative and meddling view of the culture and the environment surrounding him must have been directed towards a refashioning of his gardens. But the 'new' templates available to him in England and Italy could not be made to fit his gardens, so a new solution had to be found.

It is clear from the surviving evidence that during the crucial five years when decisions were made Burlington, because of quite independent artistic passions, was surrounded by people -- Italian and English -- for whom the language of playing with threedimensionality (in the theatre) was the cutting edge of new artistic expression.

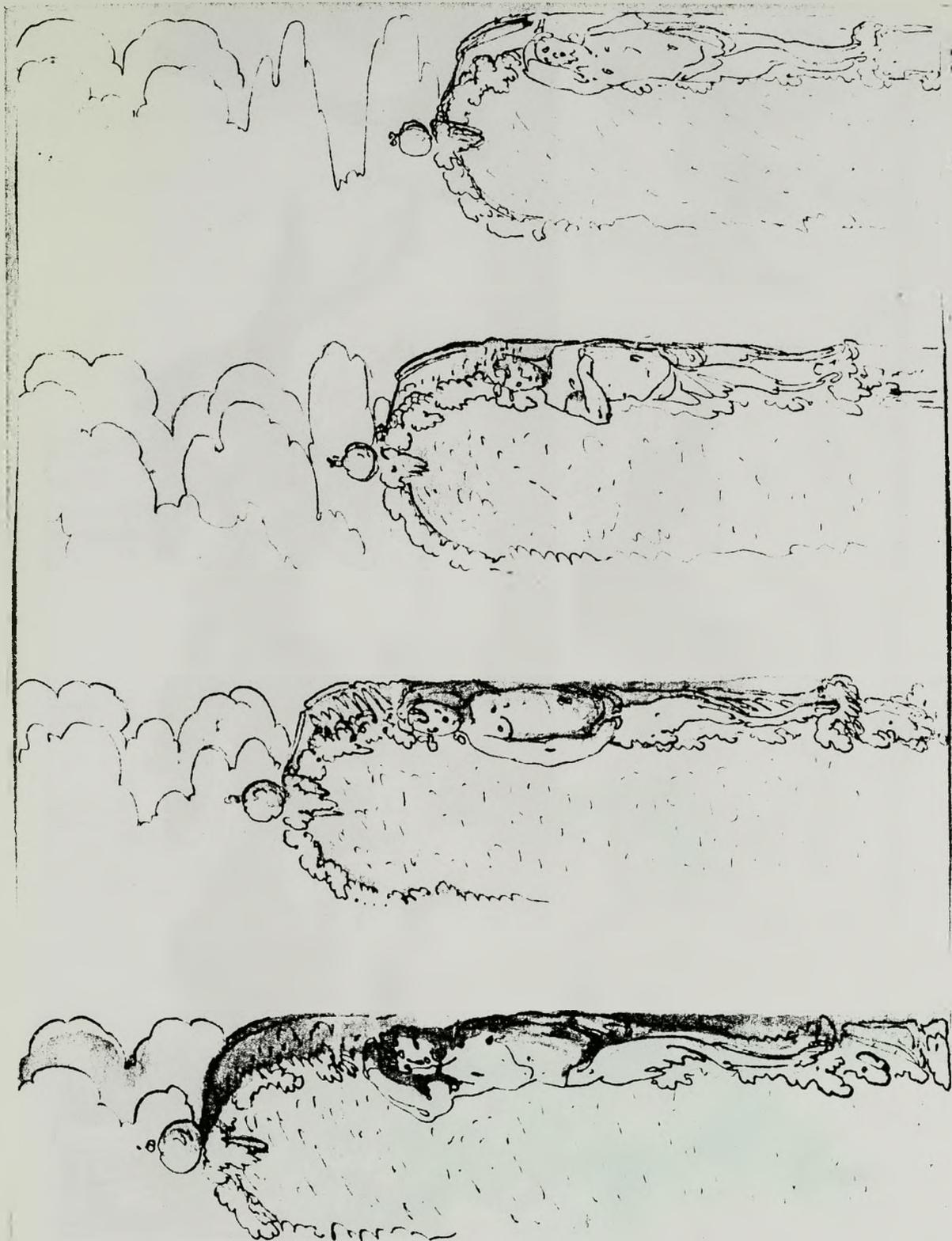
Lang has noticed the theatrical nature of the Chiswick patte d'oie, and the italianate theatricality of the garden is evident enough to all who understand 17th and 18th century Italian gardens. But what we have made slightly clearer now is the origin of the stylistic construction and constituents of the use of theatrical grammar and vocabulary in some specific areas at Chiswick.

That Burlington nurtured an independent interest in stage design cannot any longer be overlooked. That his friends and acquaintances encompassed a stage design avant garde is clear enough. It was not William Kent who first operated a synthesis of the arts in gardening, as claimed by Lang; in fact, it was Burlington who, earlier than anyone else, produced a solution to specific gardening problems by creating spacial images within the very restricted confines of Chiswick.

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- (1) Vertue NoteBooks vol.I, Walpole Society vol.XVIII (Oxford 1930), p.99.
- (2) Ibidem, p.110.
- (3) Cf. S.Orgel and R. Strong, Inigo Jones. The Theatre of the Stuart Court, 2 vols. (1973), vol.i, pp.29-30.
- (4) Chatsworth, Mess.rs Graham and Colliers Joynt Accounts 1st and 2nd, May 4, 1720.
- (5) Cf. P.S.Simpson and C.F.Bell, Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court, Walpole Society vol. XII (Oxford, 1923-24), p.156; A.Nicoll, The Development of the theatre (New York, 1948), p.100; E.Povoledo in Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo, vol.VIII, after ca. 1600; A.R.Blumenthal, Italian Renaissance Festival Designs (Madison, Wisconsin, 1973), p. 78.
- (6) Jones drew heavily upon Italian sources, almost every scene for the masques produced during the decade 1630 to 1640 was copied in detail from designs by Giulio and Alfonso Parigi for the Florentine Intermezzi. For a detailed analysis of Jones' sources see S.Orgel and R.Strong, Inigo Jones (1973), vol.i, pp.39-44.
- (7) Chats., Mess.rs Graham and Colliers Joynt Accounts 1st and 2nd, April 7, 1721.
- (8) R.Graham, The Art of Painting: By C.A. Du Fresnoy: with Remarks. Translated into English, with an original Preface, containing a Parallel between Painting and Poetry by Mr Dryden. As also a short Account of the most Eminent Painters, both Ancient and Modern: By R.G. Esq. The Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarg'd (1716), the dedication has no page numbers.
- (9) Antiochus had been written by Apostolo Zeno and P.Pariati, first set to music by Francesco Gasparini in 1705, it was performed that same year during the Venetian Carnival at the Teatro Tron, St. Cassiano. The first London performance was at the King's Theatre, Haymarket on December 12, 1711. The libretto, published in 1712, was dedicated by John James Heidegger to Juliana Boyle, Countess of Burlington. In the dedication Heidegger stated that "...the Encouragement Your Ladyship has been always pleas'd to give to the Opera's, is an Effect of the Delicacy of Your Taste".
- (10) In 1704, at the death of the 2nd Earl of Burlington, the guardianship of the young heir, then aged nine, was committed to the dowager Lady Juliana who, by her husband's will, was to be advised in his education by Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset (1662-1748), a staunch Whig dismissed, however, from the Council Board in 1713; Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester (1641-1711), who had long been accounted the head of the Church of England party, and finally John, Lord Somers (1651-1716) who was Lord Chancellor of England and a connoisseur in his own right.
- (11) On the problem of the relationship between the arts in 18th century England see H.M.Schueller, 'The Use and Decorum of Music as described in British Literature 1700 to 1780', Journal of the History of Ideas, XIII, (January 1952), pp.73-93; H.M.Schueller, 'Correspondences between Music and the Sister Arts, According to 18th Century Aesthetic Theory', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, (1953), pp.334-59; L.Lipking, The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England (Princeton, New Jersey, 1970).
- (12) Cf. PRO, London: Proposals for Carrying on Operas by a Company, 1719 (LC 7/3 part 1, f.57); List of Subscribers to the Royal Academy of Musick, warrant granted on May 9, 1719 (LC 7/3 part 1, f.64); Attorney General Report about the Royal Academy of Music, February 27, 1719 (LC 7/3 part 1, f.70); Royal Academy of Music Minutes of the Court of Directors, November 1719-June 1720 (LC 7/3, part 1, f.72).
- (13) Burlington was often the target of Lord Hervey's sharp verses. But Hogarth's engravings are the most famous instances of contemporaries' bitter criticism. The two most direct attacks are to be found in Masquerades and Operas of February 1723/4 and the Gate of Taste of 1731 (Paulson, however, denies Hogarth's paternity of this latter work), cf. R.

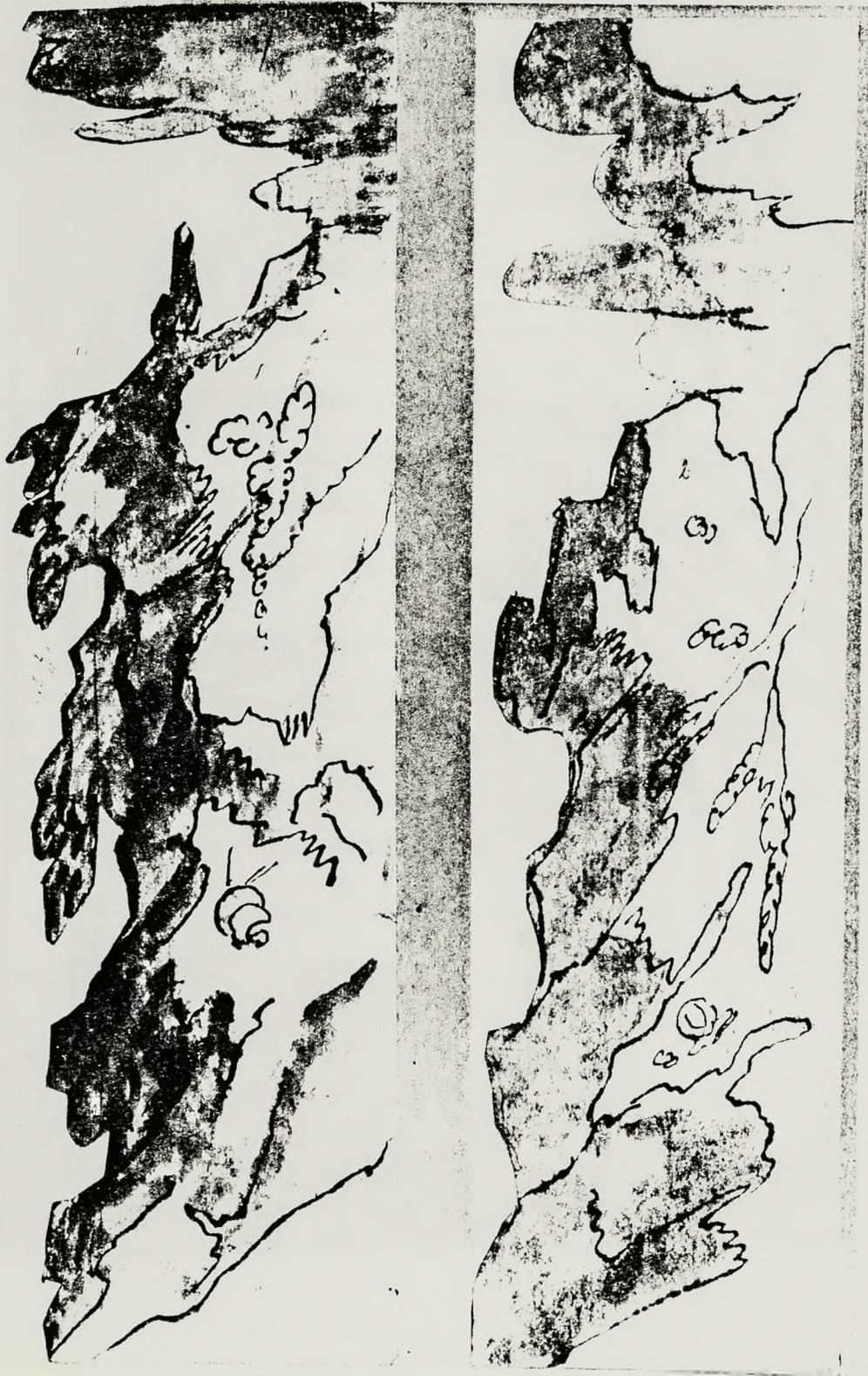
- Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times, 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1971), vol.i, pp.111-23 and note 21, p.541.
- (14) Cf. Burrell Massingberd to William Kent in Rome, July 5, 1714 (Lincoln Diocesan Archives, 2MM, B 19A).
- (15) See my Lord Burlington Collector of Paintings (forthcoming).
- (16) On Juvarra see: M.Viale Ferrero, Filippo Juvarra scenografo e architetto teatrale (Torino, 1970) and also A. Schiavo, Il Palazzo della Cancellaria (Rome, 1963). Astartus was performed in London in 1734 at the King's Theatre, Haymarket. The libretto was dedicated to Burlington by Paolo Rolli. From the dedication we learn that Burlington had seen the rehearsals of the opera at the Teatro Capranica in Rome "... nel suo primo viaggio in Italia".
- (17) Chats. vol.XXX: PROSPETTIVE DISEGIATE DALL' CAVAL. DON FILIPPO YUVARRA E DEDICATE 1729 All'Eccellenza di Riccardo Conte di Burlington MDCCXXX. This is an album bound in leather, with gold impressions, measuring 225 mm x 336 mm. It contains thirty drawings, all dated 1729 and signed 'Ca.r Juvarra'. The album has been fully published by Rudolf Wittkower (R.Wittkower, 'A Sketchbook of Filippo Juvarra at Chatsworth', Studies in the Italian Baroque (1975), pp. 187-210).
- (18) Cf. Kent's letters to Burrell Massingberd dated Florence, 8 October 1716 and Rome, 15 February 1717 (Lincoln Diocesan Archives, 2MM, B 19A).
- (19) On the idea and iconography of the Theatrum Mundi see H.Weisinger, ' Theatrum Mundi: Illusion as Reality 'in id., The Agony and the Triumph (East Lansing, Michigan, 1964), pp.58-70 and R.Bernheimer, 'Theatrum Mundi', The Art Bulletin, vol. XXXVIII (December 1956), pp.225-47.
- (20) Cf. A.M.Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637, (New Haven, 1964); P.Bjurström, Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design (Stockholm , 1962).
- (21) On Goupy's friendship with Handel see J.Hawkins, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, 5 vols. (1776), vol.v, p.412 and O.E.Deutsch, Handel a documentary Biography (New York, 1974). Goupy never really left the Burlington circle and was employed by Burlington to teach drawing and painting to his elder daughter Dorothy, cf. receipts at Chatsworth (228,20), dated 1739.
- (22) Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- (23) For a detailed discussion of the two drawings (BOY [8], 39 and 42) see the entry written by the author in the catalogue to the Vicenza exhibition Palladio: la sua eredità nel mondo (Milan, 1980), pp. 70-1.
- (24) Cf. A.Chastel, 'Cortile et théâtre', in Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Le lieu théâtrale à la Renaissance (Paris, 1964), pp. 41-47; T.E.Lawrenson and H.Purkis, ' Les éditions illustrées de Térence dans l'histoire du théâtre', in Le lieu théâtrale cit., pp.1-23; F.Marotti, 'Per un'epistemologia del teatro del Rinascimento: le teoriche sullo spazio teatrale', Biblioteca teatrale, n.1 (1971), pp.15-29 and C.Molinari, 'Il teatro nella tradizione vitruviana: da Leon Battista Alberti a Daniele Barbato', Biblioteca Teatrale, n.1 (1971), pp.30-46.
- (25) Cf. J.Carré, 'Through French Eyes: Rigaud's Drawings of Chiswick', Journal of Garden History, vol.ii, n.2 (Spring 1982), pp.135-36.



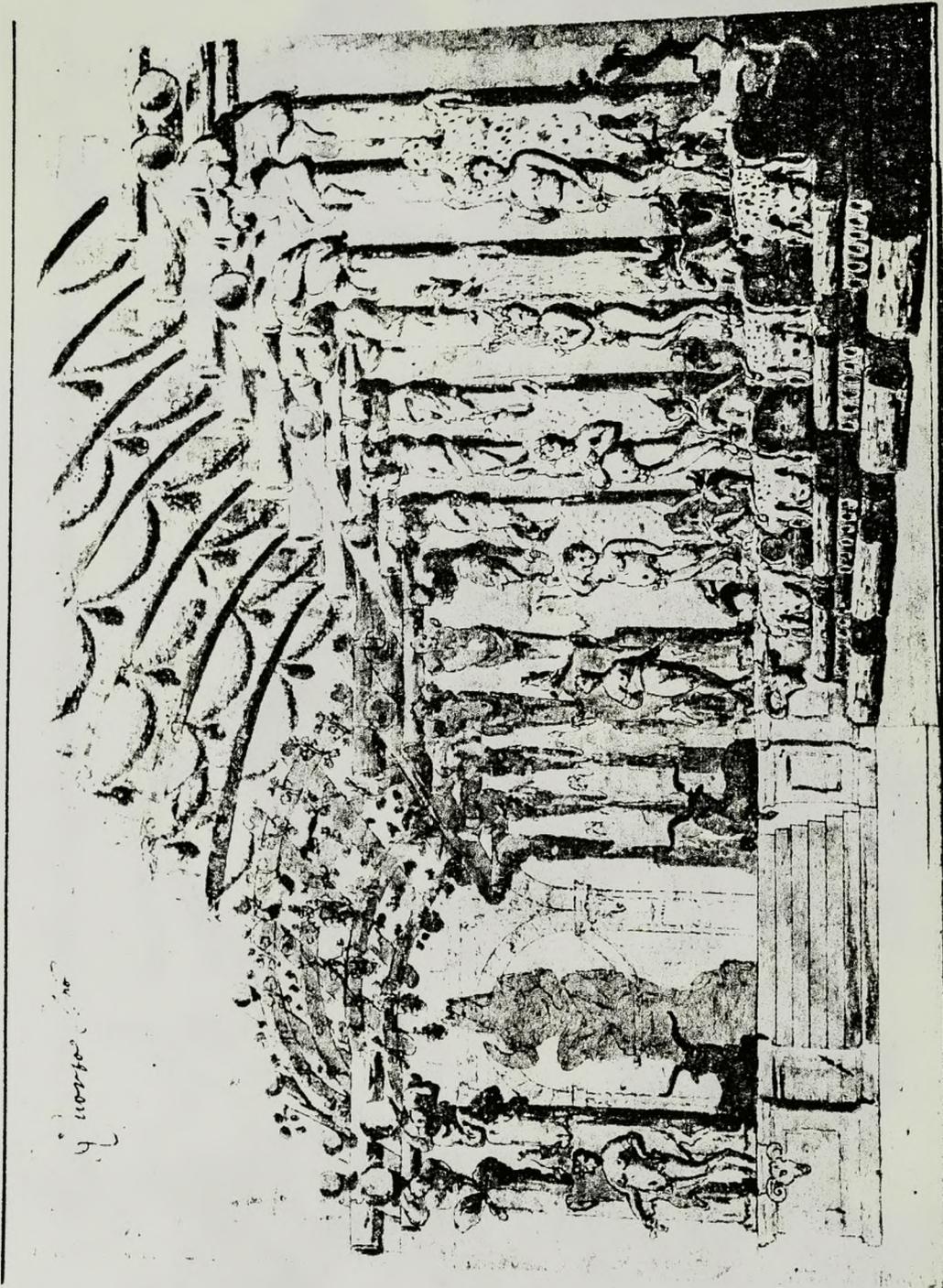
1. Unidentified 17th century Italian, Wings for a garden scene, grey ink and wash, Chatsworth Vol. IX



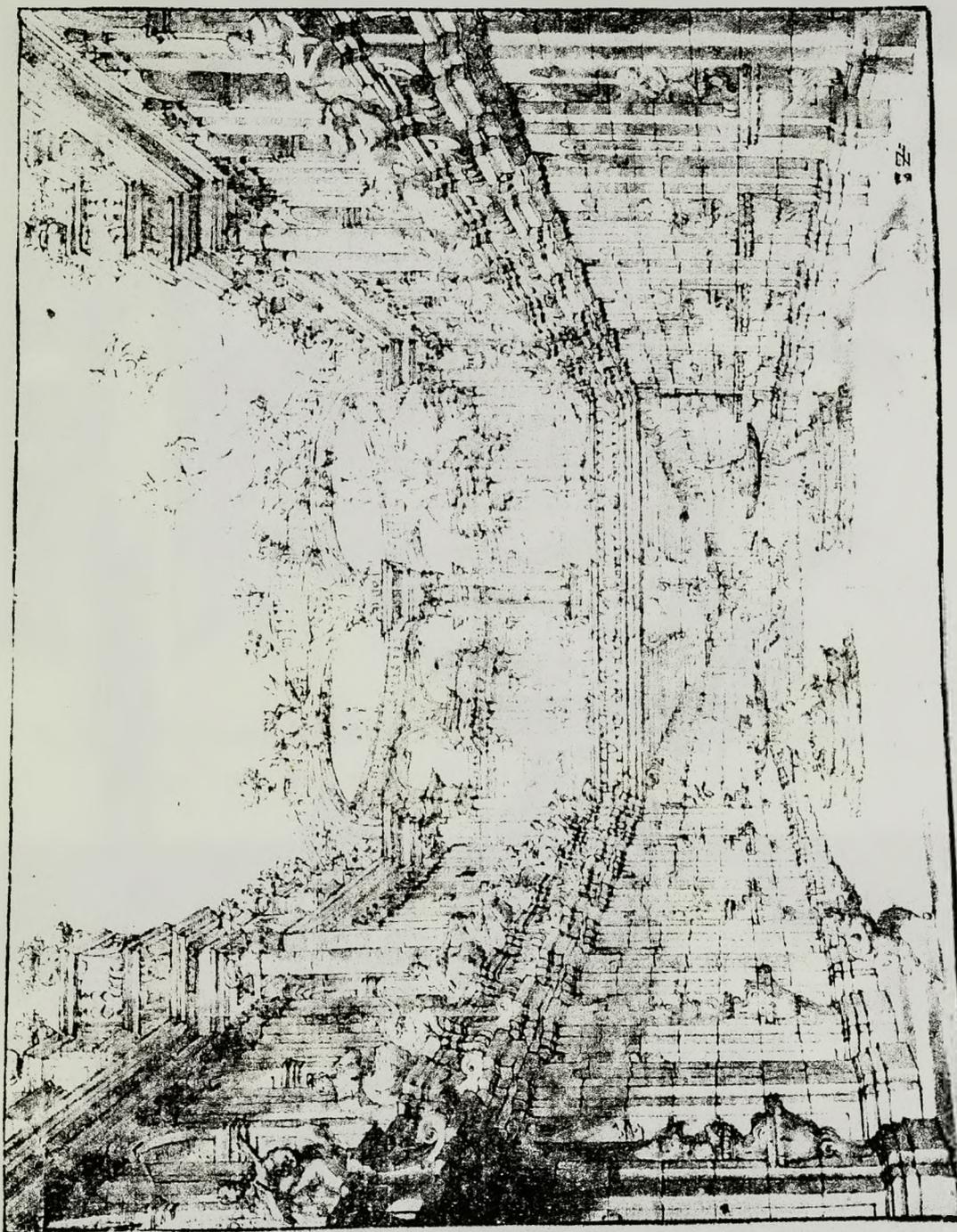
2. Unidentified 17th century Italian, Wings for a garden scene, sepia ink and wash, Chatsworth Vol. IX



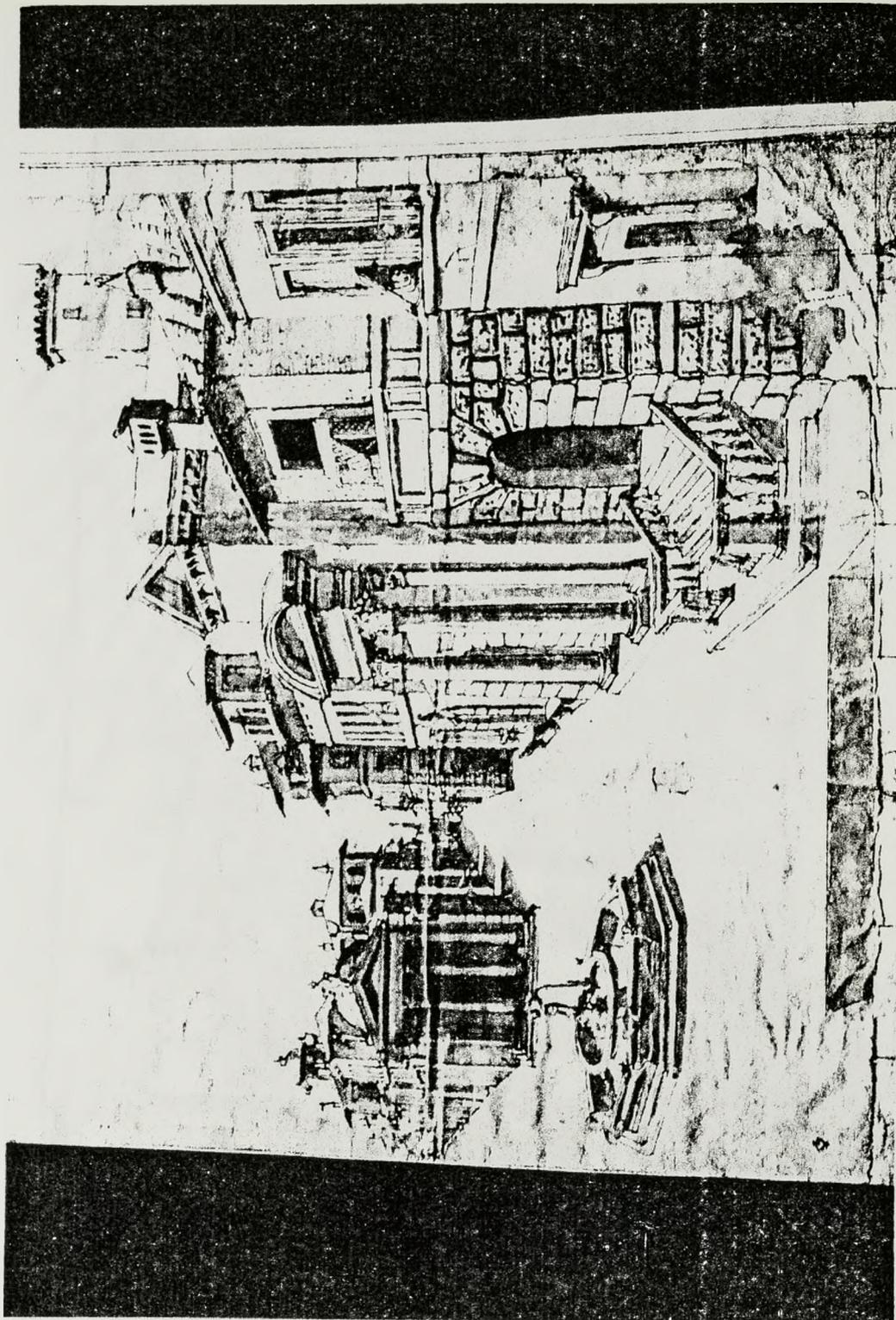
3. Unidentified 17th century Italian; Wings for a woodland scene, sepia ink and grey wash, Chatsworth Vol. IX



4. Unidentified 18th century Italian, Interior of a temple, sepia ink and wash, Chatsworth B21



5. Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, Courtyard with fountains, sepia ink and wash, Chatsworth, loose



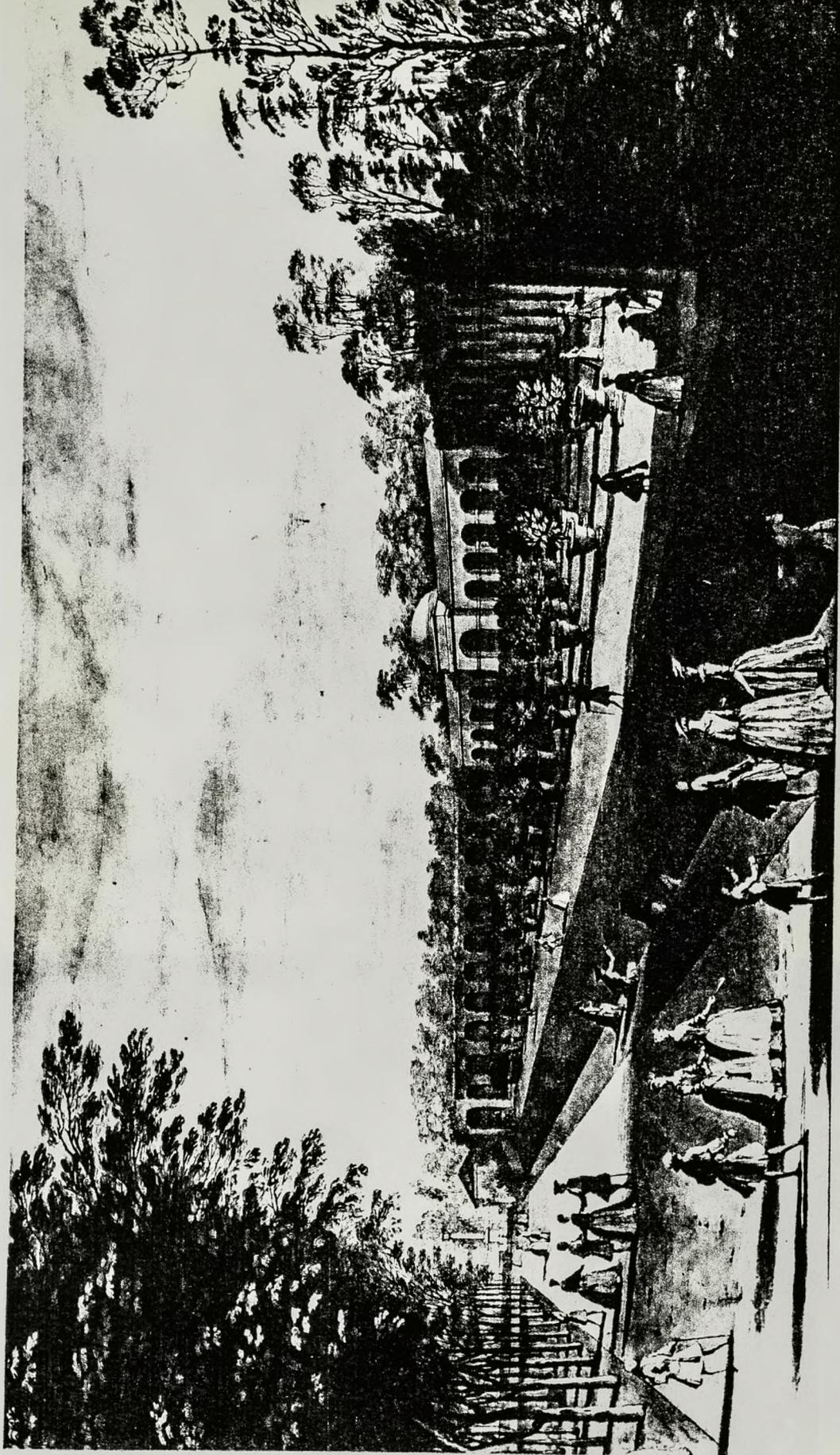
6. Bartolomeo Neroni (?), View of a crossroads,
sepia ink and wash, Chatsworth Box 4 n.51



7. Bartolomeo Neroni (?), View of a crossroads,
sepia ink and wash, Chatsworth Box 4 n.50



8. Jacques Rigaud, View of the patte d'oie at
Chiswick, pen and wash, Chatsworth



9. Jacques Rigaud, The Orangery, pen and wash, Chatsworth