

POST-MEDIEVAL FORMAL GARDENS

MONUMENTS PROTECTION PROGRAMME

SINGLE MONUMENT CLASS DESCRIPTION

POST-MEDIEVAL FORMAL GARDENS

CONTENTS

	Page
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 DEFINITION	2
General Description	3
Detailed Description	4
3 CHARACTERIZATION CRITERIA	7
Period (Currency)	7
Rarity	7
Diversity (Form)	8
Period (Representativity)	9
Scoring	9
4 SOURCES OF INFORMATION	9
5 DISCRIMINATION CRITERIA	10
Group Value (Association)	10
Survival	12
Potential	12
Documentation (Archaeological)	13
Documentation (Historical)	14
Group Value (Clustering)	14
Diversity (Features)	15
Amenity Value	15
6 PROFESSIONAL JUDGEMENT	16
<u>Regional Variation; Chronological Variation; Soils and Topography;</u> <u>Social Factors; Completeness; Strategaphic Complexity; Special Cases</u>	
7 MANAGEMENT ASSESSMENT	18
<u>Condition; Fragility; Vulnerability</u>	
8 RECOMMENDATIONS	18
9 BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES	20
10 ILLUSTRATIONS	24

Also attached, Taylor's 1993 APPENDIX I

1. INTRODUCTION

Though the existence of the remains of former gardens and parks has been recognized by both field archaeologists and garden historians for almost a century, it is only in recent years that their importance and complexity has been fully appreciated (Taylor 1991; Jacques 1997b). As a result, unlike, for example, hill forts or deserted settlements, the amount of research into them has been relatively small and major aspects still remain to be discovered or understood.

Perhaps the most important feature of former parks and gardens generally and of Formal Gardens particularly which still remains unknown is exactly how many do indeed survive. Large parts of England have never been seriously examined for them, but whenever a new area is systematically investigated considerable numbers are found and even unsystematic fieldwork usually turns up important and previously unknown sites. Work by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in Northamptonshire, for example, led to the identification of no less than forty sites with substantial surviving earthworks of former Formal Gardens (RCHME 1975, 1979, 1981, 1982). Elsewhere in the country individual discoveries of important remains have continued to be made, with even obvious sites proving to be hitherto undocumented in national and local monument records. The increasing number of county-based publications on historic gardens are of variable utility for MPP purposes: those, like Taigel & Williamson 1991 or Stamper 1996, that are firmly rooted in archaeological data-gathering or SMR enhancement have much to offer both in themselves and in the accumulated archive that lies behind them. Nevertheless the lack of reliable information locally, regionally and nationally makes for considerable difficulties when assessing sites for MPP purposes.

This situation results in part from newness of the subject, and has practical administrative and documentation aspects. Until recently garden remains were not a classification name in the National Archaeological Record (now the NMR) and it was only at the beginning of the 1990s that, for example, the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs put garden remains into its generic index (Wilson 1991). Many county and other SMRs similarly have been slow to recognize the existence of garden remains in their retrieval systems. This lack of appreciation of the existence of such sites in turn means that they are not looked for by fieldworkers, are not recognized when they are discovered and are frequently classified as some other type of site. In the latter case formal arrangements of 16th-century or earlier ponds are listed as medieval moats (Brown and Taylor 1991), garden mounts as medieval windmill mounds (RCHME 1982, Farthinghoe (17)), terraced walks as medieval defensive works (Beresford and St Joseph 1958; Brown and Taylor 1977), medieval manorial sites (Taylor 1983), or Cromwellian batteries (RCHME 1975, Woodford (11)). More commonly, whole complexes of gardens are written off as moated or manorial sites (see Taylor's **Appendix II**). Equally disconcerting and difficult of interpretation is when former gardens and parks lie within, below or over, other more easily recognized classes of monuments (**FIG 9**; see **Group Value (Association) and Professional Judgement** below).

The single most useful, brief introduction to the topic remains Taylor 1983. The papers of the 1988 Knuston Conference on 'Garden Archaeology' (Brown 1991) set an academic

framework and contain a range of illustrations and discussion, latterly reinforced with an international perspective by the papers in Jacques 1997a. Taigel & Williamson 1993 ch 1 'Studying gardens' is useful and straightforward; Everson 1995 describes field archaeological approach more typical of recording Formal Garden Earthworks usefully applied to an Edwardian garden; Lambert, Goodchild & Roberts 1995, though inevitably of greatest usefulness for 18th century and later parks and gardens, is a well-produced, concise and practical guide to sources and approaches.

All these sources and discussions tend to treat parks and gardens as a seamless category, or a range of fashionable manifestations of (at core) the single theme of pleasurable elaboration of the setting of well-to-do residences. This may be true academically and philosophically, but it is not helpful or readily handled within the mechanisms available for designation. A three-fold subdivision is therefore proposed, of which this class description forms the defining core.

2. DEFINITION

Garden remains might be defined as comprehending the parks and gardens of medieval and later times (with a date range that in practical terms is likely to extend from the beginning of the 12th century until 30 years ago) which were designed and laid out for what can usually, if unsatisfactorily, be described as the upper classes of English society, basically to give pleasure. This definition itself does not include gardens of prehistoric or Roman date, nor medieval and later gardens of the lower classes. All these will presumably be dealt with within other class descriptions such as those for later prehistoric settlement, Roman villas and medieval and later settlement, or in other appropriate ways.

For the purposes of the Monuments Protection Programme, the large and extremely diverse body of material encompassed within this scope has been divided into three classes:

- post medieval formal gardens, with which this class description is concerned;
- medieval gardens and designed landscapes; and
- later parkland and garden earthworks.

In addition it is presumed that the great majority of landscaped parks and gardens of 18th-century and later date are more appropriately and more effectively identified and managed through the mechanism of the Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England, compiled by English Heritage, which is a statutory list but brings with it no additional statutory controls. The latter presumption does not envisage a clear-cut or inviolable distinction between designation through Monuments Protection Programme and inclusion on the Register: there will inevitably be overlap and the possibility of combinations to achieve appropriate conservation ends, as with the listing of standing structures.

The justification for this classification lies in the specific purposes of the Monuments Protection Programme, which generally requires identification of 'separate, self-defining entities which can be classified on the basis of morphological similarities' to allow 'basic comparison between monuments of like class'. It explicitly envisages that 'for categories of monument which span a number of periods, monument classes may need to be defined for

each period, because the characteristics of the classes differ'. Within the sphere of garden remains, the three proposed categories are precisely in this way morphologically distinct and resist direct comparison.

Viz: The medieval *hortus conclusus* typically lies physically integrated with major residences in ways that probably makes it difficult to distinguish in MPP terms from the curtilage of the residence; while the recently recognized designed landscapes of late medieval date are extensive sites where the term 'garden' or 'park' is not clearly suitable. Because the exact function of these particular sites is not entirely clear, they have, perhaps unfortunately, been termed 'medieval landscapes for pleasure' (Taylor 1989b; Everson forthcoming). They are also intimately associated with great buildings covered by a series of Monument Class Descriptions - Castle, Fortified Houses, Greater Houses etc. - which are defined as medieval.

Viz: Similarly the earthwork remains associated with later informal landscapes or emparking, extending to ha-has, traces of former drives, lakes, copses, avenues and individual trees as well as the sites of former buildings, follies, eye-catchers, etc., are morphologically distinct, typically components of larger entities with their own range of associations, and relate to their own, different form of residence.

These distinctions do not exclude the possibility of designating within the third class major landscaping undertakings involving considerable earth-shifting such as those undertaken by Brown and his imitators and successors (Phibbs forthcoming), but it does recognise the difficulty of precisely defining them topographically and the resistance to accepting them as 'works'. Like planting, the Register appears to deal with them best. The classifications do exclude deer parks, for which there is a separate class description, and which feature as an association of both Medieval Gardens and Post-medieval Formal Gardens.

General Description

Post-medieval Formal Gardens are the upstanding or buried remains of former garden arrangements which have usually been subsequently abandoned or sometimes reused. They consist of banks, scarps, ditches, hollows, etc. which reflect earlier arrangements of boundaries, terraces, ponds, watercourses, paths, flower-beds and other planting arrangements as well as the sites of garden buildings, boundary walls etc. Their most characteristic and diagnostic feature, whatever combination of components is employed and on whatever scale or extent, is a core of geometric layout, typically located and orientated in relation to a major residence to which they belong, and often a clarity and elegance of form when preserved as earthworks, as at Croxby, Lincs (FIG 1a; RCHME 1991, 198-200).

Usually garden earthworks fall into one of four types in respect of their survival. First, earthworks contributing an addition to or adaptation of an existing site, for example at Sevington in Kent or Rushton in Cheshire (FIG 4; Booth & Everson 1994; Everson 1991, Fig 2.3). Second, free-standing earthworks that result from very short-lived one-period gardens such as Wakerley, Northamptonshire, perhaps designed and laid out between 1600 and 1618 and abandoned after 1630 (FIG 3a; RCHME 1975, Wakerley (4)). Third, free-standing earthworks that result from very long-lived multi-period gardens such as Oldstones, Devon, laid out in the 1640s and finally abandoned in 1890 (NAR SX 85 SW 3 and 4), or Harpswell, Lincs., with field remains ranging from a mount to an 18th-century

serpentine (FIG 7b; RCHME 1991, 107-9). Fourth there are earthworks that are contained within existing gardens or parks that result from either long or short-lived previous garden arrangements such as Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, which includes earthworks of all periods from the early 18th century onwards.

Further, though such sites are usually preserved in the form of earthworks, more detailed internal arrangements of these gardens, particularly of paths and planting arrangements, can sometimes be recognized in the form of parch or crop marks under suitable conditions. On occasions whole gardens and emparking arrangements survive as crop, soil or parch marks in modern arable land (Musson and Whimster 1992; Wilson 1991). More rarely, garden remains can be identified and interpreted by excavation on land where former gardens are known to have existed, even though there are no visible traces on the surface.

Another feature is that the remains, whether earthworks or crop, soil or parch marks, are similar to and thus liable to be confused by those belonging to other features or monuments of different dates or function which may or may not be worth protection in their own right (see **Group Value (Association)** below). An especially common circumstance is in relation to post-Dissolution houses on the sites of medieval monasteries (Wilson 1991; Everson 1996). This has caused and will cause considerable difficulties in identification and protection.

Detailed Description

The clearest examples of former gardens of the 16th and 17th centuries are characterized by flat-topped sharp-edged banks or terraces, actually walkways, as well as by extensive waterworks in the form of closely set rectangular ponds as at Holdenby and Alderton, Northamptonshire, or by traces of multi-walled enclosures as at Wakerley in the same county (FIG 3a; RCHME 1975, Wakerley (4); 1981, Holdenby (4); 1982, Grafton Regis (6)).

The majority of late 17th or early 18th-century garden remains have multiple formal terraces, as at Greenwich Park, Greater London (Jacques and Van de Host 1988, 18-23), extensive waterworks and ponds as at Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire (RCHME 1968 Gamlingay (61)), as well as rigidly geometrical arrangements of former terracing and embanked compartments, as at Boughton, Northamptonshire (FIG 6a; RCHME 1979b, Weekley (11)).

More specifically, characteristic components are:

Terraces (FIG 1), typically of uniform width and sharp-edged scarping, that can occur singly or in multiple flights, and range from about 1m to over 6m in vertical elevation. Examples Chipping Campden (Glos.), Holdenby (Northants.), the Dripping Pan at Lewes Priory (Sussex).

Close multiple terracing arranged in specific ways can identify distinctive garden features, as in the form of an amphitheatre at Chiswick House (London) and forming 3 sides of a rectangle at Gawsworth (Cheshire) - both orangery gardens of the later 17th century.

Raised walks (FIGS 1b, 2b), well engineered flat-topped linear embankments defined by

sharp scarps; when high they may have stepped terracing on one or both sides; when no more than low causeways they may have been screened by planting along one or both sides (*cf* tree holes and planting below) as allées. Examples Lyveden (Northants.), Chipping Campden (Glos.).

Mounts (FIG 2), earthen flat-topped mounds that can range from less than 1m to over 5m high and over 40m diameter; pre-existing mounds can be reused, like the Anglo-Saxon barrow at Taplow (Bucks.) or the castle mound at Holdgate (Shropshire). A circular form is most common, often with clear traces of a terrace walk spiralling to its top; straight-sided truncated pyramids also occur, sometimes with a small one superimposed on a larger. Identification in doubtful cases is aided by distinctive features of spiral path or pyramid shape, and integration/location in relation to other components - at the end of a raised walk, at the end of a linear water feature, central feature in a garden compartment, at the outer corner of a garden layout. Subsequent insertion of an ice-house into such mounds is an adaptation sometimes encountered. Examples Burton (Lincs), Lyveden (Northants.), New College garden, Oxford.

Ponds (FIGS 5a, 6b) often neatly engineered, small and geometrical in individual form or organised in systematic or geometrical groups; sometimes with islands or islets that can be similarly geometrical. Examples Tackley (Oxon); Quarrendon (Bucks).

'Moats' (FIGS 1a, 7). The core residence may itself be moated in a way that functions coherently with other components of the garden layout rather than simply being inherited from an earlier arrangement: adaptation of an earlier arrangement may be detected. Moats can also form discrete elements within a formal garden, without residential occupation; in that case normally distinguished by unusual form (e.g. Harpswell, Lincs) and/or intimate coherence with the rest of the layout (e.g. Croxby, Lincs; Topholme Abbey, Lincs).

Canals (FIGS 1, 2b) may be straight or angled with two or three arms; long straight 'fishponds' and 'moats' with only two or three arms may, when clearly integrated in a garden layout as original features, more usefully be described as canals. Dams holding a canal against a slope may be distinctively flat-topped and function as a raised walk. Examples Chipping Campden (Glos.); Lyveden (Northants).

Other water features and water arrangements (FIGS 1, 2). Special water features may occasionally be recognised, like cascades, often less by their distinctive morphological form than by the presence of supply leats, as at Croxby (Lincs.). Rivers and natural water courses are commonly re-routed and manipulated to form formal, angled water features within a garden itself, as at Boughton (Northants). The spaces created by manipulation of natural water courses may sometimes legitimately be considered as a garden component, as with the flood-plain meadow at Chipping Campden (Glos.)

Site of house (FIG 3). The best preserved field remains of formal gardens tend to occur where the focal residence is abandoned early. Its site - as a ruin, as a distinct pattern of earthworks in which the plans of individual rooms can often be recognised, or levelled with soil marks or surface traces of building materials - commonly in those circumstances forms an identifiable and focal feature of formal garden sites, as notably at Wakerley (RCHME

1975, Wakerley (4)). Identification of the abandoned site of a house of appropriate status may itself provide the key to identifying or understanding associated formal garden remains.

Garden buildings (FIG 1b), including especially banqueting houses, can take a variety of specialist forms and can vary from small structures to substantial pieces of architecture, like Swarkstone Pavilion (Derbys.) or Lyveden New Bield (Northants.); they may, as in the latter case, carry symbolic or emblematic significance (Woodfield 1991).

Mills and mill-sites are recurrent and clearly deliberate concomitants of the water arrangements with formal garden layouts, with emblematic and not solely functional purpose.

Walled closes (FIGS 3, 5c) of stone or brick, and including entrance or fore-courts, may form part or the whole of a garden layout, as at Stowe Barton in Devon or Topholme Abbey (Lincs.). They characteristically appear in earthworks as a rectangular pattern of low banks and scarps lying with and taking orientation from a house site.

Defining boundaries and ancillary buildings (FIG 1b). Defining boundaries in the form of stone or brick walls bounding the curtilage may be the most substantial contemporary survival, especially in village-centre, suburban or urban contexts, where they have a continuing function.

Ancillary buildings liable to be found associated with them are elaborated entrances, gatehouses and stables; their survival may have been secured, like the stables at Chipping Campden, by their accessibility for conversion and re-use. Free-standing gateways commonly marked a symbolic boundary between the enclosed, managed garden and the wider landscape, as at Tackley (Oxon) and Chipping Campden (Glos).

Parterres, beds and tree holes (FIG 3). The very slight remains of parterres, turning circles, steps, paths, beds and similar minor features, normally occurring within larger components such as walled closes or other defined compartments, can survive and be recognised as earthworks only a few centimetres high or on air photographs capturing extreme and favourable conditions of cultivation or light, or appear as parching effects.

Tree holes and tree stumps can identify tree avenues, quincunxes, screen hedges, geometrical block planting and wilderness - in practice any of the features that the rare survival of residual planting (below) might do. Example Harrington (Northants.).

Residual planting is much rarer for early post-medieval formal gardens than for later parks and gardens, but therefore worth special attention. Relevant species are more likely to be the inconspicuous and unimpressive, like holly, yew and thorn, or exotics like mulberry, than standard trees. The organisation of planting and its spacing may indicate grown-out hedges or intended original appearance: the archaeology of the plants themselves may preserve evidence of their former management by clipping, coppicing, pollarding etc. The introduction of species may prove relevant, as with blocks of lime at Gawsworth (Cheshire), which as *Tilia europaea* are unlikely to pre-date the 1680s and may date that garden's creation.

Unusual or unexplained features (FIGS 1b, 9) may occur within or especially away from the obvious core of formal garden layouts. It is important that these are included in

consideration. Recognition of complete garden layouts is desirable, and understanding and survival should not be reduced to a selection of the most massive and obvious features such as mounts and terraces.

Unfinished gardens (FIGS 2b, 6b). The major post-medieval informal gardens were substantial and costly undertakings. Some were curtailed from their original intention or abandoned unfinished, just as analogous houses occasionally were, and this may be apparent in the field remains, as at Gawsworth (Cheshire) or Tackley.

3. CHARACTERIZATION CRITERIA

Each Single Monument Class is scored on four criteria which are designed to help define its importance in terms of its contribution to an understanding of the country's history (Class Importance Value). The criteria and scores for Post-Medieval Formal Gardens are as follows:

Period (Currency): Restricted in creation: Extended in use

The core currency of Post-Medieval Formal Gardens appears generally to be from the early 16th century to the mid 18th century, a period of about 250 years, i.e. within the 'Restricted' range on the evaluation scale. Local research in Norfolk, however, has shown simplified formal layouts continuing to be created into the early 19th century in unfashionable local circles: it is an unresearched matter whether and where this pattern occurred elsewhere and at what levels of society. In addition, formal layouts undoubtedly continued in use long beyond the fashionable advent of emparked landscapes. This might lead to an evaluation of 'Extended'. Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, certainly has the traces of almost all its pre 19th-century phases as earthworks; while on a much smaller scale at Besthorpe Hall, Norfolk, the late 16th-century or early 17th-century Great Garden terraces were still in use in the mid 18th century and still exist within the present garden (Taigel and Williamson 1991, 18-22). However, it is important to note that not only do a large number of garden earthworks result from a very short-lived period of use as at Wakerley, Northants, and Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire (RCHME 1968, Gamlingay (1); 1975 Wakerley (4)), but these are also the best examples to illustrate stylistic form and unaltered design and therefore have a value in inverse proportion to their currency.

Rarity: Common

Formal Gardens were created throughout the period at a royal level - e.g. Nonsuch, Hampton Court, Greenwich, Kensington Palace - by the aristocracy, and by county families, evidently as the routine concomitant to the country seats of the 'landed elite'. Nearly 400 noblemen held titles between the mid 16th and mid 17th centuries, and with polite society in individual English counties numbering 20-80 families, it has been estimated that by the mid 17th century there were some 5000 or so country houses at any one time (Stone 1967; Stone and Fawtier Stone 1986, 166, 199-202 and *passim*). The number of formal gardens originally created through the extended period may comfortably have exceeded 2000, therefore. The whole question of how far down the social scale the emulation of social betters in the matter of formal gardens might have penetrated, and how simplified a form it might have taken and yet remain identifiable in the archaeological record

is as yet unexplored. In principle, this might considerably increase numbers, but perhaps with rather simple and uninformative examples.

Against this, surviving examples certainly exceed 250 despite the general lack of systematic and informed investigation that has been carried out on sites of this monument class. An informed listing (eg Taylor's **Appendix I**), certainly exceeding the content of national and local monuments records, can identify examples as well-preserved earthworks in almost every county. Their distribution in terms of weight of numbers is heavily skewed by fieldwork by RCHME staff and other individuals - Aston in Somerset, Hartley in Leicestershire, Stamper in Shropshire, Williamson in Norfolk. This undoubtedly indicates the potential for discovery - in western Cambridgeshire, no less than nine former gardens were discovered by RCHME fieldwork in an area of thirty-seven small rural parishes (RCHME 1968), in Northamptonshire over forty sites and in a small area of Lincolnshire almost ten were recorded (RCHME 1975; 1981; 1982; 1991). But there is certainly no significance in the present known distribution: the fieldwork experience suggests rather that there are examples to be found throughout the country. One clearly defined context, namely the sites of dissolved medieval monasteries, certainly has a national distribution. Also by virtue of the experience that many formal gardens are identified by re-classification or better informed analysis of already recorded earthworks, the systematic nationwide evaluation of MPP fieldwork may be expected, when informed by this class description, to add many examples to the known lists.

Generally, the specific social context of formal gardens suggests that their incidence should be nationwide but with a bias following the distribution of aristocratic and gentry numbers and fashionable aspiration towards the midlands and south-east, but cross-cut by the impact of factors affecting survival.

Diversity (Form): High

This is not based on specifically defined types: no real typology based on plans has been recognized or devised. Certain components or characteristics, for example terraced walks, mounts, radiating tree lines and avenues, have in the past been generally attributed to broad periods or date ranges. This has led to the idea that a chronological typology might be developed. However, it has recently been recognized that, in Norfolk at least, many specific forms and details as well as whole gardens have a much longer time span than previously thought (Taigel and Williamson 1991).

Rather than in defined types, the high diversity lies precisely in that ability of formal gardens to adopt any design strategy from thematic concentration largely on one component - for example to create a water garden as at Tackley (Oxon) - to any combination of any number of components. Individual gardens may additionally contain special features, like the zigurrat at Holdenby (Northants), or seek special effects that exploit their location or its specific associations.

Period (Representativity): Very High

Although many individual classes of monument have been, or might be, separately defined for the post-medieval period - many of them continuing medieval categories or forming part of themes like industrials - Formal Gardens have a particular importance in reflecting the

social expectations and aspirations of the period. They represent a significant and illuminating aspect of the architectural, artistic and constructional skills/tastes of the period (Strong 1979). They were conceived in a complementary fashion with the contemporary architecture; many of the sites contain the ruins or buried remains of the contemporary great buildings, which are largely an unknown and unexplored resource (e.g Wilson North 1996). Such buildings were sometimes the known work of leading architects: the gardens may have similar, named associations. Such gardens can carry recognisable symbolic or religious imagery (Stocker & Stocker 1996), that is intimately connected with the religious, political and philosophical preoccupations of contemporary society.

Scoring

Assigning numerical values (squared) to the above criteria, following the system set out in the Monuments Evaluation Manual, formal garden sites yield a Class Importance Value of between 33 and 38, depending on the value attached to Period. This probably does not truly reflect the value of the class as perceived by both the scholarly and interested public.

4. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Sources for archaeological information are the normal ones of the NMR and local authority SMRs, RCHME inventories and major AP collections such as CUCAP, now with a thematic entry. The county gardens Registers include a scattering of formal gardens and background information may be available within the documentation of that English Heritage team. The Centre for the Conservation of Historic Parks and Gardens - the Institute for Advanced Architectural Studies in the University of York has the beginnings of a national collection of site reports, but concentrating mainly on later parks and gardens. There is an initiative afoot to create a computer-based national data-base of historic gardens, to which the Garden History Society and the Museum of Garden History at Lambeth are parties, with others.

The source material that can be drawn into the study of gardens alongside the field remains is varied: much of it is very accessible and of traditional local historical interest. It includes buildings, churches and tombs, monumental inscriptions, architectural fragments, genealogy and family history, estate plans, architects' plans and designs, topographical drawings, visitors' and travellers' accounts, letters and family diaries, estate expenditure and purchases. Much of this may be obliquely supportive rather than direct.

It remains the case, however, that frequently it is the recognition of the distinctive earthwork remains that forms the catalyst and focus for identification or even the sole evidence to work with.

5. DISCRIMINATION CRITERIA

Each individual example of a particular monument class should be evaluated in order to distinguish sites of national importance from those which are of regional or local importance only. The discrimination criteria determine Monument Importance Value. For

Formal Gardens they are as follows:

Group Value (Association)

The importance of the sites of former formal gardens is enhanced by association with archaeological features (including other Monuments) which lie outside the garden perimeter. These include:

Existing or ruinous houses which were once associated with the garden as its focus, where these are not included within the field remains of the garden itself (cf. **Detailed Description** above).

Garden buildings, ancillary buildings, boundary features, ornamental gates or entrance gates where these are not physically encompassed by the extent of the garden or through adaptation and reuse have become functionally and administratively detached.

Churches. An impact can often be seen on the local church, through refurbishment, rebuilding, relocation. At Chipping Campden the parish church formed a backdrop both to the access route and to the gardens, at Low Ham it was rebuilt in an ornate and outdated style; at Knaith and Stainfield in Lincolnshire churches were notably altered for visual effect (**FIGS 5c, 7a**; RCHME 1991, 117-7, 176-7); at Cuddington in Surrey (Dent 1981), Kirby in Northants. (Dix et al 1995, 292-300) or Woodham Walter in Essex (Ainsworth et al 1991) it was removed. It could fulfil an enhanced role as family burial place, as notably at Warkton in Northants: tombs therefore stand as another form of field evidence and marker. A family chapel created on the side of the church facing the garden could provide a viewpoint of special symbolic significance almost amounting to a garden building, as at Kirtling in Cambs.

Other public buildings, such as almshouses, could result from big-house patronage and be located to emphasise that (**FIG 1b**).

Managed or manipulated approach may be reflected in earthwork ways, tracks, road patterns, or alterations to the village or urban fabric, as at Chipping Campden (**FIG 1b**). Creation of the substantial land-use entity that a house and garden formed could distort pre-existing land use and communication patterns and create new ones, that are legacy to the present.

Water supply may be represented by distant conduit houses, ornamental spring heads, long-distance leats, header reservoirs or manipulation of natural water courses considerably beyond the immediate site.

Deer park, see that Class Description.

Residual planting on site, or of avenues etc. extending beyond the site.

Surviving houses or their known sites which are the immediate predecessor or successor.

Stratigraphic association (**FIGS 3a, 7a, 8b**) is quite common with formal gardens and is

one of the factors that has contributed most to their misidentification (above); but in many cases there is a positive and deliberate relationship involved - see below **Professional Judgement**.

The most common instance relates to monastic sites, a large proportion of which have been granted statutory protection because of their medieval function. What has not been appreciated until recently is the continued use of the sites after their formal dissolution in the 16th century as, often short-lived, country houses. As these houses were usually surrounded by formal gardens of mid to late 16th-century and later date, their abandonment means that the majority of the surviving remains relate to these post-Dissolution houses themselves and their gardens. Thus, all but one of the sites of former monastic houses examined by RCHME in the western part of Lindsey, Lincolnshire (RCHME 1991, 54) proved to have the remains of 16th or 17th-century houses and their gardens preserved as earthworks, superimposed on the much more fragmentary monastic remains.

Another common form of association is with deserted and shrunken villages. As villages often has manor houses in the medieval period, it is often assumed that deserted villages also have the sites of former manor houses within them. While this is certainly so in many cases, what is also common is the continued existence of the manor house into post village-desertion times. In these cases its associated gardens can be seen to have been laid out across the former area of the village properties. This can be best seen at the major deserted village of Quarrendon in Buckinghamshire, wrongly identified by Beresford and St Joseph (1979, 56-7), where an elaborate post-desertion house site and its garden lie within the earthworks of the former village. Another, less impressive, instance is that at Strixton, in Northamptonshire (RCHME 1979, Strixton (8)). A variation of this is where a later house and garden is laid out on the site of a former village without any continuity of occupation but where the surviving documentation is largely if not entirely related to the village itself. The sites at Steeple Gidding and Leighton Bromswold, Cambridgeshire, are good examples of this (Beresford and St Joseph 1958, 14-16; Brown and Taylor 1977, 85-9, 90-2).

The range of scores is:

1. Low: sites with only one associated feature or Monument (or none at all).
2. Medium: sites with two or three associated features or Monuments.
3. High: sites with four or more associated features or Monuments.

Survival

The best survival of formal garden remains is characterised by complete abandonment after a short life and sympathetic management in pasture thereafter. This commonly leads also to more-or-less complete loss of standing structures, however. Emparking can remove or considerably smooth field remains, but is not necessarily as destructive as sometimes alleged. Emparking but with the home removed to a nearby location can result in excellent earthwork survival, especially if some parts of the earlier house or garden buildings are retained, e.g. as an eye-catcher as at Topholme Abbey, Lincs. An alternative common sequence is for an old grand house to become a tenanted farmstead, often in a reduced form. This may lead to a variable survival of house, garden and ancillary buildings, and earthwork remains, as at Gerrards Bromley, Staffs., or Stainfield, Lincs (FIGS 7a, 8a), subject to local farming practice. It may also simply form a transitional stage before final abandonment.

The survival of architectural stonework or whole architectural features, loose or reused, on the parent site or relocated elsewhere is a further relevant phenomenon.

Finally some houses and gardens have remained stable, and early formal garden features continue to form the bones of later and current gardens. These circumstance may most appropriately be handled by a combination of listing and the Register, though archaeological work at Castle Bromwich has given some controlled indication of the likelihood of the survival of useful archaeological deposits through continuing use, and of the special circumstances likely to promote it (Currie and Locock 1991).

The qualifications mentioned in Professional Judgement aside and applied simply to the non-built remains, the range of scores is:

1. Poor: sites where less than 40% remains of the full garden area in good condition
2. Medium: sites where 40% - 70% remains of the full garden area in good condition
3. Good: sites where more than 70% remains of the full garden were in good condition

Potential

Even where formal garden remains survive over the whole of its original extent, later activity may have debased its value as an archaeological resource, where that 'potential' is intended to reflect the quality of data which would be retrieved from the site were it to be investigated by total excavation and supporting techniques.

Excavation on both upstanding garden remains and on the sites of known gardens (Bell 1987; Dix 1991; Hawes 1991) have all produced much of value. These have included hard detail of the basic design such as walls as at Kirby. In addition, important details of the built infrastructure such as drainage channels have been discovered, also at Kirby. More fragile have been the remains of flower-beds, parterres, pathways, etc discovered at Bath, Audley End and Castle Bromwich. Of even greater potential, as yet not fully exploited, is the existence of waterlogged deposits in former gardens, ponds and lakes where macro and micro palaeo-botanical remains exist and may elucidate the vegetative history of the area.

Formal gardens present a very wide spectrum of potential. Their surface features and structures remains - planting, parterres, beds, paths etc - are generally very shallow and can be seriously impaired by ploughing, cultivation, smoothing or the like. By contrast they can to a substantial extent have been created by building up, sometimes in successive stages: their earthwork structures can be quite massive and have been shown by excavation to contain complex structural features. The earthmoving involved offers considerable potential for sealed old land surfaces or well-preserved pre-existing archaeological features. The wide range of ponds and water features commonly components of these sites may offer locations for environmental evidence, though with a number of caveats (Murphy & Scaife 1991; de Moulins & Weir 1997).

The range of scores is:

1. Low: the site (or surviving parts) of the site has been fully or almost fully ploughed, levelled and cleared of building materials. If there is residual planting surviving or significant deep, built-up or waterlogged deposit are suspected, it may be re-scored

- higher.
2. Medium: the site (or surviving parts) appears to be undisturbed over about 50% of its area by ploughing or levelling. Residual planting, or deep and/or waterlogged deposits again justify re-scoring higher.
 3. High: the site appears to be entirely or largely free of post-abandonment modification to occupation deposits and structural remains, and/or intact wet or deep deposits can be identified.

Documentation (Archaeological)

The most important elements of archaeological documentation for formal garden sites are surveyed plans and air photographs or earthworks and aerial photographs of soil and crop marks. Geophysical survey has been shown capable of contributing information to a limited extent, but in the circumstances of gardens developed among or over other remains (for example, medieval monasteries) those features may prove more easily detected or interpreted. Excavations in such circumstances have often simply missed the point or moulded interpretation to fit pre-conceptions (e.g. Wilson-North 1996). Architectural/archaeological recording of ruined or standing structures is highly relevant, and may range from basic sources like Listed Buildings Lists or Pevsner volumes to stone-by-stone recording and analysis. Information and analysis may extend to lost buildings, to loose or reused masonry, and to site finds.

The range of scores is:

1. Low: a written record providing the briefest details of the existence and location of the site.
2. Medium: Ordnance Survey published diagram or antiquity model and/or air photographs providing information about the overall extent, plan form and principal components of the site: basic information about any relevant buildings.
3. High: detailed scale drawings of earthwork remains and analytical description: supporting information from geophysical survey and/or trial excavations recording and/or analytical commentary on buildings: botanical survey.

Documentation (Historical)

This is a criterion of some importance. The historical documentation of former gardens ranges from the virtually completely non-existence as at Hinton Hall, Haddenham, Cambs (Brown & Taylor 1977, 99-101), to the well documented as at Boughton, Northamptonshire (RCHME 1979, Weekley (11)). Sites whose documentation includes contemporary plans and views, drawings, plans and views of the focal house or garden structures, contemporary visitors' descriptions, details of owners, designers, gardeners, constructional aspects and plantings will inevitably score high. A physically unimpressive site of apparently only locally importance can be given enhanced significance when detailed documentation survives, as Barnwell, Northants (RCHME 1975, Barnwell (9)). In the end, however, the archaeological value must always be given at least equal consideration. The details of the garden of Roger North at Rougham, Norfolk, are extremely well documented but their significance would be severely limited without the existence of the remains of the garden itself, fragmentary though they are. Contrariwise, some of the best and most important garden remains are almost undocumented.

The range of scores is:

1. Poor: no graphical documentation in the form of maps or views; no direct or secure association of owners; historical context needing to be built up from detailed local research and/or oblique and inferential arguments.
2. Medium: some graphical documentation in the form of maps or views; name of house and owners known; other supporting information - e.g. genealogical, local historical - available.
3. Good: maps and/or views of more than one date; plentiful information about the house and family; and/or additional information of direct rather than oblique relevance, such as visitors' description, family letters, estate records.

Group Value (Clustering)

In a straightforward sense, this has no relevance to formal gardens.

It might nevertheless be used as a prompt to four considerations:

- [1] where immediate predecessor and/or successor houses can be identified (cf **Group Value (Associations)** above);
- [2] where an aristocratic owner has several properties and the forms and detailing of the formal gardens might be interlinked;
- [3] where in county society family inter-marriage or emulation might lead to links between formal gardens;
- [4] where the activities of architect/designers might link the forms and detailing of formal gardens.

Such associations are considered to be of sufficient importance to require recognition during the exercise of **Professional Judgement** (below). They might also be recognized by 'cluster' scoring as follows:

1. Isolated: where none of the above circumstances applies.
2. Clustered: where any of the above circumstance applies.

Diversity (Features)

The principal, commonly encountered components of formal gardens have been outlined under **Detailed Description** above. Most formal gardens deploy a combination of these components, and even those that concentrate on one for special effect - as in a water garden or in massed terracing - do so in a way that multiplies individual features.

The range of score is:

1. Low: those sites deploying only 1 or 2 characteristic components and only in a simple and limited way.
2. Medium: those sites displaying 3 to 6 characteristic components or a smaller number in multiples for special effect.
3. High: those sites displaying 7 or more characteristic components or a similar number in multiples, or special or unusual features for extraordinary or symbolic effect.

Amenity value

Formal garden remains as field monuments vary considerably from those whose presence can be readily recognised by the visitor and which are intelligible with little explanation, to those whose recognition has taxed professional archaeologists. The presence of standing structures, and especially the ruin or standing survival of the focal residence, is a significant asset in giving context and orientation. Some garden remains are already part of well-known landmarks, for example Kirby, Northants, and Campden House, Glos. (Everson 1989a), or are associated with heavily visited great houses, for example Boughton, Northants (RCHME 1979, Weekley (11)). Others have considerable historical value from being associated with relatively well-known historical figures, for example Holdenby, Northants, with Sir Christopher Hatton (RCHME 1981, Holdenby (4)). At both Holdenby and Boughton the existence of the garden remains is already being exploited commercially and similar developments will no doubt take place elsewhere. Even at a local informal level, a visit to a church (often containing contemporary tombs) and its churchyard will afford a glimpse of adjacent formal garden remains.

The amenity value of many former gardens might generally be assessed as high. The recent growth of interest in all aspects of gardens and gardening, alleged to be the most popular recreational activity, goes far in strengthening this hypothesis. More importantly, while the earthworks of former gardens may not be easily intelligible to non-specialist visitors, they can be a very useful educational resource, especially when associated with other features of interest, whether historical or ecological.

The range of scores is:

1. Low: sites with no historical associations, poor access, and little to recommend them as landmarks.
2. Medium: sites with reasonable access by public footpath or viewable as recognisable landmarks from public locations; and/or with local historical associations connecting with other accessible information (e.g. tombs in church).
3. High: sites which are exemplary of this class; and/or with good public access, formally or informally; and/or with national historical associations or strong and accessible supporting information (e.g. tombs, garden buildings etc.); and/or value as landmarks.

6. PROFESSIONAL JUDGEMENT

The establishment of the MIV of each site allows direct comparisons to be made and is useful in determining their relative importance. Nevertheless, the process of selection still requires professional judgement in certain aspects in order to establish a true and representative ranking order. The aim of this section is not to provide a formula for when and where to vary MIV ranking in each assessment, but to provide those involved with guidance on the circumstances in which adjustments to the ranking may be appropriate.

Among the additional judgements required are:

Regional Variation:

As formal gardens are, at least in part, the result of the relative wealth and cultural background of those who created them and the areas in which they lie, there may well be regional variations with regard to their remains. This does not necessarily mean that there will be less sophisticated and thus perhaps less important 17th-century remains in say Cornwall than in Hertfordshire, but it does mean that there may well be a greater wealth of remains in certain areas than in others. The difference in formal garden remains between the two adjacent counties of Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire is remarkable, for example in Northamptonshire there are many of all dates, some of considerable sophistication and historical importance. In Cambridgeshire, however, there are fewer, and they are less complex in their forms and rarely of national importance. These variations reflect the differences in the social, economic and agrarian history of the two counties as well as their physical geography. These should be taken into account when assessing the importance of the remains in either county. See also **Recommendations**.

Chronological Variation:

In the present state of research, formal garden remains are not commonly well dated. Yet within the defined date range there is an impression of a pre-ponderance of examples belonging to the later 16th and early 17th centuries, and then again of the early 18th century. In consequence:

- [1] any gardens with secure dating have a particular importance;
- [2] gardens belonging to the earlier 16th century or to the Restoration of 1660 and immediately following may have an additional significance for rarity and for their evidence of periods when new styles and fashions were particularly being introduced.

Soils and Topography

Some areas may lend themselves ill, because of soils and topography, to the more massive and well-marked components of formal gardens. It is important that the less visually impressive nature of such field remains - perhaps comprising principally ditched features distinguished as formal gardens by their systematic and geometrical layout, as at Beaulieu Hall at Hemington, Northants (**FIG 8b**) - should not preclude their recognition or their favourable evaluation. The preservation of such regional and local diversity is itself a matter of national importance.

Social Factors:

The conspicuous consumption and fashionable show inherent in formal gardens was clearly a matter for social emulation in simplified forms. The extent and social penetration of this is still a matter for investigation, but preservation of this diversity is itself also a matter of national importance. Despite the probability that the relative simplicity of such sites will score low in MIV ranking, professional judgement should ensure that good representative examples are identified positively in the selection process (**FIG 5**).

Completeness:

With some components of formal gardens being inherently massive, crisply defined and coherently organised, there may be a tendency to identify these, and therefore to protect them, to the exclusion of slighter peripheral, puzzling or doubtful features. This would be

unfortunate and limit proper understanding of such gardens. There is a premium, therefore, on complete sites, including such peripheral features, which it may require professional judgement to assert (FIG 1b).

Stratigraphic Complexity:

The MIV scoring may tend to favour clear-cut, free-standing formal garden remains. Many formal gardens are not in those circumstances, but were created as additions to or replacements of pre-existing sites (see **Detailed Description** above). They actually acquire extra value from those circumstances in many, probably most instances, because there is a dynamic relationship between the two Monuments. Where this can be recognised it should form part of professional judgement.

Similar concepts arise from the criterion of **Group Value (Clustering)**, above.

Special Cases:

There will always be special individual sites which, for particular reasons deserve a higher ranking than they would achieve by normal MIV scoring or even by adjustment. This will usually hinge on the historical importance of a garden in terms of either its association or its place in the overall history of designed landscapes. Inevitably well-preserved, well-marked, clearly visible, undamaged and understandable sites will stand out above damaged or unimpressive and visually muddled ones, by the very fact of being assessed as **archaeological** sites, yet other factors may be more important. Perhaps the classic instance are the garden remains at Rougham, Norfolk. The flat nature of the topography means that the remains are very slight and not easy to interpret. The former array of elaborate ponds has been largely destroyed by 18th and 19th-century industrial workings and the associated architecture is of limited value. Yet the site is that of the garden of Roger North, an influential architect and designer whose houses and the garden are very well documented (Taigel and Williamson 1991, 89-91). Another might be the gardens, perhaps of a deliberately medievalising form, created by Lady Ann Clifford to go with her antiquarian refurbishment of her northern houses at Brougham and Brough and Pendragon for example. Another, the garden earthworks at Greenwich, Greater London, in whose design the great French gardener, Le Notre, had a hand. Though not particularly well preserved, they are much more important in terms of requiring protection than most other late 17th-century garden remains.

7. MANAGEMENT ASSESSMENT

Three management assessment criteria may be applied:

Condition: The ideal condition for a former garden site is that it has not been damaged by later activities and that its basic structure of terraces, walkways, etc remains much as it was when it was abandoned. The existence of contemporary plantings will enhance its potential. The stability of a site will largely depend on maintenance of these conditions though any residual planting will, inevitably, deteriorate eventually.

Fragility: The relatively delicate structures in gardens such as edges to paths and flower

beds, the paths and beds themselves, and even substantial terraces are very fragile and even a single ploughing or other similar activity will destroy much visible and sub-surface evidence. Some ploughed sites, however, might still require protection from long-term destruction and erosion.

Vulnerability: Formal garden remains are vulnerable for the same reason as makes them fragile. In addition, however, their often large extent can make them particularly liable to damage and destruction by peripheral erosion and intrusion. Attempts should always be made to ensure the protection of as large an area as possible.

A particularly difficult problem is where garden remains lie either in an existing garden which may or may not be worthy of protection in its own right. Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, a site directly maintained by English Heritage, is a particular example, while Melford Hall, Long Melford, Suffolk, owned by the National Trust, and Spains Hall, Essex, in private hands, are others. All contain important elements relating to earlier garden arrangements yet the protection of scheduling is in direct conflict with the needs of normal garden management and upkeep, let alone any major changes.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

This Class Description, and the distinctions made in its conception, are a first attempt to establish a framework and procedure whereby park and garden sites can be assessed for scheduling, and to suggest a viable discriminatory and complementary use vis-a-vis the statutory Register.

It is done against the background of what is perceived to be a very uneven and unreliable cataloguing of formal garden remains county by county as represented by local authority SMRs, and a similarly unsatisfactory coverage in the NMR. Current knowledge at present strongly follows the work of individuals. It therefore appears unlikely that evaluation could practically be achieved county-by-county with an equally divided allotment of sites or that it would produce a sustainable result. This situation has some similarities with that of Industrials.

In addition, because of the factor of misinterpretation/re-interpretation it seems likely that the work of MPPAs on other monuments classes, if properly informed, will be a fruitful source of new identifications of formal garden sites and significant in the extension of their distribution.

Because of the social context it may be presumed that formal garden sites were created throughout the country, though not evenly geographically or chronologically, and that they may survive as field remains throughout the country, subject to the factors both historical and casual that may have affected that. A representative sample for protection may be expected therefore to have a national distribution, and to reflect regional variety and local form as nationally important considerations, but not presumptively to have an even distribution.

Acknowledgements

This description was prepared in June 1997 by Paul Everson, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, incorporating material from an earlier draft by Christopher Taylor in 1993.

9 BIBLIOGRAPHY and REFERENCES

- Ainsworth, S, 1989 'Howley Hall, West Yorkshire: Field Survey' in Bowden et al 1989, 197-209
- Ainsworth, S, Cocroft, WD, Everson, P, and Ryan, PM, 1991
'A fragmentary grave cover and the site of Woodham Walter church', *Essex Archaeol and Hist* 22, 170-3
- Aston, M A, 1978 'Gardens and Earthworks at Hardington and Low Ham, Somerset', *Somerset Archaeol Natur Hist* 122, 11-28
- Bell, R, 1987 'Excavations at 4 The Circus, Bath', *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 21, 271-3
- Beresford, M W, 1954 *The Lost Villages of England*
- Beresford, M W and St Joseph, J K S, 1958
Medieval England an Aerial Survey
- 1977 *Medieval England an Aerial Survey*, 2nd ed
- Blood, N K and Taylor C C, 1992
'CaWOOD an Archiepiscopal Landscape', *Yorkshire Archaeol J* 64, 83-102
- Bond, C J and Iles, R, 1991
'Early Gardens in Avon and Somerset' in Brown 1991, 36-52
- Bowden, M, Mackay, D and Topping, P, 1989
From Cornwall to Caithness, BAR Brit Ser 209
- Booth, P and Everson, P 1994
'Earthwork survey and excavations at Boys Hall moat, Sevington, Ashford', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 94, 411-34
- Brown, A E (ed), 1991 *Garden Archaeology*, CBA Res Rep 78
- Brown, A E and Taylor, C C, 1973
'The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire', *Archaeol J*, 129, 154-160
- 1977 'Cambridgeshire Earthwork Surveys II', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* 67, 85-102
- 1978 'Cambridgeshire Earthwork Surveys III', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* 68, 59-75
- 1991 'A Relict Garden at Linton, Cambs', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* 80, 62-7
- Currie, CK, and Locock, M, 1991
'An evaluation of archaeological techniques used at Castle Bromwich Hall 1989-90', *Garden History* 19 pt 2, 77-99
- de Moulins, D, and Weir, DA, 1997
'The potential and use of environmental techniques in gardens' in Jacques 1997a, 40-46
- Dix, B, 1991 'Towards the Restoration of a Period Garden' in Brown 1991, 60-72
- Everson, P, 1989a
'The Gardens of Campden House, Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire', *Garden Hist* 17.2, 109-21
- 1989b 'Lost and found in Lincolnshire: two problems in archaeological inventoring' in Bowden and Mackay 1989, 55-64

- 1991 'Field Survey and Garden Earthworks' in Brown 1991, 6-19
- 1995 'The Munstead Wood Survey, 1991: the methodology of recording historic gardens by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England' in M Tooley and P Amander, *Gertrude Jekyll: artist, gardener, craftswoman* (Collins & Brown), 71-82
- 1996 'The after-life of monastic houses: the earthwork evidence' in C Sturman (ed), *Lincolnshire people and Places: essays in memory of Terence R Leach (1937-1994)*, Lincoln, 13-17
- forthcoming '"Delightfully surrounded with woods and ponds": field evidence for medieval gardens in England', in P Pattison (ed), *There by Design*
- Gaimster, D R M, Margeson, S and Hurley, M (eds), 1990
'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1989', *Medieval Archaeol* 34
- Hartley, R F, 1983 *Medieval Earthworks of Rutland*
- 1987 *Medieval Earthworks of N E Leicestershire*
- Harvey, J, 1981 *Medieval Gardens*
- Howes, L, 1991 'Archaeology as an Aid to Restoration at Painshill' in Brown 1991, 73-82
- Jacques, D (ed), 1997a *The Techniques and uses of Garden Archaeology. Papers from an ICOMOS/ English Heritage conference, published as Journal of Garden History, 17 no 1*
- 1997b 'The Progress of Garden Archaeology' in Jacques 1997a
- Jacques, D and Van de Horst, A J, 1988 *The Gardens of William and Mary*
- Lambert, D, Goodchild, P, and Roberts, J, 1995 *Researching a Garden's History. A Guide to Documentary and Published Sources*
- Murphy, P and Scaife, R, 1991 'The Environmental Archaeology of Gardens' in Brown 1991, 83-99
- Musson, C R and Whimster, R P, 1992 'Air Photography and the Study of Ancient Landscapes in Britain' in Bemandi, M (ed), *Archaeologia de Paesaggio 1 pt 3, 457, pl 4, Firenze*
- Phibbs, J L, 1991 'The Archaeology of Parks' in Brown 1991, 118-22
- forthcoming 'Recording what isn't there: three difficulties of 18th-century landscapes' in (ed) P Pattison, *There by Design*
- Rackham, O, 1986 *The History of the Countryside*
- RCHME 1968 *West Cambridgeshire*
- 1970-1972, 1979a *Dorset II-V*
- 1975 *Northants I*
- 1979b *Northants II*
- 1981 *Northants III*

- 1982 *Northants IV*
- 1985 *Northants V*
- 1991 *Change and Continuity*
- Stamper, P, 1996 *Historic Parks and Gardens of Shropshire*
- Stocker, D, and Stocker, M, 1996
 'Sacred profanity...', *World Archaeology* 28 (2), 264-72
- Stone, L, 1967 *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*, abridged edn
- Stone, L, and Fawtier Stone, JC, 1986
An Open Elite? England 1540-1880, abridged edn
- Strong, R, 1979 *The Renaissance Garden in England*
- Swan, V G and Mackay, D, 1989
 'Roxby Hill, Thornton Dale' in Bowden et al 1989, 183-96
- Taigel, A and Williamson, T, 1991
 'The Gardens of Norfolk', *Garden Hist* 11.1 and 2
- 1993 *Parks and Gardens*, Batsford
- Taylor, C C, 1980
 'Denny Abbey. The Surrounding Earthworks', *Archaeol J* 137, 142-4
- 1983 *The Archaeology of Gardens*
- 1989a 'Spaldwick', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* 78, 71-5
- 1989b 'Somersham Palace, Cambridgeshire, a Medieval Landscape for Pleasure?' in Bowden et al 1989, 211-24
- 1991 'Garden Archaeology: an Introduction' in Brown 1991, 1-5
- Taylor, C C, Everson, P and Wilson-North, R, 1990
 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex', *Medieval Archaeol* 34, 155-7
- Whittle, E, and Taylor, CC, 1994
 'The early seventeenth-century gardens of Tackley, Oxfordshire', *Garden History* 22 pt 1, 37-64
- Wilson, D R, 1991
 'Old Gardens from the Air' in Brown 1991, 20-35
- Wilson-North, W R, 1989
 'Formal Garden Earthworks at Morton Corbet, Shropshire' in Bowden et al 1989, 225-8
- 1993 'Stowe: The Country House and Garden of the Grenville Family', *Comish Archaeol* 32, 112-27
- 1996 'Witham', *Current Archaeology* 148, 151-6
- Woodfield, P, 1991
 'Early buildings in gardens in England' in Brown 1991, 123-37

10 ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG 1 Formality and scale

[a] Croxby, Lincolnshire

Formal arrangement of terraces, closely integrated with house; small-scale manipulation of natural water-course; valley-side leat supplying special water feature (?cascade); moat(s), canal, wilderness. Small scale; lacks historical documentation; ?late 17th century.

Source: RCHME 1991, 198-200

[b] Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire

Symmetrical integration of formal core with site of house plus wholeness of site plus great diversity of components and associations. c1610.

Source: Everson 1989a

FIG 2 Mounts etc

[a] Burton, Lincolnshire

Prospect mound on estate map of c1600; now an ice-house mound in an emparked setting.

Source: RCHME 1991, 79-82

[b] Lyveden, Northants.

The 'Middle Garden' of Tresham's unfinished garden. Mounts, raised walks, canals. 1597-1604.

Source: Brown and Taylor 1973; RCHME 1975, 6-8

FIG 3 House sites, ancillary buildings, rectangular courts, fine internal details of beds etc

[a] Wakerley, Northants.

Source: RCHME 1975, 104-5

[b] Stowe Barton, Cornwall

Source: Wilson-North 1993

FIG 4 Elaboration of medieval moated residences by the addition of post-medieval gardens; wholly earthwork examples

[a] Sevington, Kent

Source: Booth and Everson 1994

[b] Rushton, Cheshire

Source: Everson 1991

FIG 5 Simpler formal layouts

[a] Walcot in Charlbury, Oxon

Source: OS Record Card SP 31 NW 24

[b] Orford in Stainton-le-Vale, Lincolnshire

Source RCHME 1991, 183

[c] Knaith, Lincolnshire; smoothed by emparking and note impact on church

Source: RCHME 1991, 116-7; Everson 1989b

FIG 6 Water features

[a] Boughton in Weekley, Northants. Ornamental manipulation of river

Source: RCHME 1979, 156-62

[b] Tackley, Oxon. Thematic water garden; apparently unfinished.

Source: Whittle and Taylor 1994

FIG 7 Long-lived complexes

[a] Stainfield, Lincolnshire. Medieval monastery and village sites overlain by post-Dissolution house and gardens; re-orientated c 1700 with planting avenues, enclosed garden and rebuilt church.

Source: RCHME 1991, 175-7

[b] Harpswell, Lincolnshire, including mount, moat, house site, screen walls, avenues, serpentine

Source: RCHME 1991, 107-9

FIG 8 Survival/condition

[a] Gerrards Bromley in Eccleshall, Staffs. Reduction of great house to tenanted farm; embedded survival of core layout of house and walled courts plus built elements plus loose fragments etc; 'soft' garden layout degraded by farming regime but recoverable. Special case association with John Rea.

Source: Everson 1991

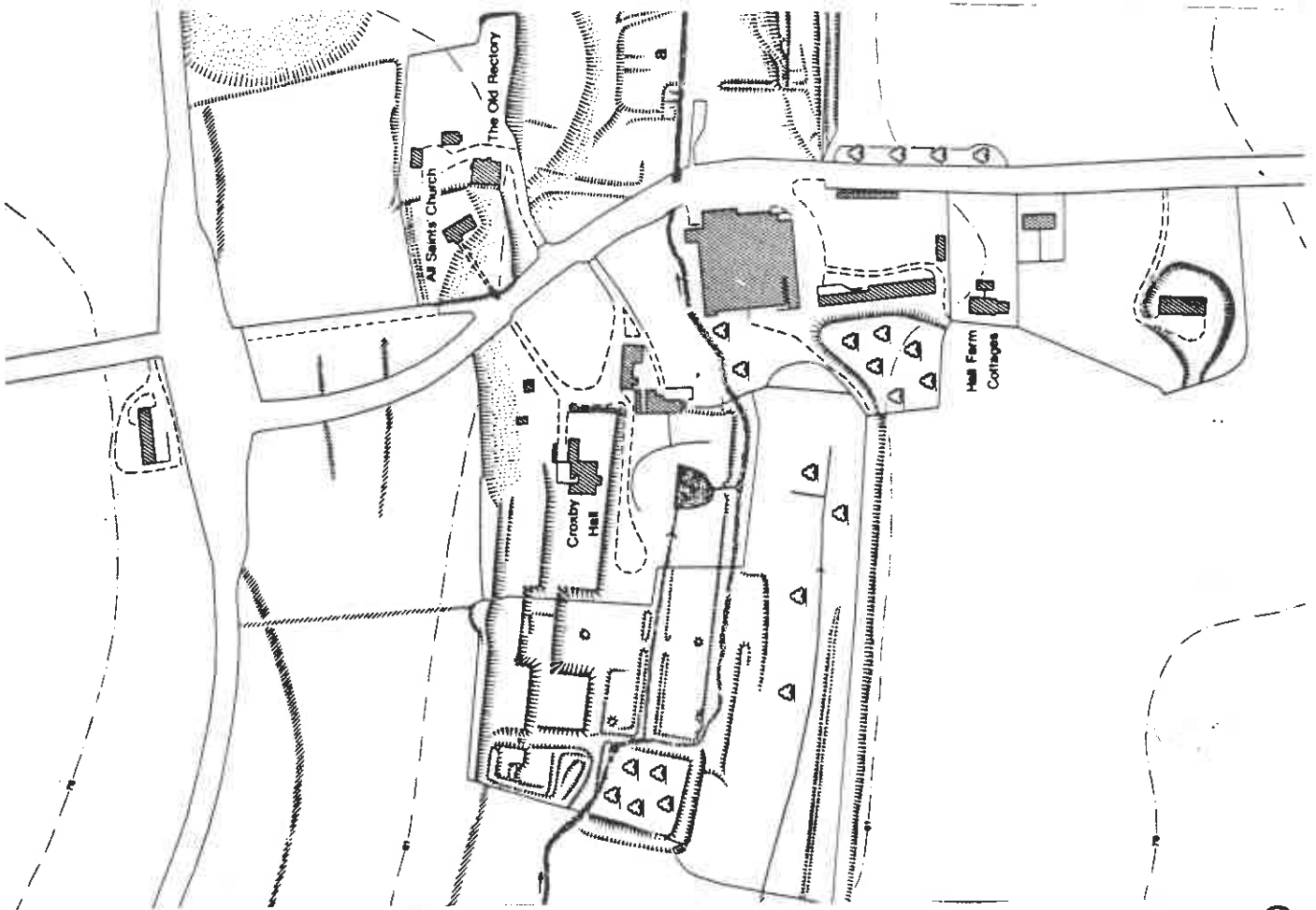
[b] Beaulieu Hall at Hemington, Northants. Flat site with ditched components where geometrical layout and coherence with building (plus stratigraphy) argue its date and function

Source: Everson 1991

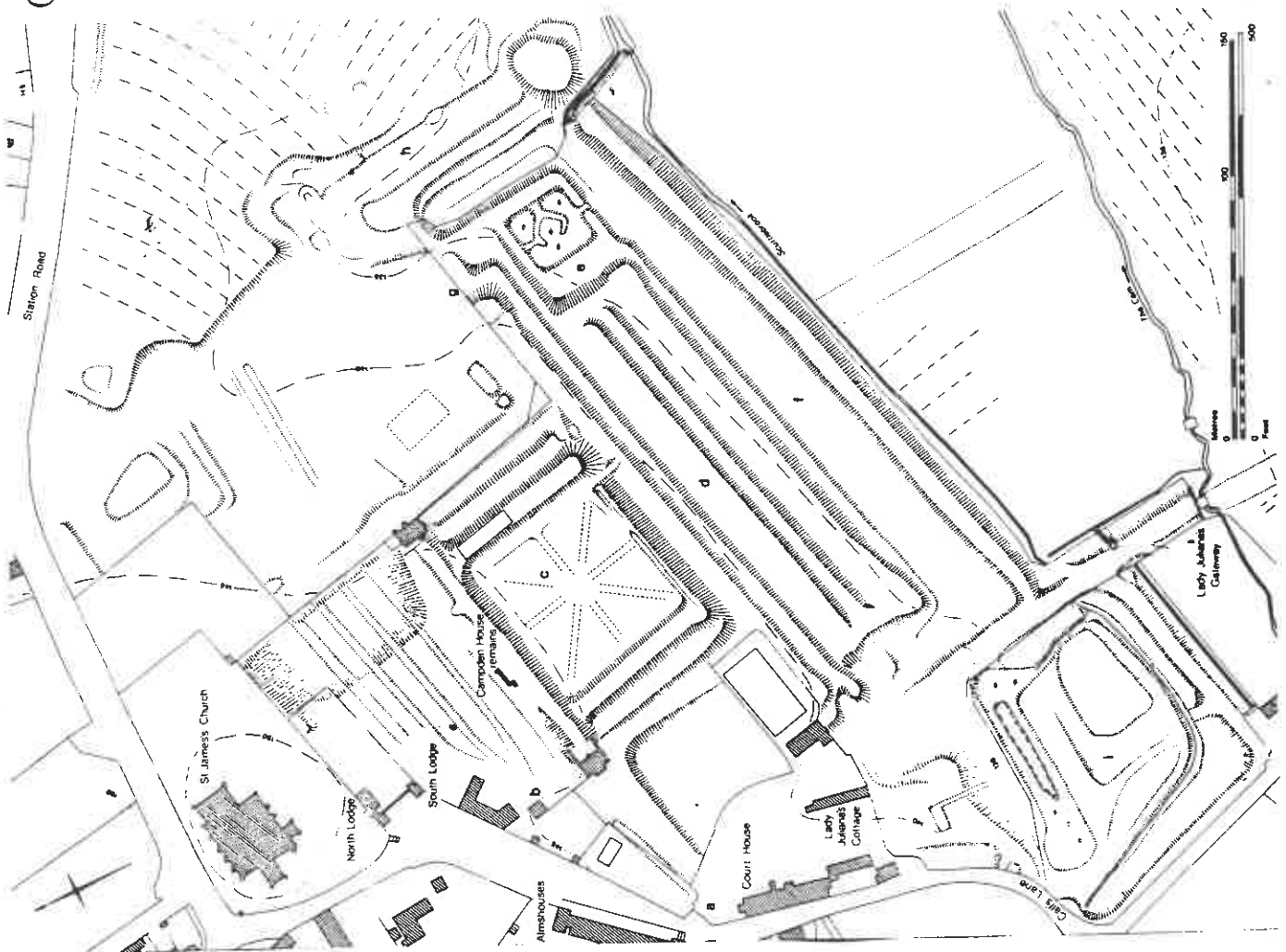
FIG 9 The Moot at Downton, Wilts. 'Special' early 18th-century garden, including walks and amphitheatre, reworking medieval motte-and-bailey castle.

Source: RCHME survey in NMR

FIG 1

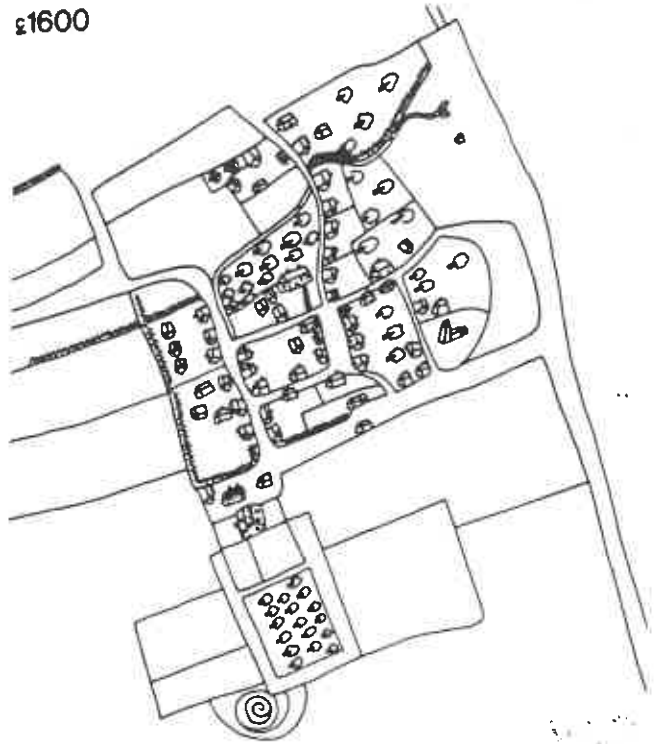


(a)



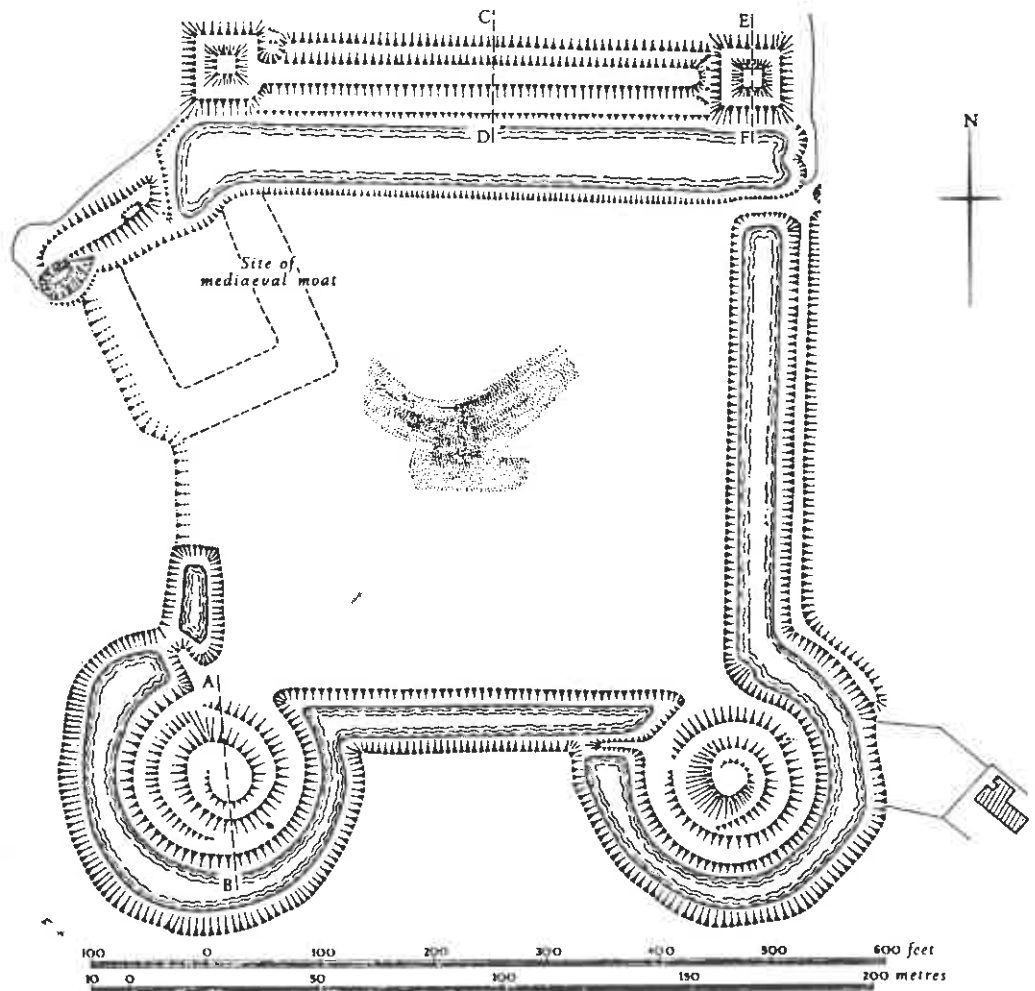
(b)

FIG 2



(a)

(b)



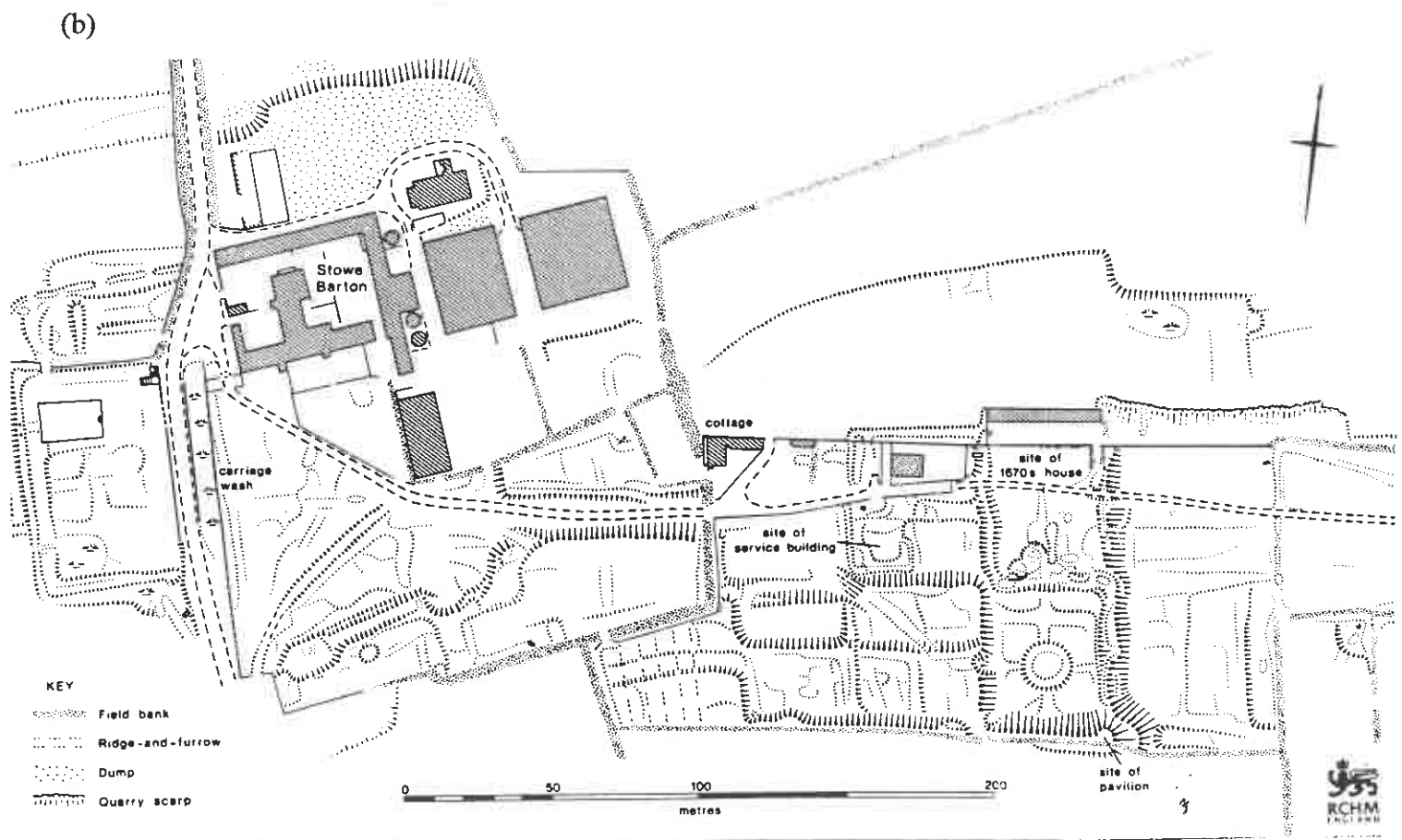
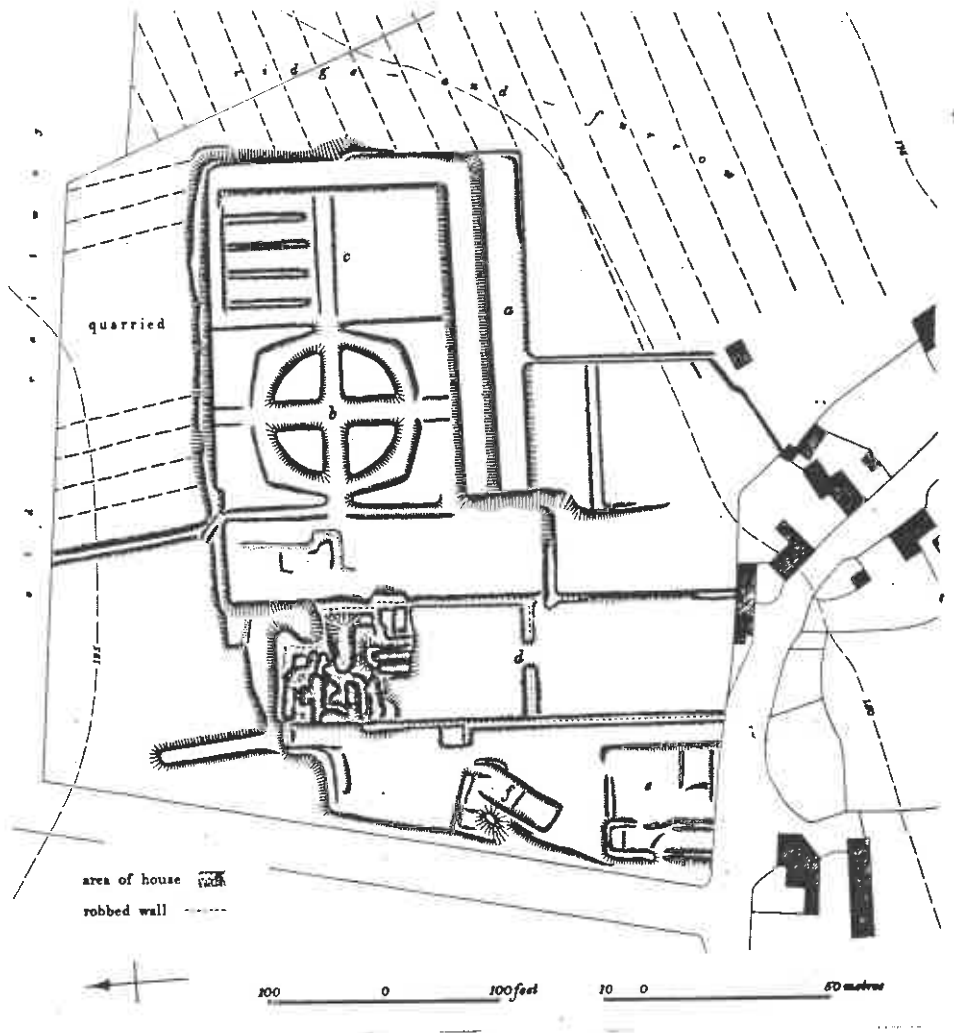
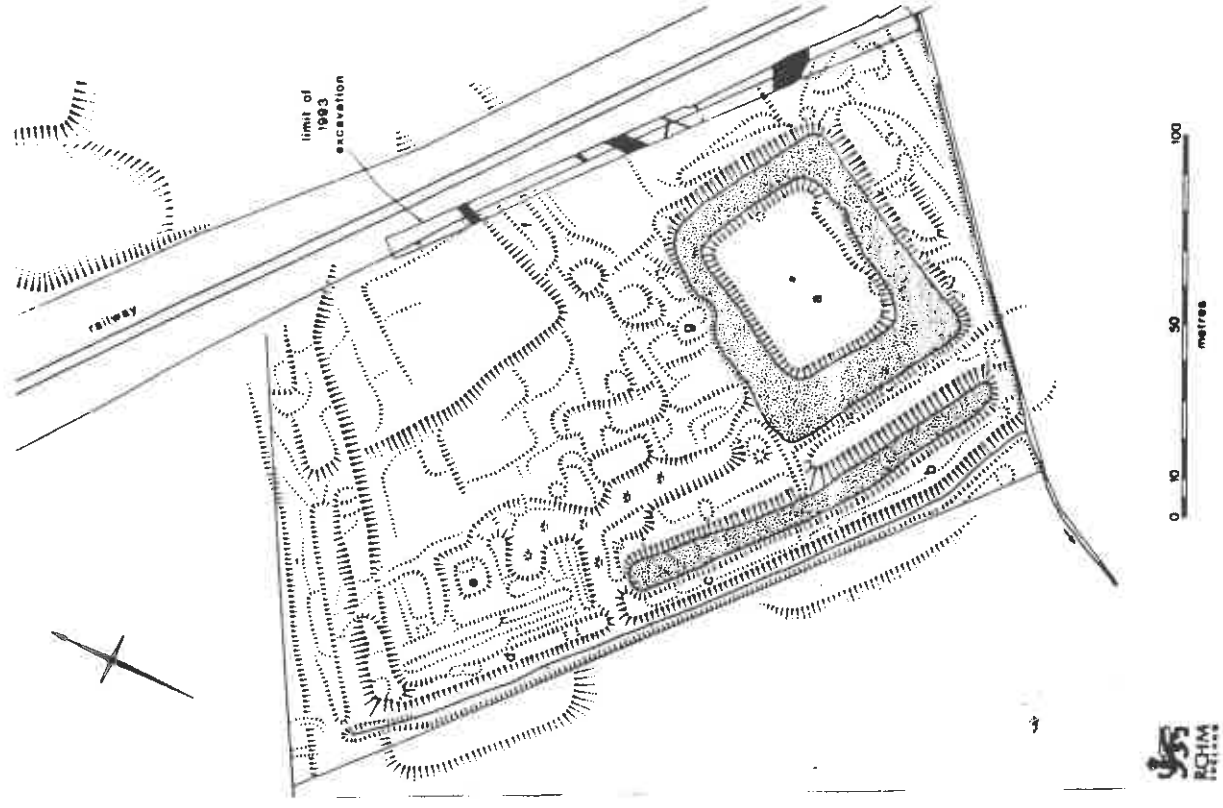


FIG 4

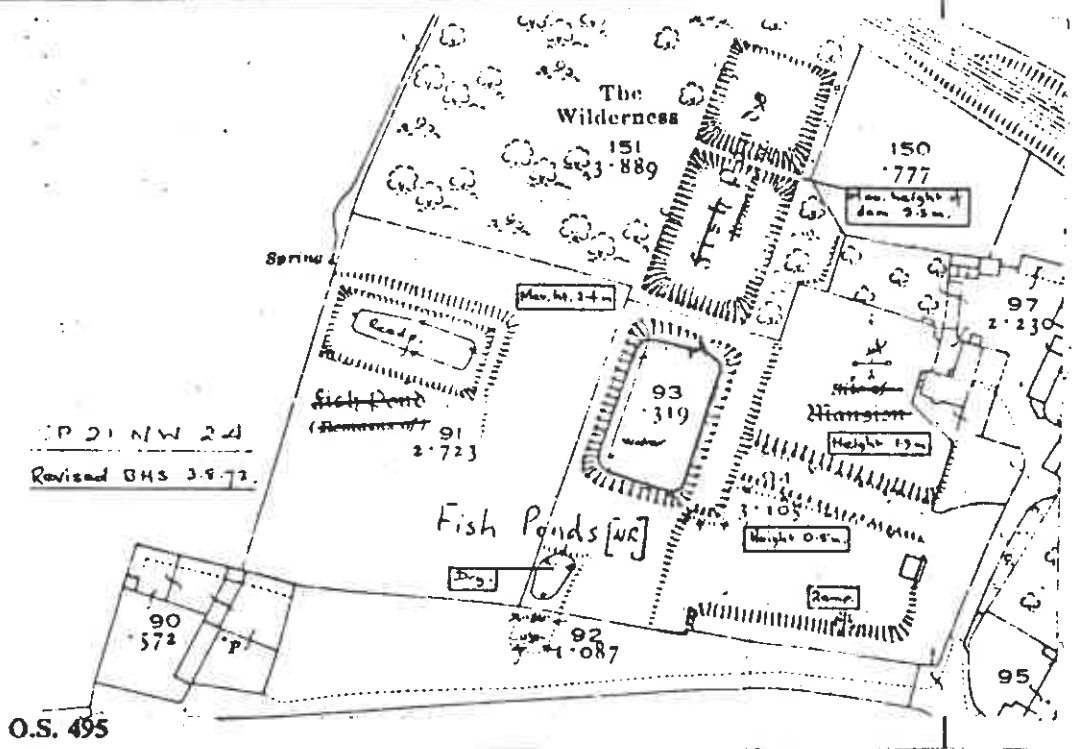
(a)



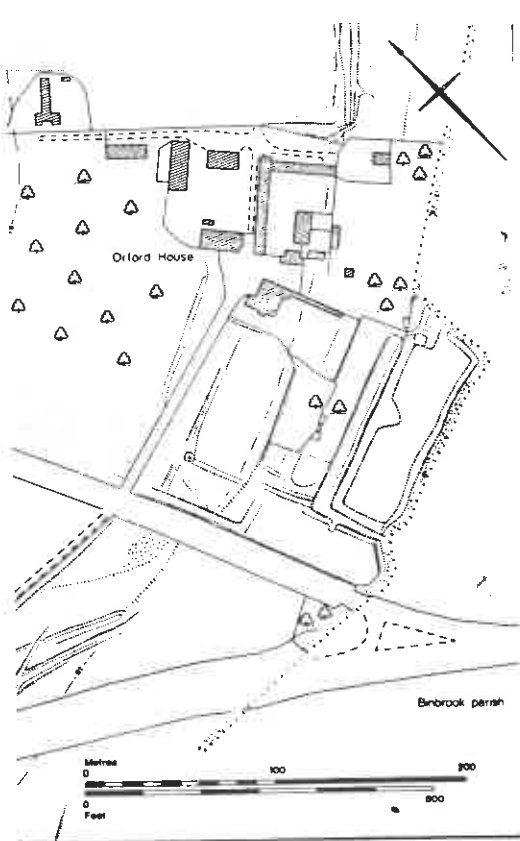
(b)



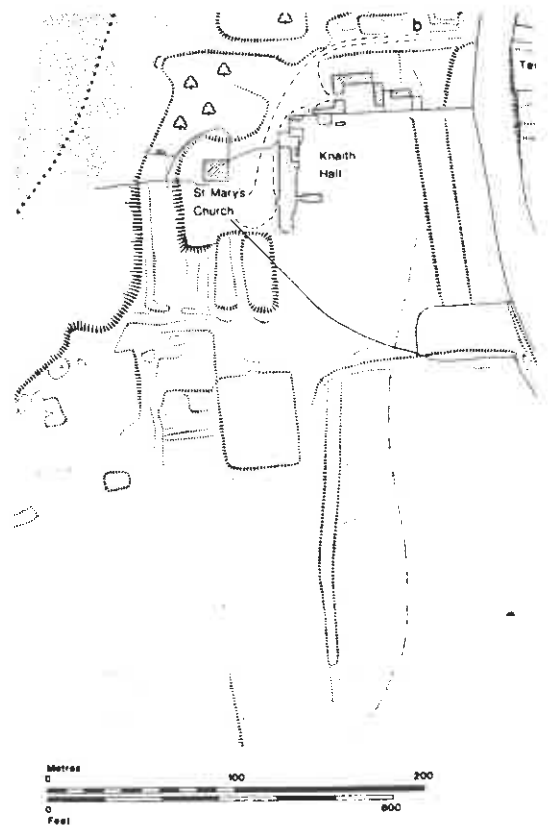
Antiquity No. SP 31 NW 24	County	Parish ILLUSTRATION	SP
------------------------------	--------	------------------------	----



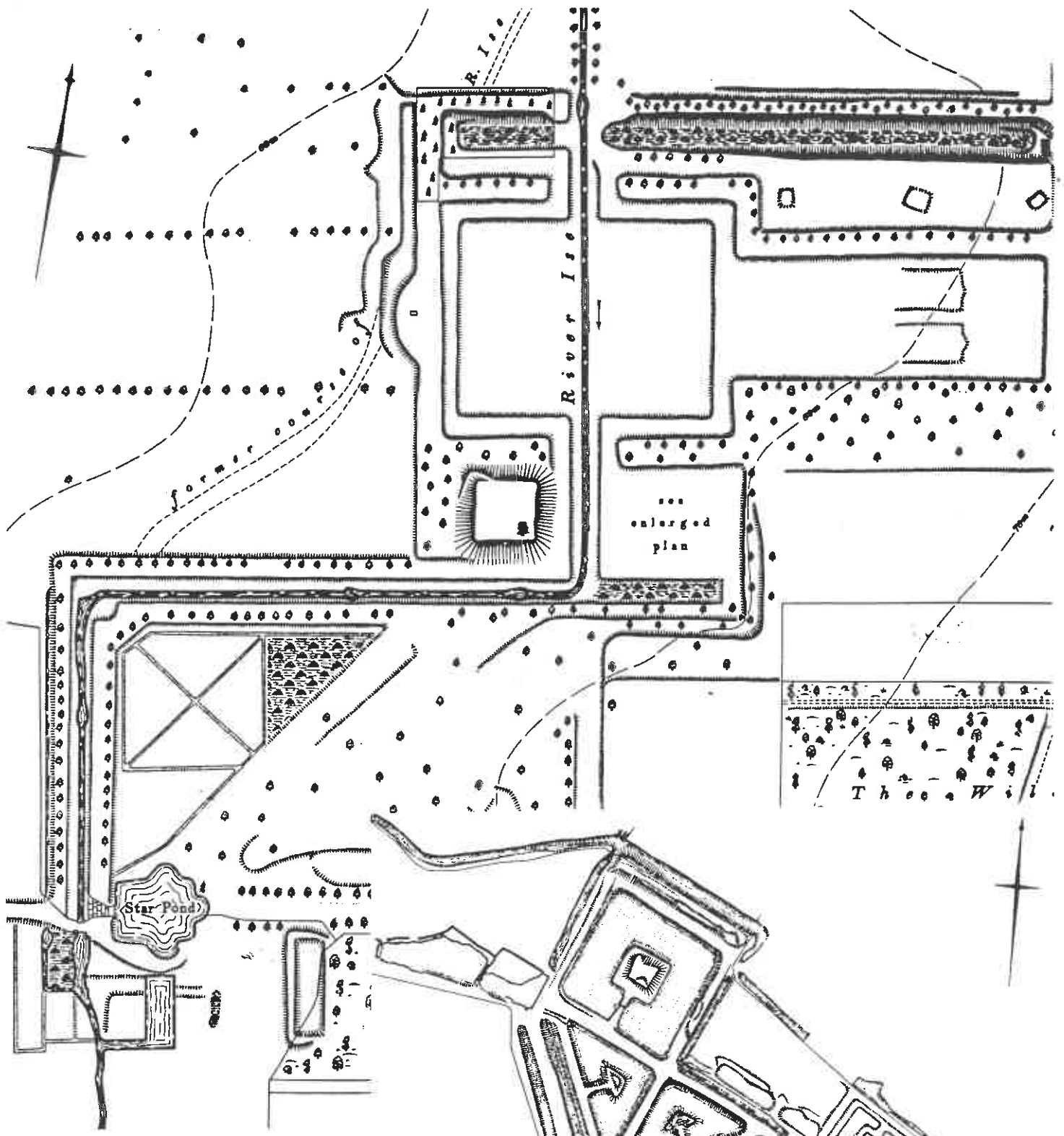
(a)



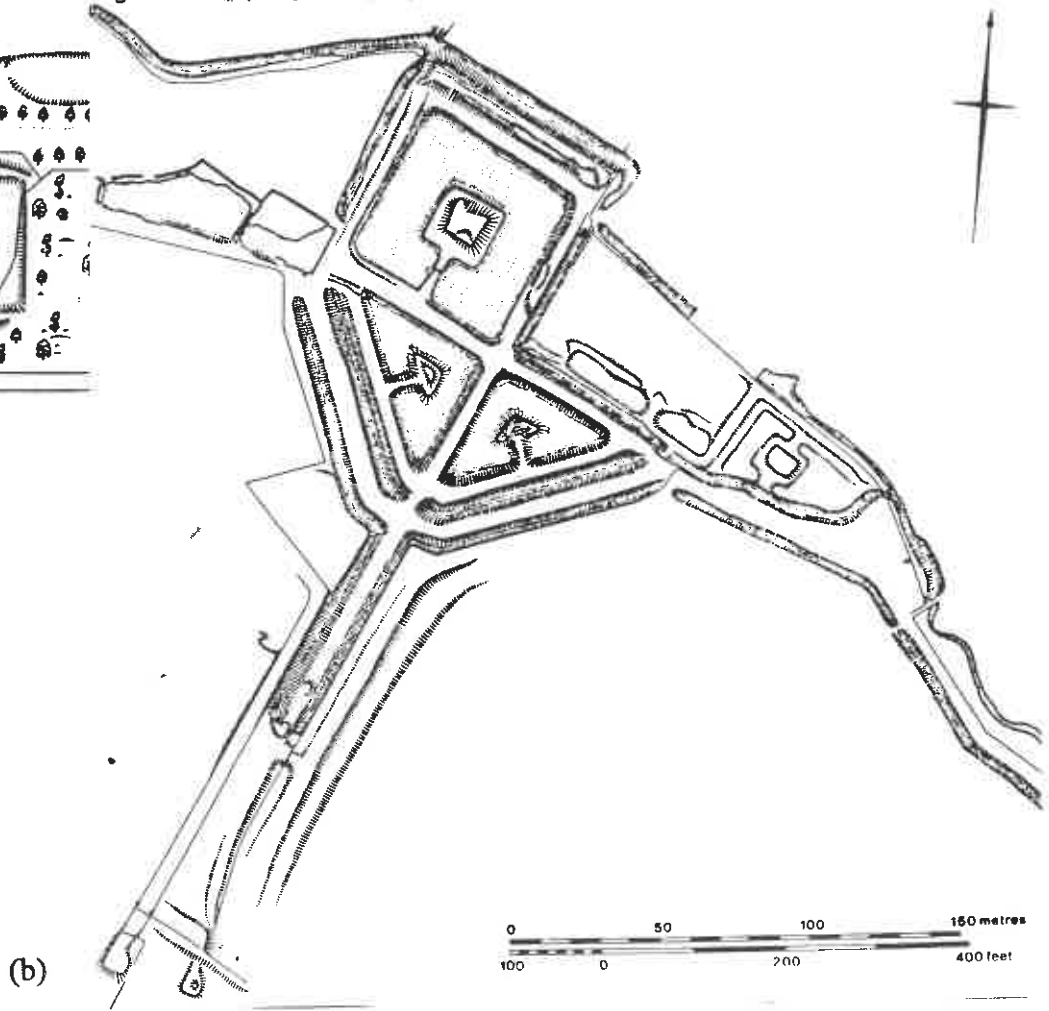
(b)



(c)



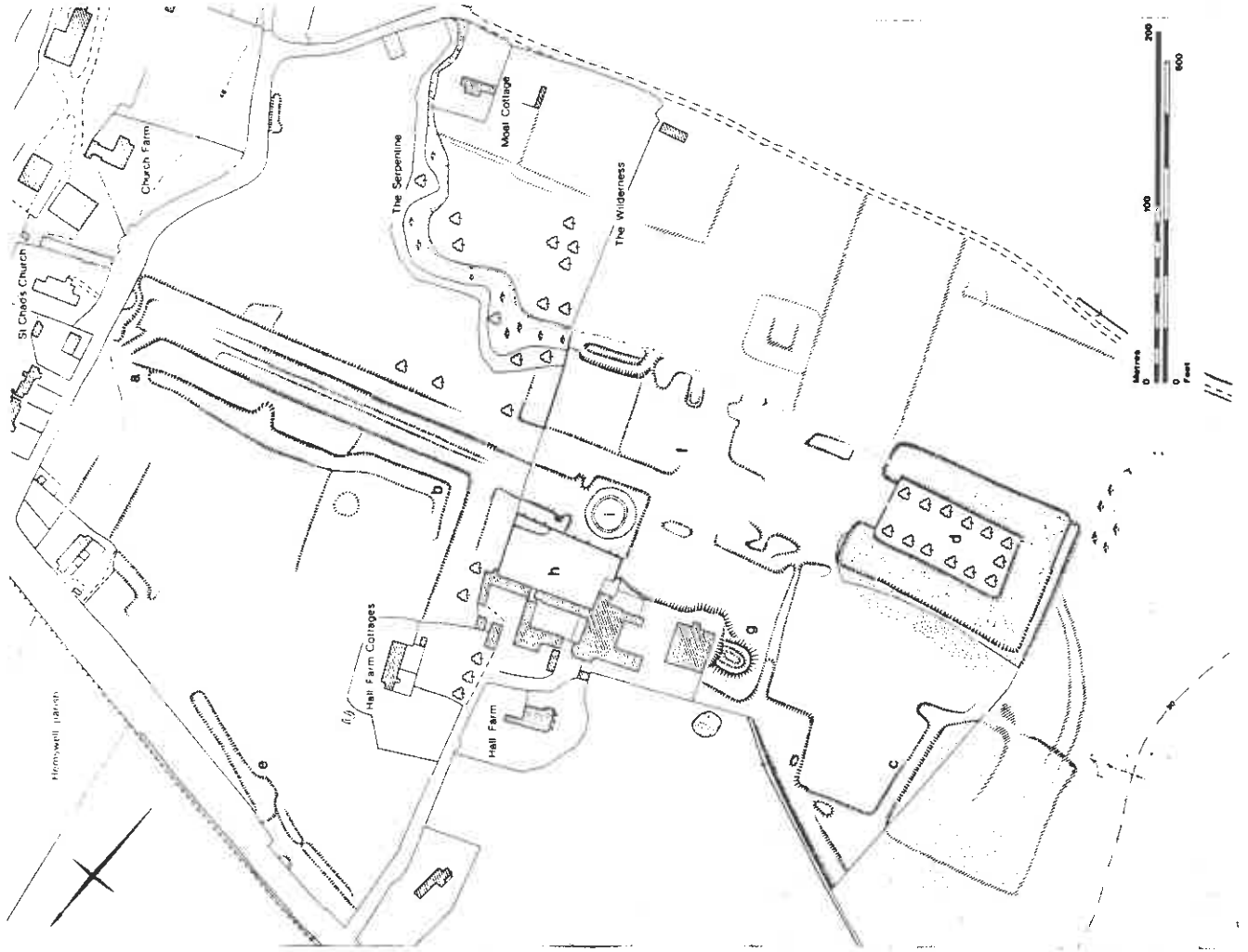
(a)



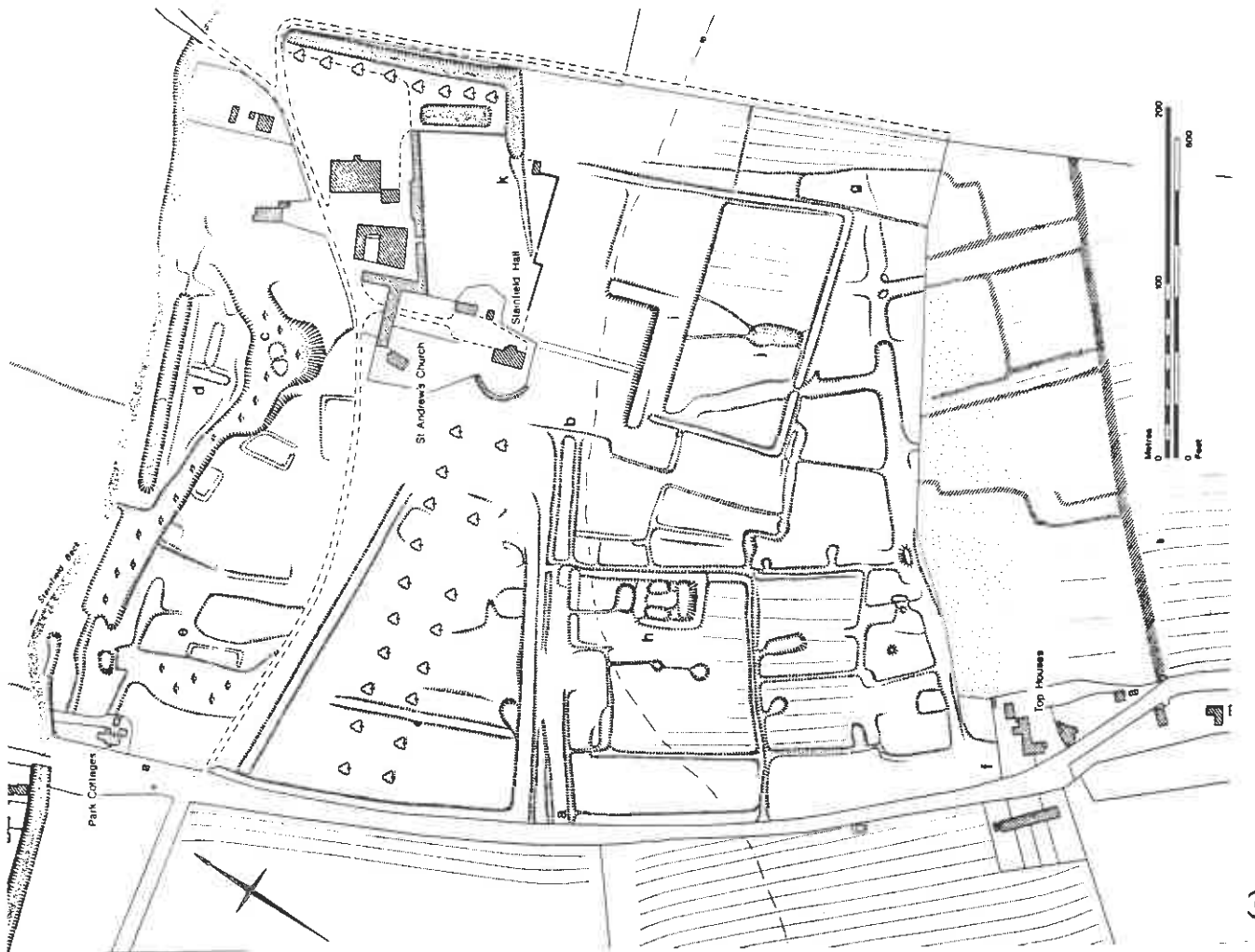
(b)

0 50 100 150 metres
100 0 200 400 feet

FIG 7

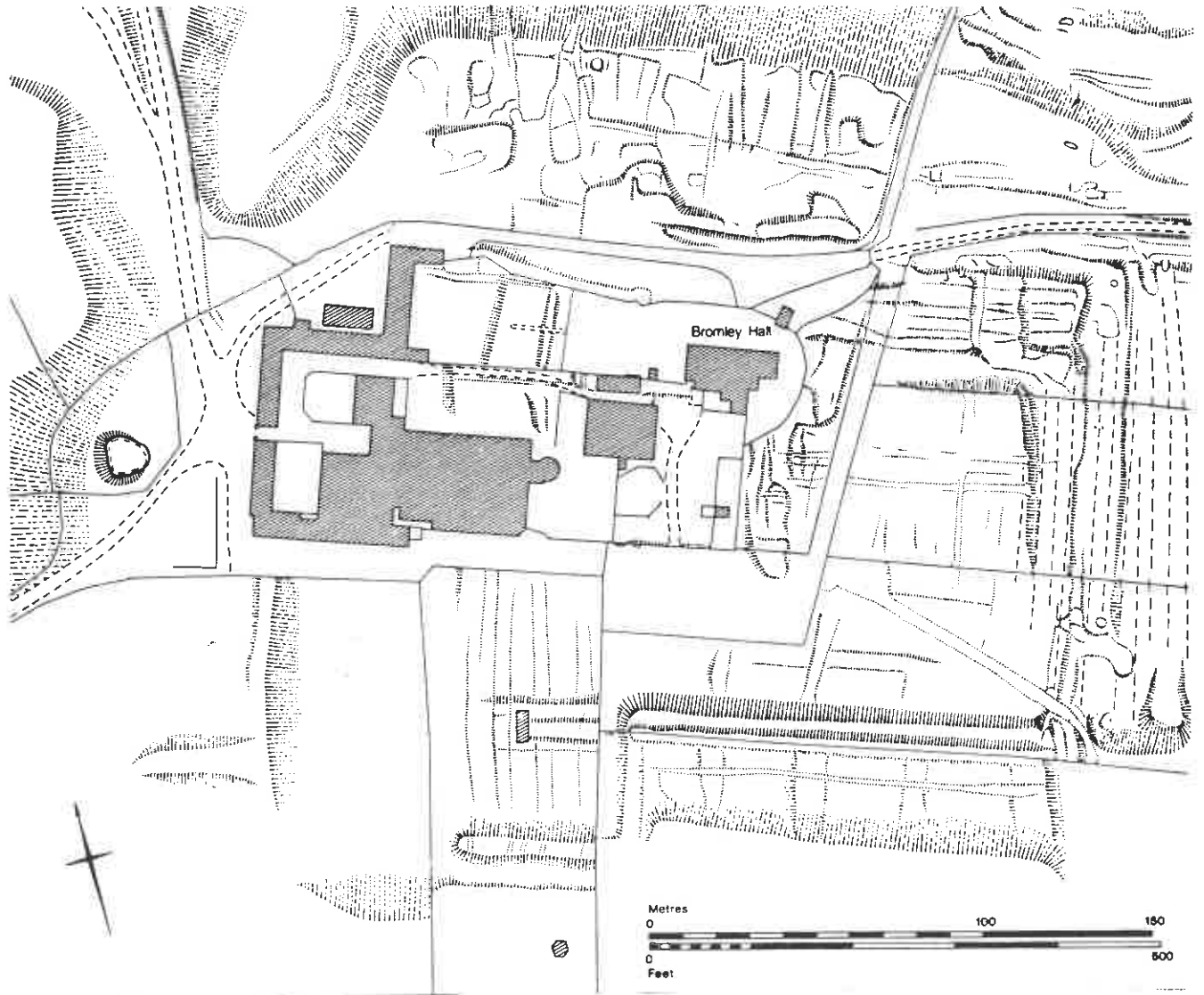


(b)



(a)

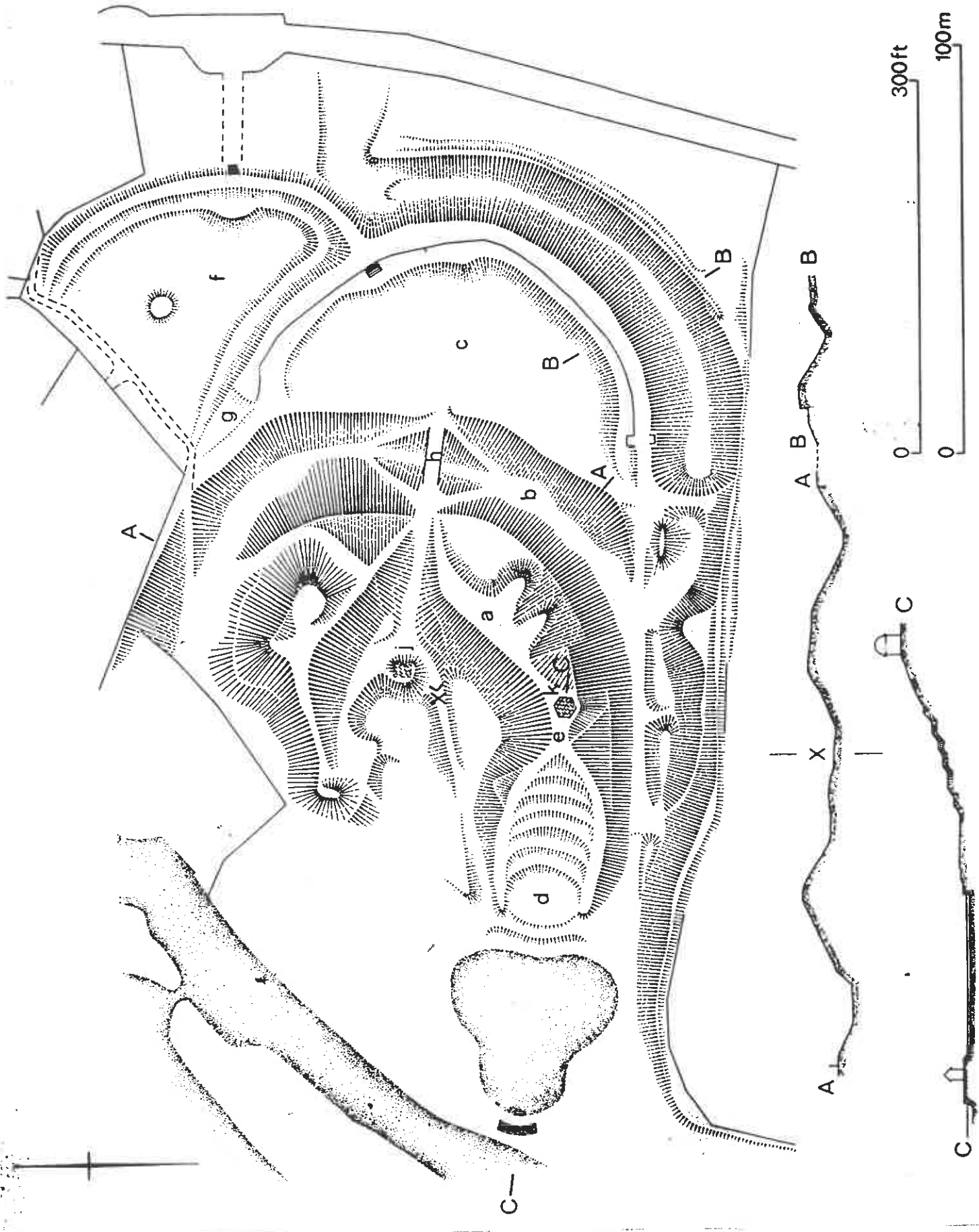
(a)



(b)



FIG 9



APPENDIX I

Examples of Garden Earthwork sites by county, chosen fairly arbitrarily to illustrate the diversity of remains.

COUNTY	SITE	REFERENCE	COMMENTS
Avon	Kelston Court	Bond and Iles 1991	?17th-century Other Avon examples in the same reference
Beds	Old Warden	Beds SMR and Wilson 1991, 25	Post-Dissolution over Abbey remains
Berks	Ankerwycke Priory	NAR	Post-Dissolution over Priory remains
Bucks	Ascott House	NAR	17th-century, exceptionally fine
Cambs	Gamlingay	RCHME 1968, Gamlingay (61)	Early 18th-century Many other sites in RCHME volumes and in Procs Cambs Ant Soc
Cheshire	Kinderton	Everson 1991, 8	?17th-century Other examples in NAR
Cleveland	Whorton Castle	NAR	Exceptional late medieval example
Cornwall	Stowe Barton	Wilson-North forthcoming	Late 17th-century
Cumbria	Muncaster Castle		Late 19th-century, poor example in unexplored county
Derby	Knowle Hill		Alleged late 18th-century
Devon	Oldstones	NAR	17th to 19th-century
Dorset	Eastbury	RCHME 1972, Tarrant Gunville (2)	Early 18th-century
Durham			Unexplored county
East Sussex	Bodiam Castle	Taylor et al, 1990	Late 14th-century
Essex	Woodham Walter	Everson 1991, 15	Late 16th-century
Gloucs	Campden House	Everson 1989	Early 17th-century
Greater London	Greenwich Park		Late 17th-century, exceptional site
Greater Manchester			Unexplored county
Hereford and Worcs	Strenshall Moat	NAR	Mid 16th-century, rare example in unexplored county
Herts	Woodhall Park	Phibbs 1991	18th-century pseudo-medieval park

Humberside	Thornhoime	CUCAP	?17th-century
Kent	Seavington Moat	NAR	?17th-century, poor example in unexplored county
Lancs	-	-	Unexplored county
COUNTY	SITE	REFERENCE	COMMENTS
Leics	Burton Lazars	Wilson 1991, 25	?17th-century
Lincs	Bishop's Palace, Nettleham	RCHME 1991, Nettleham (1)	Late 14th-century See RCHME 1991 for other examples
Merseyside	-	-	Unexplored county
Norfolk	Rougham	Taigel and Williamson 1991, 98-91	Other examples in Taigel and Williamson 1991
Northants	Holdenby	RCHME 1981, Holdenby (4)	Late 16th-century 40 other examples in RCHME 1975-85
Northumberland	Belsay Park	NAR	16th to 19th-century Poorly explored county
North Yorks	Cawood	Blood and Taylor 1992	Late medieval For later example see Swan 1989
Notts	Beauvale	NAR	16th-century over Carthusian House
Oxon	Tackley	NAR	Remarkable early 17th-century example
Salop	Greeton	Everson 1991, 11	?medieval water landscape See also Wilson-North 1989 for later example
Somerset	Lowham	Aston 1978	Late 16th-century See Bond and Iles 1991 for other examples
South Yorks	-	-	Unexplored county
Staffs	Gerards Bromley	Everson 1991, 7	Late 16th-century Other examples in NAR
Suffolk	Long Melford Hall	-	16th-century
Surrey	Nonesuch Park	NAR	16th-century
Tyne and Wear	-	-	Unexplored county
Warwick	Warwick Castle	-	Late medieval
West Midlands	Castle Bromwich	-	Excavated example
West Sussex	-	-	Unexplored county

West Yorks

Howley Hall

Ainsworth 1989

Late 16th-century

Wilts

Downton Moote

NAR

18th-century
Other examples in NAR