

Michael Lee

19th-Century travel reports associated with the Royal Gardeners Academy in Wildpark-Potsdam

Founded in 1823 under the leadership of Peter Joseph Lenné (1789–1866), the Royal Gardeners Academy in Wildpark-Potsdam (Königliche Gärtnerlehranstalt) was the first professional school for gardeners in German-speaking Europe.¹ Students pursued a curriculum that lasted up to three years, and the few who exhibited enough promise to complete the program typically continued their education through travel, visiting exemplary gardens throughout Europe and often working as apprentices either at these gardens or at commercial plant nurseries. Their travel, including the itinerary, was overseen by Lenné and was funded through a stipend granted by his office, the Prussian Garden Directorate at Sanssouci, Potsdam. One of the conditions of the stipend was that the recipient was expected to submit a written report of his activities to the Garden Directorate, detailing not only his observations of the places visited but especially the horticultural regimens used by the various gardeners with whom he came in contact.² Through such funded travel, Lenné and the other court gardeners at Potsdam hoped to accumulate knowledge of the most advanced horticultural techniques in Europe and to have documentation of this knowledge on permanent file for reference.

One of the few surviving reports (Hans Jancke, 1874–1875) has recently been edited and published (ed. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, *Dumbarton Oaks*, 2013);³ another known manuscript report (Emil Sello, 1838–1840) is in the possession of the Sello family.⁴ The remaining extant reports, at least those that are known, are located in File 6 of Lenné's official papers, held by the Prussian Secret State Ar-

1 Harald Linke, *Die Gärtnerlehranstalt Potsdam/Wildpark: Beginn der Landschaftsarchitektenausbildung*, in: Detlef Karg und Hans-Joachim Dreger (eds.), *Peter Joseph Lenné. Gartenkunst im 19. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Lenné-Forschung*, Verlag für Bauwesen, Berlin, 1992, pp. 171–183; Hans Joachim Wefeld, Peter Joseph Lenné und die erste Gärtnerschule, in: Florian Buttler (ed.), *Peter Joseph Lenné. Volkspark und Arkadien*, Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1989, pp. 91–97; Björn Brüsch, *Genealogie einer Lehranstalt. Von der gartenmässigen Nutzung des Landes zur Gründung der Königlichen Gärtnerlehranstalt*, Martin Meidenbauer, München, 2010.

2 From there the report was to be submitted to the Verein zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Preussischen Staaten; however, it appears that most remained with Lenné. *Statuten und Verwaltungs-Pläne der Gärtner-Lehranstalt und Landesbaumschule zu Schöneberg und Potsdam*, August Rücker, Berlin, 1824, p. 24, § 30. See also Michael Seiler and Clemens Alexander Wimmer, *Wie Hofgärtner reisten*, in: Michael Seiler, Sonja Duempelmann and Carsten Neumann (eds.), *Preußisch Grün: Hofgärtner in Brandenburg-Preussen*, Henschel, Berlin, 2004, p. 166.

3 Hans Jancke, *Travel Report. An Apprenticeship in the Earl of Derby's Kitchen Gardens and Greenhouses at Knowsley, England*, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (ed.), transl. by Mic Hale, *Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*, Washington, D.C., 2013.

4 Seiler and Wimmer, *Wie Hofgärtner reisten* (as note 2), pp. 169, 173 Anm. 22.

chives in Berlin-Dahlem (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz). These six manuscripts span the years 1825 to 1854 and shed significant light on the interests and priorities of the Academy, its graduates, and others associated with the institution during the first three decades of its existence. The authors devoted most of their energy to the description of plant collections and horticultural practices, but there are also important details that allude to social and professional networks, assess the merits and deficiencies of designed landscapes, and describe the mechanics and financing of travel itself. Together they show that these journeys typically lasted one to three years and often crossed the borders of several European countries, with Holland, Belgium, France, Austria, and other German states being the most common destinations.

Although the authors of these reports were all connected with the Gardeners Academy in some way, not all of them were officially enrolled as students. It was quite common, for example, for the sons of the court gardener dynasties at Potsdam to apprentice directly with the head gardeners from a young age and not attend the Academy as students, even though many went on to become instructors. This list would include, for example, many of the Sellos, Nietners, and Fintelmans. Educational travel had been a long tradition within these families, and the practice of funded travel at the Academy was essentially a continuation of this practice.⁵

When Lenné founded the Royal Gardeners Academy in 1823, he had many reasons for wishing to include travel at one of the most critical stages in a gardener's education—the years immediately following completion of formal instruction but before beginning a professional position. Travel had been a crucial component of his own education as a gardener, and it had provided him with many of the skills and much of the knowledge that had propelled his success in Potsdam. After growing up in a family of court gardeners based in the Rhineland, Lenné went to Paris in 1810 to apprentice with André Thouin, director of the *Jardin des plantes*. It was here that he expanded his knowledge of plants, attended lectures in architecture from Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, and likely refined his plan rendering technique through exposure to the work of Gabriel Thouin, André's brother. For the next couple of years Lenné traveled through southern Germany and Switzerland, before obtaining a post as a garden-engineer (*Garten-Ingenieur*) in Vienna. Thus, within a few short years he had managed not only to visit, but to live and to work in two of the great European capitals with significant garden cultures. The experience of travel left a deep imprint on Lenné's early formation and helped shape his growing conviction that gardeners should be regarded as

5 Seiler and Wimmer, *Wie Hofgärtner reisten* (as note 2), pp. 164–173.

educated professionals, defined not only by their practical expertise but also by a broader outlook on the world.⁶

Through contacts made with Prussian emissaries during the Congress of Vienna, Lenné received an offer in 1816 to come to Potsdam, where he was given several opportunities to undertake travel in the service of the kings of Prussia. The first of these journeys came in 1822, when he was sent to England to observe firsthand some of the finest examples of landscape gardens, not in the form of Continental imitations but in their original home. Lenné's handwritten report is now lost, but sections of it were published in the proceedings of the Society for the Advancement of Horticulture in the Prussian States (*Verein zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Preussischen Staaten*, hereafter Prussian Horticultural Society).⁷ Lenné's observations focus on design assessments of several country estates he visited near London, as well as critical commentary on the major parks within London, in which he had hoped to find ideas for his own plans for public parks in Germany, but was largely disappointed. This mission took place in the context of similar assignments to England given by the Prussian court to architects, industrialists, and other professionals during these years (e.g., Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Peter Beuth) to observe the most advanced developments in their fields.⁸

Lenné's next professional journey came in 1837, when he went to France and Belgium in order to obtain palm trees for the new palm house on the Pfaueninsel. This assignment was followed by two trips to Italy after the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to the throne in 1840. The first focused on upper Italy, where most of Lenné's observations were devoted to Italian agricultural practices and their effect on the countryside. The second took him as far as Rome and Naples, where he visited more villa gardens than on the previous trip. The Villa Borghese in Rome received particular mention because Lenné noted approvingly that its owner had opened up its grounds to the public. His most positive comments were reserved for those gardens that contained the greatest variety of horticultural specimens, as well as for the evident skill of several of the head gardeners who happened to

6 Clemens Alexander Wimmer, *Der Gartenkünstler Peter Joseph Lenné. Eine Karriere am preußischen Hof*, Verlag Lambert Schneider, Darmstadt, 2016.

7 Peter Joseph Lenné, Allgemeine Bemerkungen über die Britischen Parks und Gärten. Fragmente aus dem Reise-Journal, in: *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten*, 1 (1824), pp. 82–96.

8 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *The English Journey. Journal of a Visit to France and Britain in 1826*, Gottfried Riemann und David Bindman (eds.), Yale University Press, New Haven, 1993.

be German nationals. Not surprisingly, they were found superior in every way to their Italian counterparts.⁹

It is important to note what Lenné, and his patrons, were gaining from these experiences. The journey to England came as Lenné was beginning to transform the royal parks around Potsdam according to English models. His observations of agricultural landscapes spurred his imagination as he embarked on the great project of “rural embellishment” (Landesverschönerung) to form the new matrix of this park system.¹⁰ And his seeking out of German gardeners working in Italy attests to his lifelong devotion to creating, and sustaining, networks of professional gardeners throughout Europe.

It was this understanding of professional education, in the broadest sense, that Lenné brought to the Royal Gardeners Academy in Wildpark-Potsdam (fig. 1). The curriculum was arranged in a three-year sequence, beginning with horticultural studies in the royal gardens and greenhouses and advancing to additional subjects, such as surveying, mathematics, and plan rendering toward the end. Only the most promising students were allowed to enter the final year, during which they learned Lenné’s principles of landscape design.¹¹ Although it arguably succeeded in raising the quality of professional gardening in Prussia, the Academy also had the intended effect of replicating Lenné’s preferred manner of garden design in successive generations of gardeners, many of whom remained in Potsdam after graduation to join Lenné’s staff. Gerhard Koeber, for example, attended the Academy from 1826 to 1830, and soon thereafter became Lenné’s preferred draftsman, executing some of the Garden Directorate’s most spectacular plans during the 1830s and 1840s. As Lenné’s right-hand man, Koeber freed up the Director’s time so that he could better use it elsewhere.¹² Similarly, travel by these graduates was not only for their individual benefit, but also to extend the reach of Lenné’s influence across Europe as they helped him build and maintain networks. A passport belonging to

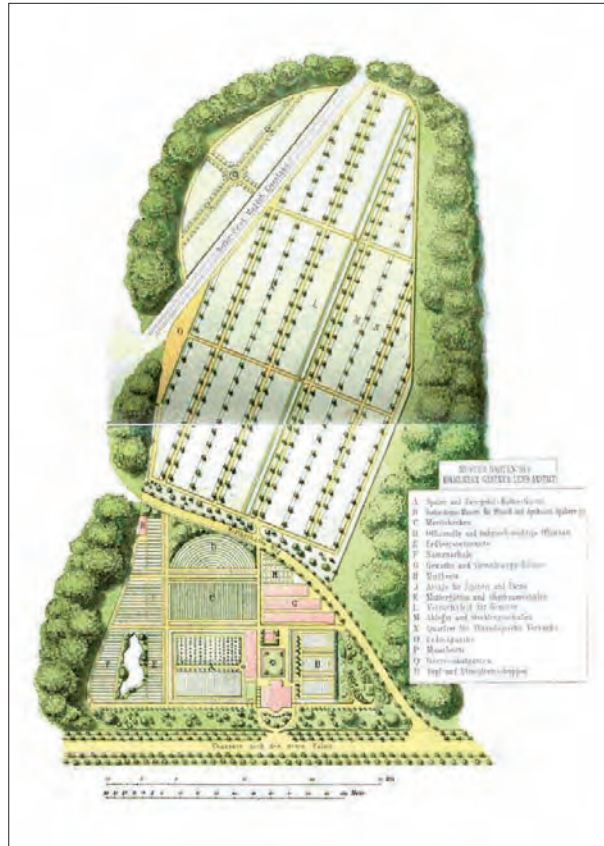
9 Peter Joseph Lenné, Auszug aus dem Sitzungsprotokoll des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in der 224^{sten} Versammlung de dato Berlin den 27^{sten} Oktober 1844 [Reisebericht aus Italien], in: *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten*, 18 (1847), pp. 25–27; Peter Joseph Lenné, Auszug aus dem Sitzungs-Protokoll des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues am 16. Januar 1848 [Reisebericht aus Italien], in: *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten*, 19 (1849), pp. 290–293.

10 Gert Gröning, The Idea of Land Embellishment. As exemplified in the Monatsblatt für Verbesserung des Landbauwesens und für zweckmäßige Verschönerung des bairischen Landes (Monthly for improvement of rural architecture and appropriate embellishment of the state of Bavaria) from 1821 to 1829, in: *Journal of Garden History*, 12 (1992), 3, pp. 164–182. For a comprehensive account of the Potsdam landscape and its court gardeners, see also Axel Klausmeier and Michael Seiler (eds.), *Nichts gedeiht ohne Pflege. Die Potsdamer Parklandschaft und ihre Gärtner*, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam, 2001.

11 *Statuten und Verwaltungs-Pläne* (as note 2); Linke, Gärtnerlehranstalt Potsdam/Wildpark (as note 1).

12 Wimmer, *Der Gartenkünstler Peter Joseph Lenné* (as note 6); Michael Seiler, Planzeichnen und Feldmessen der Hofgärtner, in: Michael Seiler, Sonja Duempelmann and Carsten Neumann (eds.), *Preussisch Grün. Hofgärtner in Brandenburg-Preussen*, Henschel, Berlin, 2004, pp. 187–194.

Fig. 1 The Royal Gardeners Academy (Königliche Gärtnerlehranstalt) at Sanssouci, 1872 (Ferdinand Jühlke, *Die Königliche Landesbaumschule und Gärtnerlehranstalt zu Potsdam*, Wiegandt & Hempel, Berlin, 1872)



the Halberstadt-born gardener August Carl Wilhelm Große, who apprenticed at the Pfaueninsel from 1830–1833, provides a vivid material record of this network-building activity. Taken with him on his 1834–1835 travels through western Europe, the document's four pages are completely filled with official border stamps, giving some indication of the intensity of the itineraries Lenné prescribed for this grand vision.¹³

The travel reports

The six travel reports in Lenné's files span a broad spectrum within this genre, both with regard to the thematic emphases of their contents and the relationship of the authors to Lenné and the Gardeners Academy. In chronological order of travel years, they are: 1) Gustav Adolph Fintelmann (1824–1828), 2) Rudolph Rothe (1827), 3) Joseph Clemens Weyhe (1829–1830), 4) Anonymous (1829–1831), and 5) Adolf Reuter in two parts, (1851–1852) and (1853–1854). It is not clear how

¹³ Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Hofgärtnerarchiv der Familienstiftung Hofgärtner Hermann Sello, 7.6.4./13. See also Seiler, Duempelmann and Neumann (eds.), *Preussisch Grün* (as note 2), pp. 265–266.

or when these particular reports came to be grouped together in Lenné's papers.¹⁴ Each of the four known authors represents a different category with regard to his professional relationship with the Garden Directorate in Potsdam: 1) sons of court gardener families who undertook educational travel but did not attend the Gardeners Academy (Fintelmann), 2) foreigners who apprenticed with the Sanssouci court gardeners and Academy instructors (Rothe), 3) relatives of the Potsdam court gardeners who lived elsewhere (Weyhe), and 4) students who were enrolled at the Academy (Reuter).

These reports should also be placed within the context of other known journeys undertaken by young gardeners trained in Potsdam, some of whom also wrote reports or correspondence documenting their travels but that are not included in this file. Among those travelers are Theodor I. Nietner, Carl Fintelmann, Eduard I. Nietner (1818, Vienna), Gustav Adolph Bußler, Hermann Sello (1821–1824), Wilhelm Nietner (1826, Vienna, Munich, Karlsruhe, Schwetzingen), Gottlieb Kühne (1825, Munich), Emil Sello (1838–1840, Prague, Vienna, Munich, Liege, France, England), Theodor Nietner (1850, London), and Heinrich Fintelmann (1849–1850).¹⁵

Gustav Adolph Fintelmann (1824–1828)

The first report (84 pages) was written by Gustav Adolph Fintelmann, a scion of one of the great court gardener families in Potsdam. His journey was unusually long, lasting four years and taking him through Austria, northern Italy, southern Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands, where he worked for the commercial nursery Schneevogt in Haarlem; then as far as France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. His report is the longest of this group of six, but it concerns only the five months he spent in Vienna in 1825 and bears the title, "Sammlungen über die

14 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter, GStAPK), BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6. The original cataloging was completed on January 15, 1927 by the archivist Schnath in Schloss Charlottenburg. After major losses to the collection during World War II, it was moved to the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Merseburg and recataloged in its present configuration by the archivist Henning, whose efforts were completed in October 1952. http://archivdatenbank.gsta.spk-berlin.de/midosasearch-gsta/Midosasearch/bph_rep_192_nl_lenne_p_j/index.htm (30/04/18). The first modern scholar to take note of the travel report file, which contains a few additional reports on other subjects, was Michael Seiler, who saw it in 1983 while conducting research in Merseburg. See Michael Seiler and Christian Hlavac, Gustav Adolph Fintelmanns „Bemerkungen über die Gärten um Wien aus dem Jahre 1825“, in: *Die Gartenkunst*, 28 (2016), 1, p. 164, note 1. His essay "Wie Hofgärtner reisten," co-authored with Clemens Alexander Wimmer, was the first to treat the travel reports collectively (as note 2).

15 Seiler and Wimmer, *Wie Hofgärtner reisten* (as note 2), p. 166. On the broader phenomenon of study travel by European gardeners during this period, see Hubertus Fischer, Sigrid Thielking and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Reisen in Parks und Gärten. Umriss einer Rezeptions- und Imaginationsgeschichte*, Martin Meidenbauer, München, 2012; Hubertus Fischer, Georg Ruppelt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Eine Reise in die Schweiz: Das Reisetagebuch des hannoverschen Hofgärtners Heinrich Ludolph Wendland aus dem Jahr 1820*, CGL-Studies 23, AVM Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft, Munich, 2015.

Gärten um Wien.” He apparently made other notes during at least part of the rest of his journey, for twenty-three years later he published an account of peach cultivation techniques he learned while in Paris in August 1826. This article appears in the 1849 issue of the proceedings of the Prussian Horticultural Society.¹⁶

Fintelmann’s manuscript was recently transcribed in its entirety and introduced with an explanatory essay by Michael Seiler and Christian Hlavac, so my remarks here are brief.¹⁷ The text is filled with detailed observations of horticultural techniques and vast plant lists. But Fintelmann also devotes considerable space to the design qualities of parks and gardens around Vienna, showing himself to be an astute, if modest, critic. In a section entitled *Naturgärten*, or “nature gardens,” he writes:

“Unfortunately, I cannot trust myself here to give a definitive rendering or account, but must admit that I do not believe myself in a position to portray or fully comprehend such gardens, the possibility of which almost certainly requires a natural taste, developed through a multifaceted education. Consequently, I have only made a small attempt which I beg the reader to bear in mind in rendering judgment.”¹⁸

Despite his deceptive modesty, Fintelmann goes on to provide keen observations of several landscape gardens he has visited. For example, he writes of the Rasumofsky and Geymüller gardens designed by Konrad Johann Rosenthal (1769–1843):

“In both gardens the natural features of the property are artfully used. The greenswards no longer follow the existing contours, but have been transformed into smooth surfaces, with pleasing higher and lower declivities, and then sowed. The paths run in soft curves, which have likely been calculated; for wherever one goes, or even simply stands, one never sees a rock or any form that disturbs the curved line. And nowhere did I notice from afar a segment of bare path causing a break in a sweep of lawn, or the use of a right angle when a rounded form was wanted.

16 Gustav Adolph Fintelmann, Die Pfirsichzucht zu Montreuil bei Paris, in: *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten*, 19 (1849), p. 16.

17 Seiler and Hlavac, Fintelmanns ‚Bemerkungen‘ (as note 14). See also a discussion and partial transcription in Seiler and Wimmer, *Wie Hofgärtner reisten* (as note 2), pp. 166–168.

18 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 118v. „Leider kann ich mir nicht zutrauen hierin nur etwas, einigermaßen genügendes zu verzeichnen oder vorführen zu können, sondern muß gestehn daß ich nicht im Stande zu sein glaube solche Gärten zu schildern oder aufzufassen, weil dies wohl nur erst durch eine vielfältige Ausbildung eines natürlichen Geschmackes möglich ist. Daher habe ich nur einen kleinen Versuch gemacht, um von meinem gütigen Vorgesetzten darnach auch in dieser Hinsicht ihr Urtheil erbitten zu können.“

Throughout, one's eye can follow the path undisturbed, or make out another in the distance as it displays itself as a pleasant curving line."¹⁹

With such eloquent analysis, Fintelmann displays his own curving lines of prose, and in doing so does credit to his training in Potsdam. He was clearly prepared to receive what travel offered him, both as a design critic and as a knowledgeable horticulturalist.

Rudolph Rothe (1827)

Rudolph Rothe (1802–1877) was one of the most significant Danish gardeners of the nineteenth century, known equally for his work as a landscape designer and as an author of several works on the theory and practice of gardening. During his long career he served as designer or director of several royal parks and gardens, including those at Fredensborg Palace. As a young man he undertook a series of apprenticeships before taking his gardening examination in 1821, then becoming an assistant gardener at the Copenhagen Botanical Garden from 1821 to 1823. Beginning in 1824 and supported by a government stipend, he set off on a study tour that took him to several European countries, including Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, northern Italy, France, and Holland.²⁰ Early in this journey he spent fifteen months during 1824–1825 as an apprentice in the Sanssouci gardens, working primarily with the court gardeners Sello and Fintelmann. It was this daily relationship with the court gardeners, as well as the general oversight of Lenné, that led to the creation of the travel report (12 pages) in Lenné's files.

Written in very small print on dark paper that differs visibly from the other reports in File 6, Rothe's manuscript is immediately discernible as belonging to a different category. Signed on March 5, 1827, in Munich, it was written about two years after Rothe had completed his apprenticeship at Sanssouci. Rothe begins by explaining the motivations behind the report and the reason he is sending it to

19 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. S. 119–119v. „In beiden ist von der Natur des Grundstückes alles mit Kunst benutzt. Nirgends sieht man diese sich noch selbst überlassen. Die Rasenplätze sind nicht mehr die natürlichen, sondern geebnet, in gefällige größere oder kleinere Abdachungen verwandelt und dann besät. Die Wege laufen in sanften und mal recht wohl berechneten Biegungen, denn wo man auch sei, wo man auch stehen bleibe, nirgends sieht man einen Stein oder sonst eine die Bogenlinie störende Form, und nirgends bemerkte ich von ferne ein abgebrochenes Stück eines Ganges das kahl einen Rasenfleck unterbräche, oder sich in eckiger Form zeigte, wo man alles abzurunden sich bemühte. Gewöhnlich kann man den Weg ungestört eine Strecke mit dem Auge verfolgen, oder ein ferner [Weg] bildet, wenn er sich zeigt[,] doch eine angenehm gebogene Linie, nie erscheinen sie als in gerader Richtung fortlaufend, und wo es der Fall ist, da wurde es verborgen; nie erscheinen sie abgebrochen[,] immer verlieren sie sich gleichsam.“

20 Jens Hendeliowitz, Rudolph Rothe. The Educational Residence of a Young Gardener at Sanssouci, 1824–1825, in: Michael Rohde and Heiner Krellig (eds.), *Prussian Gardens in Europe: 300 Years of Garden History*, Edition Leipzig, Leipzig, 2007, pp. 208–213. For Rothe's circle of expatriate acquaintances in Berlin, see Øystein Ore, *Niels Henrik Abel. Mathematician Extraordinary*, Minneapolis, 1957, pp. 107, 109, 119.

Garden Director Lenné: “Following the request of the Director upon my departure from Sanssouci, I am taking the liberty to send this manuscript in the hope that it will procure for me the same favor that the Director always granted me in your presence during my stay, just as I further hope that it may find you well.”²¹

He notes that he has written subsequently a number of times to Sello and Fintelmann to give them updates but has now attained enough temporal distance from his observations to convey them to Lenné for comment and improvement. Rather than providing Lenné with a descriptive chronicle of his travels, Rothe states that his aim is to offer a critical assessment of what he has seen. It is his hope that by limiting himself to judgments regarding landscape design rather than summaries of horticultural collections and techniques, he will provide something more useful to his mentor, and also in return receive a response from a seasoned eye that will improve his own powers of discernment. Rothe’s strategy for composing the text, which he states explicitly, is to select paragraphs from his travel diary that will be reproduced “word for word,”²² and to arrange them in a manner that will emphasize a critical reflection on design principles rather than mere description: “Landscape gardening is the part of garden art that I find most difficult to judge because most of it must be decided by feeling and by the eye.”²³

Arranged in numbered sections, each division of the text that follows is devoted to a different landscape garden. Three sites to which he gives extensive attention are Laxenburg, Wörlitz, and Eisenstadt. Rothe’s comments on Wörlitz are perhaps the most revealing, for he finds there a number of compositional elements to praise, but also much to criticize.

“The garden at Wörlitz was for me a phenomenon of a peculiar kind. I came there with great expectations and found myself half disappointed, half satisfied. The terrain with its surroundings is very suitable for a garden layout, and the unevenness of the ground lends itself easily to creating bodies of water merely by excavating. It is easy thereby to obtain water, and above all the surroundings are rich with beauty. Also, nothing has been neglected in bringing variety to the grounds, which in this respect has been too much of a concern, at least in my judgment, for I find the whole overcrowded. Only in a park three times the size could so many objects be incorporated, and then just barely; nowhere one goes can one find rest, for wherever the eye casts about there appear new architectural objects that pique the curiosity, and if one then comes near, one finds a puppet show, mountains in

21 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 63. „Zufolge der Aufforderung der Herrn Direktors bei meiner Abreise von Sanssouci nehme ich mir die Freiheit dieses Schreiben zu überschicken, indem ich hoffe, daß es mir dasselbe Wohlwollen, welches mir der Herr Direktor während meines Aufenthalts in ihrer Nähe stets bezeugt haben, erhalten werde, so wie ich ferner hoffe, daß es Sie im besten Wohl[er]gehen antreffen möge.“

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., „Die Landschaftsgärtnerei ist der Theil der Gartenkunst, worüber mir das Urtheilen am schwersten ist, weil hier das Gefühl und das Auge das Meiste entscheiden muß.“



Fig. 2 Wörlitz, view from Schloss toward Monument (left) and Nymphaeum (right) (Photo: Michael Lee)

miniature, a multitude of temples of which half would be sufficient, small artificial cliffs over which one can ramble; in brief, everything is fussy and pedantic; there is nothing over which the eye wishes to linger.”²⁴ (fig. 2)

His ideas in this section represent his own judgments, of course, but they also reveal how much he had probably absorbed from Lenné during his time at Sanssouci. Like Lenné, Rothe expresses a strong preference for broad strokes and unified gestures in the landscape.

“The sum possesses absolutely no character. It is enjoyable only so long as the eye requires no rest, but rather desires to gad about the hundred and one groves of various types, colors, shapes, and, therefore, effects. Some had praised these grounds to me because of the contrasts; good, I thought, but where do I discover the landscape that is supposed to be formed by them? Where are the transitions of

24 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 65v. „Der Garten zu Wörlitz war mir eine Erscheinung eigenthümlichen Art, mit großen Erwartungen kam ich dahin, fand mich halb getäuscht, halb befriedigt. Das Terrain mit den Umgebungen ist sehr zu einer Gartenanlage geeignet, die Unebenheit des Bodens ließ sich leicht hervorbringen, Wasserpartien sind nur auszugraben, das Wasser herbeizuschaffen ist leicht, und vor allem sind die Umgebungen reich an Schönheit. Auch ist nichts versäumt[,] um Mannigfaltigkeit in die Anlage zu bringen, ja man ist nach meinem Urtheil, zu besorgt in dieser Hinsicht gewesen, denn ich finde das Ganze überfüllt. Nur in einer Anlage, die drei Mal so groß wäre, könnten so viele Gegenstände aufgenommen werden, und doch kaum; nirgendwo findet man Ruhe, wo man hinkömmt, wo das Auge nur hinschwenkt[,] erscheinen neue Gegenstände der Baukunst, die die Neugierde reizen, und wenn man dann dahin kömmt findet man ein Puppenspiel, Berge en miniature, eine Masse Tempeln, wovon die Hälfte genug wäre, kleine Felsenpartieen[,] worüber man schreiten kann, kurz, alles ist kleinlich, nichts worauf das Auge lange weilen mag.“

color that should draw near and recede into the distance? Where is the harmony that one must find in the whole, given that this is supposed to be an imitation of beautiful nature, and one never finds in nature disharmony? It appears to me as if the landscape painter had thrust all his brushes upon the canvas at once, producing an unfortunate congeries of colors thereon, a *Quodlibet* [i.e., medley]. One observes each hue for its own sake, finds it beautiful, smiles at the colorful spectacle, but soon becomes bored. For the whole, apprehended as a unity, is not beautiful. One needs only to go back out into nature, where one never encounters a part where there are such jarring gradations of color from the foreground through the middle ground to the background. There always exists a smooth transition that forms a harmonious whole.²⁵

Shortly after sending his report to Lenné, Rothe left Munich and returned to Denmark, where in 1828 he became a gardener at the Bregentved estate. That year he published in Danish a full account of his travels through Europe, *Udtog af en Dagbog over Gartnerie: især med Hensyn til Driverier og den skjønnne Haugekunst, ført paa en Reise igjennem Tydskland, Over-Italien, Frankerige og Holland*. A close comparison of this text with his German manuscript reveals a complex relationship between Rothe's travel diary, the portions he selected and reframed for Lenné, and the final reworking of the text into a book on the theory and practice of garden art. Of the three major landscape gardens described in the German manuscript, only the section on Laxenburg reappears verbatim in the Danish publication, and then only in part.²⁶ The changes in Rothe's account of Wörlitz are the most remarkable because the Danish version is an entirely different text. Gone are the highly critical remarks on the composition and layout of the grounds, the overfilling of the space with too many follies, and the jarring transitions from one scene to the next. Instead, the Danish publication offers a less analytical and more descriptive account of the gardens, relatively neutral in tone, that reads more like a standard itinerary and inventory of its contents. As a result, Rothe's public commentary on Wörlitz is more guarded

25 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 65v–66. „Die Summe besitzt gar keinen Charakter, ist nur unterhaltend so lange das Auge noch keiner Ruhe bedarf, sondern auf die hunderterlei Gehölze verschiedener Art, Farbe, Gestalt und also auch Wirkung, herumspielen mag. Man lobte mir diese Partie der Contraste wegen; gut, dacht ich, allein wo finde ich denn die Landschaft heraus, die hierin gebildet sein sollte? Wo sind die Uebergänge der Farben, die heranziehen und entfernen sollen? wo die Harmonie, die im Ganzen Statt finden muß, weil es eine Nachahmung einer schönen Natur sein soll, und man in der Natur niemals eine Disharmonie findet? es erscheint mir, als wenn der Landschaftsmaler auf einmal alle seine Pinsel aufs Tableau verlöhre, so hat er allerdings eine Menge Farben darauf, ein *Quodlibet*, man betrachtet jede Farbe für sich, findet sie schön, lacht über das Bunte, allein kriegt sehr bald lange Weile, denn das Ganze, als Eins betrachtet, ist nichts Schönes. Man braucht nur auf die Natur zurückzugehen, da findet man niemals eine Partie[,] worin so grelle Abstufungen der Farben vom Vordergrund durch den Mittelgrund nach dem Hintergrund statt findet, es ist immer ein sanfter Übergang vorhanden, es bildet ein übereinstimmendes Ganzes.“

26 Rudolph Rothe, *Udtog af en Dagbog over Gartnerie, især med Hensyn til Driverier og den skjønnne Haugekunst. Ført paa en Reise igjennem Tydskland, Over-Italien, Frankerige og Holland*, Trykt i Hartv Fried Popp's Bogtryfferie, Kjöbenhavn, 1828, p. 135–149.

in its observations, more generic in its descriptions, and ultimately less insightful. Given the broad audience for the book, Rothe's strategy is perfectly understandable. Nevertheless, the disparate nature of the two texts highlights the importance of the German manuscript for our understanding of Rothe's design sensibilities, which were far less disguised in private correspondence. Writing for himself in a diary, then sharing these thoughts with a mentor to initiate a dialog, they reveal a mind seeking to establish firm opinions on the principles of garden design with a view toward his future career.

Joseph Clemens Weyhe (1829–1830)

The third report (22 pages) was written by Joseph Clemens Weyhe, the grandson of Lenné's uncle, also named Joseph Clemens Weyhe, who was a court gardener at Brühl. The young Weyhe's itinerary is focused almost entirely on commercial gardens and horticultural collections in France and the Low Countries, and ended in Schwetzingen, where he finished the manuscript. The report was signed January 1830, and Weyhe's postscript notes that he has just heard that the specimens for the new palm house on the Pfaueninsel have been secured for shipment: "So eben höre ich als ganz bestimmt, daß die prachtvolle Palmensammlung des H. Fo[u]lchiron für 20.000 Fr. für Berlin angekauft ist."²⁷ Lenné traveled through south Germany and western Europe on multiple trips in 1830 and 1831 to collect plants for the palm house.²⁸ The palms arrived by boat at the Pfaueninsel on August 22, 1830.²⁹

Weyhe entitled his report, "Versuch einer Gegenüberstellung des holländischen, niederländischen und französischen Gartenwesens, auf einer Reise von Amsterdam über Brüssel, Lille nach Paris." Most of the essay is devoted to the plant collections he visited, including those of public gardens, such as the Leiden botanical garden; private collections, such as that of Van der Hope in Sparrenberg near Haarlem; and commercial nurseries, including Parmentier in Enghien. Al-

27 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 62.

28 Gerhard Hinz, *Peter Joseph Lenné. Das Gesamtwerk des Gartenarchitekten und Städteplaners*, G. Olms, Hildesheim u. a., 1989, p. 44. The sale and shipment were also noted by observers in England: J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1850, vol. 1, p. 102: „Among the celebrated botanical amateurs in the neighborhood of Paris were M. Foulchiron, M. Hamelin, M. Boursault, M. Soulange Bodin, and Baron Pappenheim. M. Foulchiron devoted his attention to the palms, of which he had by far the best collection in France, and some specimens of a considerable height and great beauty. These palms, in 1830, were sold to the Berlin botanic garden.“ See also J. C. Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine*, 7 (1831), p. 91: „Herr Otto [director of the royal botanic garden in Berlin] [...] To these must be joined, as a valuable acquisition to science, the 48 examples of rare kinds [of palms] brought from the royal collection of Paris to Peacock Island, of which 18 new species are destined for Berlin.“

29 Hinz, *Peter Joseph Lenné* (as note 28), p. 44; Klausmeier and Seiler, *Nichts gedeiht ohne Pflege* (as note 10), p. 82.

though focused on plant collections, Weyhe occasionally took notice of the wider landscape, where, for example, he wrote:

“The part of Holland which is most suitable for [gardening] is the stretch of land along the North Sea that runs from Amsterdam to Rotterdam, encompassing Haarlem, Leyden, the Hague, and Delft. It is especially noteworthy in and around Haarlem, where the floral branch of garden culture has reached such a high level. Here one finds the famous flower-cultivation areas, and nearby the eminent country estates of wealthy Amsterdammers, which are often sited by the dunes to enjoy the advantages of the higher terrain. The gardens typically are located on the banks of the canals, which criss-cross the land on all sides.”³⁰

Weyhe undertook this journey beginning in 1829 supported by a travel stipend, and his text recounts the first part of his itinerary up to January 30, 1830. He continued his travels through 1831 before being appointed garden inspector at Kleve in October 1831, a position he held until 1833, at which point he moved to Engers. During his travels Weyhe also kept a sketchbook, the contents of which have been published in part.³¹ It is unclear why Weyhe’s sketchbook and travel report were separated from one another, or at what point the report made its way to Potsdam. An inscription added to the top of the manuscript in another hand indicates that it was received by the Prussian Horticultural Society on November 27, 1833. It notes that the report was sent by Lenné to the Prussian military adviser Heynich, who was then serving as secretary and treasurer of the society.³² Given the timing, it is possible that Lenné acquired the report from his nephew while traveling through the western German territories on his way to secure the Foulchiron palm collection. In any case, Lenné must have felt that the information in the report would be useful to members of the horticultural society, although it does not appear that any sections were published in the society’s proceedings.

Anonymous (1829–1831)

The next report (32 pages) has no title and was written by an anonymous hand; however, it can be dated internally to the years 1829 to 1831. The itinerary in-

30 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 55v–56. „Der Theil von Holland, worauf sich das gesagte vorzüglich bezieht, ist der Landstrich längs der Nordsee von Amsterdam bis Rotterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Hag u. Delft mit umschließend. Es ist vorzüglich in und um Haarlem, wo diese Zweige der Gartenkultur auf einer so hohen Stufe stehen; hier befindet sich die berühmte Blumenzucht, und in der Nähe die bedeutenden Landgüter der reichen Amsterdamer, die, oft durch ihre Lage an den Dünen, zuweilen die Vorzüge eines höher liegenden Terrains genießen. Gewöhnlich liegen die Gärten an den Ufern der Kanäle, die das Land nach allen Seiten hindurch schneiden.“

31 Rosemarie Vogelsang and Reinhard Lutum, *Joseph Clemens Weyhe: (1807–1871). Ein rheinischer Gartenkünstler*, Gruppello Verlag Bruno Kehrein, Düsseldorf, 2011, pp. 23–28.

32 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 53. The note reads „Von H. [= Herrn] Gd. [= Gartendirektor] Lenné übergeben mittelst Schreibens v. 27/II 33. Heynich.“



Fig. 3 Carl Hasenpflug, *Magdeburg in der Blüte des 10. Mai 1831*, with Lenné's Volksgarten in the middle ground (Kulturhistorisches Museum Magdeburg)

cluded brief stays at a long list of sites in eastern Germany, Bohemia, Austria, northern Italy, Switzerland, and southern and western Germany. The order and selection of the first two stops strongly suggests that the writer began in Potsdam and was closely supervised by Lenné. The reason is because these sites, Alt Haldensleben and Magdeburg, figured prominently in Lenné's work in the late 1820s. For at Magdeburg, beginning in 1824, he had designed and built one of the first municipal public parks in Germany, or for that matter in all of Europe.³³ Lenné's "Volksgarten," as he called it, encapsulated his ambition for landscape to serve as a medium of aesthetic education, in Schiller's sense, a program that is dramatically captured in Carl Hasenpflug's 1831 painting of Magdeburg (fig. 3). Alt Haldensleben, located nearby, was the site of a commercial nursery owned by Johann Gottlob Nathusius (1760–1835), whose thriving enterprise had supplied many of the plants for the Magdeburg Volksgarten³⁴ (fig. 4). Lenné clearly wanted this traveler to see a recent project of which he was extremely proud, and to make the mental connection between the completed work and the source of its living materials (fig. 5).

33 Rolf Weinrich, Peter Joseph Lenné's Volksgartenplanung Kloster Berge zu Magdeburg. Ein frühes Beispiel bürgerlich-kommunaler Grünflächenpolitik, in: Detlef Karg and Hans-Joachim Dreger (eds.), *Peter Joseph Lenné: Gartenkunst im 19. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Lenné-Forschung*, Verlag für Bauwesen, Berlin, 1992, pp. 121–146; Bernhard Mai, Der Klosterberggarten, ein Garten zwischen Festung und industrieller Revolution, in: Carsten Lange (ed.), *Kloster Berge, Klosterberggarten, Gesellschaftshaus, Telemann-Zentrum. Zu Geschichte, Gegenwart und Zukunft eines Magdeburger Areals; Bericht des wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums am 29./30. August 2003 in Magdeburg*, Landesheimatbund Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, 2004, pp. 165–182.

34 Ulrich Hauer, *Von Kunstgärtnern und Gartenkunst. Die Gärtner und Gärten der Familie Nathusius in Althaldensleben und Hundisburg*, Kultur-Landschaft Haldensleben-Hundisburg, Hundisburg, 2005; Clemens Alexander Wimmer, Pflanzenverwendung bei Peter Joseph Lenné. Ein Beitrag zum 150. Todestag, in: *Die Gartenkunst*, 28 (2016), 1, pp. 167–196.



Fig. 4 The commercial nursery of Johann Gottlob Nathusius, Alt Haldensleben, ca.1835 (Copper engraving by W. Ries)



Fig. 5 Peter Joseph Lenné, Magdeburg Volksgarten planting plan with handwritten alterations, 1825 detail (GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 30, Bl. 44, Taf. X)

The text opens *in medias res* with no introduction,³⁵ and, as is typical of the entire report, is divided into short entries. Of the Volksgarten, we read: “This park invites the resident of the city to take a pleasant stroll. It borders the majestic Elbe River, and through it winds an artfully contrived little stream that also broadens occasionally into handsome bodies of water. The soil is a clay loam, and in the middle of the terrain one finds a public hall [Volkssaal] constructed in Gothic style.”³⁶ Even in these brief sentences, one senses the essential points Lenné intended this young gardener to see: the relation to the city and the river, the cleverness of the garden’s artful construction, the character of its soil, and the ambition of its design as a new type of public space. His misidentification of the neoclassical pavilion as Gothic indicates that the traveler’s education, although considerable in his own field, did not extend into allied arts such as architecture. In contrast, his description of the plant collections in Nathusius’s nurseries and their planting and shipment schedules show an attentiveness to detail and a familiarity with these practices.³⁷

His lengthy account of the hothouses and kitchen gardens at the Palais Garten in Dresden is similarly knowledgeable in its details. When describing this section of the grounds, for example, he writes:

“The first hotbeds are filled to 3 feet high at the beginning of November. Upon these are sown celery and cauliflower, as well as radishes, which can be harvested for use earlier than the others. At the beginning of January the beds are filled as high as they were in November with melons, cucumbers, beans, sugar peas, and overwintered cauliflower. The windows are 4½ feet long and 3 feet wide. After the cucumbers and melons have produced two leaves in addition to the cotyledons, they are transplanted into another bed; the upper and lower sections are planted with head lettuce, with leaf lettuce sown between, which will be harvested before the head lettuce matures and fills out. The latter is ready for use just as the cucumbers and melons spread out their vines. When they are small, the beans and peas can be planted in rows in a cold frame located above, preferably an entire frame,

35 The lack of title and final signature suggests that a first and last page may be missing from the report.

36 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 69. „Diese Anlage bietet den Einwohnern einen angenehmen Spaziergang dar, wird von dem majestätischen Elbstrom begrenzt, von welchem sich künstlich gebildete Bächlein in den Garten schlängeln und dort auch hübsche Wasserparthien bilden. Der Boden ist lehmhaltig, und in der Mitte des Terrains befindet sich ein nach gothischem Stiele gebauter Volkssaal.“

37 Ibid., „Der Garten des Herren Nathusius bei Alt-Halvensleben [sic] ist zu einem Geschäftsgarten angelegt, in welchem der meiste Fleiß auf Baumschulen verwandt wird, welche Zier-Bäume und Sträucher sowie auch schöne Obstsorten enthalten, die Versendungszeit so wie Pflanzzeit ist in den Monaten Maerz, April, Octbr und Novbr, folgende sich hier befindende Ziersträucher und Bäume sind z. B. mehrere Gattungen. – Aesculus als: hypacastrum fol: var: macrostachia nigra usw. Tilanthus glandulosus. Bignonia catalpa. Calycanthus floridus glaucus grandifloras. Daphne Cneorum. Letztere verlangt Haide-Erde und Schatten, sowie Ailanth: gland: Calycanthus floridus, glaucus, grandifloras und Daphne Cneorum, müssen durch Strohecken gegen die Kälte gesichert werden. In den Gewächshäusern findet man Ananas, Ericen, Pelargonien, schöne Rosen, Neuholländer und schön gefüllt blühende Georginen.“

so that each bean is placed 10” from the other, which permits them to be properly tilled.”³⁸

As was often the case on this journey, the writer again pairs a description of a major garden with a nearby commercial nursery, demonstrating an apparently equal interest in both. Here, he visited the establishment of Trautgott Seidel, the most prominent plant supplier in Dresden:

“Seidel’s commercial garden is the most important in the city and possesses an outstanding plant collection, and everything else that pertains to gardening. The cultivation of camellias that I found here is the best and most appropriate that I have seen, and therefore I will provide a brief summary here. The assortment of *Camellia japonica* is about fifty varieties strong, whereof most are the double varieties.”³⁹

While in Bohemia, the writer visited the spa garden at Töplitz, an unusual landscape type not mentioned elsewhere in this or other travel reports (fig. 6). He is both appreciative and critical of the gardens laid out for its guests:

“Since Töplitz is a bathing spa that includes a park, the bath gardens [Badegärten] make this garden very convenient for strolling. It includes deeply shaded as well as brightly sunlit areas, and those with ailments who have come to the baths and want to take exercise can spend time both in shaded, grove-like sections as well as in others with an open view across low hills, laid out along the water, whereupon majestic swans can be seen swimming, to delight in the ever-changing beautiful nature and to look after their health. Nevertheless, this garden could be more inviting

38 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 69v. „Die ersten Mistbeete werden hier Anfang’s Novbr. 3 ‘ hoch angelegt, auf diese säet man Sellerie und Blumenkohl, so wie auch Radischen, die früher als die Andern zum Gebrauche herausgenommen werden. Mit dem Anfange das Januars werden die Beete zu Melonen, Gurken, Bohnen, Zuckererbsen und überwinterten Blumenkohl eben so hoch als wie im November angelegt. Die Fenster sind 4½’ lang und 3’ breit. Nachdem die Gurken und Melonen zwei Blätter außer den beiden Saamenlappen haben, werden sie in andere Beete verpflanzt; den oberen und unteren Theil bepflanzt man mit Kopfsalat, und zwischen denselben wird Schnittsalat gesäet, der früher weggeschnitten wird, ehe der Kopfsalat sich ausbreitet, und dieser ist wieder zum Gebrauch gut, wenn die Gurken und Melonenranken sich ausbreiten. Die Bohnen und Erbsen kann man im kleinen, oben am Kasten in einer Reihe pflanzen, im großen besetzt man einen ganzen Kasten, so daß jede Bohne 10” von der Andern entfernt ist, damit sie sich gehörig bestauden können.“

39 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 70v. „Handelsgarten von Seidel ist der bedeutendste in der Stadt, besitzt eine ausgezeichnete Pflanzensammlung, und alle übrigen Zweige der Gärtnerey. Die Cameliencultur welche ich hier fand, ist die beste und zweckmäßigste[,] welche ich sahe, und deshalb führe ich sie hier in aller Kürze an. Das Sortiment der *Camellia japonica* ist ungefähr 50 Sorten stark, woran die meisten gefüllt sind.“ Seidel’s nursery was large enough to be mentioned in travel guides, including *Reichard’s Passagier auf der Reise in Deutschland und der Schweiz ... eine Reisebuch für Jedermann*, F. A. Herbig, Berlin, 1843², p. 236: „Innerhalb der Stadt die Brühl’sche Terrasse mit Parkanlagen und einer Restauration [...]; der botanische Garten der medicin. Akademie, der Garten des Prinzen Johann, die Anlagen hinter dem Schauspielhause; schöne Aussicht von der dieselben begränzenden Anhöhe, der Zwingerwall genannt; der Herzogin Garten mit ausgezeichnetem Orangeriehause, der Palaisgarten neben dem japanischen Palais: der grossartige Handelsgarten von Trautgott Seidel, der seines gleichen in Deutschland sucht. Der Garten am vormal. Marcolinischen Palais mit Mattielli’s berühmter Cascade. Ausserhalb der Stadt [...].“



Fig. 6 Lake in the Töplitz spa garden, ca.1800 (Simon Petrus Klotz, *Kleiner Teich im Töplitzer Garten in Böhmen*, engraving by Lorenz Jansch)

to the visitor if here and there it exhibited luxurious flower beds and the garden were situated in a drier location, for many spa guests refrain from visiting certain areas as a result. Moreover, there are a few additional greenhouses near the castle, which are neither splendid in themselves nor have significant plant collections, for they contain for the most part hardy plants used to adorn the prince's little castle with small groupings and thereby make it more pleasant."⁴⁰

One of the most detailed and fascinating descriptions of a designed landscape is given for the Hellbrunn Garden near Salzburg. In this passage, the writer unites a sensitive analysis of the garden's siting, both in relation to the surrounding mountains and nearby urban center; the use of water technologies for both irrigation

40 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 71–71v. „Da Töplitz ein Badeort ist, und sich dort eine Anlage befindet, so kommt den Badegästen dieser Garten zum Lustwandeln sehr zustatten. Es befinden sich hierin so wohl sehr schattige als helle Parthien, und der Kranke, welcher sich hier nach genommenen Bade seine Bewegung machen will, kann seinen Aufenthalt sowohl mit schattigen laubenähnlichen Parthien, als auch mit einer freien Aussicht auf kleinen Hügeln, am Wasser gelegen, worauf er majestätische Schwäne schwimmen sieht, abwechseln, um sich so der schönen Natur zu erfreuen, und seiner Gesundheit nachzugehen. Jedoch könnte dieser Garten den Fremden weit einladender seyn, wenn sich hin und wieder üppige Blumenanlagen zeigten und der Garten eine trockenere Lage hätte, denn diese mag manchen Badegast abhalten selbigen zu besuchen. Außerdem befinden sich noch einige Gewächshäuser in der Nähe des Schloßes, welche weder brillant, noch die Pflanzensammlung in denselben bedeutend sind, denn sie enthalten nur meistens harte Pflanzen, um das Schloßchen des Fürsten durch kleine Gruppierungen auszuschmücken und dadurch angenehmer zu machen.“

and display; and a technical explanation of the construction and maintenance of the rocky substrate of an alpine garden.

“The grounds are lovely and harmonize with the surrounding mountains; paths wind up to the most prominent outcrop high in the cliffs, from which one gains a view of the city of Salzburg encircled by mountains. Indeed, one sees from here the valleys of the Tyrolian and Styrian Alps; going a bit further one finds artful groupings of cliffs (like a “cliff theater”). Turning back to the more level area a *parterre* laid out in the French manner presents itself. The artist appears here to have intended to design a charming picture, for the plantings are simple and pleasing, and harmonize with the romantic surroundings. The mountain springs are used for ingenious water displays, and the nearby Alps appear to have been the inducement for assembling an alpine plant collection here, which admittedly at the time of my travels had not yet been completed. Because it was the first [alpine garden] that I had seen, I will not neglect to mention it.

The plants are placed in fine soil that fills the spaces between the stones. Nature is here fully imitated, for just as in nature the water from the cliffs moistens the soil and is thereby very useful to the alpine plants, here also it is imitated in miniature: in that the stones have been laid together in a cliff-like formation, and, likewise, through this arrangement the easily dried out soil is made fertile with moisture. The plants are arranged so that they enjoy only the morning and evening sun but are sheltered from the midday sun by a glasshouse, given that these plants would suffer under its direct rays in open, flat areas even though the surrounding mountains weaken the sun because of their height.”⁴¹

Among the public parks that the writer visited toward the end of his journey, he was most appreciative of the Englischer Garten in Munich and the Giardini Pubblici Indro Montanelli in Milan. In his comments on the design quality of the Englischer Garten, for example, he notes, “Its primary merit lies in the group-

41 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 74v. „Die Anlage ist reizend, und vereinigt sich mit den ihr umgebenden Gebirgen; es schlängeln sich Wege bis auf eine bedeutend hohe Felsenspitze, von der aus man die Ansicht der von Gebirgen begränzten Stadt Salzburg hat. Ja, man sieht von hier sogar Thäler der Tyroler und Stayerischen [= Steirischen] Alpen; geht man weiter, so findet man künstliche Felsengruppierungen (Felsentheater). Kehrt man wieder in die Ebene zurück, so zeigt sich ein franz: angelegtes *parterre*. Der Künstler scheint hier ein liebliches Bild zu entwerfen im Sinne gehabt zu haben, denn die Bepflanzungen sind leicht, und gefällig, & harmoniren mit der romantischen Umgebung. Die Gebirgsquellen sind zu sinnreichen Wasserkünsten benutzt, und die nahliegenden Alpen scheinen hier zu einer Alpenpflanzensammlung Veranlassung gegeben zu haben; die freilich zur Zeit meiner Durchreise noch ihr Entstehen hatte. Da es die erste war[,] welche ich sah[,] so unterlasse ich nicht sie zu erwähnen. Die Pflanzen befinden sich in feiner Erde, welche in die Zwischenräume der Steine gelegt ist, die Natur ist hier völlig nachgeahmt, denn man hat die Felsenwasser, welche in der Natur durch ihre feuchte Ausdünstung den Alpenpflanzen sehr dienlich sind, auch hier im kleinen nachgemacht, indem man Steine zusammen gelegt hat, die auch eine felsenhähnliche Masse bilden, und dadurch ebenfalls die leicht austrocknende Erde, mit ihrer Feuchtigkeit schwängert, auch hat man hier den Pflanzen eine Lage gegeben, welche nur die Morgen und Abendsonne genießt, und gegen die Mittagssonne durch ein Glashaus geschützt ist, indem selbige den Pflanzen durch ihre Strahlen auf der Ebene schaden würde, auch vom Gebirge aber dieselbe ihrer Höhe wegen schon viel schwächer wirkt.“

ing of trees and shrubs, which are planted in masses and arranged according to their branching and foliage patterns, lending them a variable and magnificent appearance.”⁴² When analyzing the public park just outside the *Porta Nova* in Milan, which was completed in 1782–1786 and formerly known as the *Giardini Pubblici* and *Giardini di Porta Venezia*, he takes the opportunity to venture an opinion on the proper determination of its style:

“Here I saw for the first time a park laid out in Italian taste, although upon entering I believed to have found myself in a French garden, whereas I quickly was convinced of my error in that I soon perceived a significant difference between these two styles, which I will not neglect here to elaborate. The Italian garden style and the French style have regularity and symmetry in common, and both are bound to architecture and sculpture as sister arts; but whereas the French seek to beautify their gardens through these works in order to elevate garden art to higher standards, the Italians appear to desire just the opposite. In that Italy is the womb of all the arts, in an Italian garden one finds that terraces, fine statues, beautiful buildings and water features, etc. play the primary role, and the plantings serve through severe treatment merely as the means to this end; as dark backgrounds against which artworks and architectonic objects stand out, so as to give them a better appearance.”⁴³

These remarks were augmented by a knowledge of the plant species used here, again demonstrating his educational grounding in horticulture: “The *allées* next to the *Porta nova* are planted with *Bignonia catalpa*, *Morus papirifera*, *Juglans nigra*, *Tilia europaea* und *Aesculus hypocastanum*.”⁴⁴

Although closer inspection of the manuscript may eventually reveal biographical clues, it has not yet been possible to identify its author. The itinerary of the journey, together with the high level of horticultural knowledge and attentiveness to design exhibited in the text, suggests someone who was closely connected with

42 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 78. „Der Hauptvorzug besteht in der Gruppierung der Bäume und Sträucher, die massenweise gepflanzt, und nach dem Laube oder Blattformen geordnet, ein wechselhaft großartiges Ansehen haben.“

43 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 80v. „Hier sah ich den ersten in italienischen Geschmack angelegten Park, jedoch beim Eintritte in denselben, glaubte ich mich in eine[r] französische[n] Anlage zu befinden, wo ich hingegen bald von meinem Irrthume überzeugt wurde, indem ich bald einen bedeuten[den] Unterschied dieser beiden Style wahrnahm, welchen ich nicht unterlasse hier aufzuführen. Der italienische Gartenstyl hat mit dem französischen, die Regularität und Symmetrie gemein, und sind Beide mit der Architektur und Bildhauerkunst schwesterlich verbunden; indem jedoch die Franzosen durch dieselbe ihre Gärten zu verschönern suchen, in der Gartenkunst aber höhere Ansprüche machen; scheinen die Italiener grade das Gegentheil zu wollen. Da Italien der Schoos aller Künste ist, so findet man auch in einem italienischen Garten, Terrassen, schöne Statuen, schöne Gebäude und Wasserkünste usw. die Hauptrolle spielen, und die Pflanzungen dienen durch strenge Behandlung als Mittel nur dazu; durch dunkle Hintergründe, die Kunstwerke und architektonische Gegenstände herauszuheben, und sie dadurch ein besseres Anseh[e]n zu geben.“

44 Ibid. „Die Alleen bei *Porta nova* sind mit *Bignonia catalpa*, *Morus papirifera*, *Juglans nigra*, *Tilia europaea* und *Aesculus hypocastanum* bepflanzt.“

the Gardeners Academy in Potsdam. When the dates internal to the report are cross-referenced with the list of students who attended the Academy during the years prior, several candidates emerge.⁴⁵ However, it is equally possible that the report was written by a young man who apprenticed with the Potsdam court gardeners but who did not enroll in the Academy. It is hoped that further research will reveal the author's identity.

Adolf Reuter (Part 1, 1851–1852)

The only travel report (24 pages) in the Lenné files from a documented graduate of the Gardeners Academy was composed by Adolf Reuter (1825–1901), who later served there as an instructor in horticulture and over a long career held posts in several of the royal parks, gardens, and tree nurseries in and around Potsdam. He was born in the Neuer Garten and at an early age chose gardening for his career path. After apprenticing with three of the Potsdam court gardeners, he entered the Royal Gardeners Academy in 1846 and passed his exam in 1848. From there he traveled westward for a series of apprenticeships, spending one year in Belgium, another year in Paris with the botanist Joseph Decaisne (1807–1882), and finally a year and half at Kew Gardens in London.⁴⁶ During part of his time in Belgium, Reuter worked for the commercial nursery of Lambert Jacob-Makoy (1790–1873), which was a common destination for graduates of the Academy. Reuter's experiences at this nursery were recorded as the first of two reports that he produced from his travels. The manuscript was sent first to his mother, Charlotte Reuter, who then forwarded it to Lenné with a cover letter addressed from the Neuer Garten and dated March 12, 1852. In that letter, she explains that the report demonstrates how her son is being productive and making good use of his time, and by implication making good use of the Garden Directorate's travel stipend. "[The report] is a witness to his efforts; may you regard it as a proof of the sincere reverence and gratitude for you that suffuses my son's heart, and excuse any deficiencies you may find due to the scant time allotted to him!"⁴⁷

45 Theodor Echtermeyer, *Die Königl. Gärtner-Lehranstalt am Wildpark bei Potsdam: 1824–1899. Festschrift zur Erinnerung an das fünfundsiebenzigjährige Bestehen*, Parey, Berlin, 1899.

46 Hoffmann, Oberhofgärtner Adolf Reuter, in: *Gartenflora; Zeitschrift für Garten- und Blumenkunde*, 51 (1902), 3, pp. 64–68. During his apprenticeship at Kew, Reuter corresponded with Alexander von Humboldt, who knew him from Sanssouci and was on friendly terms with the Reuter family. Seiler, Duempelmann, and Neumann (eds.), *Preussisch Grün* (as note 2), pp. 272–273.

47 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 41. „Es ist ein Zeugniß seines Strebens, möchten Sie es als einen Beweis der innigen Verehrung und Dankbarkeit, wovon das Herz meines Sohnes für Sie durchdrungen ist, betrachten, und die vorfindenden Mängel mit der ihm spärlich zugemessenen Zeit entschuldigen!“

Reuter begins his narrative by explaining the significance of Jacob-Makoy's nursery, followed by a brief but artful description of the site in relation to its surroundings:

“Among the many gardening enterprises of private persons and also of commercial gardeners found in and around Leuven, the establishment of Mr. Jacob-Makoy has earned indisputably the greatest distinction, in that it has distinguished itself from all the others not only in terms of its size but also the high practicality of its equipment and facilities. [...] I move now directly to my point, an exhaustive description of Mr. Jacob-Makoy's establishment, located not far from the city. It is situated on a rise in close proximity to some black coal pits, which together with lush fruit orchards and vegetable fields encircle it like a garland.”⁴⁸

This section is followed by detailed descriptions of the many hothouses devoted to their various functions and collections. He orients the reader by referring to a plan he has drawn of the establishment in which all the buildings are identified by

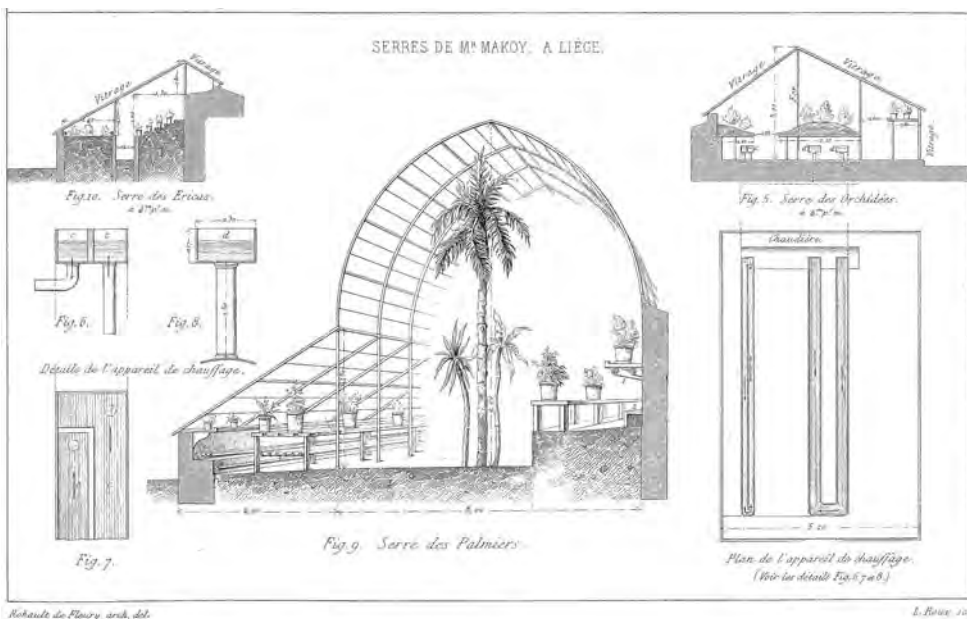


Fig. 7 The palm house and other greenhouses at the establishment of Lambert Jacob-Makoy (*Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics: journal des architectes, des ingénieurs, des archéologues des industriels et des propriétaires*, 8 (1849–1850))

48 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 42, 43–43v. „Unter allen sowohl Privatleuten als auch Handelsgärtnern gehörigen Gärtnereien, welche sich in und um Lüttich befinden, verdient unstrittig das Etablissement des Herrn Jacob-Makoy den grössten Vorzug, indem es sich nicht allein durch Größe sondern auch höchst praktische Einrichtung vor allen andern vortheilhaft ausgezeichnet. [...] Gehe ich jedoch jetzt zu meinem Zwecke, der ausführlichern Beschreibung des Etablissements vom Herrn Jacob-Makoy über, das selbe befindet sich weit der Stadt, ist auf einer Anhöhe gelegen und in geringer Entfernung von den dortigen Steinkohlen-Gruben[,] welche in Verein mit üppigen Obst-Plantagen und Gemüseländern es gleichsam umkränzen.“

letter. The plan has unfortunately been separated from the travel report and is now lost: “I move now to the plant nursery together with the greenhouses that belong to it; to give a better overview of the whole I will refer to an enclosed small drawing on which the buildings have been labeled with letters.”⁴⁹ Reuter explains carefully how the hothouses are placed in relation to the terrain, and to one another, and provides a thorough account of their construction and technological equipment (fig. 7). Many of the passages give a clear sense of the materials used and the techniques for controlling the interior climate:

“All the [green]houses have been built on terraces so far as the terrain allows. The windows of all the warm houses are made of iron; in contrast, those of the cold houses, with the exception of a large one with arched windows, are of wood. [...] The heating everywhere is water-heating, and the large number of pipes enables connections to the most important frames. In addition, almost all the houses have basins of brick construction, which contain the necessary water for irrigation and are filled through pipes fed by springs.”⁵⁰

He then further explains how the layout and orientation of the buildings augments climate control, how irrigation is regulated, and how the required beds and containers are arranged to support one of the tasks of central importance to Jacob-Makoy’s enterprise: grafting.

“During the summer the entire orangery [i.e., its plant collection] is placed behind it on a bow-shaped terrace (c), which is surrounded by a plantation of conifers consisting of *Thuja orientalis*, *Thuja occidentalis* und *Pinus canadensis*, which serve as excellent protection against the wind and the burning rays of the summer sun, which are too intense. The water required for irrigation comes from a convenient basin in the middle of the terrace, which is filled partially by rainwater, but also in part through the outflow of a spring located above it. [...]

Turning now to house n, which forms almost a right angle with that of the conifers (i), the space (r) between them serves in the summer for storage of the coldhouse windows, which are removed because most of the plants remain in the houses during the summer. House (n) is used for grafting conifers, camellias, rhododendrons, and other potted plants. It is one-sided and contains in front as well as on the back wall 3-foot deep beds constructed of brick and filled with sawdust, and in which the pots are lined up obliquely so that the grafting scion can be covered with a cloche.

49 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 44. „Gehe ich jetzt zur Pflanzen-Gärtnerei nebst den dazu gehörigen Gewächshäusern über, zur bessern Übersicht des Ganzen lasse ich anbei ein[e] kleine Zeichnung folgen[,] auf welcher die Gebäude mit Buchstaben bezeichnet sind.“

50 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 44–44v. „Sämtliche Häuser sind terrassenartig erbaut und zwar so wie das Terrain es zu ließ, die Fenster sämtlicher warmen Häuser bestehen aus Eisen, die der kalten hingegen mit Ausnahme eines großen mit gebogenen Fenstern, aus Holz. [...] Die Heizung besteht überall aus Wasser-Heizung und war wegen der großen Menge von Röhren mit bedeutenden Kasten verknüpft. Außerdem befinden sich fast in allen Häusern gemauerte Bassins, welche das zum Gießen erforderliche Wasser enthalten und durch Brunnen vermittelst Röhren gefüllt werden.“

Descending now from the grafting house a few steps downward, on the right lies the propagation [house] for cold-hardy plants (o), arranged in the following way: First, toward the front along the windows is a 6-inch deep and 3-foot wide bed, which rests on a layer of brick and is filled with river sand. Beneath this bed run two exposed iron pipes of 3-inch diameter through which the water required for heating circulates. They end at the back wall, to which they are connected. The just mentioned sand bed runs its length to a 1½-foot wide path, bordered on the other side by a frame with 10 windows, the latter being 3 feet high and 5½ feet wide, and constructed of brick.”⁵¹

Reuter closes his first report with a plea to the reader to forgive any shortcomings in the manuscript, which he attributes to the fact that his only opportunities to compose the text were late during the evenings: “With the description of the establishment of Mr. Jacob-Makoy I would find myself at the end. In concluding, I request that my work be read with leniency, since there is perhaps much within that is deficient, which is because only late evenings were left over for me to work on it.”⁵² Although contemporary readers may understandably find some humor in this admission, one glimpses an important aspect of the life of a traveling gardener apprentice who worked at such a facility. The working day was typically long, and the vast amount of information that needed to be gleaned in order to make such an experience worthwhile required a substantial investment of time and energy.

51 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 45–45v, 49v–50. „Sämtliche Orangerie ist im Sommer auf dem hinter (c) befindlichen Platze bogenförmig aufgestellt, die letztern umgeben[d]e Nadelholzpflanzung aus Thuja orientalis, Th. occidentalis und Pinus canadensis bestehend, zieht hierbei einen vortrefflichen Schutz gegen Wind und die zu stark brennenden Sommer-strahlen. Das zum Gießen erforderliche Wasser befindet sich in dem in der Mitte des Platzes angebrachten Bassin, welches theils durch Regenwasser gefüllt, theils aber auch durch einen auf der Höhe gelegenen Brunnen seinen Zufluß erhält. [...]

Wendet man sich jetzt zu dem Hause n, das mit dem der Coniferen (i) fast einen rechten Winkel bildet, der zwischen beiden befindliche Raum (r) dient im Sommer zur Aufbewahrung der Kalthaus-Fenster, welche[,] da die Pflanzen den Sommer meist in den Häusern verbleiben[,] entfernt werden. Das Haus (n) wird dazu benutzt um Coniferen, Camellien, Rhododendra und andere Topfpflanzen darin zu pflöpfen, es ist einseitig und enthält vorn so wie an der Hinterwand 3 Fuß tiefe gemauerte Beete die mit Sägemehl angefüllt sind und worin die Töpfe in schräger Richtung eingefüttert werden, um das Edelreis sodann mit einer Glas-Glocke zu überdecken. [...]

Steigt man jetzt von dem Propf[en]-Hause einige Stufen abwärts, so liegt zur Rechten die Vermehrung für kalte Pflanzen (o), sie ist folgendermaßen eingerichtet: Zunächst vorn an den Fenstern befindet sich ein 6 Zoll tiefes und 3 Fuß breites Beet, welches auf einer Lage Ziegel ruht und mit Flußsand angefüllt ist. Unterhalb dieses Beetes laufen zwei freiliegende eiserne Röhren von 3 Zoll Durchmesser in denen das zur Erwärmung nöthige Wasser circulirt, sie enden an der Hinterwand, indem sie sich daselbst vereinigen. An eben besagtem Sandbeet führt nun der Länge nach ein 1½ F. breiter Weg, der zur andern Seite durch einen Kasten von 10 Fenstern begrenzt wird, letzterer ist 3 Fuß hoch und 5½ F. breit und von Mauersteinen aufgeführt.“

52 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 52v. „Mit der Beschreibung des Etablissements vom Herrn Jacob-Makoy wäre ich jetzt zu Ende, schließlich bitte ich diese meine Arbeit nachsichtig zu lesen, da vielleicht vieles Mangelhafte darin enthalten ist, weil mir nur die späten Abende übrig bleiben daran zu arbeiten.“

The size and reputation of Jacob-Makoy's commercial nursery made it a logical destination for young gardeners trained in Potsdam who were embarking on travel to further their education. It is equally important to note, however, that there were additional ties, both personal and professional, that enhanced the establishment's attractiveness for this cohort. The court gardener Emil Sello, for example, published a two-part article in the *Allgemeine Gartenzeitung* (1840) on the propagation methods he had observed at Jacob-Makoy's facilities. The article was the first tangible result of his travels through western Europe in 1838–1840, demonstrating the intense interest of the Potsdam gardeners in gathering information on the most recent advancements in horticultural techniques.⁵³ And on September 16, 1849, Jacob-Makoy married Louise Franziska Johanna Weyhe (born 1811), a sister of Joseph Clemens Weyhe, thereby making the nursery entrepreneur a relative of the Lenné family by marriage.⁵⁴ Reuter, who arrived in Leuven two years later, does not mention Louise Weyhe in his report, but one can surmise that whenever personal connections could be found they played a role in the day to day life of an apprentice in a foreign land, adding to the hospitality that one might receive during one of these stays.

Adolf Reuter (Part 2, 1853–1854)

Reuter's second report (38 pages), dated August 1854, is somewhat longer and describes his time in Paris. It is written on fine paper of an unusual blue tint, and bears an 1853 watermark by the firm Edward Towgood, at that time one of England's best paper manufacturers.⁵⁵ Given the watermark and the date of the signature, it is likely that this report was composed while Reuter was working at

53 Emil Sello, Notizen über die Vermehrungsmethoden durch Stecklinge im Etablissement des Herrn Jacob-Makoy in Lüttich, gesammelt auf einer Reise, in: *Allgemeine Gartenzeitung*, 8 (4. April 1840), 14, pp. 108–110; and Emil Sello, Ueber das Reinigen der von Insekten befallenen Cactus-Pflanzen, in: *Allgemeine Gartenzeitung*, 8 (11. April 1840), 15, pp. 118–119. Sello also mentions (p. 108) that he created measured drawings of the propagation houses, but these images were not included with the journal article. He refers the reader, however, to another article with illustrations of Jacob-Makoy's greenhouses and hot water systems in *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Garten- und Feldbaues in Frankfurt a. M.* In the same issue of *Allgemeine Gartenzeitung*, Sello provides observations from another major commercial grower he visited, the Baumann Brothers in Bollwiller, Alsace: Emil Sello, Bemerkungen über die Anzucht der Bataten. *Convolvulus Batatas L.*, in: *Allgemeine Gartenzeitung* 8 (11. April 1840), 15, pp. 117–118.

54 M. Édouard Morren, *Biographie de Lambert Jacob-Makoy, Horticulteur Liégeois 12 Nov. 1790. – 4 Mars 1873*, Liège, 1874, p. 11. „Jacob étant devenu veuf, se remaria le 16 septembre 1849, avec Melle. Louise Weyhe, de Dusseldorf, fille du directeur bien connu des promenades de cette ville et cousine de Lenné, jardinier en chef de Sans-Souci à Potsdam.“ See also Vogelsang and Lutum, *Joseph Clemens Weyhe* (as note 31), p. 14: „Louise Franziska Johanna Weyhe, * 2.12.1811 in Düsseldorf, heiratet Jacob Lambert, Kaufmann in Lüttich.“

55 H. C. Darby, *The Cambridge Region*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1938, p. 160. *The Paper Mills Directory of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for 1871*, Kent and Co., London, 1871, p. 5.

Kew Gardens.⁵⁶ In the introduction, Reuter explicitly states that he undertook this journey at the request of the Garden Directorate.⁵⁷ His text is among the most varied of this group of reports with respect to the breadth of its contents. These range from commentary on the quality of French garden design, to descriptions of public markets where plants were sold, to almost rapturous accounts of the horticultural collections he inspected, where one senses his excitement as he rattles off lists of rare tropical species, cultivars of French roses, and innumerable varieties of fruits. His preparation for this journey is evident on almost every page, whether he is describing the contrast between Le Notre's work for the parterres at Versailles and the later English park at the Trianon; or analyzing the dimensions, technologies, and regimens of every hothouse he encounters.

The depth of Reuter's horticultural knowledge is especially apparent when he observes the extensive orchid collection of Jean-Pierre Pescatore (1793–1855) at his chateau in La Celle-Saint Cloud. Reuter notes proudly that the gardener overseeing this collection, G. Lüddemann (1821–1884), was a fellow graduate of the Gardeners Academy (1839–1843)⁵⁸ and “provides an example of how beneficial the Academy is to its students, especially when in later years they continue the studies begun there and apply themselves to further education.”⁵⁹ By implication, this extension of study necessarily includes the travel funds that made “further education” possible.

Reuter, as elsewhere in his report, enumerates the elements and dimensions of the specialized structure he is describing, in this case the orchid house, before turning his attention to the plant collection within:

“As far as the various houses are concerned, two here are reserved exclusively for orchid cultivation, an 80' long, 30' deep and 25' high conservatory serves for the overwintering of the orangery, several small houses are designated for crop plants grown under warm and cold conditions, and three houses for forcing grapes.

Among the orchids that were blooming during my stay the following are cited because of the abundance and beauty of their flowers:

56 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 24. „Ermuthigt durch die gütige und nachsichtsvolle Aufnahme, welcher die im Verlauf meiner Reise von mir eingelieferten Berichte sich erfreuten, erlaube ich mir von meinem gegenwärtigen Aufenthalte, England[,] wiederum eine Arbeit der Art einzusenden mit dem Wunsche, daß vielleicht Einiges des Neuen oder Interessanten den Gartenbau betreffend darin enthalten sei.“

57 Ibid. „Der von Seiten der Königlichen Garten-Direktion zu Potsdam erhaltenen Befehle zufolge, verließ ich Anfang Mai des vorigen Jahres [1853] Belgien, um in Paris meiner Belehrung und Unterrichtung halber einige Wochen zu verweilen und nach Verlauf dieser Zeit England meine Schritte zu zulenken.“

58 Echtermeyer, *Königl. Gärtner-Lehranstalt* (as note 45).

59 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 27. „[...] welcher mit großer Umsicht und vielem Eifer seine Stellung behauptet und uns abermals ein Beispiel liefert, wie wohlthätig jene Anstalt auf deren Zöglinge wirkte, sobald diese letztern in spätern Jahren die begonnenen Studien fortzusetzen und weiter auszubilden sich bemühten.“

Vanda Roxburghii coerulea with two flower stems, *Anguloa Clovesii* with four, *Cattleya Mossiae superba* with seventeen flowers, *Aerides crispum* var. with two impressive flower stems, *Aerides odoratum* with five flowers, *Coelogyne Loreii* with three flowers, [...]”⁶⁰

As a final observation, he offers that the Pescatore orchid collection is unrivaled, even by English cultivators, and that the splendor of this collection is soon to be celebrated with a magnificent volume by Jules-Emile Planchon (1823–1888) and Heinrich Gustav Reichenbach (1824–1889):

“It may well be said that English cultivators are incapable of showing in their exhibitions plants more beautiful than those within this garden. And how much the owner is interested in this very exotic plant species may be ascertained by his intention to publish this year, at his own expense, his own work on orchids with colored copper plates. The contributors to this flora are the authors Planchon and



Fig. 8 Orchids in the collection of Jean-Pierre Pescatore (Jean Jules Linden, Jules-Emile Planchon, Heinrich Gustav Reichenbach, und G. Lüddemann, *Pescatorea: iconographie des orchidées*, M. Hayez, Bruxelles, 1854–1860)

60 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 27–27v. „Was die verschiedenen Häuser anbelangt, so sind zwei ausschließlich für Orchideen-Kultur bestimmt, ein 80' langes, 30' tiefes und 25' hohes Konservatorium dient zur Überwinterung der Orangerie, mehre[re] kleine Häuser sind für Kulturpflanzen warmer und kalter Gewächse bestimmt und drei Häuser für die Treiberei von Wein. Unter den bei meiner Anwesenheit blühenden Orchideen mögen wegen Reichthum und Schönheit der Blumen folgende angeführt werden: *Vanda Roxburghii coerulea* mit zwei Blüten-Stengeln, *Anguloa Clovesii* mit vier, *Cattleya Mossiae superba* mit siebenzehn Blumen, *Aerides crispum* var. mit zwei imposanten Blüten-Stengeln, *Aerides odoratum* mit fünf Blumen, *Coelogyne Loreii* mit drei Blumen, [...]“

Reichenbach; the famous Linden, who is best known for his travels and new introductions [of orchid species]; and on matters of cultivation the aforementioned gardener Lüddemann.”⁶¹ (fig. 8)

Conclusions

The question of funding has been implicit throughout, so it will be useful to say something more concrete about it. Travel stipends were incorporated into the statutes of the Academy at its founding, with provision made for “educational travels” (Kunstreisen). Recipients were required to have proficiency in the languages of the countries they visited, and they were expected to submit a report afterward.⁶² An additional document in File 6 of Lenné’s Nachlass—one of the few that is not a travel report—sheds some light on the continued importance of funding travel for gardeners. This document is a report submitted in 1849 to Franz Kugler, an art historian who served as a consultant to the Prussian Ministry of Culture. Kugler had requested from Lenné a justification for why garden design should be considered a fine art and why the State should provide for its oversight. Lenné’s response, which was probably executed by his assistant Gustav Meyer, includes a section which reads: “Standing arrangements of the second type that have as their purpose the education of [garden] artists are A. the Gardeners Academy, and B. the provision of travel support to individual qualified [garden] artists through the special grace of His Majesty the King.”⁶³ Two pages later, this information is repeated but with slightly different wording, specifying that the money is to come from the State. Years later, during the Academy’s 75th anniversary celebration, Theodor Echtermeyer was happy to report that 23,000 Marks had been collected to support future travel by students.⁶⁴

For the modern task of interpreting the reports and assessing their significance, perhaps the most important questions require us to ascertain how the travel reports were used by Lenné and his associates, whether the information contained

61 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 27v. „Wohl kann man sagen, daß englische Kultivateure nicht im Stande sind, schönere Pflanzen auf ihren Ausstellungen zu zeigen als der hiesige Garten in sich faßt und wie so sehr der Besitzer für diese so exotische Pflanzen-Gattung sich interessirt, mag daraus hervorgehen, daß derselbe in diesem Jahr auf seine Kosten ein eigenes Werk über Orchideen mit colorirten Kupfer-Tafeln zu publiziren beabsichtigt. Die Bearbeiter dieser Flora sind die Autoren, Planchon und Reichenbach, der durch seine Reisen und neue Einführungen rühmlichst bekannte Linden und in Bezug der Kulturen der erwähnte Gärtner Lüddemann.“ Jean Jules Linden, Jules-Emile Planchon, Heinrich Gustav Reichenbach, und G. Lüddemann, *Pescatorea: iconographie des orchidées*, M. Hayez, Bruxelles, 1854–1860.

62 *Statuten und Verwaltung-Pläne* (as note 2), p. 24, § 30.

63 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 6, Bl. 14. „Bestehende Veranstaltungen der zweiten Art, welche insbesondere die Ausbildung des Künstlers zum Zweck haben sind A. die Gärtners Lehranstalt B. die Darreichung von Reise-Unterstützungen an einzelne qualifizierte Künstler durch die besondere Gnade Sr. Majestät des Königs.“

64 Echtermeyer, *Königl. Gärtner-Lehranstalt* (as note 45), p. 53.

in the reports was ever disseminated to a broader audience, and to what degree this knowledge led to significant changes or improvements in the art of gardening in Prussia. At this point it is difficult to answer the third question, but some preliminary suggestions can be offered for the first two.

We can infer Lenné's intentions in at least one instance through a brief report sent to him in 1825 by the gardener Gottlieb Kühne, who was apprenticing in Munich. Kühne's letter was accompanied by several finely rendered, and precisely measured, drawings of gardening equipment he observed there, including a steam-producing boiler for greenhouses and a fumigator to eradicate rodents living underground⁶⁵ (fig. 9). The drawings for both the boiler and fumigator were reproduced almost exactly in Rudolph Rothe's *Udtag af en Dagbog over Gartnerie* in 1828, with the boiler (*Udtag*, Fig 3) credited to the Sanssouci gardens and the fumigator (*Udtag*, Fig 27) described as being used at Nymphenburg in Munich. Two other illustrations in Rothe's book (fig. 10), a tool developed in Eutin for edging paths (*Udtag*, Fig 1) and the portable greenhouses used at Sanssouci for forcing cherries (*Udtag*, Fig 4) both appear in the proceedings of the Prussian Horticul-



Fig. 9 Gottlieb Kühne, renderings of fumigator (above), and steam-producing boiler (below), 1825 (GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 4, Bl. 149)

65 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 4, Bl. 145–149, 152. The additional drawings of tree-moving equipment were done by Wilhelm Nietner, who was also in Munich at the time. See Rainer Herzog, *Gartentechnik des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts*. Aus Sicht des preußischen Gärtners Gottlieb Kühne, in: *Stadt + Grün*, 58 (2009), 12, pp. 21–24.

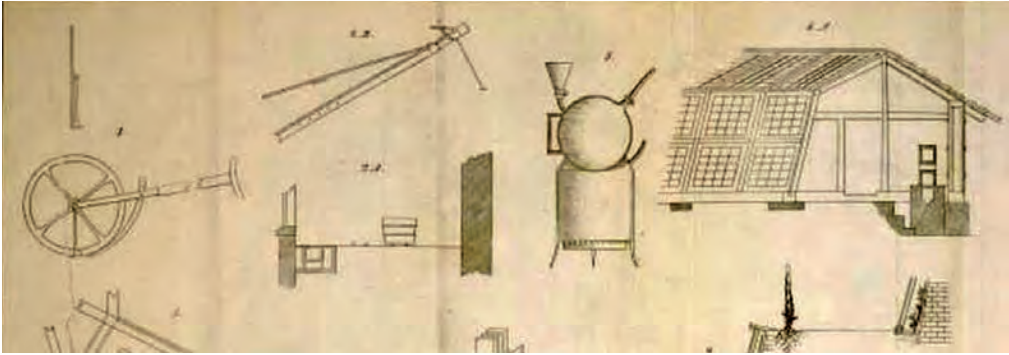
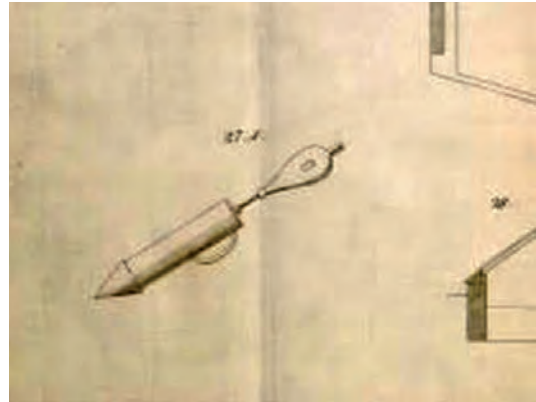


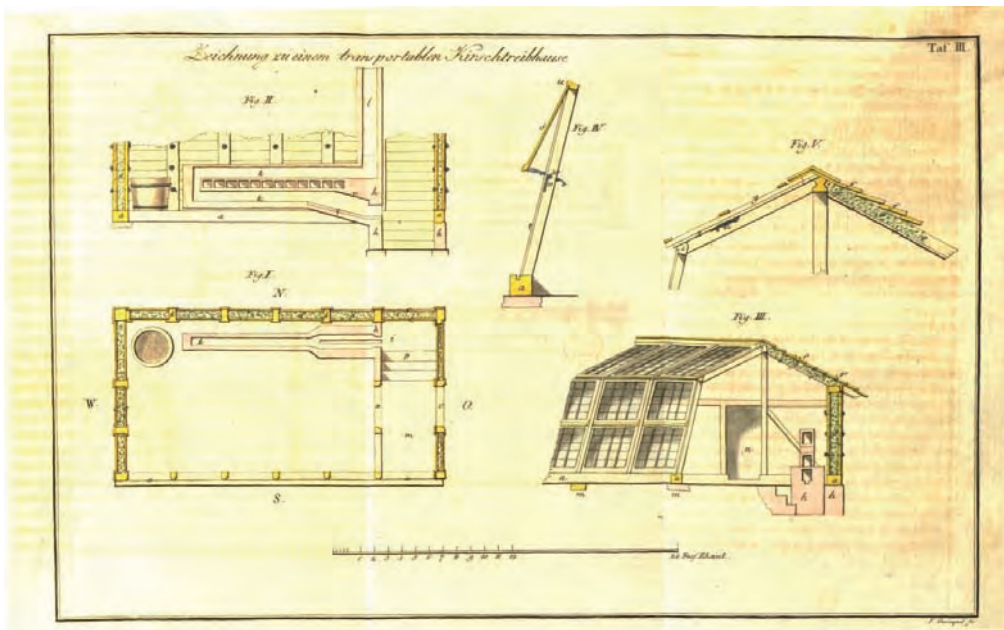
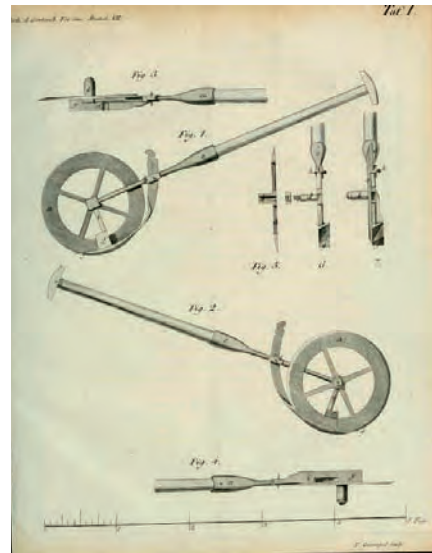
Fig. 10a + b Illustrations of a tool for edging paths (Fig. 1), boiler (Fig. 3), portable greenhouse (Fig. 4), and fumigator (Fig. 27) in Rudolph Rothe, *Udtag af en Dagbog over Gartnerie*, 1828 (Photo: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.)



tural Society⁶⁶ (fig. 11). If Rothe is correct in his attributions, then it would appear that Kühne's drawing had been used to create a steam-producing boiler at Sanssouci modeled after the original in Munich. If so, it would have been fabricated just before or shortly after Rothe's arrival. Moreover, it is clear that Rothe saw Kühne's drawing, as well as the equipment itself, for the illustration in his book is an exact copy of Kühne's, not drawn from an original sketch. The illustration of the fumigator is also a perfect copy of Kühne. While it is possible that Rothe may have been confused about where he saw the boiler (he traveled to Munich after leaving Sanssouci), this illustration is still suggestive evidence that information obtained by Lenné through a travel report was used experimentally in the gardens of Sanssouci.

66 For the edging tool, see D. Rastedt, Der Rasenpflug, erfunden, beschrieben, abgebildet, in: *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten*, 7 (1831), pp. 125–126, pl. I. For the portable greenhouse, see [Johann Gottlob] Schulze, Ideen über Treibhaus-Gärtnerie, besonders Kirschtreiberei, in: *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten*, 1 (1824), pp. 209–222, pl. VII; and Beschreibung eines transportablen und eines gemauerten feststehenden Treibhauses für frühe Treiberei, pp. 292–295, pl. III.

Fig. 11a + b Illustrations of a tool for edging paths (above) and portable greenhouse (below) in *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gartenbaues in den Königlich Preussischen Staaten* (VVBG 7 (1831), pp. 125–126, Taf. I; VVBG 1 (1824), pp. 209–222, Taf. VII)



Another way that we might want to read gardeners' travel reports is by using them to understand and map the flow of materials, including plants, through Lenné's landscapes. Given the emphasis that he placed on commercial nurseries in these travel itineraries, it would be helpful to know how he thought about them in relation to the design choices he made in his practice. For example, the files documenting Lenné's redesign of the Berlin Lustgarten as Schinkel's museum was being completed include an invoice from the Baumann Brothers, whose nursery

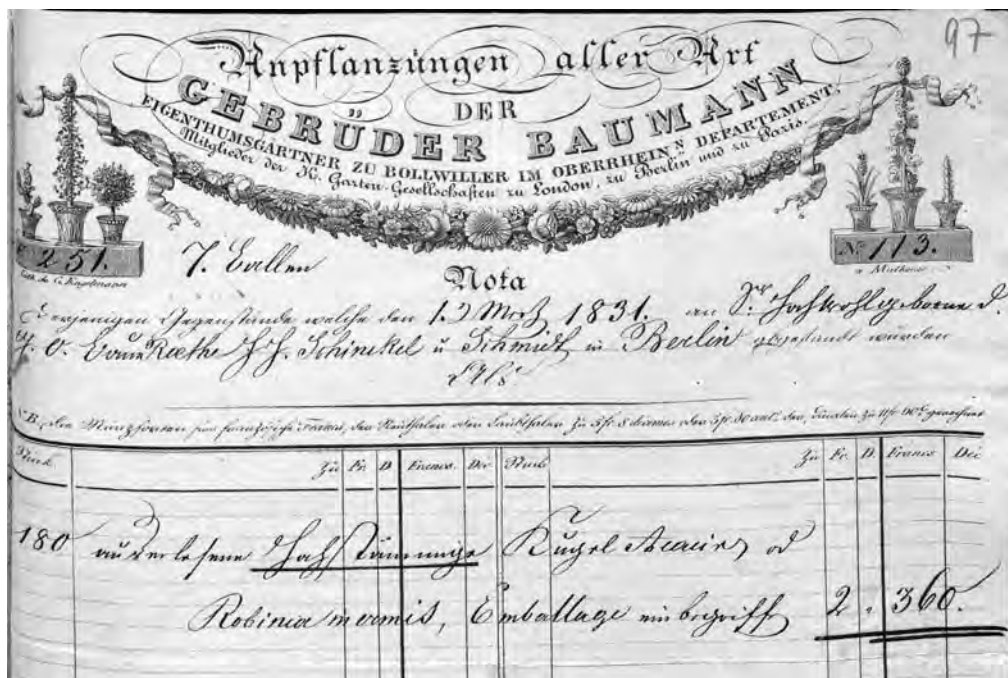


Fig. 12 Invoice from the Baumann Brothers nursery for 180 *Robinia inermis*, March 1, 1831 (GStAPK, 1. HA Rep 137, II A, Nr 39a, Bl. 97)

was located in Alsace, France⁶⁷ (fig. 12). The name of the town, Bollwiller, appears frequently in the travel itineraries of the Potsdam gardeners, and was already a destination by the 1820s, as evidenced by Gustav Adolph Fintelmann's journey. It remained a common destination for decades, for there are records of at least four Academy graduates who apprenticed with the Baumann Brothers: Carl Beust (attended 1857–1858), Friedrich Wilhelm Schödder (1873), Carl Samuel Eduard Toepler (1876–1878), and Paul Dannenberg (1885–1887).⁶⁸ The invoice records Schinkel's purchase of 180 *Robinia inermis*, which has the common name "ball-acacia" (Kugel-Akazien) because its growth habit resembles a spherical lollipop. This species was selected by Lenné and Schinkel because of its unusual form, which lent an architectonic quality to the plantings that would be almost impossible to achieve with other species. The trees were precisely arranged to frame the square, and the almost immediate effect can be seen in Carl Daniel Freydanck's view of 1836 and other contemporary paintings of the square (fig. 13). This example demonstrates that Lenné was keenly aware of the need to have an enormous palette of plants at his disposal to achieve specific landscape effects, and that it was crucial that he has not only general information about these plants but also ongoing,

67 GStAPK, BPH, Rep. 192, Nachlass Lenné, Nr. 15c, Bl. 1, 4; GStAPK, 1. HA Rep. 137, II A, Nr. 39a, Bl. 96–97.

68 Echtermeyer, *Königl. Gärtner-Lehranstalt* (as note 45).



Fig. 13 Carl Daniel Freydanck, *Das Alte Museum in Berlin*, 1836 (SPSG, KPM-Archiv, Inv. Nr. 38)

personal connections with the nurseries that supplied them. In other words, his design choices were not simply a matter of taste – they were very much a matter of maintaining supply. This crucial task was best accomplished, of course, by having his students maintain these networks through travel. For Lenné, the travel report, among its other potential uses, was both the sign and guarantee of these enduring relationships.