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2018

Landscape in Perspective

*Representing, Constructing,
and Questioning Identities*

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FOREWORD

The present volume of the J*ournal of the LUCAS Graduate Conference* brings together a number of articles that emerged from the 2017 LUCAS Graduate Conference on *Landscape: Interpretations, Relations, and Representations*. I recall this conference as a landscape in itself: rich with grandiose sights, multiple views, unexpected angles, interdisciplinary get-togethers, and intercultural encounters. The articles in this journal reflect this abundance by offering various takes on the overarching theme of the conference.

Landscape is a term that seems plain enough at first sight, but on closer inspection turns out to be confused and obscure. Everybody knows what 'landscape' means, through life experiences such as hiking, admiring a view from a window or a hill top, or browsing through the illustrations of a travelogue. Yet when I recently asked a group of undergraduate students to explain what the word 'landscape' signifies, the classroom remained silent. Attempts at defining 'landscape' tend to fall flat or imbue the unpleasant feeling that a rich and complex notion, ripe with metaphorical power, has been reduced to a pale ghost. I suspect that any scholar working on the theme of landscape will experience moments when she or he envies the poet, who may luxuriate in the boundless realm of emerging signification that the word opens up.[1] The majority of our ideas about landscape have sprouted from written lines. Petrarch's report of

1 Indicative of this 'poet's envy' is the tendency of scholarly discourse on landscape to meander, instead of following a straight line of argumentation.

his ascent of Mont Ventoux in 1336, undertaken for no other reason than to admire the scenery, is usually referred to as the first occurrence of the notion of landscape in the Western world.[2] Other cultures have their own legends and tales with regard to landscape, as one of the articles in this volume shows.

Literature, then, seems to be landscape's most natural haunt. Yet the Germanic word 'landscape' is etymologically closer to the visual arts. The realistic type of landscape painting that emerged in the southern part of the Netherlands, more than one hundred years after Petrarch's epic climb, seems to have played an important role in the establishment and transmission of the term.[3] Landscape painting enforces, by means of pictorial representation, the connection that Petrarch established between a delimited part of the earth's surface and a view enacted by a living person.[4] Confusingly, the pictorial doubling of this act of viewing tends to obscure its own artificiality and presents itself to the spectator as a truthful image of the world, as something that exists independently of the viewing subject. As W. J. T. Mitchell has argued, and as most of the articles in this volume show, this tendency to naturalize its own constructedness turns landscape into a highly effective instrument of cultural power.[5] However, the ambivalence between landscape understood as an actual view, and as the representation of what this act of perception produces, also results in landscape's inclination to work as a theoretical tool.[6] Landscape emphasizes both the performativity of viewing and the possibility that our acts of perception emancipate themselves from us and appear before us as an image that can be apprehended and contemplated. With landscape, viewing (in Greek: *theorein*) easily turns into theorizing.

Yet landscape is also characterized by its resistance to such 'imperialistic' acts of apprehension. As Mitchell points out, landscape "always greets us as space, as environment, as that within which 'we' (figured as 'the figures' in the landscape) find—or loose—ourselves".[7] Landscape offers the possibility of projecting oneself into it as a figure in a scene; but it also draws us into a

2 See for instance Ton Lemaire, *Filosofie van het landschap* (Amsterdam: Ambo, 2002), 17.

3 Vittoria Di Palma, "Is Landscape Painting?," in *Is Landscape …? Essays on the Identity of Landscape*, eds. Gareth Doherty and Charles Waldheim (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 47.

4 This connection is also articulated by the aesthetic category of the picturesque, which arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

5 W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1ff.

6 Di Palma, "Is Landscape Painting?," 47.

7 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 2.

boundlessness where we tend to lose grip of our surroundings and ourselves.[8] The ambiguous mixture of delight and fear brought about by the experience of landscape made Petrarch reach out for his copy of Saint Augustine's *Confessions*, which he had taken to Mont Ventoux for the sake of spiritual reassurance. May the reader of this journal be less fearful, and joyfully indulge in the wealth of the budding thoughts assembled in it.

8 Western aesthetic discourse has termed this experience 'sublime'.

Anja Novak
University of Amsterdam

INTRODUCTION

The fourth biannual LUCAS Graduate Conference, which took place from 25 to 27 January, 2017, was titled *Landscape: Interpretations, Relations, and Representations*. Speakers were invited to explore the various ways in which people have interacted with, conceptualized, and artistically interpreted landscape throughout history. More than fifty early career researchers from various disciplines within the Humanities presented their work on landscape from different perspectives, time periods, and regions. Topics ranged from Biblical historiographers to urban parks in Republican Beijing, and from Surrealist paintings to computer games. Dr Anja Novak, who opens this issue of the *JLGC* with her foreword, also opened the conference with her lecture on Land Art in the Dutch *polder* landscape of Flevoland, which addressed topics of identity, modernism, and gender. Keynote speaker Prof. Dr David E. Nye (University of Southern Denmark) spoke about the history of the American electric grid, while Dr Elizabeth Losh closed the conference with her keynote lecture on place-making in digital activism.

Each of the six articles in this issue address issues related to the formation, expression, and questioning of identity through and in landscape. Landscapes figure as allegory, sites of memory, and art. The article by Karen Kriedemann, for example, discusses how a viscount in eighteenth-century Ireland represented his Old English identity in his landscape garden, while Kirsten Tatum

explores how different constructions of landscape identity influence notions of appropriate residential architecture in Dartmoor National Park, England.

A new element of the fourth edition of the conference was the opportunity for artist-researchers to present their own art projects related to landscape. This led to a fruitful exchange of ideas, and shifted the focus from artistic objects as final products to the practice of creating art. Two artist papers, by Sophie Ernst and Robert Lundberg, are included in this issue. Ernst examines art and landscape as processes, while Lundberg explores how his photographic practice changes his perception of landscapes. We believe that the contributions by these artists enrich the discussion of art, landscape, and identity.

For the cover of this issue we chose a detail of the painting *Meanwhile* (2014) by Dutch artist Nathalie Mannaerts. Her paintings refer to the outdoors, loggers, hunters, homemade cookies, and the reluctance to grow up. They are a reminder of a carefree childhood on the edge of a forest, where nature rules, a simple life is celebrated, and adventure is about to be undertaken. We hope that the reader can embark on a similarly adventurous journey through the landscape of articles in this issue.

Embarking on this journey through literature, in this issue's first article Amaranth Feuth discusses Gloria Naylor's novel *Linden Hills* (1985). Exploring the roles of landscape and symbolism, Feuth focuses on the adaptation in her novel of Dante's allegorical underworld to suburban Linden Hills. In addition to drawing parallels between Dante's *Inferno* and *Linden Hills*, Feuth scrutinizes the roles of Freemasonry and hermetism within the narrative. She describes Naylor's depiction of hell as a topification of the ethos of wealthy Black Americans, and further argues that the author makes use of landscape specific to the Masonic tradition in the Dantean underworld. This idea is interpreted in the article as a 'purgatorial way out of hell', for which the position of Black women is considered to be crucial. An example of Black Classicism, and especially the

motif of katabasis or the underworld descent, *Linden Hills* features landscapes and characters comparable to that of Dante's *Divine Comedy.* Naylor, however, weaves a different fate for the suburb of Linden Hills, transforming Dante's *Inferno* into a modern purgatory of possibilities.

The following two papers explore how landscape is cultivated and designed, particularly in relation to architectural structures. Focusing in how family identity can be embedded in landscape, Karen Kriedemann analyses the con-current shaping of landscape and identity in the gardens of Dowth Demesne (County Mead, Ireland) by Nicholas, the fifth Viscount Netterville, who owned the estate in the 1730s. In designing his gardens, the Viscount highlighted the prehistorical and medieval architecture of his lands, and also created a visual connection to important ancient and contemporary historical sites in the sur-rounding area. By using the complex visual relationships between these vari-ous monuments, he attempted to showcase the close connection between his family and the area they inhabited, thus firmly establishing their identity in a period of socio-political turmoil, in which that identity was under significant strain.

Making changes or intervening in protected landscapes and national parks often gives rise to heated debates and questions surrounding the importance of conserving environments that contribute to a sense of regional or national cultural identity. The history of the landscape and its unique properties will fac-tor into policies concerning both its conservation and its development. This is true in the case of the work of British architect David Sheppard, who proposed to build a contemporary dwelling as intervention in the English Dartmoor National Park. Kirsten Lynn Tatum examines the different responses to such contemporary additions to landscapes that are deemed to be 'iconic'. Drawing on the architect's design proposal, policy documents, and interviews, Tatum addresses the different interests at stake for inhabitants of the park, policy makers, and artists, all of whom approach the conservation and function of

national parks in wholly different manners. As becomes clear in Tatum's article, interventions in landscape preservation almost inevitably become a highly contested battleground of what she calls "landscape identities".

In her article, Vera Kaps shows how a national exhibition, in this case the upcoming Swiss National Exhibition Expo2027, can challenge conventional ideas of national identity through landscape. Discussing the four winning entries for Expo2027, Kaps organizes her argument around four dominant landscape practices: moving, mapping, redefining borders, and creating landscape images. For instance, one of the competition entries, *Offshore*, challenges the national border as a defining concept of national identity through an installation on Lake Constance in the east of the country. This installation, consisting of floating platforms that can be reached from the shore through special vehicles provided by the exhibition, effectively proposes a 'global lake identity', defined through lakeshores rather than national borders. In sum, Kaps demonstrates that landscape not only serves as a screen onto which national identity can be projected, but that landscape can also be employed to actively deconstruct and reconstruct the collective identity of a people.

Lending an artist's voice to this volume, Sophie Ernst examines questions of memory and representation through the *HOME* project. Investigating the nature of landscape through her encounters with individuals who have moved away from their native countries, Ernst uses drawing and conversation as a means of accessing our relationship to places that have been left behind. Asking her participants to produce drawings during their interviews, she connects their recounted experiences to contemporary political events, and challenges the perception of landscape as passive or ornamental. Instead, she presents these sites as actively charged through sensorial and emotional experiences, and demonstrates the role graphic media can play in accessing an individual's encounters with different settings and locales. Her approach demonstrates that the topography of 'home' is more complex than simply space or place, and

is a product of layers that can be explored, manipulated, and shared through different processes of remembering.

Robert Lundberg discusses his photographic series *Bearings*, which reframes rural highways in the southwestern United States as Land Art objects. He explores how roads can produce feelings of comfort to the traveller in alien, wild landscapes. Lundberg himself experienced feelings of both comfort and curiosity during his non-urban travels. Photographing these roads and creating a fictional narrative around them is an act of connecting to these vast landscapes and finding a sense of place. In his article, he explains how he is influenced by the Land Art Movement. His project shows how man-made structures such as roads can affect our experience of landscapes.

Lastly we would like to extend our thanks to the people who have played a vital part in the process of publishing this issue. First of all, we are grateful to our publisher, the Leiden University Library. The conference participants who submitted their papers made this issue possible, in particular the six patient and cooperative authors who expanded their presentations for publication in this volume. We thank Anja Novak for contributing the foreword of this issue. Joy Burrough-Boenisch was of great help in guiding us in our editing work and building our enthusiasm for the editing process. The anonymous peer reviewers provided a gracious service to the editors and authors, for which we are grateful. We thank Jenneka Janzen for her help in the last stages of editing, and Andrea Reyes Elizondo for designing this issue's layout. Finally, we thank the LUCAS management team, Thony Visser, Jan Pronk, and Erik Kwakkel, for their continued support in producing this sixth issue, and previous issues, of the *Journal of the LUCAS Graduate Conference*.

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THE FORMATION, EXPRESSION, AND QUESTIONING OF IDENTITY THROUGH AND IN LANDSCAPE

LANDSCAPE

LANDSCAPE

LANDSCAPE

LANDSCAPES FIGURE AS ALLEGORY, SITES OF MEMORY AND ART.

CHANGING THE ALLEGORICAL LANDSCAPE MASONIC AND HERMETIC ADDITIONS TO THE DANTEAN UNDERWORLD OF GLORIA NAYLOR'S *LINDEN HILLS*

Amaranth Feuth

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Landscape has a strong allegorical meaning in the novel Linden Hills*, published in 1985 by Gloria Naylor, an award-winning Black novelist. The novel adapts the underworld of Dante's* Inferno*, as noticed soon after its publication. In this article it is argued that* Linden Hills *does not only display these Dantean influences, but also shows significant traces of spiritual doctrines such as Freemasonry and Hermetism. In this way Naylor established a purgatorial way out of hell which is solely a place of eternal doom in Dante's* Divine Comedy*.*

1 Gloria Naylor, *Linden Hills* (New York: Penguin, 1985).

2 Margaret Earley Whitt, *Understanding Gloria Naylor* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1999), 6-7.

3 For Black Classicism see Emily Greenwood, *Afro-Greeks: Dialogues Between Anglophone Caribbean Literature and Classics in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 9; for *katabasis* see David L. Pike, P*assage through Hell: Modernist Descents, Medieval Underworlds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Rachel Falconer, *Hell in Contemporary Literature: Western Descent Narratives Since 1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005); Michael Thurston, *The Underworld in Twentieth-Century Poetry: From Pound and Eliot to Heaney and Walcott* (Macmillan: New York, 2009).

Landscape plays a vital role in the novel *Linden Hills*, published by the Black novelist Gloria Naylor (1950-2016) in 1985.[1] Naylor was an extremely well-read author, who had an academic career and won several awards and fellowships.[2] In her second novel, *Linden Hills*, she adopted the allegorical landscape of hell as developed by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) in *Inferno*, the first part of his *Divine Comedy*, and turned it into a hill with a modern suburb full of wealthy, Black Americans. Thus, the novel is an example of Black Classicism or African American reception of the Classics; in this case, the reception of the classical motif of *katabasis*, or the underworld, descent familiar from, in particular, Homer's *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Dante's *Divine Comedy*.[3] Naylor's 'hell' is visited by the protagonist, a young Black poet named Willie Mason, who acts as the traditional pilgrim in the underworld, much like Dante-pilgrim in the *Divine Comedy*. Since the publication of her novel in 1985, its correspondences

to the landscape of Dante's *Inferno* have not gone unnoticed.[4] However, little attention has been paid to the changes Gloria Naylor made to that Dantean landscape. In this article, I argue that Naylor incorporated architectural elements from Masonic initiation and hermetism in her Dantean underworld landscape, and that these additions suggest a purgatorial way out of hell which is in Dante's *Comedy* solely a place of eternal doom.

LINDEN HILLS: SYNOPSIS

Linden Hills is a fictional Black suburb on a hill resembling the layout of Dante's inferno (Fig. 1). The top of the hill is covered by a poor village called Putney Wayne. This is separated from the suburb of Linden Hills by a small stream, and by Wayne Avenue, on which the local junior high school is found. The hill itself is "a steep, rocky incline of brier bush and linden trees".[5] The upper part consists of five horizontal roads, named First to Fifth Crescent Drive, which are intersected by one vertical lane, the Linden Road. Beneath that, two large brick pillars mark the entrance to Tupelo Drive, one long lane that winds down to the bottom of the hill and intersects an old cemetery. It ends at a pond surrounding the house and morgue of the local undertaker and president of the realty corporation, Luther Nedeed, a man with a frog-like appearance and wing-tipped shoes. He is the descendant of the Luther Nedeed who had bought the hill three generations earlier and turned it into an area for Black people. The present Luther Nedeed tends to the dead in the morgue next to his house and has the authority to decide who can or cannot own a house in the suburb, leasing the properties for a period of 1001 years. The lower on the hill, the more expensive and luxurious the housing and the richer the inhabitants.

While designed for the empowerment of Black people, the inhabitants are, in fact, betraying their Blackness in order to 'make it' in the (White) world. The lower on the hill they live, the worse their betrayal. For example, Maxwell

4 See Catherine C. Ward, "Linden Hills: A Modern Inferno," in *Gloria Naylor: Critical Perspectives Past and Present*, eds. Henry L. Gates Jr and K. A. Appiah (New York: Amistad, 1993), 182-94; Nick Havely, "'Prosperous People' and 'The Real Hell' in Gloria Naylor's Linden Hills," in *Dante's Modern Afterlife: Reception and Response from Blake to Heaney*, ed. Nick Havely (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 211-22; Whitt, *Understanding Gloria Naylor*; Christine G. Berg, "'Light from a Hill of Carbon Paper Dolls': Gloria Naylor's 'Linden Hills' and Dante's 'Inferno'," *Modern Language Studies* 29.2 (1999), 1-19; Claudia Drieling, *Constructs of "Home" in Gloria Naylor's Quartet* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2001).

5 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 1

Fig. 1
Linden Hills
Leontine Hoogeweegen
Commissioned by Amaranth Feuth,
the Netherlands
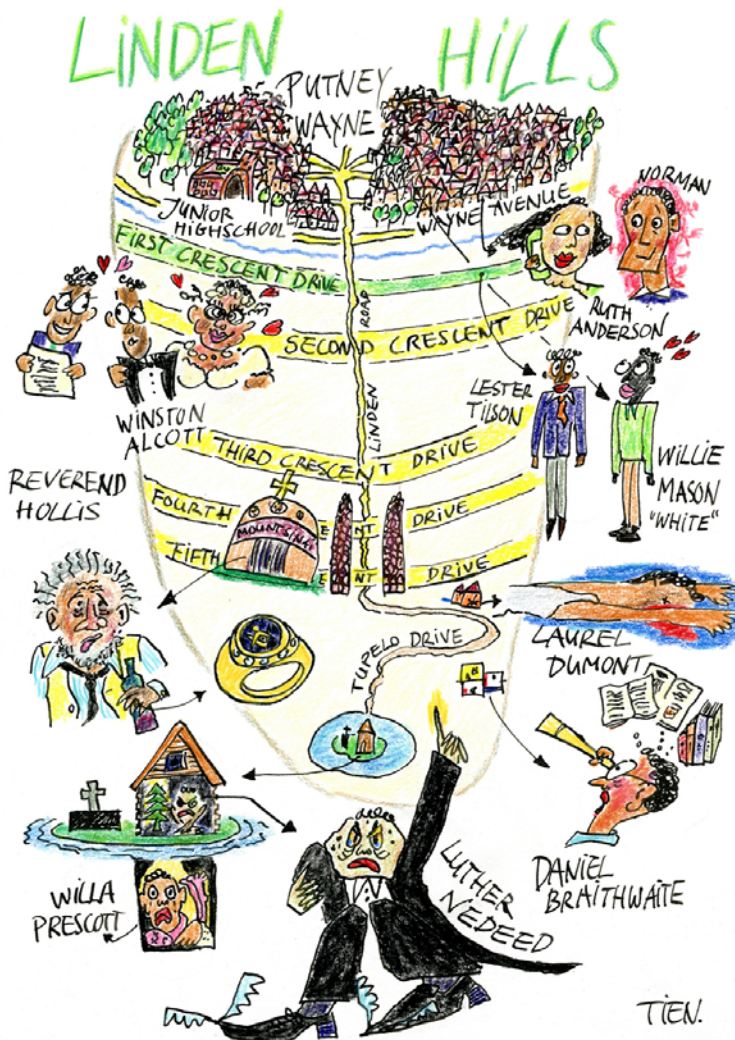
Smyth on Third Crescent Drive, a man with an immense hunger for status, has succeeded in having a career at General Motors by suppressing his bodily needs. He hardly sleeps, sweats, or smells and in this way manages to hide his Blackness with the controlled excellence of his performance. Laurel Dumont on Tupelo Drive, furthermore, commits suicide by jumping into her empty swim-

ming pool when, after a wealthy marriage and an impressive career, she is no longer in touch with her roots and cannot enjoy her life. Luther Nedeed himself starves his own son, who bears his name, to death when he cannot face the fact that the mixed blood in his family's line has resulted in a White rather than a Black child.

Luther Nedeed's wife, Willa Prescott, is also a sinner in this 'hell'. She has lost every notion of self-respect, having served her husband like a slave for years. She now finds herself locked up in the cellar and former morgue underneath the Nedeed house, together with her dead son. Unable to convince her husband that she has not cheated on him with a White man, she despairs and loses all hope, emitting loud, wailing cries that can be heard from the very top of the hill. However, the need to cover her son's body drives Willa Prescott to action and she starts rummaging through an old trunk in the cellar. Apart from a bridal veil, with which she covers her son, she also finds diary entries in an old Bible, some cookery books, and a photo album, all belonging to her deceased mother-in-law, grandmother-in-law, and great-grandmother-in-law. Looking through these documents, she begins to understand that all the women in the Nedeed family have been treated like slaves and that the first Luther Nedeed had in fact been a slave owner, and his wife his legal property.

The novel is set in the week before Christmas, when two young, poor, Black street poets, Willie Mason and Lester Tilson, are desperate for money with which to buy Christmas presents for their parents and siblings. The boys, who became friends at school, usually call each other by their nicknames, 'Shit' for Lester and 'White' for Willie. There are several suggestions that they are sexually attracted to each other, although they desperately try to repress this. Having decided not to attend school any longer nor college, they try to live off their poetry. Willie, in particular, desires to be a poet in the tradition of the, in his opinion, illiterate, enslaved poet Jupiter Hammon.[6] However, the boys are not getting anywhere in the world and they are certainly not earning enough

6 Jupiter Hammon (1711-1806) was the first published Black author in the US. He was born into slavery and remained enslaved throughout his life. For a brief biography, see Sondra O'Neale, "Hammon, Jupiter," in *The Concise Oxford Companion to African American Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), accessed 17 November 2017, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195138832.001.0001/acref-9780195138832-e-255. For the literacy of enslaved African-Americans including Jupiter Hammon, see Antonio T. Bly, "'Pretends he can read': Runaways and Literacy in Colonial America, 1730–1776," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6.2 (2008): 261-94, doi: 10.1353/eam.0.0004.

money for presents. As a result, they take up the suggestion made to them by Ruth Anderson, a mutual friend, to do some jobs for the local residents of Linden Hills in the week before Christmas. Ruth herself used to live in Linden Hills at Fifth Crescent Drive, but left after her divorce. However, she still has connections down the hill from which Willie and Lester benefit. They start at First Crescent Drive, working their way down the hill waiting tables, clearing out garages, and shovelling snow.

During their work Willie in particular carefully observes the rich inhabitants of Linden Hills, for example the local Reverend Michael T. Hollis, who oversees the church on Fifth Crescent Drive. Although a drunk who was divorced by his wife, he is a kind man, treating his congregation to Christmas presents every year. This year, it is Willie and Lester's job to help him bring the boxes from his house to the church. The boys also watch him conduct a wedding and a funeral in fierce competition with undertaker Luther Nedeed, who wears similar wing-tipped shoes and generally has the upper hand.

Willie also listens for the occasional strange cries on the hill, looking out for the one person who never appears, Luther Nedeed's wife. He finally sees her when the two boys are helping Luther Nedeed decorate his Christmas tree on Christmas Eve. That evening, Willa finally finds her resolve. No longer prepared to live like a slave, she decides to reclaim her life as wife and lady of the house. Almost hallucinating from hunger, she walks up the steps towards the cellar door with her son's body in her arms, when Willie, carrying a large box full of Christmas decorations, accidentally unlatches the cellar door. Willa enters the house and faces Willie in the mirror near the kitchen door. Her husband Luther Nedeed, much embarrassed, quickly sees the two boys out. During the confrontation between husband and wife, the wedding veil on the son's body catches fire from the candles in the Christmas tree, and the entire wooden house goes up in flames. Willie and Lester watch the spectacle from outside, horrified, but unable to help, since a strong wind fans the flames. Afterwards,

fire-fighters carry out the bodies of Willa Prescott, Luther Nedeed, and their son as one big, burned lump. Willie and Lester climb the fence at the bottom of the hill near an apple orchard and leave the area hand in hand.

DANTESQUE LANDSCAPE

The area of Linden Hills bears some striking resemblances to hell as immortalized by the medieval Italian poet Dante Alighieri in the first part of his *Divine Comedy*, *Inferno*. Dante has deeply influenced English literature, especially since the days of Modernism and, in particular, through the works of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot; he has remained an inspiration for authors ever since.[7] In an interview, Naylor herself explained why she used *Inferno* for this novel:

> I used Dante's Inferno because I thought it was the perfect work for symbolizing when up is down, because Dante gives you that mere image of Florentine society and then slowly begins to move from the lesser sins to the greater sin. So that's what I did in *Linden Hills*. When you move down the hill you encounter what I consider to be a greater alienation, the repercussions from upward mobility.[8]

In order to analyse Naylor's adaptation of the traditional underworld landscape, I will first discuss the most conspicuous references to Dante's *Inferno*, focusing on the layout of the hill. As is visible in the illustration by Leontine Hoogeweegen (Fig. 1), the plateau at the top is Willie's place of residence, the poorer village of Putney Wayne. As the place of outsiders, it evokes the wood in which Dante the Pilgrim meets Virgil (Fig. 2).[9] The stream below Putney Wayne is suggestive of Dante's River Acheron. The entrance to the local junior high school, situated on Wayne Avenue and overlooking Linden Hills, is marked by an inscription parodying the text on Dante's hell gate. The change in the opening line: "I am the way out of the city of woe", from Dante's "I am the way into the city of woe", demonstrates the ignorance of the sinners of Naylor's hell.[10]

7 Thurston, *The Underworld in Twentieth-Century Poetry*, 15-16.

8 Angels Carabí, "Interview with Gloria Naylor," *Revista de Estudios Norteamericanos* 1 (1991), 33.

9 *Inferno* 1.

Fig. 2. Chart of Hell
Sandro Botticelli
33 × 47.5cm, Silver point, ink,
coloured with tempera
c.1480-c.1495. Vat. Lat. 1896.
Botticelli: de Laurent le Magnifique à Savonarole: catalogue de l'exposition à Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, du 1er octobre 2003 au 22 février 2004 et à Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, du 10 mars au 11 juillet 2004 (Milan: Skira editore, Paris: Musée du Luxembourg, 2003).
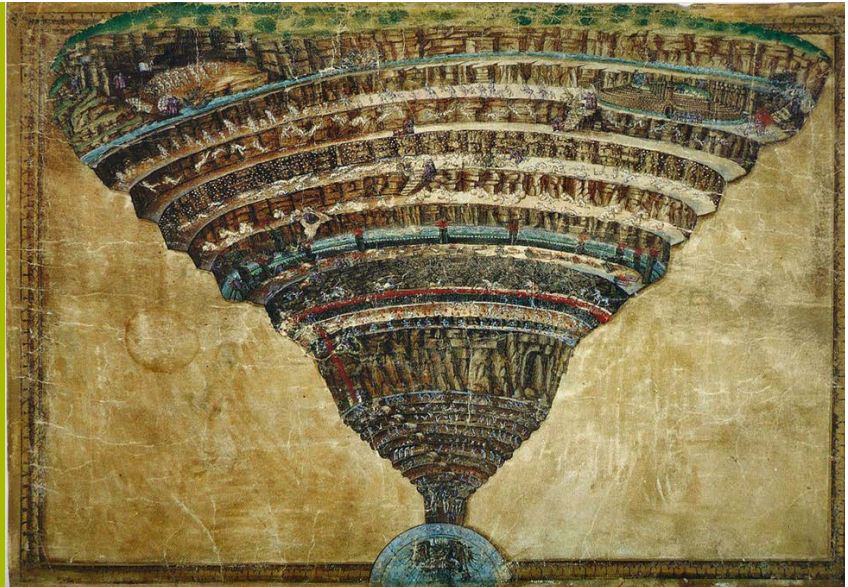
The hill below Putney Wayne is, much like Dante's hell, not easy to oversee or access. The linden trees, however, have a pleasant aspect to them, and people desperately want to live "in the soft shadows of those heart-shaped trees".[11] The upper part of the hill with its five circular drives evokes the circles of Dante's upper hell with its inhabitants driven to lesser sins, such as lust and gluttony. The cemetery at the bottom of Linden Road and Tupelo Drive are Naylor's variation on Dante's lower hell or City of Dis, the place for those driven to the graver sins of violence, fraud, and treachery.

The pond surrounding Nedeed's house and morgue, which is frozen in winter (the season in which the novel is set), evokes the ice of Dante's Cocytus, the dwelling place of Satan.[12] Thus, Luther Nedeed can be identified as the devil. Gloria Naylor admitted herself that his name is an anagram for "de Eden", the one driven from paradise: "In Linden Hills, Luther Nedeed spelled backward is Luther de Eden. He is the devil".[13] Luther Nedeed's devilish nature also

10 "Per me si va ne la città dolente," *Inferno* 3.1. Translation: John Ciardi, *The Inferno: A New Translation* (New York: Mentor, 1954), 18.

11 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 15.

12 *Inferno* 34,28-29.

becomes apparent from the many references to him in connection to the Book of Revelation. This book of the Bible, also called the Apocalypse of John, contains an apocalyptic vision referring to a devilish beast that will reign for a 1000 years. The 1001-year lease of the houses in Linden Hills seems to refer to this 1000-year reign. The bestial notion is furthermore enhanced by the frog-like appearance of the men in the Nedeed family.[14]

Moreover, Willie Mason functions as a young version of Dante-pilgrim, the outsider observing the inhabitants of the hill. His nickname, 'White', may refer to the political rivalry between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines in Dante's Florence, where the Guelphs were divided in factions of the so-called Blacks and Whites, Dante finding himself among the latter.[15] Willie's friend Lester Tilson, more familiar with the area, plays the part of guide in the underworld, aptly living on First Crescent Drive. This place is reminiscent of Dante's Limbo, the area for the unbaptized and, in particular, for Dante-pilgrim's guide, the Roman poet Virgil. Moreover, Willie is secretly in love with Ruth, who resembles Dante's Beatrice, the unreachable beloved who called him into the underworld.[16]

While the many details reminiscent of Dante's *Comedy* suggest a carefully designed correlation between *Linden Hills* and *Inferno*, some conspicuous aspects of the layout of Naylor's hill do not seem to have a Dantean counterpart, or are markedly different from *Inferno*. While Naylor carefully creates an upper and a lower section of hell and playfully uses a frozen pond to refer to Dante's Cocytus, she seems to have deviated from Dante's number of circles. While *Inferno* has nine circles, the text of *Linden Hills* only mentions "eight circular drives".[17] Only few critics have discussed this and suggested an explanation. It has, for example, been proposed that Naylor omitted Dante's sixth circle, that of the heretics, because Christianity is not part of the book's theme, and because the inhabitants of Linden Hills do not sin against God, but against themselves.[18] To this argument, one could easily object that the sinners of

13 Drieling, *Constructs*, 267.

14 It is beyond the purpose of this article to discuss the likeness of Luther Nedeed to his namesakes Martin Luther King, who famously had a dream for Black society, and to Martin Luther, the Church reformer. For some correspondences, see Drieling, *Constructs*, 188 and Havely, "'Prosperous People' and 'The Real Hell'", 215.

15 Whitt, *Understanding Gloria Naylor*, 67.

16 For further correspondences between the inhabitants of Linden Hills and Dante's sinners cf. footnote 3.

17 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 13.

18 Ward, "Linden Hills: A Modern Inferno," footnote 4.

Linden Hills are, figuratively speaking, heretics against the self and that heresy is, in fact, the major sin of the novel. Margaret Whitt observed four layers in Naylor's lower hell, bringing the total number up to nine, but unfortunately left the exact number unexplained.[19] Although it would be absurd to press a novel for hypertextual correctness, changing the revered and eye-catching number of nine circles in this highly intertextual underworld landscape is somewhat conspicuous. Perhaps analysing Dante's *Inferno* as a hypotextual influence is not enough to interpret the layout of Naylor's hell.

MASONIC ADDITIONS

The clue for the meaning of the missing circle is to be found in Willie's surname, Mason, and the Masonic interpretation of two architectural additions made by Naylor to Dante's geography. So far, the surname Mason has only been interpreted by critics as a sign that the character is a builder who "accepts responsibility".[20] However, the name could just as well be a marker for Masonic symbolism in the novel. There is an explicit reference to Freemasonry in a conversation in the car between Willie and the local Reverend Michael T. Hollis about the Reverend's ring:

> "That's a nice ring you have on." He tried to cut off the spiritual in Hollis's third round, almost shouting as he pointed to the opal stone with a diamond-studded insignia. "I recognize the symbol. My father used to belong to the Masonic lodge."[21]

The ring and dialogue clearly identify both Willie's father and the Reverend as Masons.

Freemasonry is an umbrella term referring to a vast number of hierarchical organizations or lodges worldwide which adopt particular symbolism and ritu-als, including rites of initiation. Masons sometimes wear a special ring which

19 Whitt, *Understanding Gloria Naylor*, 61-62.

20 Ward, "Linden Hills: A Modern Inferno," 183. cf. Drieling, *Constructs*, 218.

21 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 172.

helps them recognize one another as Masons, as is the case with Reverend Hollis in *Linden Hills*.[22] Willie's surname, and the fact that he is working during his journey through Linden Hills, suggest his portrayal as a so-called journeyman, a mason travelling as a handyman in the medieval guild system.[23] Having completed his apprenticeship under a master mason, a journeyman would travel and work for several different masters before gaining the rank of master mason himself and setting up a workshop of his own.[24] Freemasons were originally freestone masons, a class of the most highly trained masons who were not just craftsmen, but whose organizations were given to contemplation and were, from the start, speculative and spiritual.[25] The three ranks of entered apprentice, fellow craftsmen (sometimes called journeyman), and master mason thus coincide with the three levels of initiation in Freemasonry.[26] In this light, one could argue that Willie, having already learned the poetic trade, is no longer an apprentice, but is not yet ready to establish himself as a master poet in society. His days travelling and working as a journeyman provide him with the necessary insight and experience he to become a mature and independent poet.

In addition to Willie's surname and the Reverend's ring, there are two architectural elements in Naylor's landscape that do not correspond to the landscape of *Inferno* and which may benefit from a Masonic interpretation. The first is the cellar and former morgue underneath Nedeed's house. In *Inferno*, Dante-pilgrim and Virgil descend through the ice of the Cocytus and the middle of the Earth to come out at the other side of the globe and climb the mountain of purgatory. Hence, there is no cave-like area for sinners underneath the figure of Satan. Second, the two large brick pillars marking the entrance to Naylor's Tupelo Drive are very different from the River Styx, which is marked by a large tower and the closed gate to lower hell in the *Inferno*.[27] Following the Masonic clue of Willie's surname, it might be worthwhile to look for a cellar and two brick pillars in Masonic rites and symbolism.

22 Danny Kaplan, "The Architecture of Collective Intimacy: Masonic Friendships as a Model for Collective Attachments," *American Anthropologist* 116.1 (2014), doi: 10.1111/aman.12070.

23 Margaret Jacob and Matthew Crow, "Freemasonry and the Enlightenment," in *Handbook of Freemasonry*, eds. Henrik Bogdan and Jan A. M. Snoek (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 100.

24 David Stevenson, "The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland," in *Handbook*, eds. Bogdan and Snoek, 53-54.

25 Henrik Bogdan and Jan A. M. Snoek, "Introduction," in *Handbook*, eds. Bogdan and Snoek, 14.

26 Ibid., 2; Jan A. M. Snoek, "Masonic Rituals of Initiation," in *Handbook*, eds. Bogdan and Snoek, 321.

27 *Inferno*, 8 *passim*.

The cellar seems to evoke the Masonic Dark Room or Chamber of Reflection, in which initiates or neophytes pass some time alone, preparing for their initiation.[28] It is a separate, cave-like room, the darkness of which is connected with the early spiritual stage of *nigredo* or blackness. On occasion, the Masonic Dark Room has been interpreted as the entrance to Hades or the underworld.[29] Thus, the neophyte descends into the darkness of earth or underworld, as it were, before entering a new stage of Masonic enlightenment. In this light, the cellar in which Willa Prescott finds herself at the bottom of Naylor's Dantean hell could perhaps be understood as the deepest pit of hell and as a Chamber of Reflection at the same time. If so, Linden Hills would indeed consist of nine hellish circles rather than the eight circles of the drives alone.

Apart from the position and the darkness of the room underneath the house at the bottom of Naylor's hell, its contents may also evoke a Masonic interpretation. The Masonic Chamber of Reflection is usually filled with alchemical symbols, due to the strong influence of alchemy on Freemasonry.[30] Often mentioned are a skull, bread and water, a candle, an hourglass, a mirror, salt, sulphur, mercury or a picture of a cockerel symbolizing it, and the acronym V.I.T.R.I.O.L. ('*Visita interiora terrae rectificandoque invenies occultum lapidem*').[31] The body of Willa's dead son indeed evokes the skull, water is kept by Willa in an aluminium pot which she then uses as a mirror, the hourglass is replaced by a clock on the wall, there is a single light bulb hanging from the ceiling, and during the first few days, Willa had had some cereal and milk. At this stage, however, the presence of the elements salt, sulphur, and mercury remains unclear. The most meaningful symbol so far seems to be the water acting as a mirror, since it is the physical reflection of Willa's face in the water which prompts her process of mental reflection. The imagery of the Masonic neophyte in the Chamber of Reflection thus suggests that Willa is not simply her husband's prisoner and slave, but is developing some form of enlightenment. Thus, Masonic imagery has not only completed the number of nine drives, a detail that is in itself of limited value, but has moreover opened up

28 François Rognon, "Freemasonry and War," in *Handbook*, eds. Bogdan and Snoek, 480; Mark Journée, *Analytisch-psychologische conceptualisatie van het symbolische bij C.G. Jung: Onderzoek van het statuut daarvan in een bekend westers esoterisch genootschap: de Vrijmetselarij* (Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam, 1999), 180.

29 Snoek, "Masonic Rituals of Initiation," 323.

30 Henrik Bogdan, "Freemasonry and Western Esotericism" in *Handbook*, eds. Bogdan and Snoek, 289-91.

31 "Visit the earth's interior and by rectification you will find the hidden stone". See Snoek, "Masonic Rituals of Initiation," 322-23; Mark Stavish, "The Chamber of Reflection," (2002), accessed 9 December 2016, http://www.hermeticinstitute.org/docs/chamber.pdf.

the possibility of a spiritual interpretation of the novel as a whole.

Like the cellar underneath the Nedeed house, the brick pillars at the entrance to Tupelo Drive also carry symbolic, Masonic meaning. They evoke the two pillars of Solomon's Temple, Jachin and Boaz, which are also common symbols in Masonic initiation.[32] Rebuilding Solomon's Temple is a Masonic metaphor for obtaining spiritual growth. Thus, both architectural additions to Dante's hell evoke the possibility of Masonic initiation. As a result, Naylor's lower hell full of doomed inhabitants is paradoxically also marked as an area for spiritual enlightenment.

Apart from the symbolism in the novel mentioned above, there seems to be no evidence that Gloria Naylor was familiar with Freemasonry or that she was a Mason herself. This may be due to the secretive nature of the lodges.[33] Perhaps Naylor was simply aware of nineteenth-century Masonic interpretations of Dante, in which his *Inferno* is equated with the profane world, purgatory with the state of Masonic initiation, and heaven with the realm of the perfect.[34] Willa's cellar underneath the hell of *Linden Hills* would then resemble purgatory and the consuming fire would then perhaps send Willa, Luther, and their son to heaven, while Willie and Lester leave the area by climbing the fence near the somewhat paradisiac apple orchard below.

Masonic symbolism is not only evoked by Willie's surname, the Reverend's ring, the cellar, and the pillars, but also by Naylor's sophisticated use of colour. In particular, the colours black and white seem connected to the elements earth and water, essential in alchemy and Freemasonry. As observed above, Willa's descent suggests Masonic *nigredo*, meaning blackness or putrefaction. In Masonic initiation, the putrefaction of the cave is to be washed away by water in a so-called first journey.[35] After Willa has climbed the steps and is released by Willie, she starts to clean the kitchen.[36] This *ablutio*, or cleansing, results in *albedo*, whiteness. Perhaps we may assume that Willie, as an initiate,

32 Bogdan and Snoek, "Introduction," 2; Josef Ben Levi, "The Pillars Jachin and Boaz in Freemasonry in Martin Robeson Delaney's Symbol of the Garden of Hesperides," *Academia* (2012): 3. accessed 29 January 2017, http://www.academia.edu/5642397/The_Pillars_Jachin_and_Boaz_in_Freemasonry_on_Martin_Robeson_Delaney/.

33 Jacob and Crow, "Freemasonry and the Enlightenment," 101.

34 Leon Surette, *The Birth of Modernism: Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, W.B. Yeats, and the Occult* (Montreal: MQUP, 1993), 112; René Guénon, *The Esoterism of Dante*, trans. of *L'Ésotérisme de Danté* (1925) (New York: Sophia Perennis et Universalis, 2001).

35 Mark Journée, *Analytisch-psychologische conceptualisatie*, 204.

36 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 298.

has already gained this state of whiteness. Apart from the reference to Dante's White Guelphs, the nickname White would then also refer to Willie's mental state. It is through the loss of her White son and the help of 'White' Willie that Willa reaches her own state of *albedo*.

Moreover, the fire of the Nedeed house evokes the so-called second ritual Masonic journey which is characterized by a sacrificial fire or *rubedo*, redness. This is often characterized as an erotic sacrifice of the son in which the feminine and the son go up in flames.[37] Willa's sacrifice of herself and the bodies of her son and husband in a pietà-like posture may evoke such a sacrifice. The fact that the name Luther Nedeed had been shared by fathers and sons for several generations suggests that father and son are in fact one. Carl Jung (1875-1961), who adopted many elements from alchemy and Freemasonry in his work on psychology, compared the Masonic sacrifice with that of Christ.[38] Independently from Jung's theory, Willa has been interpreted as a female messiah as well.[39] Finally, the strong wind during the fire may suggest a fourth stage of Masonic initiation, that of air, the highest of the four Masonic elements;[40] it may symbolize Willie's inner change and Willa's obtained freedom.

There are more details in the novel that evoke a spiritual interpretation, for example, the wing-tipped shoes worn by Luther Nedeed and the Reverend Hollis.[41] As the devil of Linden Hills, Luther Nedeed might be interpreted as the winged archangel Lucifer, the one fallen from heaven. Since the connection through the similarity of their shoes seems to qualify Hollis and Nedeed as a pair, and since they constantly argue about their respective authority in matters of life and death, it seems that the 'wings' on their shoes mark them as the quarrelling winged archangels Michael and Lucifer. Although Nedeed seems to have the upper hand, the reference to the archangels suggests that he will eventually lose his battle. Thus this pairing is another indication that the 1001-year lease of the houses in the area will outdate the reign of the devil.

37 Mark Journée, *Analytisch-psychologische conceptualisatie*, 209.

38 See Carl G. Jung, *Mysterium coniunctionis: Untersuchungen über die Trennung und Zusammensetzung der seelischen Gegensätze in der Alchemie* (Zurich and Stuttgart: Rascher Verlag, 1968), vol. 2, 88.

39 Christopher N. Okonkwo, "Suicide or Self Sacrifice: Exhuming Willa's Body in Gloria Naylor's Linden Hills," *African American Review* 35.1 (2001), 118-28, doi: 10.2307/2903339.

40 Mark Journée, *Analytisch-psychologische conceptualisatie*, 216-17.

41 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 12; cf. 162.

The winged shoes are, however, not only suggestive of archangels, but also evoke the pre-Christian figure Hermes, and, in particular, Hermes Trismegistus, a mystical figure closely connected to Freemasonry and alchemy.[42] It seems that he originated in Egypt as the Egyptian god Thot, who was equated by the Greeks with their own Hermes, the winged messenger of the gods.[43] The Greek god Hermes is known in several slightly different roles, for example, as *mystagogos*, accompanying the Eleusinian mysteries, or as *psychopompos*, accompanying the dead and transgressing heaven, Earth, and the underworld.[44] During the centuries, the Egyptian spiritual figure of Hermes Trismegistus was identified as a god or as a man, whether as the grandson of the god Hermes, the figure of Moses, or a contemporary of Moses.[45] His second name, Trismegistus, means "the thrice great". It is also variously interpreted as "extremely great" or as "having appeared three times in Egypt".[46] This threefold aspect evokes the notion of trinity present in the Egyptian sense of androgyny of the divine according to which the universe is a triad of the so-called unoriginate, the self-originate, and the originate. This triad can also be described as the Father, the Son, and Matter.[47] Hermes Trismegistus was furthermore seen as a lawgiver, who wrote down his teachings in stone stelae, much like Moses, and as a creator.[48] His esoteric teachings include the notion of initiation in nine spheres.[49] Under the influence of Judaism, Hermes Trismegistus also became a Messianic figure.[50] There are several clues in *Linden Hills* which evoke some of these Hermetic qualities and which in this way influence the interpretation of the novel.

As suggested by their shoes, Luther Nedeed and the Reverend Hollis may both have certain Hermetic characteristics. Indeed, they both act as *psychopompoi*, tending to and burying the dead. Since the Nedeeds are the founders of Linden Hills, Luther also seems to evoke Hermes the creator, while Hollis is, as a reverend, suggestive of the Moses-like giver of laws. Nedeed and Hollis furthermore share a sense of trinity. They each have a house number consisting of triple numbers, 999 and 000, respectively. Hollis even explicitly interprets his

42 Jacob and Crow, "Freemasonry and the Enlightenment," 101; Roelof van den Broek, *Hermes Trismegistus* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2006), 17.

43 Broek, *Hermes Trismegistus*, 1-4.

44 Gerhard Baudy and Anne Ley, "Hermes," in *Brill's New Pauly*, eds. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, Christine F. Salazar, Manfred Landfester, and Francis G. Gentry, doi: 10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_ e510080.

45 Broek, *Hermes Trismegistus*, 2-7.

46 Broek, *Hermes Trismegistus*, 4-5.

47 Roelof van den Broek, *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 60-61. cf. Broek, *Hermes Trismegistus*, 38.

48 Ibid., 2 and 26.

49 Ibid., 15.

50 Ibid., 10.

house number as the three o's of the symbol of the Holy Trinity.[51] Subsequently, Naylor portrays Hollis as a rather unsuccessful hermetic teacher or seer in the underworld, a holy man who has physical eyesight instead of the required spiritual understanding, and, who, during Christmas, behaves like Santa handing out presents, rather than as a Moses giving laws and acting against the sins of his flock. Secondly, Nedeed also forms a trinity with his family in death, when his body is united with the bodies of his wife and son. The notion of the trinity is not only common in Christianity and hermetism, but also plays a prominent part in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, for example, in its use of *terza rima*, its division in three *cantiche*, and in the three faces of Satan.

Moreover, the presence of Hermetic symbolism suggests that the nine circles of hell are also nine spheres of initiation, and the pillars at the entrance of Linden Hills evoke both the pillars of Freemasonry and the stelae of Hermes Trismegistus.[52] It seems that Naylor's architectural additions to the Dantean underworld landscape and the numerous symbols from Freemasonry and hermetism, some even coinciding with Dantean/Christian symbolism, add a purgatorial escape to Dante's hell, and, as such, an option of spiritual growth for those who will see it.

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Spiritual growth does not appear to be an entirely individual matter in *Linden Hills*. It is obtained by Willie and Willa in a subtle, and to some extent subconscious, interaction. While Willa begins her reflection in the cellar, Willie descends the hill searching for her. The turn of events in the novel takes place when Willa is walking up the steps and Willie unlatches the cellar door. The interaction between Willa and Willie is marked by the pairing of their names, a literary device familiar from the quests of the spouses Christian and Christiana in John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In this seventeenth-century allegory, the pilgrim, Christian, travels from the City of Destruction to the so-called

51 Naylor, *Linden Hills*, 169; for the symbol see Udo Becker, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols*, transl. Lance W. Garner (New York and London: Continuum, 2000 [1992]), 309.

52 See Guénon, *The Esoterism of Dante*, 36-37.

Celestial City. In the second part of the book, his wife Christiana does the same. Linden Hills seems to be a conflation of Dante's hell for the doomed and Bunyan's City of Destruction from which it is imperative to flee. The pairing of Willa and Willie is much more powerful, however, since it is their interaction that causes the end of the reign of the Nedeeds, while Christian and Christiana travel separately. The importance of Willa and Willie's interaction is underlined by the meaning of the root of their names, the human will. This suggests that Willa and Willie are the two characters in the suburb who share a Dantean sense of free will and manage to act upon it.[53]

Moreover, the pairing of names suggests that Willie and Willa are soulmates. The attraction of soulmates is well known from the classical love couple Cupid and Psyche ('soul' in Greek, which is called *anima* in Latin) in Apuleius' mystical novel *Lucius*, or the *Golden Ass*, and from Aristophanes' speech about love as the desire for one's better half in Plato's *Symposium*.[54] Maxine Lavon Montgomery aptly notes that "Willie, who is closely aligned with the long-suppressed feminine principle, is Willa's alter-ego".[55] In fact, Willie and Willa evoke the concepts of *anima* and *animus* which were adopted from alchemy by the influential psychiatrist Jung, and have since become widely known.[56]

According to Jung, the *anima* is the inner feminine in men, while the *animus* is the inner masculine in women.[57] In this light, Willa's ascent and Willie's descent suggest a Masonic/hermetic attempt at a union of the male and female counterparts, a *hieros gamos*. According to Jung's interpretation of Freemasonry, this *hieros gamos*, the holy, incestuous union of brother and sister, well known from ancient initiation rites, takes place in a cave.[58] Indeed, Willie comes very close to the cave or cellar in which Willa is locked up. However, their union, in fact, takes place in the mirror, when Willie sees his feminine counterpart instead of himself.

Naylor probably chose the mirror over the cellar, because it is a traditional

53 Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia* II.2.7, and *Purgatorio* 16.67-73 and 18.74.

54 Karl-Ludwig Elvers, Wolfgang Will and Maaike Zimmerman, "Ap(p)uleius," *Brill's New Pauly*, eds. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, Christine F. Salazar, Manfred Landfester, and Francis G. Gentry, doi: 10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e129350; Plato, *Symposium* 189d-192e.

55 Maxine Lavon Montgomery, *The Fiction of Gloria Naylor: Houses and Spaces of Resistance* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 24.

56 For Jung's interpretation of alchemy and Freemasonry, see Mark Journée, *Analytisch-psychologische conceptualisatie*; for the influence of Jung's key concepts, see Andrew Samuels, "Introduction: Jung and the Post-Jungians," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung*, eds. P. Young-Eisendrath and T. Dawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), doi:10.1017/CCOL0521473098.

57 Jung, *Mysterium coniunctionis*, vol. 2, 240.

58 Journée, *Analytisch-psychologische conceptualisatie*, 181-84 and 219.

metaphor of self-reflection and identity.[59] The mirror of the soul plays a prominent role throughout the novel in the sayings of Lester Tilson's deceased grandmother, and as such figures in the paratext preceding the first chapter:

> Grandma Tilson, I'm afraid of hell.
> Ain't nothing to fear, there's hell on earth.
> I mean the real hell where you can go when you die.
> You ain't gotta die to go to the real hell.
> No?
> Uh uh, you just gotta sell that silver mirror God
> propped up in your soul.
> Sell it to who – the devil?
> Naw, just to the highest bidder, child. The
> highest bidder.[60]

In addition to her connection with Willie, Willa also brings about a union within the Nedeed family, albeit in death. This union also evokes the *hieros gamos*, the holy marriage, or the *mysterium coniunctionis*, the mystic union. In alchemy, man and woman are seen as each other's opposites, and the union of Luther Nedeed and Willa Prescott could also be qualified as the alchemical *coniunctio oppositorum*, or union of opposites. These opposites are represented in alchemy as sulphur and mercury, mercury referring to the god Mercury, the Roman version of the Greek god Hermes.[61] Sulphur usually represents the fixed and masculine while mercury aligns with the nature of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, and moreover symbolizes the volatile, which is identified as feminine.[62] Thus, one would expect Luther Nedeed and Willa Prescott to display some characteristics of sulphur and mercury respectively. However, in *Linden Hills*, the distribution of gender seems to be reversed: his wing-tipped shoes and his presence all over Linden Hills characterize Nedeed as a volatile Hermes, or the feminine element mercury, while Willa, locked up in the cellar, is the fixed and traditionally masculine element sulphur. This identification of

59 Havely, "'Prosperous People' and 'The Real Hell'", 217.

60 Naylor, *Linden Hills*.

61 For Carl Jung, Hermes/Mercury, and therefore also the element mercury, was a unifier of opposites himself, since mercury is a metal as well as a liquid, and healing as well as poisonous. See Paul Bishop, *The Dionysian Self: C.G. Jung's Reception of Friedrich Nietzsche* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 225.

62 Alexandra Lembert, *The Heritage of Hermes: Alchemy in Contemporary British Literature* (Berlin: Galda and Wilch, 2004), 77.

alchemical elements and their exchange illustrates the fact that, even before their union in death, the figures of Willa Prescott, Luther Nedeed, and their son are intertwined. In this way, the elements mercury and sulphur are present in Willa's Chamber of Reflection all along. It seems that as a result of Willa's willpower, the fallen archangel is finally returning to heaven and the area of Linden Hills is freed from his sins.

Thus, at the end of the novel Willa Prescott and Luther Nedeed are dissolved into fire and air. This matches the identification, in some alchemical texts, of mercury and sulphur with the concepts of spirit and soul. The body is represented by the element salt, which is cleansed by contact with the other two.[63] Salt is the only remaining alchemical element still missing from Willa's cellar. Nonetheless, a reference to it is hidden in the name of Willie's favourite poet Jupiter Hammon. A technical term for salt, sal ammoniac, was derived from the quantities in which this salt was found near the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Egypt.[64] Thus, it seems that Willie is the one who represents this element. Indeed, while Willa and Nedeed are killed, Willie is the one to escape from Linden Hills alive. As a true pilgrim, his experiences with Luther Nedeed and Willa Prescott leave him cleansed and ready for a new life.

CONCLUSION

Naylor turned Dante's allegorical underworld landscape into a modern 'hell' of self-betrayal. Her architectural adaptations of Dante's underworld landscape have, however, changed this traditional place for the doomed into a modern purgatory. Naylor's ultimate spiritual addition to Dante's 'hell' seems to be the Masonic and Hermetic union of opposites of the male and the female, visible in the unions of Willa and Willie, and Willa and Nedeed, which in turn results in the union of Willie and Lester, who walk away hand in hand. This Masonic and Hermetic union of opposites also suggests that the many other opposites in the novel are also united or discarded. Black and White, up and down, and rich

63 Catherine Beyer, "Alchemical Sulfur, Mercury and Salt," ThoughtCo, Lifelong Learning. Last modified October 15, 2016, accessed 4 April 2017, http://www.thoughtco.com/alchemical-sulfur-mercury-and-salt-96036.

64 Manly P. Hall, *The Secret Teachings of All Ages: An Encyclopedic Outline of Masonic, Hermetic, Qabbalistic, and Rosicrucian Symbolical Philosophy* (New York: Dover Publications, 2010. First published 1928), 415.

and poor: all opposites have lost their influence in Linden Hills. The Masonic and hermetic union Naylor has added to Dante's hell thus marks the end of the symbolic 1000-year reign of the devil of ambition, leaving the suburb of Linden Hills ready for a new, communal start. In this way, the message of Naylor's allegory is hopeful: her alterations to the traditional landscape of hell reflect possibilities of inner growth and social change.

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OLD AND NEW OBJECTS IN THE LANDSCAPE GARDEN OF DOWTH DEMESNE (COUNTY MEATH, IRELAND)

VISUALIZING HERITAGE

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This article explores how remains of antiquities and medieval architecture contribute to visualizing heritage in the landscape garden of Dowth Demesne, County Meath, Ireland. The garden was laid out in the 1730s by Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, and comprised passage graves, a henge, a medieval castle, and a church. They are visually linked with the manor, Dowth Hall, by a system of axes. The garden is also connected to the surrounding landscape by vistas of historical sites pivotal for Irish history, e.g. the site of the Battle of the Boyne. The grounds had been in the Nettervilles' possession since the fourteenth century, and it is argued that, in his garden, Nicholas aimed to represent his Old English heritage in response to the socio-political situation of his day.

The landscape garden of Dowth Demesne, County Meath (Fig. 1), is mainly comprised of remains of Neolithic monuments and medieval architecture.[1] Strikingly, the passage grave of Dowth, the Palladian manor of Dowth Hall, and a large henge (Figs. 2-4) form an axis that defines the layout of the garden grounds.[2] This is not a mere coincidence. The Neolithic monuments had been there first, and, of course, the eighteenth-century manor was added later as part of conscious estate planning. Apparently, prehistoric monuments, or antiquities, as they were called in the eighteenth century, did not exist exclusively in an antiquarian or archaeological context, but also in the context of later appropriation.

1 'Demesne' is a common term in Great Britain and Ireland, and describes "a piece of land attached to a manor and retained by the owner for their own use". *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2017, s.v. "demesne".

2 In this article the prehistoric monuments are classified according to the records of the Historic Environment Viewer. Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, "Historic Environment Viewer," accessed 22 March 2017, http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment/.
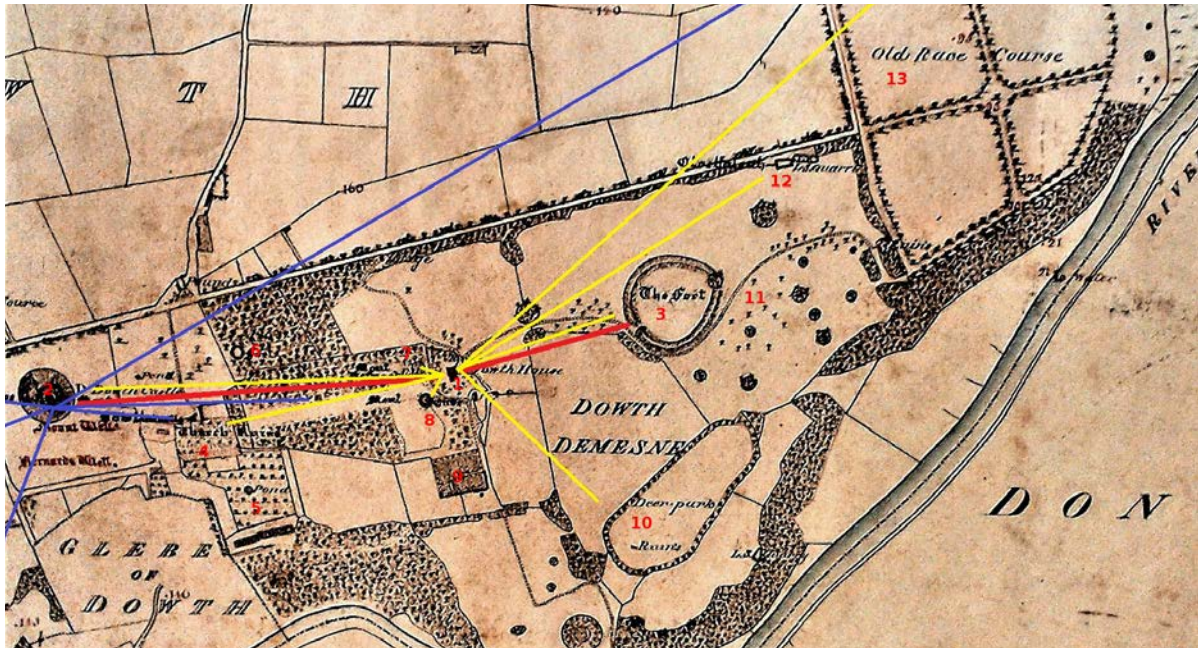
Fig. 1
Map of Dowth Demesne, County Meath (by permission of the Director of the National Archives of Ireland, markings by the author): 1 Dowth Hall, 2 passage grave of Dowth, 3 henge, 4 Dowth Castle and Church, 5 fishponds, tea house and sluice (according to Kevin Mulligan), 6 mound, 7 small passage grave, 8 small passage grave, 9 walled garden, 10 deer park, 11 Long Walk, 12 stone circle, 13 racecourse; red: axis passage grave of Dowth – Dowth Hall – henge, blue: vistas and views from the passage grave of Dowth, yellow: vistas and views from Dowth Hall
Ordnance Survey Map 1st. Ed. 1836/1837, National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland.

3 Sam Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 194-217. See also Richard Hayman, *Riddles in Stone: Myths, Archaeology, and the Ancient Britons* (London: Hambledon Press, 1997), 83-97; David R. Coffin, T*he English Garden: Meditation and Memorial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 149-220.

Indeed, in his study of the illustration of archaeological knowledge, the art historian Sam Smiles explores the incorporation of antiquities in the layouts of eighteenth-century English landscape gardens.[3] The mid-1730s mark the starting point for including primitive structures in garden designs, thus permitting a suggestive and imaginative approach to the past.[4] Smiles further determines that these structures were used for wider associations and political interpretations.[5] So far, a comparable study of antiquities in Irish landscape gardens of the eighteenth century is a desideratum of research, a gap this article wants to address. In doing so, it builds upon the seminal work of architectural

historian Finola O'Kane. In her research on the history of designed landscapes she examines landscape gardens and landscape in eighteenth-century Ireland, their interrelations and interdependencies, and the ways in which they are perceived by contemporaries.[6] It also follows architectural historian Kevin Mulligan, who focuses on the built heritage of South Ulster and North Leinster. His analysis of demesnes in County Meath identifies a continuity of designed landscapes from pre-medieval times to the nineteenth century.[7] With regard to Dowth Demesne, the conscious incorporation of the Neolithic monuments into its garden layout is supported by the site surveys of archaeologists Joseph Fenwick and Clíodhna Ni Lionáin.[8]

4 Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 197.

Fig. 2
Remains of the passage grave of Dowth

Fig 3
Vista from the henge towards Dowth Hall (centre)

Photographs by the author

Fig. 4
Aerial view of the henge
Photograph by Joseph Fenwick, NUI Galway

5 Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 215. On the political interpretation of antiquities in landscape gardens see also Michael Niedermeier, "Archäologie, Genealogie und Politik in der Europäischen Gartenkunst des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Angestammte Landschaften, mystische Einweihungsräume und arkadische Liebesgärten: Gartenkunst der Goethezeit* (Kromsdorf: Jonas Verlag, 2017), 289-308.

On this basis, the article analyses and interprets the demesne garden at Dowth and its setting in the surrounding landscape. It argues that the owner of Dowth Demesne, Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, was aware of the historical significance of the architectural remains on his grounds. In his landscape garden, he incorporated a mass of antiquities and connected them visually with contemporaneous architecture, including Dowth Hall itself. But he also constructed vistas towards historical sites surrounding the estate (Fig. 5), e.g. Newgrange and Knowth, and the site of the Battle of the Boyne. It is further proposed that Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, who was of Old English descent (see below) with strong connections to Dowth, aimed to refer to his family's long lineage in the region, and thus responded to the socio-political situation at the time.

Fig. 5
Map of the area around Dowth Demesne, County Meath (markings by the author): 1 Dowth Demesne, 2 Oldbridge/Boyne Obelisk, 3 Newgrange House, 4 Knowth House, 5 Hill of Tara; red: vistas out of the demesne. Patrick Weston Joyce, Alexander Martin Sullivan, P. D. Nunan, *Atlas and Cyclopedia of Ireland: Part I: A Comprehensive Delineation of the Thirty-Two Counties* (New York: Murphy and McCarthy, 1905), s.v. "Meath," accessed 22 March 2017, https://archive.org/details/atlascyclopediao00joyc
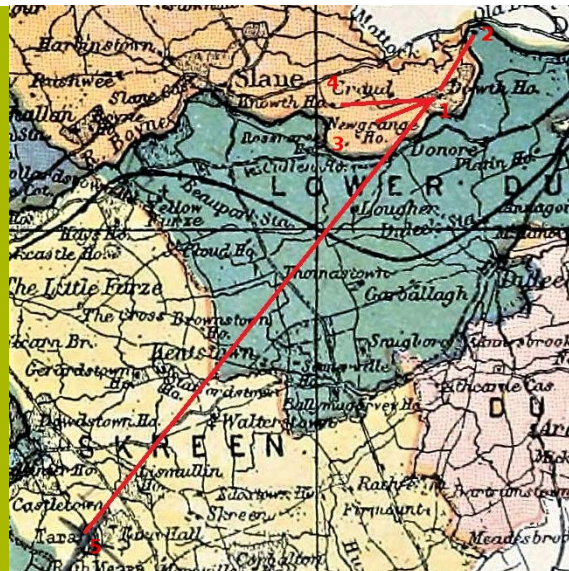
6 Finola O'Kane, *Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*: *Mixing Foreign Trees with the Natives* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004); Finola O'Kane, *Ireland and*

The present argument mainly draws on an analysis of the material findings at Dowth. Unfortunately, Nicholas left few documentary traces.[9] However, some aspects of the garden layout remain – although the garden has vanished, the antiquities endure. Besides the site itself, there is the Ordnance Survey (OS)

map of 1836-37 (Fig. 1), and because there are no demesne maps of Dowth, this document comes as close as possible to outlining the situation in the eighteenth century. In the period between the creation of the garden and the OS, the outline of the demesne grounds remained about the same – mainly, the planting changed (see below). Contemporaneous records of the garden and its antiquities provide travel accounts by Isaac Butler and Thomas Pownall, and two watercolours by Gabriel Beranger (Figs. 6 and 7).[10] Therefore, although source material is scarce, what does survive demonstrates an awareness of the antiquities at Dowth.

the Picturesque: Design, Landscape Painting and Tourism: 1700-1840 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Finola O'Kane, "Ireland: A New Geographical Pastime?," in *Ireland: Crossroads of Art and Design, 1690-1840*, ed. William Laffan and Toby C. Barnard (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 77-97.

Fig. 6
The passage grave of Dowth with the pavilion (by permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA)
Gabriel Beranger
The Moat or Barrow at Dowth
29.5 x 24cm, Watercolour
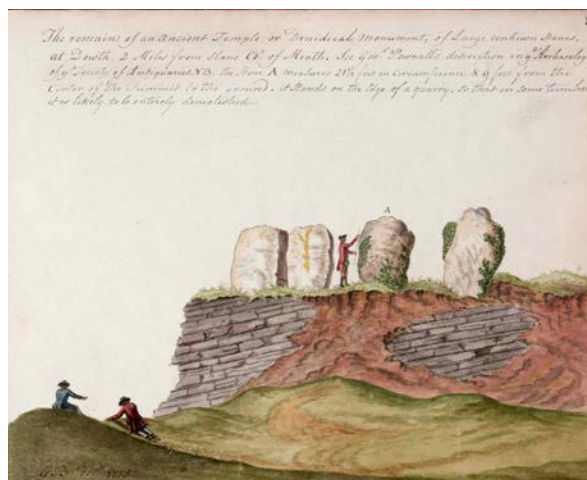MS 3 C 30/5, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Ireland

Fig. 7
The stone circle at Cloghalea (by permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA)
Gabriel Beranger
The remains of an ancient Temple or Druidical monument [...] at Dowth
29.5 x 24cm, Watercolour
MS 3 C 30/8, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Ireland

7 Kevin Mulligan, "Aspects of Continuity and Change in the Eighteenth-Century Country House Demesne in Meath," in *Meath History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, ed. Arlene Crampsie, Francis Ludlow, and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2015), 329–70.

8 Joseph P. Fenwick, "The Landscape Features, Follies and Antiquities of Dowth Demesne," *Archaeology Ireland* 27.1 (2013), 26-30. Dr Clíodhna Ni Lionáin, UCD, leads an on-going archaeological project to survey the demesne grounds.

9 Only a few deeds, leases, and the marriage settlement give information on the property at Dowth. Geraldine Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002), 125-27. There is no material on either an architect or a designer.

10 Isaac Butler, *Journal of an Itinerary through the Counties of Dublin, Meath and Louth in 1744*, n.5953, p.6486, National Library of Ireland; Thomas Pownall, "A Description of the Sepulchral Monument at Newgrange, near Drogheda, in the County of Meath, in Ireland," *Archaeologia* 2 (1773), 236-75; Gabriel Beranger, *A Collection of Drawings, of the Principal Antique Buildings of*

VISUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE LANDSCAPE GARDEN OF DOWTH DEMESNE

In order to comprehend the layout of the landscape garden at Dowth Demesne, it is necessary to contextualize the garden within contemporaneous developments in gardening. In contrast to the geometrically laid-out baroque garden, the landscape garden appears to be formed by nature.[11] The first landscaped gardens in England, like the garden of Alexander Pope at Twickenham (c. 1718), are still comparably geometric, but the winding layout of the paths provide an experience of opening and closing spaces, resulting in a garden style that is characterized by movement and the perception of space. In Pope's garden, the constituting feature is an axis cutting through the entire layout which creates a long vista towards a pair of urns and an obelisk. According to his friend, Horace Walpole, they do not only function as a visual focus, but also as an associative stimulus.[12] Evoking associations through the design of picturesque scenes and the integration of the architectural elements of the garden – e.g. obelisks, bridges, pavilions, etc. – through visual axes becomes another important feature of landscape gardens.[13] However, associations are not only evoked when coming upon different vistas while walking, but also when standing at specific, planned viewpoints. Sometimes, these viewpoints can be elevated and emphasized with garden architecture.

Elevated viewpoints have been common since the Renaissance garden. Nevertheless, the importance of vistas into the surrounding countryside can be traced back to Roman Antiquity and the letters of Pliny the Younger. Describing his villas in Tuscany and Laurentum, he explains the significance of views into the landscape surrounding his estates.[14] The Renaissance garden had a literary-based recourse to the Roman gardens through Pliny's rediscovered letters. Besides a continuing reception of Roman and Renaissance authors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the English landscape garden was influenced by the remains of Renaissance gardens that had been visited on the customary Grand Tour in Italy.[15]

The diffusion of ideas about landscape gardening is closely tied to literary discussions and personal contacts. Pope was involved in the development of other gardens in the 1720s and 1730s, e.g. Lord Bathurst's Cirencester, Gloucestershire. Influential landscape gardens were created within a circle of friends, such as that of Richard Temple, first Viscount Cobham's Stowe, Buckinghamshire (c. 1716), and Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington's Chiswick, close to London (c. 1715). Because of the ties between England and Ireland, many Irish garden owners had estates in both countries, especially those of New English descent. The third Earl of Burlington, for example, was also the fourth Earl of Cork and had extensive estates in the Counties Kerry, Cork, and Waterford. Robert, first Viscount Molesworth, had estates at Edlington, Yorkshire, and Breckdenston, County Dublin, where he designed an early landscape garden (c. 1690s).[16] Molesworth also invited the garden theorist Stephen Switzer to Ireland.[17] From 1739 onwards, Switzer seemed to have helped develop the landscape garden of John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery, at Caledon, County Tyrone.[18] These examples show that landscape gardens in Ireland developed simultaneously to those in England. However, because of its less tamed landscape, Ireland proved to be even better suited to the naturalistic garden style.[19]

The landscape garden of Dowth Demesne displays the typical design principles – landscaped grounds, winding walks, and a play of closed and open spaces – and was created by Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, in the 1730s.[20] It is situated on rising terrain at a ridge on the northern banks of the River Boyne (Fig. 5), in an area that is important for both contemporaneous and ancient Irish history. The Battle of the Boyne (1690) took place to the east of the estate, at Oldbridge. Furthermore, to the west of the demesne hundreds of megalithic tombs form an ancient graveyard. The biggest are Knowth, Newgrange, and Dowth. Another important site is the Hill of Tara, which is located about fourteen kilometres south-west of Dowth, and was the ritual seat of the High Kings of Ireland until the twelfth century.

Ireland Designed on the Spot and Collected by Gabriel Beranger, 1775, MS 3.C.30, Royal Irish Academy.

11 For a general overview on landscape gardens, see Coffin, *The English Garden*; John D. Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002).

12 Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*, 15-16.

13 Adrian von Buttlar, *Der Landschaftsgarten: Gartenkunst des Klassizismus und der Romantik*, rev. ed. (Köln: Dumont, 1989), 15-16. This concept is influenced by the idea of associative thought of John Locke. Edward S. Harwood, "Personal Identity and the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 13 (1993), 38.

14 John D. Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600–1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 11, 86-89.

15 Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, Part 1, 3-99. For a compendium of sources on the landscape garden see John D. Hunt and Peter Willis, ed. Genius of the Place: *The English Landscape Garden: 1620-1820* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988).

16 O'Kane, *Landscape Design in*

Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 9-46. On early Irish demesne landscapes, mainly in the traditional formal fashion, see Vandra Costello, *Irish Demesne Landscapes: 1660-1740* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015).

17 O'Kane, *Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 35.

18 Edward Malins, Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening: 1660-1845* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1976), 82-86. The fifth Earl of Orrery was a cousin of Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, and fourth Earl of Cork. Also important for gardening in Ireland were Dean Jonathan Swift, Reverend Patrick Delany, and Mary Delany (former Mrs Pendarves, née Granville). They formed a circle of friends connected to English gardeners like Switzer and Pope. See Malins et al., *Lost Demesnes*.

The centre of the garden grounds (Fig. 3) is defined by the Palladian manor Dowth Hall. The remains of the passage grave of Dowth (Fig. 2) lie in the western part of the garden and mark the highest point in the area. This was given greater prominence by placing a pavilion on its summit. In 1769, Thomas Pownall recounts that the mound "is now (like the mount [*sic*] at Marlborough) improved into a garden mount [*sic*], planted with trees; and on the top of it is built a modern ornamental temple".[21] Beranger's watercolour (Fig. 6) confirms the ornamental use of the passage grave, although the trees are omitted. In the drawing, four male staffage figures observe the mound and garden building. Two of them sit in the foreground, one apparently sketching the monument, which is partly covered with gorse. Although its size might be exaggerated, the monument was certainly larger than it is today.[22] At the end of a spiral walk up the mound, the other two staffage figures stand on the summit and point at the plain cubic pavilion topped with a pointed roof. It was "intended for a Galla [*sic*] room Orchestre".[23] Further eastwards of the passage grave, the old medieval seat, Dowth Castle and Church, a mound of unspecified definition and two wells can be found (Fig. 8).[24] There were also several ornamented fishponds and a tea house (Fig. 1) on top of a sluice through which water cascaded down into the river.[25]

Fig. 4
Vista and views from the passage grave of Dowth towards Dowth Hall (behind the line of trees), the mound and Dowth Castle and Church
Photograph by the author

On the terraced lawn in front of the western façade of Dowth Hall, there are two small passage graves (Fig. 9). A walled kitchen garden is located south of the manor. The large henge (Fig. 4) is situated in the eastern part of the landscape garden. It is accompanied by a stone circle near a quarry at Cloghalea (Fig. 7) to the north and a deer park to the south. The layout is completed by a racecourse at the north-eastern end.

The carriage drive towards Dowth Hall (Fig. 1) was carefully staged to display the special features of the demesne.[26] The starting point was the northern gate of the racecourse. The carriage followed an allée towards the Boyne, then went along the river and made a northward turn into another short narrow allée. Afterwards the space, and the view, opened up again and the carriage passed the henge along the so-called 'Long Walk', following long curves, and approached Dowth Hall, all the while alternating between open and hidden views of the manor. The last sweep towards Dowth Hall included a westward view towards the passage grave. Therefore, the main monuments were passed in the approach, which emphasized their importance in the garden composition.

19 Malins et al., *Lost Demesnes*, 2.

20 The earliest reference of the manor is in the marriage settlement of 1731. Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne*, 125. Based on stylistic comparison, Christine Casey and Alistair Rowan state that Dowth Hall was built later for John, sixth Viscount Netterville, by George Darly in the 1760s (*North Leinster: The Counties of Longford, Louth, Meath and Westmeath* [London: Penguin, 1993], 229). However, the reference in the marriage settlement and the record of rebuilding activities by Isaac Butler in 1744 support the earlier dating. Deeds allow further datings: the carriage drive can be dated around 1734 because of the building of the northern wall of the race course and the Long Walk in that year. Through

building the 'New Lane' and the 'Great Avenue' the western and northern borders of the demesne were pronounced in 1736. Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne*, 126.

21 Pownall, *A Description of the Sepulchral Monument*, 239. Marlborough Castle, Wiltshire, was built for the Earl of Hertford in the 1720s. Pownalls description is the earliest record of the pavilion at Dowth. Since coming of age in 1765 John, sixth Viscount, was the owner of the estate (Nicholas had died in 1750). However, it would make sense that, while redesigning the grounds, Nicholas also erected the pavilion.

22 Poorly executed excavations in the mid-nineteenth century caused the passages inside to collapse. Peter Harbison, "The Royal Irish

While approaching Dowth Hall, the subject of viewing is introduced as another main motif of the garden. The analysis of the garden layout of Dowth Demesne reveals a complex system of visual axes, scenic integrations, and views (Fig. 1). The following reconstruction is based first on my observations at the site itself and second on the OS map of 1836-37. Because of the hundred years between the garden's layout and the survey, changes in the placement of trees must be considered. There are no records of tree plantings in the later eighteenth century. Today, the woodland between the passage grave and Dowth, as marked in the OS map, is reduced to a narrow line of trees. Nevertheless, the passage grave is easily visible from Dowth Hall (Fig. 9) and seems to be surprisingly close. On the map, an axis is cut through the woodland, directing from Dowth Hall towards Dowth Castle and Church, and leaving out the passage grave a little. However, the presence of the passage grave at the site is very dominant. Additionally, Dowth Hall was built on an axis between the large mound and the henge. Therefore, it is fairly likely that the passage grave was visible from Dowth Hall in the 1730s and 1740s. Today, conifers west of the passage grave obstruct the view into the westward landscape (Fig. 10), but they were planted recently.[27] Taking these factors into consideration, the following reconstruction is entirely plausible.

Fig. 10
Vistas from the passage grave of Dowth towards Newgrange and Knowth (behind the line of trees)
Photograph by the author

The most obvious visual relationship is the large axis between the passage grave, Dowth Hall, and the henge. This means that there are vistas from Dowth

Hall to the west and east. Westward, there is a long vista to the passage grave (Fig. 9), framed by further shorter views towards the two small passage graves on the lawn in the foreground, and then towards Dowth Castle and Church in the middle ground. To the east of the mansion, there are vistas towards the henge (Fig. 3), the stone circle (Fig. 11), and the deer park (Fig. 12). When the large Boyne Obelisk at Oldbridge was erected in 1736, it was visible from Dowth Hall because of its towering height (Fig. 13). So, another long vista that focused on the Boyne Obelisk outside the estate came into existence. All these vistas and views can be observed from both the ground floor and the first floor of Dowth Hall, and from the outside when standing in front of the eastern or western façades.

Academy's only Archaeological Excavation: Dowth in the Boyne Valley," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 107 (2007), 205-13.

23 Gabriel Beranger, *Beranger's Rambles through the County of Dublin and Others*, 1775, Description N 8, MS 3.C.31, Royal Irish Academy.

24 According to Dr Ni Lionáin it could be a garden feature instead of an original prehistoric monument.

Fig. 11
Vista from the former site of the stone circle towards Dowth Hall
Photograph by the author

Fig. 12
Vista from Dowth Hall towards the deer park (to the right)
Photograph by the author

The passage grave offers another viewpoint, and the carefully built spiral walk and pavilion suggest its use as such. Beranger's drawing (Fig. 6) also shows the two staffage figures at the moment before starting the process of further visual experience. From the summit, the reverse vista reaches eastward towards Dowth Hall (Fig. 8), which is, in turn, accompanied by a view of Dowth Castle and Church. Contrastingly, this vista evokes a feeling of distance towards Dowth Hall, probably because the viewer is standing on the highest point in the area, and, thus, does not only perceive the grounds of Dowth Demesne but also the surrounding landscape. Consequently, there are long vistas out of the garden. To the north-east, the Boyne Obelisk is visible just above the northern demesne border (Fig. 14). To the west and south-west, there are vistas towards Newgrange and Knowth (Fig. 10), and towards the Hill of Tara (Fig. 15). "[Dowth Demesne] is well situated upon an Eminence which afords [*sic*] it a Delightfull [*sic*] propect [*sic*]", Isaac Butler recalls quite adequately.[28] Delightful prospects within the garden are provided at the tea house settled between the fishponds (Fig. 1). The spot functions like a hinge, visually connecting the important features of the western part of the garden: the view sweeps from the passage grave over to the medieval castle and church and then towards the small passage graves and Dowth Hall. When turning around, one's view into the river valley is directed downwards by the flow of the cascade.

25 Mulligan, *Aspects of Continuity and Change*, 350. The end of the cascade was marked by a symmetrical architecture of two vaulted rooms with Palladian windows. Ibid., 368n85. Unfortunately, the author became aware of this information after visiting the site and could not observe the remains in person.

26 I owe the following description to Dr Ni Lionáin.

27 Information provided by Dr Lionáin.

28 Butler, *Journal of an Itinerary*, 41.

Fig. 13
Boyne Obelisk, County Meath (National Library of Ireland on The Commons @ Flickr Commons)
Frederick Holland Mares, James Simonton
View of the commemorative obelisk (erected in 1736), prior to 1883
John Fortune Lawrence Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland

To summarize, there are visual relationships between antiquities, medieval architecture, and contemporaneous architecture within the garden. Furthermore, there are visual relationships towards historic sites surrounding the demesne. These visual connections between the features of the garden, architecture, and landscape interweave different eras from Antiquity to the contemporaneous present – a complex web of time is created and historical layers are applied on the landscape. Architectural structures such as the pavilion, tea house, and Dowth Hall itself highlight the garden's focus on the visual experience. They provided places for viewing and therefore the opportunity to evoke associations. They also provided places for social interaction, as seen in the drawing of Beranger, which allowed conversations in which one could reflect on the views and their associations.

Fig. 14
Vista from the passage grave of Dowth towards the Boyne Obelisk
Photograph by the author

Fig. 15
Vista from the passage grave of Dowth towards the Hill of Tara
Photograph by the author

29 It is unclear when and why exactly they came over to Ireland. Pierce N. Netterville Synnott, *The Netterville Monument and Family: Formerly of Dowth, Co. Meath* (Naas: privately printed, n.d., ca. 1980), 4.

30 Netterville Synnott, *The Netterville Monument and Family*, 4-5. 'Old English' here means 'English born in Ireland' and refers to the settlers and their descendants who arrived with the invasion of Henry II in the latter third of the twelfth century. 'New English' equals 'English born in England' and refers to the settlers and their descendants who came since Henry VIII. 'Gaelic Irish' refers to the native population of Ireland. For reasons of clarity 'Old English' and 'New English' are used in this article. However, it is to be noted that the term 'Old English', which came up at the end of the sixteenth century, was used derogatorily by the New English to distinguish themselves from the descendants of the earlier settlers. The Old English were thought to have become adjusted to Irish conditions, to have lost their "Englishness", and could not be trusted with authority over Ireland. Toby C. Barnard, "Protestantism, Ethnicity and Irish Identities, 1660-1760," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland: c. 1650-c. 1850*, ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge

BACKGROUND OF DOWTH DEMESNE

Further analysis of these visual relationships requires consideration of the contemporary owner Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, and the historical context in which the garden's creation took place. The Netterville family was of Anglo-Norman descent and came to Ireland during the first English settlement of Henry II.[29] Since the early 1300s, they had been in possession of Dowth, which held a strategic position as a frontier castle at the border of the newly settled English territories around Dublin, the so-called Pale. The Nettervilles married into important Anglo-Norman and fellow Old English families.[30]

After the English Reformation, the Nettervilles proved to be ardent Catholics but were, nevertheless, loyal to the English throne.[31] On 23 March 1622, Nicholas Netterville was made Viscount Netterville of Dowth by King James I.[32] He, as well as his successor John, second Viscount Netterville, supported the Irish Catholic Confederation in the 1640s and 1650s.[33] John was deprived of his estates by the Cromwellian government in 1652, but his wife was able to regain one fifth of the estates, including Dowth.[34] Nicholas, third Viscount Netterville, was Privy Councillor to James II and died supporting the Catholic king in his struggles against William of Orange. James' defeat in the Battle of the Boyne was pivotal for the socio-political state of eighteenth-century Ireland. From then on, the so-called Protestant Ascendancy, mainly formed by the New English, claimed and maintained political power in Ireland.[35] With the Penal Laws, they aimed to dispossess Catholic landowners and to exclude them from holding office. Most of the Gaelic Irish and Old English were Catholic, but the Penal Laws treated them equally notwithstanding the heterogeneity within these groups.[36]

After the defeat of James II, John, fourth Viscount Netterville, returned to Dowth from his continental education in 1692.[37] In 1715, he took the Oath of Allegiance but refused to make the Declaration of converting to the Church of Ireland.

He married Frances, the eldest daughter of Richard Parsons, Earl of Rosse, in 1704.[38] His heir was the garden owner Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville. Like his father, Nicholas was educated as a Catholic on the continent, at the University of Utrecht. Succeeding to the estate in 1727, Nicholas returned to Ireland in 1728 to take over the property. He converted to the Church of Ireland, probably in order to be eligible to accept his inheritance.[39] Despite his conversion, it appears that he continued to act favourably towards his Catholic tenants.[40] In 1729, Nicholas took his seat in the Irish House of Lords, and in 1732 he held the Masonic office of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.[41] In that he succeeded his grandfather, the Earl of Rosse, who had been the first Grand Master in the newly established Grand Lodge in 1724.[42]

Throughout their centuries in Ireland, the Nettervilles proved to be a prominent family, and were proud of their ancient lineage. By the end of the sixteenth century, they had written a colourful and extensive pedigree that included descent from Charlemagne, Scottish early medieval kings, the dukes of Normandy prior to William the Conqueror, the Welsh Princess Nesta, *progenitrix* of the Cambro-Norman FitzGerald dynasty, and, finally, Henry II of England.[43] A hundred years later, the Nettervilles lost a considerable amount of their property, but their seat at Dowth remained, and they continued to take pride in their lineage, perhaps even more so, as suggested by John, fourth Viscount Netterville's steadfast hold on Catholicism, or the tradition of naming heirs either Nicholas or John. Apparently, the Nettervilles were a typical Old English family in that they were rooted in the Pale and had a strong tradition of loyalty to the English monarchy.[44] Initially, the Catholic Old English distinguished themselves from the Catholic Gaelic Irish, but eventually the distinctions between them became less pronounced and they were united against their common opponent, the Protestant New English.[45] The Old English, especially those of Catholic faith, increasingly adopted the Gaelic past into their identity.[46] It is unclear to what extent this applies to the Netterville family.

University Press, 1998), 207. See also Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 48-49.

31 Ibid., 5.

32 John Lodge and Mervyn Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland, or, a Genealogical History of the Present Nobility of That Kingdom* (Dublin, 1789), 4:207, accessed 31 October 2017, https://archive.org/details/peerageofireland04lodg.

33 Lodge and Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland*, 4:207-14.

34 Lodge and Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland*, 4:213-14; George E. Cokayne and Duncan Warrand, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom: Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, (London, 1895), 6:10, accessed 31 October 2017, https://openlibrary.org/books/OL14704031M/The_complete_peerage_of_England_Scotland_Ireland_Great_Britain_and_the_United_Kingdom.

35 The term 'Protestant Ascendancy' came into currency at the end of the 1780s. However, Toby Barnard argues that "[s]ince, in conception and practice, the equivalent of an ascendancy did exist before 1787, the use of the term can be justified". Barnard, *Protestantism, Ethnicity and Irish Identities*, 206-07.

36 Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland: c. 1750-1800* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press), 135.

37 Lodge and Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland*, 4:216.

38 Cokayne and Warrand, *The Complete Peerage*, 6:10.

39 Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne*, 125; William Jenkins, Francis John Byrne, Gillian Kenny, Catherine Swift, and George Eogan, Excavations at *Knowth 4: Historical Knowth and its Hinterland* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2008), 186.

40 Jessica Smyth, ed. *Brú Na Bóinne World Heritage Site: Research Framework* (Dublin: The Heritage Council, 2009), 57, accessed 5 December 2017, http://eprints.dkit.ie/333/1/Bru_na_Boinne_Research_Framework.pdf. He also raised his son and heir as a Catholic. Jenkins et al., *Excavations at Knowth 4*, 191.

41 Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne*, 125; Larry Conlon, "The Influence of Freemasonry in Meath and Westmeath in the Eighteenth Century," *Ríocht na Midhe* 9 (1997), 137-38.

42 Conlon, *The Influence of Freemasonry*, 128, 138, 150n1.

Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, was surrounded by Protestant New English neighbours. The Coddington family acquired Oldbridge in 1724, and Knowth came into the possession of Andrew Caldwell in 1729. The owner of Newgrange and Balfeddock was Benjamin Burton of Burton Hall, County Carlow.[47] This particular neighbourhood relationship became quite close. In 1731, Nicholas married Burton's sister Katherine, and three years later, he leased Newgrange House and 191 acres of land.[48] This shows how interconnected the socio-political situation of the time had become. Furthermore, Nicholas' conversion and his political and social engagements with the Protestant Ascendancy in Dublin contrast with his family's Catholic Old English heritage, and suggest a variety of identities within Nicholas.

Shortly after taking over Dowth Demesne, Nicholas began redesigning the estate (Fig. 1). The building activities indicate that the earlier estate was less pronounced in its outline, and less ornamented. There were simple fishponds, and probably a walled garden and a deer park.[49] The definition of the western and northern demesne borders coincided with the erection of the Boyne Obelisk (Fig. 13). This happened at a time when, as a minority in the country, the Protestant Ascendancy had to secure their position. For this purpose, the Ascendancy drew on historical events of the seventeenth century, such as their victory over the Catholics in the Battle of the Boyne.[50] The commission of the commemorative obelisk was noteworthy as high-profile Protestants were involved.[51] An estimated 45 metres high, the obelisk sent out a powerful message that was well understood and became a marker of identity, so much so that as late as the 1920s it was blown up by patriots in the course of the Irish Civil War.[52]

It is against this multi-layered background that the landscape garden at Dowth, with its composition of antiquities and medieval ruins, should be interpreted. The following section further explores the visual relationships in this garden in connection to its owner's interest in making his family's heritage visible.

OLD AND NEW OBJECTS AT DOWTH DEMESNE – VISUALZING HERITAGE

Owing to the absence of sources, there are no records concerning how Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, gained his knowledge about gardening. However, the layout of the landscape garden at Dowth and the complex system of visual relationships from demarcated viewpoints shows understanding of the principles of landscape gardening. Owing to Nicholas' contacts in the House of Lords and the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, it appears likely that he encountered contemporaneous ideas on gardening. Moreover, its creation coincides with the development of other landscape gardens in England and Ireland.

Apart from the abovementioned design principles, the incorporation of antiquities into the garden layout is another characteristic feature of landscape gardens that abounds at Dowth. Irish antiquities had been studied since the seventeenth century. In 1699, for example, Edward Lhyud discovered the passage grave of Newgrange (Fig. 16).[53] This discovery coincided with similar

43 Netterville Synnott, *The Netterville Monument and Family*, 6. Tracing the family history back to mythical origins was common. Francis G. James, *Lords of the Ascendancy: The Irish House of Lords and Its Members: 1600-1800* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995), 101.

44 Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 404, 411.

45 Ibid., 402, 412. Canny points out the wide variety of responses of Old English and Gaelic Irish to the changes brought on by the New English.

46 Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World:*

1600-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 147.

47 Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne*, 132; Jenkins et al., *Excavations at Knowth 4*, 185-86.

48 Lodge and Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland*, 4:217; Jenkins et al., *Excavations at Knowth 4*, 185. On the marital, economic, and political interdependences of the eighteenth-century Irish nobility and gentry, see James, *Lords of the Ascendancy*, 99-130.

49 Because deer parks were a common element of demesne gardens since the late Middle Ages, it is likely that the one at Dowth is also an older feature. See also Costello, *Irish Demesne Landscapes: 1660-1740*, 164-86.

50 Toby C. Barnard, *Irish Protestant Ascents and Descents: 1641-1770* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 136.

51 The first stone was laid by Lionel Sackville, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ireland. Casey and Rowan, *North Leinster*, 446.

52 James Howley, *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 15.

53 Jenkins et al., *Excavations at Knowth 4*, 251.

antiquarian explorations in England, where, for example, William Stukeley was working at Stonehenge and Avebury.[54] Surveys on Irish antiquities were conducted throughout the eighteenth century. There were regional studies such as Thomas Wright's explorations of the County of Louth, and endeavours to inventory all Irish antiquities, e.g. by Edward Ledwich and General Charles Vallancey.[55] The antiquarian debate on Irish history was strongly influenced by the multifaceted Irish socio-political situation.[56] Furthermore, it was exploited by every party to serve their own interests.[57]

The relationship between antiquarian interests and gardens had its roots in the Renaissance, during which gardens were considered to be apt places to display collections of antiques, and the idea of local antiquities emerged.[58] The landscape garden developed simultaneously with the antiquarian debate. For example, Stukeley was friends with Switzer.[59] Conversely, garden owners were frequently acquainted with antiquarians or had antiquarian interests themselves. Additionally, in accordance with evoking associations for visitors to the garden, antiquities were used for expressing further levels of meaning. They allowed a "suggestive and imaginative approach to the past", "to link a place with past events […]; it was not just the […] monument by itself that was valued, but the historical colour that was thrown upon its surroundings".[60]

This historical colour was sometimes connected to political interpretations.[61] Linked to Gothic monuments, antiquities were associated with the constitutional liberties of parliament, which were introduced to Britain by the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred. They were referred to by members of the so-called Country Party that opposed the supposedly corrupt politics of the Hanoverian Kings George I and George II, and Prime Minister Robert Walpole. The opposition vested their hopes in Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Gothic style was thought apt to visualize these opinions.[62]

One example for this use of antiquities would be the landscape garden

at Wilton, Wiltshire. Its owner Henry Herbert, ninth Earl of Pembroke and supporter of Frederick, had a keen interest in archaeology. In 1719, he commissioned William Stukeley to survey nearby Stonehenge. Pembroke's garden, developed in the 1730s, included a model of the stone circle and a burial mound at the close of a vista.[63] In Ireland, with its particular history, the reading of antiquities was somewhat different. There, Gothic ruins and antiquities reminded one of the English invasions and their social, political, and environmental impact.[64] Antiquities, ruins, and settings were appreciated early-on for the ways in which they could appropriate and reconfigure the environment.[65]

In this context the incorporation and visual integration of ancient monuments and historical sites in the landscape garden of Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville at Dowth needs to be interpreted.[66] The visual axes, scenic integrations, and views construct a system of visual relationships (Fig. 1) that connect the estate to the historically rich site of Dowth and the Boyne valley (Fig. 5). The passage grave, the henge, and the stone circle could evoke associations of a time before the Nettervilles' establishment at Dowth, whereas Dowth Castle and Church, and the deer park, visually reference the family's settlement at the site and its appropriation.[67] Dowth Hall in turn references the current Netterville at Dowth, Nicholas, fifth Viscount, and ties the other garden features to the contemporaneous period. Thus, a web of different historical periods is constructed to connect Nicholas and his family to the site.

The vistas into the surrounding countryside enhance this visual connection. The vistas towards the Hill of Tara and the passage graves of Newgrange and Knowth evoke similar associations of ancient history, even more so because they are perceived from an ancient monument. A historical layer is visually applied to the landscape, positioning the garden and its owner within the landscape, and within history, to make visual the long connection the Netterville family had to the area. The vista towards Newgrange has an additional level of meaning

54 David B. Haycock, "'A Small Journey into the country': William Stukeley and the Formal Landscapes of Stonehenge and Avebury," in *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700–1850*, ed. Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (Aldershot: Ashgate 1999), 67-82.

55 Thomas Wright, *Louthiana: or an Introduction to the Antiquities of Ireland* (London, 1748); Edward Ledwich, *The Antiquities of Ireland* (Dublin, 1790); Charles Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1786). Vallancey was also the patron of Beranger's tour in 1775.

56 See O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*.

57 John Waddell, F*oundation Myths: The Beginnings of Irish Archaeology* (Bray: Wordwell, 2005), 57.

58 Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 24; Luke Morgan, "Anciently Modern and Modernly Ancient: Ruins and Reconstructions in Sixteenth-Century Italian Landscape Design," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 36.4 (2016), 261-71.

59 Tim Richardson, *The Arcadian Friends: Inventing the English Landscape Garden*, 2nd ed. (London: Bantam, 2008), 280.

60 Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 197; Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*, 43.

61 Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 215.

62 Buttlar, *Der Landschaftsgarten*, 17. Examples of garden architectures would be Alfred's Hall (1721) at Cirencester and the Gothic Temple (1741) at Stowe. Ibid., 36-43.

63 Richardson, *The Arcadian Friends*, 423; Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 321.

64 See Kevin Whelan, "Reading the Ruins: The Presence of Absence in the Irish Landscape," in *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Anngret Simms*, ed. Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, and Mark Hennessy (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004), 297–327.

65 O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, 1.

66 Another Irish example of the incorporation of antiquities in a landscape garden includes Caledon and Belvedere Demesne, County Westmeath, created for Robert Rochfort, first Earl of Belvedere since 1740.

in that it visually includes extended (leased) property into the estate grounds. From 1736 on, there were long vistas from the passage grave of Dowth and Dowth Hall towards the Boyne Obelisk. They added another historical layer to the landscape that evokes political associations with the Protestant Ascendancy. Against the background of the associations of the Netterville's long tradition in the area, a connection was made between the Old English landscape garden and the New English surroundings, represented by the obelisk. Thus, the issue of the contemporary socio-political situation, which was in any case generally present in the Irish landscape, was broached and visually included into the landscape garden.

CONCLUSION

This article reconstructs complex visual relationships in the landscape garden of Dowth Demesne and explores the remains of prehistoric and medieval architecture alongside eighteenth-century architecture as visualizations of heritage. Given the tendency of contemporaneous gardening to charge landscape gardens with historic meaning by incorporating antiquities, it can be assumed that in his garden, Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, aimed to represent his family's Old English legacy at Dowth.

It may seem contradictory that Nicholas would refer to his heritage as Old English in his garden when he apparently agreed with and was part of the Protestant Ascendancy, considering his political, economic, and marital involvement. However, in this politically charged environment, there was a complexity of identities that included "often hidden and contrary impulses" depending on various factors such as upbringing, personal experiences at home and abroad, and personal and business contacts.[68] In that sense, ambiguity in the landscape garden at Dowth is imaginable. To whatever extent Nicholas conformed to the agenda of the Ascendancy, in a socio-political environment that favoured Protestant, non-degenerated English descent, he incorporated

and appropriated antiquities in his garden. By connecting them visually, he applied historical layers to the landscape, and thus evoked associations with his identity as Old English, and the ancient, noble lineage of his family, who had been long-time residents of Dowth.[69]

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EXCEPTIONAL DESIGN IN AN ICONIC LANDSCAPE?   INTERPRETATIONS OF LANDSCAPE AND RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN DARTMOOR NATIONAL PARK

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In England's national parks, architecture represents an important and contested part of landscape planning, inseparable from park conservation ideologies and policies. This paper investigates the competing landscape interpretations surrounding the design and planning of an unrealized dwelling in Dartmoor National Park. In a landscape revered for its 'iconic' status, and on a site constrained by local planning policy, planning permission hinged on satisfying the conditions of a clause in national policy whereby a recognized 'exceptional' new dwelling might be permitted to override local planning restrictions. This article considers how different constructions of landscape identity influenced the conception and regulation of Dartmoor's landscape as a context for new architecture. Discourse analysis of interviews and planning documents examines the range of landscape interpretations and notions of 'appropriate' architecture among key stakeholders, including locals, planners, and architects. Findings reveal significant rifts in aesthetic design discourses, which are influenced by conceptions of site, landscape character, the constructed cultural and historic context, and landscape enhancement. In summary, this paper considers the significance of conflicting landscape interpretations for the accommodation of new architecture in protected landscapes.

1 Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 4th ed., s.v. "iconic."

England's national parks are often described as iconic landscapes, in the sense of "typifying, illustrating and exemplifying" distinct and valued qualities.[1] Also

called the "jewels in the crown of England's landscapes",[2] these areas are considered national assets and are promoted as part of the country's identity. In planning terms, they have the nation's highest status of protection in relation to landscape and scenic beauty, to which all other planning concerns are secondary.[3] At the same time, as International Union for Conservation of Nature Category V protected areas, and home to around 334,000 people, landscape conservation aims must be reconciled with the interests and views of stakeholders, including the demand for new housing.

The extensive literature on constructions of rurality suggests that the development of new houses in rural spaces is highly contested. The reconciliation of conservation and development trade-offs in rural landscape is widely recognized as a problem.[4] As an element of planning, architectural design is itself highly contested.[5] Comprehensive reviews of English national parks in the 1980s by MacEwen and MacEwen (1982, 1987), and Blunden and Curry (1989), reveal a history of complexity and compromise.[6] Research on park planning, however, has been relatively overlooked in the last few decades.[7] The ways in which planning professionals handle landscape values when negotiating landscape change has also been neglected.[8] Likewise, there has been "very little research on how the rural is constructed in architectural practice as well as how these representations compare with equivalent planning and housing policy discourses".[9]

This article centres on the design and planning of a single, unrealized, new dwelling by David Sheppard Architects in Dartmoor National Park, the largest open space in southern England (953 sq. km). It investigates how different constructions of landscape identity influenced the conception and regulation of Dartmoor's landscape as a site for new architecture, and the notions of appropriate design that result from these processes. It examines the relationship between physical landscape attributes ('natural' landscape character) and cultural-historic traces (in the built environment), the meanings

2 Campaign to Protect Rural England, "National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty: The jewels in the crown of England's landscapes," accessed 3 October 2017, http://www.cpre.org.uk/media-centre/sound-bites/item/3993-national-parks-and-areas-of-outstanding-natural-beauty-the-jewels-in-the-crown-of-england-s-landscapes.

3 John O'Leary, "Town Planning and Housing Development," in *Housing: The Essential Foundations*, eds. N. Balchin and M. Rhoden (London: Routledge, 1998), 144.

4 Jeffrey Sayer et al., "Ten principles for a landscape approach to reconciling agriculture, conservation, and other competing land uses," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110.21 (2016), 8349.

5 John Punter and Matthew Carmona, *The Design Dimension of Planning: Theory, Content and Best Practice for Design Policies* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1997).

6 Nicola Thompson, Guy Garrod, and Marian Raley, "Planning in England's National Parks," in *5th Symposium Conference Volume for Research in Protected Areas* (Newcastle University: Mittersill Centre for Rural Economy, School of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development, 2013), 762.

7 Ibid., 6.

8 Andrew Butler, "Dynamics of Integrating Landscape Values in Landscape Character Assessment: The Hidden Dominance of the Objective Outsider," *Landscape Research* 41.2 (2016), 239.

9 Kevin Donovan and Menelaos Gkartzios, "Architecture and Rural Planning: 'Claiming the Vernacular'," *Land Use Policy* 41 (2014), 334.

10 Derk Jan Stobbelaar and Bas Pedroli, "Perspectives on Landscape Identity: A Conceptual Challenge," *Landscape Research* 36.3 (2011), 322.

11 Marc Antrop, "Landscape Change: Plan or Chaos?" *Landscape and Urban Planning* 41.3-4 (1998), 155-61.

12 National Parks UK, "Special Qualities," accessed 3 October 2017, http://www.nationalparks.gov.uk/students/whatisanationalpark/specialqualities.

13 Butler, "Dynamics," 239.

14 Thompson, Garrod, and Raley, "Planning in England's National Parks," 762.

15 Matthew Kelly, *Quartz and Feldspar: Dartmoor – a British Landscape in Modern Times* (London: Vintage Publishing, 2015), 14.

that are attached to them by different actors in the landscape development debate, and how these impact architecture preferences. This research is framed by Stobbelaar and Pedroli's working definition of landscape identity as "the perceived uniqueness of a place", and concentrates on "interpretations of landscape identity itself rather than on its contribution to social or personal identity".[10] In short, it explores comparative "spatial" landscape identities as constructed by key development stakeholders.[11]

Inherent within the designation and protection of national park landscapes is a consensus among planners and the wider public that human interventions should be designed to be visually harmonious with park landscape character. English park planning policy requires new development to respect the parks' special qualities and characteristics, and the National Parks UK website sets out the 'top 10' special qualities for each. Dartmoor's include its unglaciated upland landscape, archaeological features, distinctive geology, industrial history, and unusual ecology.[12] Such formal assessments of landscape character denote a critical point in the legitimization and framing of park landscape values.[13] However, while even the legislative framework reflects the concept that the parks have a set of attributes that makes them special, these same characteristics are "often ill-defined".[14] Dartmoor, for example, is sometimes described as a wilderness, but its history "has been troubled by the discursive tensions between Dartmoor the wilderness and Dartmoor the anthropic landscape of shifting meaning and value".[15] Over time, perceptions have shifted strikingly from a "barren waste", condemned in the nineteenth century by those who sought to improve the productivity of its moorland, to "one of the most valued", and arguably iconic, rural landscapes in the UK.[16]

The dominant landscape values associated with English national park designation and protection are the preservation of scenic landscapes and the facilitation of public understanding and enjoyment of those landscapes. Specifically, it was the preservation of so-called 'natural beauty' that was a key

driver in national park designation and which continues to be enshrined in their first, and primary, statutory purpose.[17] An important consideration for this article is thus the perceived effects of new dwellings in 'natural' and 'beautiful' landscape contexts, specifically whether and how new buildings could be seen to conserve or enhance such landscapes. To reveal the tensions among different landscape interpretations, this article employs a specific case: that of an unrealized proposal for a new house by architect David Sheppard.[18] The proposed site is situated in an area of the national park revered for its 'iconic' and characteristic landscape status. The proposed design, for the architect's own residence, addressed national policy planning conditions, whereby a recognized 'exceptional' design, sensitive to and significantly enhancing its setting, might be permitted to override local planning restrictions, potentially lending the building itself 'iconic' status.

In landscape research, however, there is "a growing acknowledgement of the difficulty of applying universal rules of aesthetic appeal in a meaningful way".[19] In the context of national parks, the concept of 'natural beauty' has been shown to be "a dynamic and malleable concept, potentially posing problems for consistency of interpretation", and one which must inevitably be "related to a prevailing consensus on what people consider to be aesthetic and important to human well-being".[20] What makes landscapes 'beautiful' is "often intimately linked to other intrinsic landscape values such as biodiversity", and "these other values can shift perceptions of how we perceive and appreciate the beauty of landscapes".[21]

There is, moreover, a growing body of research, consistent with the information-processing theory developed by Kaplan and Kaplan, which suggests that the understanding of landscape depends, at least in part, on the observer's previous knowledge or experience.[22] In landscape planning, this understanding is inherently linked to the visual, but people with divergent backgrounds do not necessarily see the same landscape.[23] Different conceptions of landscape mean

16 Ibid., 10.

17 Paul Selman and Carys Swanwick, "On the Meaning of Natural Beauty in Landscape Legislation," *Landscape Research* 35.1 (2010), 11.

18 David Sheppard Architects, "Sheepstor", Corner site between Huccaby and Byeways, Yelverton, Devon.

19 Thompson, Garrod, and Raley, "Planning in England's National Parks," 13.

20 Selman and Swanwick, "On the Meaning of Natural Beauty," 7.

21 Anna Jorgensen, "Beyond the View: Future Directions in Landscape Aesthetics Research," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 100.4 (2011), 353.

22 Rachel Kaplan and Stephen Kaplan, *The Experience of Nature: A Psychological Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

23 Donald Meinig, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*. ed. D. W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 33-48.

24 Simon Bell, "Landscape pattern, perception and visualisation in the visual management of forests," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 54 (2001), 201-11.

25 Lien Dupont, Marc Antrop, and Veerle Van Eetvelde, "Does landscape related expertise influence the visual perception of landscape photographs? Implications for participatory landscape planning and management," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 141 (2015), 68-77.

26 Ibid., 75.

27 Ibid., 74.

28 Karen Foley and Mark Scott, "Accommodating New Housing Development in Rural Areas? Representations of Landscape, Land and Rurality in Ireland," *Landscape Research* 39.4 (2014), 362.

29 David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), 10.

30 Butler, "Dynamics," 239.

31 Emma Waterton, "Whose Sense of Place? Reconciling Archaeological Perspectives with Community Values: Cultural Landscapes in England," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11.4 (2005), 309.

that judgements and opinions formed on the basis of what is perceived will differ as well.[24] A number of studies have highlighted significant differences in the way landscape professionals and non-professionals perceive landscapes.[25] Pertinent for this study are Dupont, Antrop, and Van Eetvelde, who have found that "while experts explore the landscape as a whole with detailed inspections of its constituting elements, lay people have a much more restricted viewing pattern only focusing on a few elements, mainly buildings".[26] Indeed, in contrast to landscape experts, they found that buildings attracted and held the attention of non-experts, impeding their visual exploration of other elements in the landscape.[27] This paper proposes that, in line with the "wider cultural turn within rural studies to analyse social representations of landscape",[28] a broader understanding of landscape values may encourage the synthesizing of different landscape narratives to facilitate a more positive design and development agenda in contested landscapes.

As Matless has shown, the many possible and coexistent understandings of the rural can lead to tensions of landscape and culture.[29] In England's national parks, architecture represents a significant, yet contested part of landscape planning, inseparable from landscape conservation ideologies and policies. A new building can be celebrated as enhancing the landscape, but also decried for destroying it. Planning interprets and embodies prevailing notions of appropriateness, legitimizing (or marginalizing) types of development, aesthetics, and actions, and in doing so ultimately defines for whom the landscape is planned.[30] Meanwhile, power struggles over the conservation of natural and cultural heritage regularly divide opinions and communities.[31]

In recent years, with substantial in-migration, housing shortages, and rising house prices, these landscapes have been under specific and increasing pressure as desirable places to live. Indeed, Dartmoor exemplifies Murdoch and Lowe's preservationist paradox, in which the very act of protecting rural areas makes them more attractive to urban migrants, adding to development

pressures at the risk of compromising conservation values.[32] Such migrants, however, arguably represent outsider-based values rather than the intimacy and subjectivity of insiders who have long-held associations with the landscape.[33]

In the case study, four separate phases of development are considered: pre-development conditions, design development, planning application and discussion, and planning refusal. Both the design content, i.e. what is being proposed, and how it is being communicated (drawings, language), are part of this process. Two types of discourse analysis are employed: that of direct accounts (depth interviews with five key informants: the architect David Sheppard, two Dartmoor National Park Authority (DNPA) planners, a former DNPA heritage officer, and the Chair of the Dartmoor Society), and of written accounts (planning applications, design guides, reports, planning meeting minutes, correspondence). Deming and Swaffield's constructionist approach is applied to these analyses, moving "reflexively between the observed data and the theoretical concepts".[34] Design drawing analysis and site visits also support the conclusions based on these discourse analyses.

Landscape interpretations are analysed according to four key areas: site, 'natural' landscape character, built context, and historical context. These were identified as the key determinants in the construction of landscape identity during the design and planning process. Interpretations of design are analysed according to the planning policy requirements of 'sensitivity to context' and 'landscape enhancement', which are compared, and their implications discussed.

A NOTE ON NATIONAL PARK PLANNING

In English national parks, development control and strategic planning are the principal regulatory mechanisms in the pursuit of the statutory landscape

32 Jonathan Murdoch and Philip Lowe, "The Preservationist Paradox: Modernism, Environmentalism and the Politics of Spatial Division," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 28.3 (2003), 318-32.

33 Butler, "Dynamics," 240.

34 M. Elen Deming and Simon Swaffield, *Landscape Architectural Research: Inquiry, Strategy, Design* (London: Wiley, 2011), 152.

aims. Without a central national parks administration, each park is governed by an independent National Park Authority (NPA), which is responsible for long-term, strategic planning and development control (planning decisions), but remains accountable to the national government. NPAs are formed of professional planners and a committee of members who make decisions in consultation with relevant organizations and stakeholders. Policies in the Local Plan, developed through stakeholder consultations, are the basis for making planning decisions for each NPA. These policies are supported or extended by other local-level documents, including design guides.

A 2001 study of approaches to new architecture in English national parks found that NPAs sought to protect local character by adopting conservative approaches in planning and development control that favoured vernacular design and precluded the introduction of modern architecture.[35] Certainly, Dartmoor's New Development Design Guidance (2008) states that the "successful integration of a new development takes into account the traditional form, design, setting, and materials of buildings in the Dartmoor National Park".[36] This narrow definition harbours the danger that "'regional architecture' will become a dogma, and that for buildings in National Parks, the criteria for acceptability will be any reference to local building forms, materials, and construction details".[37]

Dartmoor's latest *Design Guide* (2011) is more expansive on 'contemporary' design, and devotes a short section to the subject, which explains that it should combine the "distinctiveness of Dartmoor" with sustainability. It also suggests that a topographical feature might be used to "inspire an altogether more contemporary organic built form rather than a traditional rectilinear building". At the same time, however, it stresses the need to reduce the visual impact of a new building, with the caveat that a building should not be "strident or intrusive". It is also noted that it "would not be appropriate to adopt this approach on a widespread basis".[38]

35 Land Use Consultants, "Development Planning Control in National Parks in England and Wales," in Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, accessed 3 October 2017, http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/156690/0042111.pdf.

36 Dartmoor National Park Authority (DNPA), "New Development Design Guidance", (Bovey Tracey, Devon: DNPA, 2008).

37 Land Use Consultants, "Development Planning Control," 9.

38 All quotes: DNPA, "Dartmoor National Park Design Guide," (Bovey Tracey, Devon: DNPA, 2011), 36.

In summary, it has been argued that "preserving a particular landscape aesthetic has been so successful that the Parks are being preserved in aspic rather than evolving to reflect changing human/nature interactions".[39] Critics "highlight this effect in pointing to the lack of innovation in design and the resistance to new development on conservation related grounds".[40] Architects add their own discourses of rurality to this debate, including the extent to which they might "feel bound by vernacular precedent in terms of their own designs".[41] More positively, however, in English national parks "the planning system can also be argued to be effective with regard to cultural heritage if this is interpreted to mean the built heritage".[42] Even so, the very process of planning for landscape conservation is arguably "rooted in restrictions, rather than in opportunity, and creativity" for architecture.[43] Such planning could also be said to restrict landscape identity, i.e. conserving a set identity, in contrast to an identity which is dynamic and changeable, and hence open to enhancement, reinterpretation, and innovation by new, and potentially 'exceptional', design.

PHASE 1: PRE-DEVELOPMENT CONDITIONS

In December 2012, David Sheppard, an award-winning architect, purchased a site on the western side of Dartmoor National Park with the intention of designing and building his own country house. Near the tiny village of Sheepstor on the edge of the high moor, in many ways, this landscape is the quintessential and iconic 'wild' Dartmoor, as featured in Steven Spielberg's film *War Horse* (2012) (Fig. 1).[44] The area is dominated by the prominent granite outcrop of Sheeps Tor (369 m), for which the village is named. This landscape, however, is also one of notable change, as the eponymous Sheep's Tor was formerly used as a quarry, the adjacent valley was flooded to create a reservoir, and its surrounding hillsides planted with conifers (Fig. 2).

The proposed site is a roughly square, corner plot of open, level grassland,

39 Thompson, Garrod, and Raley, "Planning in England's National Parks," 762.

40 Ibid., 762.

41 Dell Upton, "The Power of Things: Recent Studies in American Vernacular Architecture," *American Quarterly* 35.3 (1983), 263.

42 Thompson, Garrod, and Raley, "Planning in England's National Parks," 762.

43 Land Use Consultants, "Development Planning Control," 7.

44 Steven Spielberg, "War Horse," (Dream Works Pictures, 2012).

measuring approximately 40 m x 40 m (0.395 acres) (Fig. 3). Although in planning terms it is considered open countryside, the area is one of dispersed settlement, and there are neighbouring dwellings of mixed periods and styles to the north and west. The site is bordered to the east and south by a stone wall and a narrow road, set at a lower level, and is dominated by bracken, hedge banks, and mature trees. Currently grazed by sheep, it was once used as a tree nursery and may have also contained forestry workers' huts, although no evidence of this remains.[45]

45 DNPA, "Officer Report", Application no. 0671/14, 13 January 2015.

Fig. 1
View of Sheepstor, © Copyright Martin Bodman and licensed for reuse CC BY-SA 2.0
http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2175526

Fig. 2
Site location plan. Image courtesy of David Sheppard

The DNPA normally applies strict constraints against the development of new dwellings in the open countryside, with a spatial strategy that directs development to designated larger settlements. Beyond these areas, new development is essentially restricted to the needs of rural businesses and farming. This site's classification as open countryside meant any other development would be prohibited. The architect, however, intended to justify his new building through the 'exceptional' planning conditions of Paragraph 55 of England's National Planning Policy Framework (Para 55). Under this policy, an individual new house in open countryside might be allowed to override local planning restrictions on the basis that it was deemed to be "a dwelling of exceptional quality or innovation".[46] According to Para 55:

> Such a design should: be truly outstanding or innovative, helping to raise the standards of design more generally in rural areas; reflect the highest standards in architecture; significantly enhance its immediate setting; and be sensitive to the defining characteristics of the local area.[47]

This policy descends from an earlier piece of planning legislation, the Country House Clause, that aimed to maintain the English country house tradition

46 DCLG, "National Planning Policy Framework," (London, 2012), 12.

47 Ibid.

"which has done so much to enhance the English countryside".[48] As a planning strategy, however, Para 55 is inherently risky, with no successful precedents within Dartmoor and few examples nationally. It also sets a very high standard for architecture, and one which relies entirely on subjective judgements about a design's quality, sensitivity to context, and whether it is deemed to 'enhance' the landscape.

PHASE 2: DESIGN DEVELOPMENT

The proposed design was a direct response to the architect's interpretation of the site. In both form and material – a locally-sourced granite aggregate mix – the design was intended to reflect a "sense of permanence and longevity" as if it were "metaphorically hewed" from stone.[49] Referring to Dartmoor's granite tors, ancient bridges, and burial chambers, the aim was a building that echoed its moorland setting, but also had its own "rugged beauty".[50] Under a large slab-like roof, three solid bedroom pods were arranged around a central living space with a chimney. As with Dartmoor's granite, "the building in time will weather; moss and lichen will grow on the roof, blending in with the surroundings as a respected moorland feature" (Figs. 4 and 5).[51]

48 ODPM, "Planning Policy Guidance 7: Environmental Quality and Economic and Social Development," (London: 1997), 3.21.

49 David Sheppard Architects, "Design and Access Statement," DNPA planning application no. 0671/14, 7 November 2014.

50 Ibid.

51 David Sheppard Architects, "Full Statement of Case," DNPA planning application no. 0671/14, 10 June 2015.
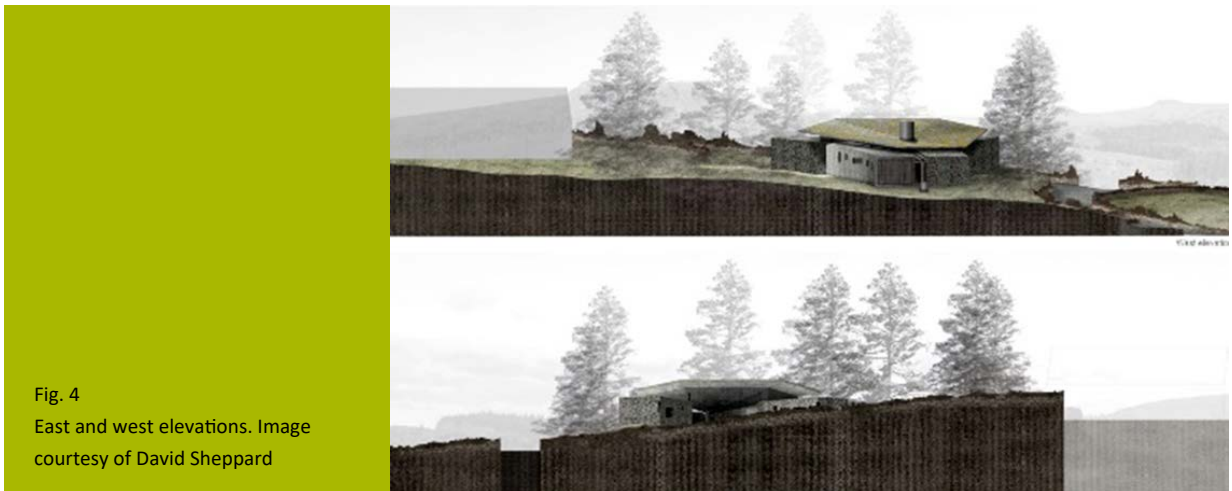
Fig. 4
East and west elevations. Image courtesy of David Sheppard

In developing this design, the architect consulted with planners, design professionals on the South West Design Review Panel (SWDRP), and the local community. Throughout, he emphasized the design's natural fit with the landscape. The SWDRP, despite some reservations, agreed that the proposal had the "potential to fit and echo the character of Dartmoor", as well as to meet the criteria required under Para 55.[52] They also commended the architect's "enthusiasm for and knowledge of the site" (Fig. 6).[53]

52 SWDRP, letter to David Sheppard, 2 December 2013.

53 Ibid.

In contrast, the Case Officer was not encouraging. Although he seemed to like the contemporary design, he resisted Para 55 "on principle" because he believed that, in national parks, local policy should prevail.[54] Emphasizing the strict local policy constraints, he told the architect that gaining approval under Para 55 was unlikely.[55]

PHASE 3: PLANNING APPLICATION AND RESPONSE

A planning application was made to the DNPA, and the case was presented to the Planning Committee for evaluation. Whatever his personal feelings about the design, the Case Officer felt unable to support it and recommended that planning permission be refused.[56] Meanwhile the response from preservation groups and the public was overwhelmingly negative, with twenty-three letters of objection sent to the DNPA. Consultations with the Parish Council, the Dartmoor Preservation Association, and the DNPA Trees and Landscape Officer proved similarly unsupportive.

A key issue proved to be the conflicting interpretations of the project's setting. To many locals, this landscape represented a rural idyll, the "traditional bucolic setting of a countryside village" as one described it.[57] While upland landscape, archaeological features, distinctive geology, and industrial history are all identified by the DNPA as special characteristics of this landscape, planners similarly emphasized the area's "pastoral character".[58] They also identified its historic significance as "part of the medieval field system", with a distinct spatial pattern worthy of conservation.[59] In contrast, the architect promoted the area's connection with a different history – an industrial, and arguably more architectural, past. In the use of granite forms, his design also looked to the area's longer-term, prehistoric, and geological conditions.

Judgements about the nature of the site itself were similarly divided. The principal debate was whether the site had been previously developed, while

54 David Sheppard, notes from planning meeting with Senior Planning Officer, 13 March 2014.

55 Ibid.

56 DNPA, "Officer Report."

57 K. and S. Scrivener, letter to DNPA, 27 November 2014.

58 DNPA, "Officer Report."

59 DNPA, "Refusal of Planning Permission," DNPA planning application no. 0671/14, 10 February 2015.

the presence of neighbouring dwellings provoked additional disputes over whether the site was suitable for 'infill'. For objectors, the development of what was considered a greenfield site was a key issue. In contrast, both the architect and the SWDRP considered the area a 'site', and not a 'field', because of its proximity to other developments and its historic connection to the reservoir.[60]

Another issue was the different interpretations of the 'built' context. During the evaluation process it became clear that, while the design responded to the 'natural' qualities of the site at a landscape scale (geology and topography), for both planners and other non-designers, being sensitive to the area's defining characteristics meant directly referencing local buildings. Because this design was considered out of character with the surrounding dwellings' "simple, traditional built forms" and "true local materials", it was deemed unacceptable.[61] In short, as one objector commented, it lacked "the Dartmoor look".[62] In contrast, a well-known local sculptor, representing a lone voice of support, expressed admiration for the way the "subtle and sympathetic" design "acknowledges the topography".[63]

60 David Sheppard, interview with the author, 15 April 2016.

61 Ibid.

62 S. Seabrook, letter to DNPA, 23 December 2014.

63 Peter Randall-Page, letter to David Sheppard, 15 January 2015.

64 DNPA, "Officer Report."

Fig. 7
The site's neighbouring dwellings.
Source Google Earth

It is debatable, however, whether the neighbouring dwellings, built since the 1970s, really do "reflect the typical architectural style in Dartmoor" (Fig. 7).[64] Outside the historic village core, there is a mix of building typologies and

periods, including infrastructural and industrial buildings. The Case Officer's report included buildings associated with the reservoir, but he effectively dismissed these non-residential typologies as a departure from the vernacular norm. Meanwhile, however the neighbouring dwellings were interpreted, the architect did not consider the village as part of his site. In his opinion, he was "just dealing with the immediate vicinity and its impact on the tor", and therefore his proposal would not affect the Sheepstor village.[65]

Even so, the notion of a contemporary approach to design – as the DNPA employ the term – was not entirely unwelcome to planners. This suggests a change from the findings of the 2001 survey, in which park planners resisted the introduction of contemporary architecture. In this case, as has been described, the Case Officer made some positive remarks about the design, and his report also acknowledged the support in local planning policy for "contemporary design in the appropriate location".[66] This comment, however, indicates that while there are some places where contemporary design might be 'appropriate', there are others where it is not. As the Case Officer pointed out, in Dartmoor such buildings were replacements for demolished buildings within open countryside, and, in a village setting, a contemporary approach would be considered "incongruous".[67] Instead he suggested that if there was a place for such developments "it may be where this is better related to a more diverse range of building styles on the edge of larger settlements".[68]

Similarly, an environmental group, the Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE), did not in principle "disagree with the concept that vernacular styles of building can be updated to great effect".[69] They also noted the "difficult balance to be made in the pursuit of maintaining the cultural heritage of the National Park, and merely preserving the whole area in aspic".[70] For them, however, this proposal went too far, and did not resemble a country house, but "a sophisticated, modern and very urban dwelling, which has somehow wandered into a moorland village".[71] Other objectors similarly associated

65 David Sheppard, interview with author, 15 April 2016.

66 DNPA, "Officer Report."

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

6 CPRE, email message to DNPA, 8 December 2014.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

contemporary architecture with urban environments. One, for example, commented that its "concrete-like slabs and glass will introduce a brutalist, urban structure into a bucolic setting".[72]

Certainly, the proposed granite aggregate was a major stumbling block for the architect, who believed that using local materials in an innovative and tectonic way was one of the strengths of the design. Therefore, comments suggesting that the design did not reflect the local granite, and more bluntly, that it was an "ultra-modern lump of concrete",[73] reflect non-designers' fundamental misunderstanding of the architect's intentions. In contrast, the SWDRP designers appreciated the materiality of the building, and, echoing the words of the architect, felt it would give the design "its own rugged beauty" (Fig. 8).[74] The sculptor also liked the design's proposed material and felt that it would "blend into the surrounding landscape beautifully".[75]

72 M. Traies, email message to DNPA, 24 December 2014.

73 M. and E. Stebbings, email message to DNPA, 24 December 2014.

74 SWDRP, letter.

75 Randall-Page, letter.

Fig. 8
Detail showing granite aggregate.
Image courtesy of David Sheppard

Another area of debate, in terms of both Para 55 and in respect to national park purposes, was the notion of landscape enhancement. Within this discussion, issues of scale and visibility were key areas of concern. It was widely felt by planners and objectors that the proposal would have a "significant overbearing

and dominant impact" on the landscape.[76] The planners raised concerns that the building would be very visible from the tor to the north, and from the adjacent road junction. On this latter point, and again in direct contrast to the planners, the SWDRP believed the location on a prominent corner of a public road was positive, as the proposal's visibility would "help to raise standards of design for the area" (Fig. 9).[77] The suggestion, however, of an inherent need to raise design in rural areas, as implied in Para 55, is perhaps questionable. This notion was certainly not welcome to objectors, and indeed, one warned specifically of the dangers of architects experimenting with design in the landscape. "We cannot", he wrote, "permit new developments which take green fields and develop them in the pursuit of architectural research".[78] The promotion of such 'experiments' could, however, be interpreted as an unintended consequence of the 'innovative' requirements of Para 55. Conversely, although in favour of conserving Dartmoor's built heritage, the sculptor felt that "Dartmoor should not be allowed to become an outdoor museum", and should also include the "very best of twenty-first-century architecture alongside ancient farms and barns".[79]

76 DNPA, "Officer Report."

77 SWDRP, letter.

78 Traies, email message.

79 Randall-Page, letter.

Fig. 4
View from the road.
Image courtesy of David Sheppard

PHASE 4: PLANNING REFUSAL

If this proposal was an experiment, it is one that will remain on paper. Unsupported by planners, disliked by locals, and prohibited in local policy, it came as no surprise to the architect when, in accordance with the Case Officer's recommendation, planning consent was refused by the Planning Committee.[80] For the Committee, Para 55 necessitated substantial validation for a site where development was limited to a very narrow set of circumstances.[81] In their opinion, insufficient evidence had been submitted to justify overriding local policy.[82] Other groups felt that Para 55 simply did not apply in national parks. The CPRE for example remarked that, "[i]t may well be that the applicant's design reflects the highest standards in architecture, but [...] this in itself would be insufficient reason for it to be approved".[83] Another objector felt that the national park was protected from the expediencies allowed under national policy, and that therefore "any attempt by the applicants to win favour for this plan under Section 55 of the NPPF can be ignored".[84] Consistent with the Case Officer's views, many felt that in national parks, local policy must prevail. The dominant view also seemed to be that new, and particularly contemporary, architecture was not welcome in this landscape. Even so, the architect remains optimistic about building a future house on this site and believes that he can still be creative within the framework set by the development conditions under Para 55.[85]

DISCUSSION

In an interview, the Chair of the Dartmoor Society expressed the view that "the core of good decision-making is to understand the place and its story".[86] The landscape identities underlying landscape development debates, however, are constructed from the perceived character of a place, in which actors play as much of a role as physical landscape attributes. This case study has drawn out numerous conflicts of rurality and landscape that arose during the planning

80 DNPA, "Refusal of Planning Permission."

81 DNPA, "Appeal Statement of Authority", DNPA planning application no. 0671/14, 17 August 2015.

82 DNPA, "Refusal of Planning Permission."

83 CPRE, email message.

84 K. and S. Scrivener, letter.

85 Sheppard, interview.

86 Tom Greeves, interview with the author, 12 July 17.

process, which impacted perceptions of appropriate architectural design and its place within this 'iconic' landscape. A wide spectrum of stakeholder opinion has emerged: from locals resisting new development, planners negotiating conservation values in the interests of a wider public, and design professionals wanting to see more 'contemporary' architecture, to an architect pursuing his building dreams. A summary of the landscape interpretations held by key stakeholders is presented in the top half of Table 1.

In this table, findings are arranged according to the four key areas of landscape interpretations that this research identifies as having informed the construction of landscape identity during the planning process: the site, the 'natural' landscape character, the built context, and the historic context. The bottom half of Table 1 summarizes key stakeholders' responses to the design in respect of the two landscape criteria of Para 55, namely, landscape enhancement and sensitivity to the defining characteristics of the area.

The top and bottom halves of the table reveal a striking similarity of overall landscape and design interpretations among designers (the architect, SWDRP, and the sculptor) and non-designers (the Case Officer, the Planning Committee, and locals), and highlight a significant rift between these different stakeholder groups. The consistency which emerges between these sets of findings reinforces the argument that in this 'iconic' landscape, judgements of appropriate architecture were fundamentally connected to deeper interpretations and understandings of context. In this case study, these interpretations defined stakeholders' conceptions of the conditions which had to be satisfied under Para 55.

The proposed design was a direct response to the architect's interpretation of the site. Whether people supported or opposed the design clearly depended on whether they shared the architect's point of view about landscape context in its widest sense. What emerges from this case study is that two distinct

Landscape interpretations and notions of appropriate residential architecture in Dartmoor National Park, England

Landscape Element	DESIGNERS			NON-DESIGNERS		
				DARTMOOR NPA		
	Planning Committee	SWDRP	Architect	Sculptor	Case Officer	Locals
Site	Previously developed	Previously developed	No comment	Greenfield	Greenfield	Greenfield
Landscape character	Geological	Geological	Geological	Pastoral	Pastoral	Pastoral
Built environment	Outside village; mixed styles/periods	Outside village; mixed styles/periods	Outside village; mixed styles/periods	In village; traditional vernacular	In village; traditional vernacular	Village
Historic context	Industrial; Infrastructural; Prehistoric	No comment	No comment	Medieval field system	Medieval field system	Not specified
Para 55 Criteria						
Landscape enhancement	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Sensitivity to characteristics of area	Complements the landscape	Complements the landscape	Complements the landscape	Design approach not appropriate	Design approach not appropriate	Design approach not appropriate

Table 1
SWDRP: South West Design Review Panel; NPA: National Park Authority

groups – designers and non-designers – had directly opposing views concerning both the nature of the landscape and how they evaluated proposed change to that landscape. It seems therefore that not only can the same landscape elicit different responses from different stakeholder groups, but that differently constructed landscape identities shape notions of appropriate architecture. Moreover, the very fact that people see landscapes differently increases the

likelihood that they will have different opinions about any proposed landscape change. As such, further research addressing how different stakeholder groups perceive landscape could assist in better understanding disputes over landscape development.

In this case study, the two groups chose different features as defining the character of this landscape. Designers emphasized the area's geological distinctiveness, while non-designers (planners and locals) stressed the area's pastoral character. The architect additionally stressed the area's long and varied history, while planners highlighted the significance of the area's medieval field system. On a local scale, there were other, and equally divisive, debates. Designers interpreted the site as lying outside the environs of the mixed-style village, having been previously developed and therefore potentially ripe for re-development, while non-designers considered the site within the environs of the traditional village, previously undeveloped, and therefore an exception to local development restrictions.

From the outset there was an inherent conflict between local and national planning policies, suggesting two fundamentally different approaches towards 'exceptional' new architecture in 'iconic' rural areas. Park planning policies supported non-development, indicating that in rural Dartmoor new architecture is not welcome, and that the DNPA's landscape management aim is preservation. Such policies reinforce public expectation that national park landscape must be protected from new development. Meanwhile, protectionist agendas, such as the preservationist paradox, are likely to be more prevalent in landscapes of high scenic amenity such as national parks. In contrast, the Para 55 policy suggests that architecture in rural landscapes, albeit in certain circumstances, is welcome, providing that it is deemed to contribute significantly to existing landscape character as accrued over time. This position supports the status of architecture as a potentially positive element in the landscape.

In general, policy makers – in this instance, planners – usually try to limit the impact of landscape change. Urban migrants, however paradoxically, are also likely to resist change. Overall, for non-designers, the issue of visual prominence was a major one, and generally considered undesirable. In contrast, for designers, visibility could be positive, and a new building could enhance even a greenfield site, in the sense of increasing its quality, appearance, and value. Designers also suggested that a building could have its own inherent 'beauty', distinct from the visual qualities of the landscape in which it is situated. For designers, too, a building could positively secure the future of a site by protecting it from neglect, with the implication that a 'natural' site requires human management. For planners, however, enhancing meant improving a site. This is a subtle but important distinction reflecting fundamental notions about the relationship between landscape and design.

Overall, and in accordance with statutory requirements, the ability of the proposed building to contribute to landscape character was the essential and determining factor in whether planners and locals would accept the design. In this case, clear tensions emerged between planners looking to the built environment for design precedents, specifically a traditional, vernacular typology, and designers taking a wider contextual view, which reflected both man-made and natural features across a range of temporal scales. These findings suggest that the non-designers – including planners – constructed landscapes in ways akin to non-experts found in other landscape research, namely with a relatively restricted perspective that focused on a limited number of elements, particularly buildings. In contrast, the designers' construction of landscape identities aligned with the behaviour of landscape experts who analysed the landscape in relation to its constituent parts, with less focus on the built environment.

Despite the evidence of substantial landscape changes and identities within and around the site, non-designers (explicitly planners) reinforced an iconic

pastoral landscape and the promotion of an associated design typology (traditional vernacular). Designers, however, wanted – or in the case of the SWDRP, valued – the freedom to break away from such built prescriptions and seek design inspiration from a broader engagement with the landscape, with less focus on an aesthetic ideal.

Within the design debate, the notion of a contemporary building in this landscape proved particularly divisive. Many residents appeared to find a contemporary approach wholly inappropriate and were highly critical of the proposed design. Planners were similarly unwilling to accept contemporary design in what they interpreted as a rural village setting. It appears, however, that if a design fulfilled other criteria, at least some planners were prepared to accept it, albeit conditionally. While designers' preferences towards contemporary design were clearly at odds with the non-design public, this only suggests a further conceptual split between locals, planners, and architects. It seems, for example, that while planners would not accept contemporary design in this rural village setting, it might be acceptable in either an isolated setting – where presumably it would not conflict with other buildings – or, in contrast, in a larger settlement where it could be juxtaposed with different building types. This suggests a clear distinction between landscape character sites in the countryside, and sites with a townscape or village-scape character, as interpreted by planners, in which new architecture must be desgined to fit the built enviroment. Under such conditions, however, there is perhaps an inherent contradiction in creating an 'exceptional' design.

CONCLUSION

The research has indicated how, in an 'iconic' setting within Dartmoor National Park, and under the conditions of an 'exceptional' planning policy, landscape interpretations influenced the conception of landscape identities as context for new architecture. This case study has drawn out numerous conflicts of

landscape identity arising during the planning process. Constructed landscape identities defined both the characteristics of the local area and the nature of the landscape, which had to be enhanced under the planning conditions of Para 55. Strikingly, designers and non-designers perceived very different landscape identities, which shaped their responses and perceptions of appropriate architectural design, and its regulation within this landscape.

In this case, debate over whether this proposal was to be accommodated or resisted was ultimately determined by the dominance of a conservation-based view among planners and the wider public. The association of this view with a particular design typology, namely vernacular architecture, resulted in a rejection of contemporary residential design. Moving beyond a purely protectionist point of view, park landscape conservation could also be seen as restrictive in terms of identity, promoting a narrow and selective vision of the landscape as a static space, rather than considering the many factors that make this landscape special, which could be interpreted in a more dynamic context.

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BUILDING IDENTITIES LANDSCAPE PRACTICES AS A MEANS TO CONSTRUCT IDENTITIES, THE SWISS NATIONAL EXHIBITION *EXPO2027*

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Collective identities are fluid constructions which are constantly renewed in social processes within a group. These processes are not limited to verbal communication, but also refer to the design, meaning, and experience of the built environment. Switzerland maintains a discourse about its identities within the framework of the Swiss National Exhibition and therefore regularly focuses public attention on that discourse. The National Exhibition was initiated in Zurich in 1883 and has been held nearly every twenty-five years in various locations throughout Switzerland. This paper analyses the concept competition for the seventh Swiss National Exhibition, Expo2027, *to be staged in the country's eastern region. Through a qualitative document analysis of the top four winning competition entries, the use of landscape practices is investigated as a means of constructing identities at various scales. Four practices that utilize landscape to de- and reconstruct identities are introduced: creating imagery, moving, mapping, and reading borders through landscape. Furthermore, this article offers a variety of readings of how the authors of the four competition entries intend to design those practices. Potentially, the proposals in this study can inform the various design processes of today's built environment in a globalized world.*

If you leave an office building in the financial district of Panama City and make your way to the next metro station, you could reasonably imagine being in

Tokyo or Hong Kong. Globalization leads to an increasing assimilation of urban architecture around the world. Analogous to the global development of such generic spaces, there is a parallel tendency towards place-based traditions at local level. In architecture too, a return to traditional values is perceived, which is translated into local materials, traditional crafts, and climate-friendly building methods. Already in the 1970s, supporters of Critical Regionalism[1] formulated the desire for a 'genius loci'[2]: spatial differentiation and articulation of individual building cultures. Consequently, concepts such as *Heimat*, affiliation, and identity are picked up as central topics for world and national exhibitions, including the International Architecture Exhibition (IBA), World Fairs, Architecture Biennales, or the European Capital of Culture Programme. These exhibitions, which last for several months, consciously use building culture to convey a theme, an image, or a mind-set, to deliberately deal with identities. Switzerland maintains the discourse about its identities within the framework of the Swiss National Exhibition, and therefore regularly focuses public attention on that discourse.[3]

The National Exhibition was initiated in Zurich in 1883 in response to the upcoming World Fairs of that time. Its aim was to show the technological achievements of the different Swiss cantons competing against one another and representing their successes to the world. Since then, it has been held approximately every twenty-five years in various locations throughout Switzerland. Each of the past six National Exhibitions were strongly dependent on the respective zeitgeist, responding to cultural phenomena of that time, and thus differed in their identity constructions. In some Swiss National Exhibitions, Swiss identity was presented as a cultural entity that must be preserved. As a result, in 1896, 1914, and 1939, exhibition curators recreated stereotypical Swiss villages with traditional architecture, rituals, and costumes. In times of globalization, however, the focus shifts away from national identities to other forms of group identities, such as hybrid, collective, and cultural identities.[4] After nearly thirty years of ongoing globalization, the questions

1 Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aethetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Forster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 16-30.

2 Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980).

3 Iso Camartin and Barbara Holzer, *Heimatfabrik: Über die Produktion von Heimat: De la production de patrie,* (Zurich: Niggli, 2002); Gottlieb Duttweiler, *Eines Volkes Sein und Schaffen: Die Schweizerische Landesausstellung 1939 Zürich in 300 Bildern* (Zurich: G. Duttweiler, 1940); Tobias Madörin and Roderick Hönig, *ImagiNation: Das offizielle Buch der Expo.02* (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2002).

4 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Nezar AlSayyad, *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment* (Westport: Praeger, 2001); Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995), 125-33.

5 Kanton Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Kanton St. Gallen, and Kanton Thurgau, "Dossier Masterplan: Expo2027 Bodensee – Ostschweiz," accessed 15 December 2015, www.expo2027.ch.

of how identity is constructed in relation to both locality and globality, and how building culture can contribute to global or national exhibitions, arise. Using the example of the concept competition of the upcoming Swiss National Exhibition, entitled *Expo2027*, which is to be staged in Eastern Switzerland, I show that this exhibition takes up the cultural phenomenon of globalization as a central theme. Identities are constructed at various scales rather than only on a national one, and thus new forms of community are engendered.

The *Expo2027* curators expressly and repeatedly formulated the desire for a renewed discussion of the topic of identity design in their strategy paper, *Dossier Masterplan*, which served as the basis for the concept competition of *Expo2027*.[5] The planning teams were to deal with stories as a means of identity construction, with national topics and myths as identity elements, and with the difference between Switzerland's self-image and its public image abroad. The findings were to be summarized in a textual and spatial exhibition design. In a two-step process with fifty-nine international submissions from interdisciplinary teams (mandatorily comprising architects, planners, and artists), ten finalists qualified for the second phase, which concluded in September 2015. The jury chose four prizewinning competition entries, listed here in ranking order: *Expedition27*, *Offshore*, *Par quatre chemins*, and *La Suisse Orientale*.[6] These were chosen by the jury as the entries that gave the best solutions for how to (re)define identities.

This paper investigates how these top four winning entries to the concept competition use landscape practices (as one part of our building culture) as a means to construct collective identities.[7] Although this exhibition is planned for the year 2027, the competition entries show how identities are possibly constructed today. It becomes clear that they balance local and global, as well as regional and national scales. Potentially, the proposal of this paper can inform the various design processes of today's built environment in a globalized world.

6 Markus Schaefer, *Expedition27: Drei Landschaften, zwei Welten, ein Abenteuer*, in collaboration with H. Hosoya, S. Dagnija, E. Reinhardt, L. Krupp, P. Bachmann, L. Schweingruber, R. Winogrond, D. Valentini, and S. Enemaerke (Zurich: Hosoya Schaefer Architects, 2015, www.hosoyaschaefer.com); Daniel Zamarbide, *Offshore*, in collaboration with L. Banchini, S. Burger, D. de Roulet, D. Dietz, and P. A. Hug (Geneva: Bureau A, 2015, www.a-bureau.com); Thomas K. Keller, *Par quatre chemins*, in collaboration with J. Steiner, R. Ilien, J. Gees, F. Burri, and C. Richli (St. Gallen: Thomas. K. Keller Architekten, 2015, www.thomas-k-keller.com); Christoph Kellenberger, *La Suisse Orientale*, in collaboration with A. Derrer, N. Bärtsch, D. Pokora, P. Schaerer, and M. Thoma (Zurich: OOS AG, 2015, www.oos.com).

7 The competition curators aim to reconstruct Swiss identities in relation to neighbouring countries. However, the competition entries address not only Swiss but also global, regional, or local identities that do not necessarily correspond to national borders. Therefore, I will not stick to national identities in this paper but instead refer to collective identities.

Following Philipp Mayring, one of the co-founders of qualitative content analysis[8] for the social sciences, I approached the data by conducting a qualitative document analysis of the top four winning entries, each consisting of five large-scale posters in DIN A0 format, a thirty-page essay, and a jury protocol. As a first step, I employed the summary as a qualitative analysis technique, in order to achieve an overview of the research material and to comprehend the competition entries' understanding of identity. As a second step, I inductively developed categories that show how landscape practices are used for constructing identities.

Before elaborating on how the competition entries construct identities through landscape practices at various scales, I first embed the concept of identity within theory and relate it to the four competition entries.

IDENTITY AND THE FOUR COMPETITION ENTRIES FOR *EXPO2027*

In the context of this article, identity is understood as a product of the dialectic between the individual and society that is dynamically constructed at the personal and collective level, as well as contextually bound.[9] Identities are not rigid entities that have been preserved for decades. They are not individual characteristics; they are nothing natural or given. As social geographer Andreas Pott states, identities are "contingent, unstable, fluid, changeable, and hybrid, often contradictory forms. Identity is a matter of negotiation, a struggle for meaning within discourses, power operations, social relations, or networks".[10] Cultural scientist Susanne Hauser describes identities as discursive formations (*Diskursformationen*), which are negotiated through local communication structures: through shared experiences of everyday life, by shaping collective social practices, or by jointly experiencing emotionally important events.[11] Likewise, the authors of the competition entry *Expedition27* invite visitors of *Expo2027* to convey their own identities. They pursue this goal by designing an adventure trip: *Expedition27*. Three thematic rail loops, which connect at one

8 Philipp Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken* (Weinheim: Beltz, 2010).

9 Orietta Angelucci von Bogdandy, *Zur Ökologie einer europäischen Identität. Soziale Repräsentationen von Europa und dem Europäer-Sein in Deutschland und Italien* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2003), 34; Christiane Marxhausen, *Identität – Repräsentation – Diskurs: Eine handlungsorientierte linguistische Diskursanalyse zur Erfassung raumbezogener Identitätsangebote* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 46.

10 "Identitäten [...] sind kontingente, unstabile, flüssige, wandelbare und hybride, oft widersprüchliche Formen. Identität ist Verhandlungssache, ein Kampf um Bedeutungen innerhalb von Diskursen, Machtoperationen, sozialen Beziehungen oder Netzen." Andreas Pott, "Identität und Raum: Perspektiven nach dem Cultural Turn," in *Kulturelle Geographien, zur Beschäftigung mit Raum und Ort nach dem Cultural Turn*, eds. C. Berndt and R. Pütz (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), 28. All translations are by the author unless stated otherwise.

11 Susanne Hauser, "Identitäten," in *Ästhetik der Agllomeration*, eds. S. Hauser and C. Kamleithner (Wuppertal: Müller und Busmann, 2006), 184-211.

central point, enable the visitors to experience all three cantons and landscape regions of Eastern Switzerland. This journey is part of the collective life story of Switzerland and the individual life stories of the visitors. The authors describe *Expo2027* as "the Expo of Living Space" (*die Expo des Lebensraums*) and hence equate identity with "life story" (*Lebenserzählung*).

Through these discursive formations, the past is integrated into a present in which experiences are pooled, consolidated narratively, and situated in the here and now. Building on sociologist Maurice Halbwachs' notion of collective memory (*la mémoire collective*), Jan Assmann developed a theory about cultural memory in the 1990s. According to Assmann, collective identities are made up of common memories, forming identity-specific knowledge structures.[12] Thus, a collective knows about its unity and its peculiarity, and this knowledge creates its identities. Likewise, the authors of the competition entry *Par quatre chemins* refer to Swiss collective memory. They describe the Swiss National Exhibition as "an identity-defining generational ritual, a historical reference"[13] that transfers contemporary identities into traditions. They envisage a fallow at Lake Constance called *Utopia*, which is to be the centre of the *Expo2027* venues, and which leads to four thematic routes throughout Eastern Switzerland which connect traditional and contemporary practices.

Furthermore, Halbwachs stated that nothing would stick in our minds unless it was actually preserved by the material environment that surrounds us.[14] Pragmatic philosopher George Herbert Mead, among others, assumed that physical objects also participate in the formation of human identities.[15] Because a human can think symbolically, he argues, he or she transfers social significance to his or her human or material counterpart (this is what Mead and Charles William Morris called "symbolic interactionism").[16] Accordingly, it is not the physical object but its symbolic meanings, the evoked associations and memories, which a human uses in the course of his or her experiences of his or her identities. Daniel Stokols and Sally Ann Shumaker describe these

12 Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 125-33.

13 "ein identitätsstiftendes Generationenritual, eine zeitgeschichtliche Referenz", competition entry *Par quatre chemins*, 2015.

14 Maurice Halbwachs, La mémoire collective (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950).

15 Among others see: Susan Clayton and Susan Opotow, *Identity and the Natural Environment: The Psychological Significance of Nature* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003); Norberg-Schulz, *Genius loci*.

16 George Herbert Mead and Charles William Morris, *Geist, Identität und Gesellschaft aus der Sicht des Sozialbehaviorismus* (Frankfurt a.M: Suhrkamp, 2008 [1968]).

location- and setting-related symbolic features as "social imageability",[17] for even the built environment can contribute to constructing identities. This form of identity, derived from people's built environment, is called "place identity" by Prohansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff.[18]

Similarly, the authors of the competition entry *Offshore* use place identity (specifically in connection to lakes) to define identities. They want to construct a global "lake identity" (*Seeidentität*), which they depict as a lake culture, whose characteristics are shared by all lake inhabitants in the world. Hence, they describe identities with cultural focuses that are not purely national, but rather transnational. Specifically, the authors aim at integrating into *Expo2027* lakes that border several nations: international lakes. Floating pavilions are to be built on all of these lakes. For the exhibition in 2027, they will be combined to form an island on Lake Constance, an offshore archipelago. The authors of the competition entry *La Suisse Orientale* also describe identity as being shaped by regions and landscapes. They use the overarching notion of identity as a "value of places, regions, and the abstract magnitude of a 'nation'".[19] They want to renegotiate these values in the forest, on the lake, and in the mountains on three stages that are connected with passages.

FOUR PRACTICES OF CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY THROUGH LANDSCAPE

As mentioned, Swiss identity has previously been presented as a cultural entity requiring preservation. In the 1896, 1914, and 1939 exhibitions, curators recreated stereotypical Swiss villages featuring traditional architecture, rituals, and costumes. For *Expo2027*, however, rather than displaying clichéd Swiss imagery, the authors of the competition entries designed cultural practices that deconstruct and reconstruct the notion of Swiss identity on various scales. My focus here lies on the use of landscape as a part of cultural production. I discuss four landscape practices – creating imagery, moving, mapping, and reading borders through landscape – and offer various readings of how these

17 Daniel Stokols and Sally Ann Shumaker, "People in Places: A Transactional View of Settings," in *Cognition, Social Behaviour, and the Environment*, ed. J. Harvey (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1981), 441-80.

18 Harold M. Prohansky, Abbe K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff, "Place-identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* (1983), 57-83.

19 "Wertigkeit von Orten, Regionen und der abstrakten Grösse 'Nation'", competition entry *La Suisse Orientale*, 2015.

practices function in the construction of identities.

Fig. 1
Competition entry *Expedition27*
projects the question "Where do
we come from?" onto the mountain
landscape
Image courtesy of Markus Schaefer
et al.

Creating imagery through landscape

Landscape plays a central role in all of the competition entries for *Expo2027*. The authors describe landscape as either real or fictitious narrative; for example, "landscapes and moods tell stories of nature, culture and human beings, on which the ideas of our future are based".[20] Interestingly, landscape itself becomes the protagonist of *Expo2027* in all four top entries. All of them respond to landscape's geography by asking three basic questions: "Where do we come from?", "Who are we?", and "Where are we going?". The "mountain landscape" (*Berglandschaft*, example depicted in Fig. 1) is illustrated as a metaphor for origin, history, and myth, and it embodies the narrative stability. The "urban landscape" (*Stadtlandschaft*, example depicted in Fig. 2) is illustrated as a metaphor for the present, agglomeration, highways, cultural landscapes, agriculture, technology, and conurbation. The "lake landscape" (*Seelandschaft*, example depicted in Fig. 3) is illustrated as a metaphor for future development, internationality, outlook, and borders. The different entries transfer social significance onto landscape elements: immovable mountains and primitive rocks stand for origin and stability; settlement,

20 "Die Landschaftsbilder und Stimmungen erzählen Geschichten von Natur, Kultur und Mensch, auf denen die Vorstellungen unserer Zukunft gründen." Competition entry *Par quatre chemins*, 2015.

Fig. 2
Competition entry *Expedition27* projects the question "Who are we?" onto the urban landscape
Image courtesy of Markus Schaefer et al.

Fig. 3
Competition entry *La Suisse Orientale* projects the question "Where are we going?" onto the lake landscape
Image courtesy of Christoph Kellenberger et al.

agglomeration, and crossroads stand for community, changeability, and encounter; water, lake, and coast stand for departure, arrival, exchange, and permeability. In these proposals landscape embodies both character and the identity of a region.

The authors of *Expedition27* regard the National Exhibition as a grand narrative with a collection of interrelated side stories. In their designs these side stories are stages along the path taken by the visitor, providing a beginning, middle, and end to the grand narrative. This narrative centres on the existential questioning of origin and direction. In response to the three basic questions mentioned above, the authors develop a second narrative strand that extends from the past to the present, and into the future. The responses locate the visitors in the here and now. For them, landscapes possess the ability to "position us in the great scales of space and time. [...] Stories – whether an Alpine legend or a science fiction novel – create identity and orientation. *Expedition27* will lead through narratives that emanate from landscape, and through those which are implanted in it".[21] The various stories are collected by the authors in the Writer's Room, a narrative device that processes and transforms everything into a myth. Through archiving, experiences can be made accessible in the future and thus return to collective memory.

Moving through landscape

Reading from the competition entries, landscapes leave their mark on the inhabitants and shape them by virtue of their specific characteristics. Landscapes – be it a mountainous, urban, or lake landscape – determine (mountainous-/urban-/lake-) cultural space. The inhabitants of a landscape, in turn, also appropriate it through their means of transport, which in the competition entries is represented by the exhibition routes, and their specific and individual links. Itinerancy is an essential part of the atmospheric exhibition experience. In the competition entry *Offshore*, the exhibition is placed on the water, which subsequently also becomes the meeting point for all visitors. Its liquid surface is the primary transportation route, and visitors reach the archipelago on Lake Constance in a "special, silent gliding way, such as water transport embodies. [...] This uncertainty of unpredictable, slow movements is the identity of this space".[22] By adapting to the movement of the lake's spatial characteristics, the visitors become part of the space itself. As the

21 "verorten uns in den grossen Massstäben von Raum und Zeit. [...] Erzählungen – ob Alpensage oder Science-Fiction Roman – stiften Identität und Orientierung. Die Expedition 27 wird durch Narrative führen, die der Landschaft abgelauscht sind, und durch solche, die ihr eingepflanzt werden." Competition entry *Expedition27*, 2015.

22 "besondere, leise Weise gleitend, wie sie Wassertransport an sich hat. [...] Dieses ungewisse Treiben von unvorhersehbaren, langsamen Bewegungen ist die Identität dieses Raumes." Competition entry *Offshore*, 2015.

authors of *Offshore* explain, "[t]his introductory experience of navigation is essential to the overall atmosphere of the exhibition. Even before the visitor reaches the exhibition offshore, he [sic] has already dived into the expanse of the lakescape".[23] *Fleet 2027*, the transport fleet used to reach the archipelago in the middle of the Lake Constance, foregrounds these properties of water transportation. It also complements the landscape with both traditional and contemporary transportation methods. Via individual paths and unique experiences, the visitors appropriate the *Expo2027* area and thus experience place identity.

Mapping the landscape

The Dufour Map, the first accurate geographic map of the Swiss Nation, was developed for the first Swiss National Exhibition, held in 1883 in Zurich.[24] This bird's eye view, which allowed visitors to orient and position themselves, was an attraction at the time, since it was not until the 1890s that the balloonist Eduard Spelterini published the first aerial photographs of Switzerland. The geographical representation of the nation, and at the same time its demarcation from the neighbouring countries, were used to outline a political unity. This was intended to promote a Swiss feeling of togetherness. The viewer would identify this geographical space as his or her home. As such, this map played a central role in the construction of Swiss national identity.

The authors of *Expedition27* refer to the method of measurement used by Henri Dufour: triangulation. In this method, three geodetic control points, usually placed on mountains or towers, are determined in order to triangularly measure their distances and relative positions within the territory (Fig. 4). The authors translate this method into a contemporary mapping of the exposition site. In *Expedition27*, they employ "narrative triangulation" (*narrative Triangulation*) to place control points from history, experiences, or imagination in relation to physical places. This reveals connections that, in turn, promote affiliations, cross-community spaces, and interconnections. The landscape

23 "Diese einleitende Erfahrung der Navigation gehört wesentlich zur gesamtheitlichen Atmosphäre der Ausstellung. Noch bevor der Besucher die Ausstellung Offshore erreicht, ist er schon in die Weite der Seelandschaft eingetaucht." (Ibid.)

24 David Gugerli and Daniel Speich, *Topografien der Nation: Politik, kartografische Ordnung und Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Chronos, 2002), 12.

already incorporates stories, the associations with which can lead to distant times and fictions. Each visitor is given a personal map to visualize their own expedition and to chart connections and affiliations beyond national borders. Thus, they keep track of their experiences, stories, and places, and write these into their personal 'life story' (which the authors of *Expedition27* equate with identity). Whereas moving through landscape tethers the visitors to a specific location, mapping connects local spaces with distant experiences. In contrast to the Dufour Map, which depicted Switzerland as a demarcated country, the narrative triangulation of *Expedition27* enables the visitors to construct identities beyond Swiss borders. Thus, the exhibition experience challenges the production of identity that only affiliates national or regional boundaries.

Fig. 4
Mountaintop geodetic control point for triangulating the territory
Photograph by the author

25 "die Ostschweiz neu zu lesen und zu erkunden", competition entry *La Suisse Orientale*, 2015.

In a similar sense, the authors of *La Suisse Orientale* call on the viewer to "read and explore Eastern Switzerland anew".[25] This call for a reorientation is amplified graphically by depicting the *Expo2027* region, Eastern Switzerland, on a map in an east–west rather than a north–south orientation (Fig. 5). Because of this change in perspective, the viewer must reorient him or herself to (newly) comprehend the places and their connections to various landscape elements. The promising name of the competition entry, *La Suisse Orientale*,

supports this interpretation. The Orient, or the East, is a mythical region from an Occidental point of view. Eastern Switzerland could also be regarded in relation to the Occident (Western Switzerland), thus opening up new relational interpretations. Spaces that are traditionally considered to be important (such as the Alps) and generic spaces (such as agglomerations) are reinterpreted by the authors and given new connotations.[26] At the same time, borders are reconceived from different perspectives, thus potentially overcoming the narrowing boundaries of a nation. By creating new spatial imagery, reinterpreting old spatial imagery, and putting these into new contexts, the authors attempt to reshape discourses about Eastern Switzerland. In this sense, *La Suisse Orientale* deconstructs and reconstructs identities through a landscape practice.
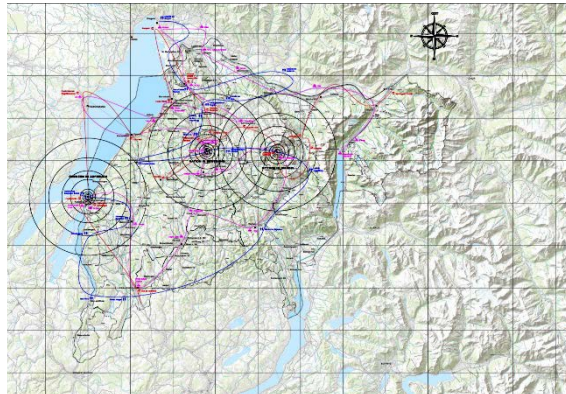

Fig. 5
Competition entry *La Suisse Orientale* oriented the *Expo2027* site with east at the top
Image courtesy of Christoph Kellenberger et al.

Reading borders through landscape

In order to understand one's collective's identities, it is important to understand one's position within society. Spatial demarcation is a key element of this self-understanding. It is worth noting that none of the competition entries define Eastern Switzerland in terms of cantons; neither do they define Switzerland in terms of its national entity. Instead, they chose three landscape zones (urban, lake, and mountain landscapes: see *Creating imagery through landscape*) as demarcations that run across domestic and international borders. Geography

26 Detlev Ipsen, "Was trägt der Raum zur Entwicklung von Identität bei?," in *Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung 98, Räume der Identität – Identität der Räume*, ed. Sabine Thabe (Dortmund: IRPUD, 1999), 150-59.

knows no administrative territories. Lake Constance does not define the national border through its shoreline, but via an open border area. Neither the summits of the Alps, nor their valleys, define the national border. Finally, the urban landscape does not geographically end at the Rhine, but reaches the agglomeration of the Alpine Rhine Valley. Thus, I argue, the authors of the competition entries do not construct a single national identity, but redefine identity around local and regional aspects that one finds in landscape zones. Consequently, they read borders through landscapes instead of through nations, and thus establish "affiliation rather than territorial integrity, narratives rather than demarcation, cross-community spaces and international relations rather than one-dimensional administrative territories, and (inter) regional references rather than uniqueness and homogeneity".[27]

The authors of *Offshore* go one step further and situate Switzerland within a global context by looking not for national similarities, but for similarities that are based on shared landscapes, here the international lake landscape: "Let us take a distance from our surroundings, let us detach from our lake water level, to discover other bluish mirror images. We will see that at a global level, similarities and differences among the lakes are part of a new identity, [one that is] less narrow, more open. We do not call this globalization but globality, the positive side of a humanism that is neither colonial nor solely oriented towards the West".[28] This community is found among the lakeshore inhabitants of all fifty-six international lakes around the world. "Lake-dwellers" (*Seeanwohner*) or "lakeside residents" (*Seeuferbewohne*r) are linked to a global "lake community" (*Seegemeinschaft*), making them "lake-cousins" (*Seecousins*).[29] By defining a global lake culture, I argue, the authors create a mental bond among lakeside inhabitants. The definition of a community (and, at the same time, dissociation from those who do not belong to this landscape) creates a sense of belonging that constructs collective identities.

But the authors of *Offshore* also physically connect the fifty-six international

27 "Zugehörigkeit statt territoriale Integrität, Erzählung statt Grenzziehung, gemeindeübergreifende Räume und internationale Beziehungen statt eindimensionale administrative Territorien sowie (über)regionale Bezüge statt Eindeutigkeit und Homogenität", competition entry *Expedition27*, 2015.

28 "Nehmen wir also Distanz zu unserer Umgebung, entfernen wir uns von unserem Seespiegel, um andere bläuliche Spiegelbilder zu entdecken. Wir werden sehen, dass auf globaler Ebene Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen den Seen Teil einer neuen Identität sind, weniger eng gefasst, offener. Wir nennen das nicht Globalisierung, sondern Globalität, die positive Seite eines Humanismus, der weder kolonial noch einzig auf den Westen ausgerichtet ist." Competition entry *Offshore*, 2015.

29 Ibid.

lakes: the lakeside residents of each will build and install floating platforms on the lakes they inhabit in advance of *Expo2027*. These will function as information platforms for the Swiss National Exhibition, and will later be transferred to Lake Constance to form the offshore archipelago. Thus, they are already part of the upcoming exhibition on Lake Constance and create the spirit and the essence of the archipelago experience: the lake identity. Through the building process, they write their place identity into the built matter.[30] Hence, these swimming pavilions physically and mentally link the lakeside residents of these international lakes and their visitors with the inhabitants of Switzerland and the visitors to *Expo2027* on Lake Constance, and hence create a global collective identity through the local.
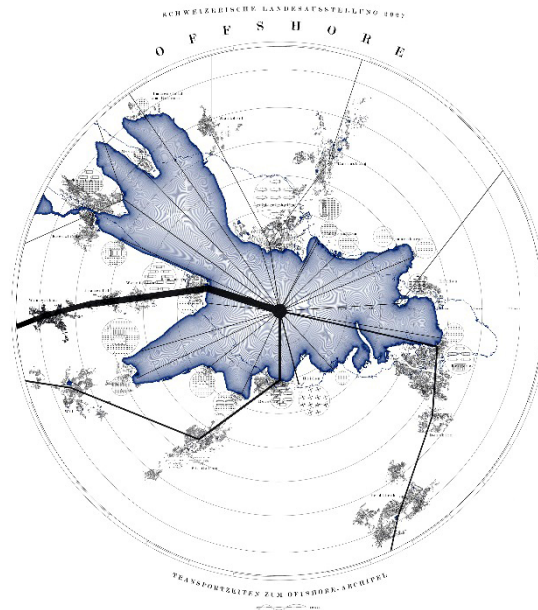

Fig. 6
Competition entry *Offshore* does not show the border, which is normally depicted in maps as a line, here Image courtesy of Daniel Zamarbide et al.

In addition, the authors de-emphasize national borders at the cultural level and create a "cross-border nationality" (*grenzgängerische Nationalität*) between the lake cultures. Since the offshore archipelago drifts in the water, the neighbourhood conditions also unceasingly change and, consequently, so

30 Prohansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, "Place-identity," 57-83.

too do the borders surrounding them. Like a cloud formation, the archipelago changes constantly. Its boundaries are blurred and without physical connections. Visually, the authors depict their idea of undoing and crossing borders by not showing a borderline in their plans (Fig. 6). By negating national boundaries, I argue, the authors create new ones, namely those on the edge of the lakescape; borders are never removed, but merely shifted.

INTERACTING WITH LANDSCAPE

Following the approach that identity is a discursive formation, landscape can become part of this discourse as shown by the four landscape practices: creating imagery, moving, mapping, and reading borders through landscape. The top four winning competition entries of *Expo2027* attribute a narrative character to landscape that requires the visitors to develop new stories as they pass through it. In the competition entries, this narrative is assumed to be stronger than national borders. Narratives, the entries suggest, redefine the landscape along new borders, engendering in turn new forms of community both on a local (such as the expedition community) and on a global scale (such as a lake community). This process takes the form of an interaction: not only do the designers project a narrative onto the existing landscape, but the landscape's character, atmosphere, and physical shape influences its inhabitants in their ways of thinking and behaviour. By moving through these landscapes, the human being fuses with them, assumes their characteristics, and as a result adapts his or her own cultural practices. Through mapping – understood as a visual and narrative depiction – these practices are recorded and inscribed in personal as well as collective life stories. By creating two worlds (reality and narrative) and simultaneously linking them together (by mapping), the competition entries create new contexts, which can provide explanations and mentally re-locate the participants of the exhibition on local and global scales. By altering people's perspectives of places and by questioning those places, the competition entries achieve a critical discussion, reinterpretation, and

reorientation. This constant transcendence between reality and narrative leads the visitor to a state of reorientation. This helps the expedition community – national and international visitors, designers of the exhibition architecture, as for example the archipelago, or exhibition site's inhabitants – to question their identities, to de- and reconstruct them, and even to design new identities at local and global, as well as regional and national, scales.

The competition entries use physical and mental movement – or in other words travelling – as a means to question and explore Swiss identities: on a local scale through means of transportation, for instance; on a regional and national scale through the Writer's Room, for example; and on a global scale as illustrated through the lake community. Travelling opens up spaces, landscapes, and places, and creates a mental network of the *Expo2027* area that connects reality and fiction as described, for example, by narrative triangulation. Following the authors of *Expedition27*, "landscape is created by movement in space and by the succession of changing perspectives [...] The country is created by a community to become landscape — both physically elaborated and ideally interpreted".[31] Similarly, anthropologist Michael D. Jackson describes travelling as a precondition to form stories of life:

> To say that storytelling moves us, transports us, carries us away, or helps us escape the oppressiveness of our real lives, is to recognize that stories change our experience of the way things are. But stories are not only like journeys because of the effects they have upon us; stories are so commonly and conspicuously about journeys [...] that one may see in journeying one of the preconditions of the possibility of narrative itself.[32]

He describes "being as a mode of journeying" or to put it in other words, journeying (re)constructs identities.[33] Interactions between human and landscape practically never take place from a neutral position. They are

31 "Landschaft entsteht durch Bewegung im Raum und durch die Folge stets wechselnder Blickwinkel und deren Triangulation. Sie benötigt ein mobiles und handelndes Subjekt. Das Land wird durch eine Gemeinschaft gemeinsam zur Landschaft geschaffen – sowohl physisch bearbeitet, wie auch ideell gedeutet." Competition entry *Expedition27*, 2015.

32 Michael D. Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity* (Copenhagen: Museum Musculanum Press, 2013 [2002]), 48-49.

33 Ibid., 48.

characterized by interests and power relations that arise from different perspectives and cultural understandings, as described by writer and activist Rebecca Solnit:

> [Landscapes] have political as well as aesthetic dimensions; on the small-scale they involve real estate and sense for place, on the large scale they involve nationalism, war, and the grounds for ethnic identity. [...] [Landscape is] not just where we picnic but also where we live and die. It is where our food, water, fuel, and minerals come from, where our nuclear waste and shit and garbage go to, it is the territory of dreams, somebody's homeland, somebody's gold mine.[34]

The competition entries also deal with the conflict between cultural understandings, power relations, and stereotypes. Typically, the picturesque Alpine Switzerland as a territory of dreams is opposed to Switzerland's generic midlands as industrial production space. To overcome this ambiguity, the competition entries use landscape to break up habitual patterns of thinking and to perceive Switzerland from a different angle: the Alpine region as a lovely and at the same time life-threatening mountain landscape; the agglomeration as a green settlement area with potential and, at the same time, ugly-spoiled industrial space; the lake as a separating border region and, at the same time, unifying cultural area. *Expo2027*, I argue, is a moment of an exceptional state when familiarity can be put into new light, to rethink and finally to reconstruct identities. Derelict spaces can be redefined around aesthetic qualities. The competition entry *Expedition27*, for instance, uses the Schönwüeschte Chläuse of the Appenzell New Year's Eve tradition to symbolize today's dichotomy between the "naturally archaic ('wüescht')" and the "technological civilized ('beautiful')". In this figurine (Fig. 7), landscape as a physical and mental construction can be seen as a starting point for a mutual interaction between human and landscape.

34 Rebecca Solnit, *As Eve Said to the Serpent: On Landscape, Gender, and Art* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 10-11.

CONCLUSION

Fig. 7
The Schönwüeschte Silvesterchläuse depicted by the competition entry *Expedition27* representing the naturally archaic and the technologically civilized
Image courtesy of Markus Schaefer et al.

Especially during world and national exhibitions, this interaction can help to reflect upon a collective's identities. Recently, Derk Jan Stobbelaar and Bas Pedroli observed that regional identity is suppressed by national identity in order to maintain national unity. However, "in times when the world is getting smaller [...] people are keen to identify with their local environment, in which they feel the basis of their regional identity. Thus, globalization increases the need for the regional identity".[35] However, I propose to work with both notions instead of placing these in opposition. Thus, talking about local identities does not negate global identities; nor do regional identities contradict national identities. Identity is never an entity but a construction that allows for fluidity and versatility. Landscape – as one part of our building culture – can help to overcome the dichotomy between local and global, as well as regional and national scales by looking at them as contrasting juxtapositions that mutually support one another. A lake landscape can create a lake identity that appears

35 Derk Jan Stobbelaar and Bas Pedroli, "Persectives on Landscape Identity: A Conceptual Challenge," *Landscape Research* 36 (2011), 330.

all over the world. Hence, it is a global phenomenon, located locally, that can define a region and connect bordering as well as distant nations. Groups are formed by many different identities. They are not comprised of one single identity, but potentially by local, regional, national, as well as global identities at the same time. Interacting with landscape can help link the different scales of identity construction. As proposed in this paper, the four identified landscape practices – creating imagery, moving, mapping, and reading borders through landscape – show design strategies to construct fluid identities at local and global as well as regional and national scales. Those proposals can potentially inform the many design processes of our social and built environment in today's globalized world.[36]

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GRAPHICAL CONVERSATIONS OF *HOME*
PERFORMING LANDSCAPE

Sophie Ernst

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This paper considers landscape as a process, and focuses on drawing, mapping, and storytelling as performative actions. It takes the HOME *project as a case study, and demonstrates how images of landscape reveal, and also create, power relations. For the* HOME *project, artists, architects, and writers from Pakistan, India, Israel, and Palestine draw maps and vistas of places they once called home and were forced to leave. They do not point out the beauty of the landscape, but rather emphasize their claim to memories of a particular place. In this multifaceted artistic research project I look at how memories of specific topographies relate to identity and political claims. In particular, I view the act of drawing as an instrument of holding a graphical conversation with history.*

In Jaffa there were no peasants. There were farmers who worked as day labourers in the orange groves and lived on the periphery of the city. But what happened, is that in the stories of exile, the peasant narrative became dominant [...] The orange groves and olive tree were the iconic symbols of the country [...] In Jaffa everybody had an orange grove, including people who did not have an orange grove.[1]

When I met the Palestinian sociologist Salim Tamari in Ramallah in 2009, he told me how remembering in his part of the world is never simply sentimental,

1 Salim Tamari, interview by Sophie Ernst (Ramallah, 2009), *HOME: Architecture of Memory* (Wakefield: Yorkshire Sculpture Park, 2012), 97.

but also political, and that images of landscape not only reveal power relations and identities, but actually create them. Taking this as a point of departure, the *HOME* project is a collection of descriptions of memories of specific places, landscapes, and cityscapes (Fig. 1). I started working on the project in 2006, and currently, *HOME* consists of an archive of over sixty conversations about remembered places. It began as an exercise in conversing about the past, and grew into a collection of reflections about large historical events, such as the *Partition* of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, the Palestinian *Naqba* of 1948, and *Operation Ezra and Nehemiah*, the Jewish exodus from Iraq, in 1951-52. Consequently, I focused on three moments in the wake of Asia's decolonization in the mid-twentieth century.

Fig. 1
Archive page
HOME: Architecture of Memory
Sophie Ernst
Wakefield: Yorkshire Sculpture Park,
2012

As part of the project I recorded over 100 hours of interviews. The participants were asked to draw the places they had left behind during political upheaval. Some drew detailed floor plans of their houses, some intricate village systems, while others sketched painterly views and vistas of the areas surrounding their

former homes. I spoke to artists, architects, writers, academics, and filmmakers working on notions of memory, representation, and place in their professional lives. These respondents were from India, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Indonesia, Holland, Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom. In the interviews I recorded for the *HOME* project, people associated landscape with specific forms or objects, and the act of drawing triggered a remembering process. While drawing, erasing, and redrawing, the interviewees engaged with layers of memories, which became iconic and politically charged through this process.

This article will highlight some elements of the *HOME* project, in particular, how remembering can be simultaneously a sentimental and political act. Furthermore, it outlines the processual nature of landscape representations, using the *HOME* project as a case study. I explore how landscape, built and natural, can stir up memories, and how social and political associations inform the depiction of a particular location. In examining landscape as a process, I take on questions such as: What is given shape through landscape representation and how is this achieved? What does an image of a landscape contain? And, what is transformed?

LANDSCAPE AS A PROCESS

Early theorists of the picturesque, such as Reverend William Gilpin (1724-1804), Uvedale Price (1747-1829), and Richard Payne (1750-1824), argued that the picturesque stood for a certain kind of aesthetic pleasure, in which landscape was an ornamental surface and a source of endless entertainment.[2] W. J. T. Mitchell puts forward the thesis that "[l]andscape is not a genre in art but a medium".[3] He writes: "Landscape painting is [...] a representation of something that is already a representation in its own right".[4] Mitchell emphasizes how landscape is steeped in meanings that are 'put' or 'found' in a place, and as such it can be an instrument of power.[5] In the *HOME* project I

2 Carrie Tirado Bramen, "The Urban Picturesque and the Spectacle of Americanization," *American Quarterly* 52.3 (2000), 451-52.

3 W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 5.

4 Ibid., 14.

5 Ibid., 1-2.

approach landscape as a means of communication in the discourse on memory and belonging.

As an artist, I find the notion of landscape as an ornamental surface limiting, because it reduces the landscape to a static arrangement. I look at landscape in the broadest sense, drawing on the theory of landscape architect, Anne Whiston Spirn, who explains that "human settlements, including cities, are part of the natural world"[6] and prefer to think of landscape, as Mitchell argues, as "a process by which social and subjective identities are formed".[7] A landscape, far from being an ornamental surface, is a living reservoir of stories, experiences, rituals, and traditions. My interpretation of landscape is also informed by Edward Said's identification of geography as a "socially constructed and maintained sense of place".[8] Representations of landscapes are not neutral entities: depictions of landscapes in paintings, drawings, photographs, or maps render relationships with those landscapes and also help us reflect on our place in nature.[9] I view landscape as an instrument to excavate an intimate past, which can transit experience through retelling. Sentimental memories of landscape hold potential for political debates on ownership and belonging. This understanding of imagining landscape and its relationship with a maker is informed by my work as an artist and my encounters through the *HOME* project.

IMAGINATIVE MEMORIES

In most cases, the interviews I recorded for the *HOME* project were conversations between a parent and a child. For instance, the image of Sami Said and his father Saeed Shana'a, sitting together in their house in the West Bank city of Birzeit (Fig. 2), shows the pair remembering the family village near Haifa. Often the child would recall a place, not on account of having lived there, but by having listened to many stories about it. In some instances, the parents would not remember the place in full detail, despite having spent a substantial

6 Anne Whiston Spirn, "'One with Nature': Landscape, Language, Empathy, and Imagination," in *The Art Seminar: Landscape Theory*, eds. Rachael Zaidy DeLue and James Elkins (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 43.

7 Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 1.

8 Edward Said, "Invention, Memory, and Place," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 246.

9 Anne Whiston Spirn, "'One with Nature'," 43.

portion of their lives there, but would recollect stories about that place. Slowly, over hours of conversations, they would visualize a territory, formed through mental images, and attribute events to nooks and crannies of their homes. Their drawn plans of their homes, a particular cityscape, or landscape, were the result of a deliberate, intentional effort (Fig. 3). In her work on personal, collective, and cultural trauma, Marianne Hirsch describes the relationship that a second generation has to memories of the past as a creative effort, which she calls 'postmemory'. She observes how the "connection to the past is thus actually mediated not by recall, but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation".[10] This has also been my experience during the conversations of *HOME*, in which recollection is part of the creative process. In particular, this project draws attention to the relation between drawing, mapping out memories, and storytelling.

Fig. 2
Sami Said and his father Saeed Shana'a
Birzeit, 2008
Photograph by the author

THE ACT OF DRAWING

I claim that a landscape becomes alive with meaning when it is being drawn, and I see the act of drawing as a gesture towards memory. Ernst van Alphen

10 Marianne Hirsch, "Postmemory," accessed 9 October 2017, http://www.postmemory.net.

discusses Jacques Derrida's (1930-2004) notion of drawing as an 'intransitive activity', where the image is secondary to the gesture of representing. He writes: "We see nothing in the drawing (transitive); we see only the drawing as intransitive act".[11] In the *HOME* project, drawing is an intransitive activity, and the video archive of *HOME* records the process of remembering through this activity. The final drawing is of no particular importance to the project (the interviewees sometimes offered the drawing to me as a souvenir, sometimes they were keen to retain it as a keepsake). Instead, the emphasis is placed on drawing as a performative act.

11 Ernst van Alphen, "The Gesture of Drawing," in *Gestures of Seeing in Film, Video and Drawing*, ed. Asbjørn Grønstad, Henrik Gustafsson, Øyvind Vågnes (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 112.

Fig. 3
Tassaduq Sohail
HOME
Sophie Ernst
Video still
Karachi, 2007

The process of drawing a landscape is like piecing together a puzzle of lived life. While depicting her home in Jerusalem, Liana Badr, a Palestinian novelist and a filmmaker, drew routes through the old city, which she identified through sounds and smells, or, in her words, "all the life's details".[12]

12 Liana Badr, interview by Rana Shakaa (Ramallah, 2008), *HOME* archive.

13 Liana Badr, interview by Rana Shakaa (Ramallah, 2008), *HOM*E, 85.

When you enter the Damascus gate you hear songs of Khan El Zeit market: coffee shops, people sitting, vegetable stores, fruit sellers, sweets, and *raha*. When we were children we would smell the sugar-*knafeh*. This whole area was full of perfumes. [13]

The interviewees construct a landscape by drawing, erasing, redrawing, recognizing, holding up, evaluating, retracing, and interpreting various lines and dots. In a way, the act of drawing became an instrument to hold a graphical conversation with history. While drawing, people reasoned with themselves, they asked what happened, and drew out an answer in a messy way. If the goal of the drawing was to recreate their home, it was doomed to fail from the outset, because the passing of time and recollection through photographs and stories had blurred the original memories. This resonates with Derrida's description of the draughtsman as blind – searching and groping, and perhaps never reaching his goal.[14] Yet in the *HOME* project the goal of drawing was not to recreate architecture or complete a landscape painting of a specific place. Drawing was used as a method to intensify the conversations, and in most instances, performing the action actually activated a remembering process.
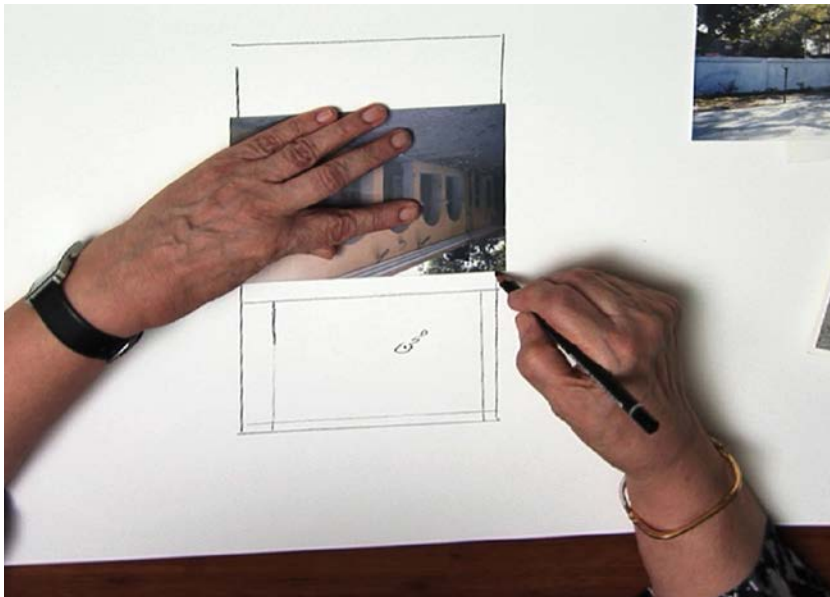
14 Van Alphen, "The Gesture of Drawing," 112.

Fig. 4
Zarina Hashmi
HOME
Sophie Ernst
Video still
Karachi, 2008

One vivid example from the *HOME* archive that demonstrates the relationship between drawing and remembering is the recording of Indian artist Zarina Hashmi (Fig. 4). She drew the outline of her home in Aligarh, a university city in North India. While sketching she described what she felt in 1947:

> There were rumours that Aligarh would be razed to the ground, it would be burnt. One night we heard some noise, we went out and far away we could see some villagers working […] We didn't know what to expect. We had never experienced violence, we were scared.[15]

Drawing a landscape stimulated remembering, and a line or shape perpetuated the process of recollection through referred or associated memories. This concept is explored in design theory, which finds that "drawing is a vehicle for design reasoning, and therefore the spontaneous marks made on paper during sketching form a partial record of the designer's thinking".[16] Drawing is used here as both a trigger and evidence of reflection. According to Van Alphen, drawings have been "traditionally […] regarded as 'temporary' things that are not autonomous",[17] and have been considered as a working process towards another goal, such as painting, architecture, or sculpture. Artists, however, have come to value drawing as a performed act in itself. As Van Alphen points out in his article on the intransitive nature of drawing, that "[w]hat we see is the activity itself, not the activity's object or goal".[18] In the recordings of *HOME*, artistic expression is not the goal of the performed act of drawing. Rather, the gestures of drawing make visible thoughts and memories taking shape.

QUOTIDIAN TOPOGRAPHY

Individuals interviewed for the *HOME* project often associated landscape with specific forms. These were not always precise, nor necessarily remarkable, but seemed to be dependent on the landscape and location. For instance, Liana Badr described a small detail she used to notice:

15 Zarina Hashmi, interview by Sophie Ernst (Karachi, 2008), *HOME*, 104.

16 Ellen Yi-Luen Do and Mark D. Gross, "Drawing as a means to design reasoning," in *Artificial Intelligence in Design (AID), Workshop on Visual Representation, Reasoning and Interaction in Design* (Palo Alto: 1996), 1.

17 Van Alphen, "The Gesture of Drawing," 116.

18 Ibid., 116.

Another strange thing was the floor of the house. Here in the corridor it had many openings, small gaps covered with glass. They made these long openings to let the air in and – I thought of this once – maybe in the past they used to call each other. There were no telephones, so if there was no glass they could call each other through them. […] [pointing to the drawing] This is the door of the house. You come into the salon from here and are able to see the entire city of old Jerusalem. You can see all the domes, the houses, the mosques. You can see the whole world of old Jerusalem from one window.[19]

Liana's memories of her family home in Jerusalem are that of private, everyday spaces. Old Jerusalem is a framed vista seen from the intimacy of her living room window (Fig. 5). By describing a close connection with the landscape of old Jerusalem, Liana also made a political claim of belonging.

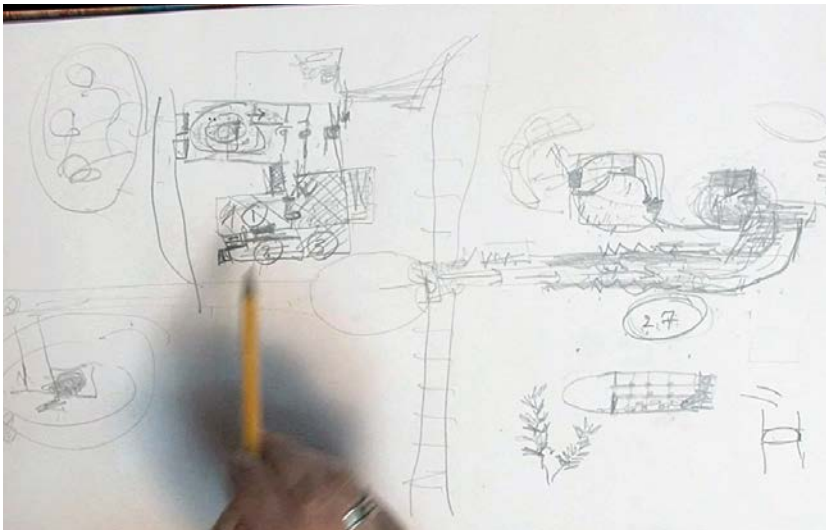19 Liana Badr, interview by Rana Shakaa (Ramallah, 2008), *HOME*, 85-86.

Fig. 5
Liana Badr
HOME
Sophie Ernst
Video still
Ramallah, 2008

Throughout my conversations, I also encountered many stories about orchards, farms, rivers, and mountains, and the activities that took place in these locations. Landscape may appear as a geography of daily rituals. For

instance, Indian performance artist, Nikhil Chopra, sentimentally remembered his family holiday home in the Kashmir valley. He talked about his grandfather:

> You would find my grandfather in the morning – he would put his table and chair out, put on his transistor [radio] and sit with a mirror and shave out in the open. So as kids, the first image we would wake up to in the morning seeing my grandfather take a shave.[20]

The places seem to retain memories of certain sets of actions and rituals. Landscape, in this sense, holds a performative value. During the process of recollection, the movements associated with landscape are drawn out in graphical stories.

STORIES

In my research I observed that experiencing landscape was a process of recognition. Nikhil Chopra felt he only owned stories, and has missed out on the opportunity to 'live' the landscape in the same way as the previous generation:

> I remember it with a lot more romance now than my grandparents do. The great sense of loss is for somebody like my father and me, because we feel we haven't had access, or don't have access, to this anymore. They [the grandparents] have seen their time here. They have come here and lived here for 25 years. They have enjoyed every single leaf in this place, every blade of grass. But we feel in a way that a sense of romance has been lost.[21]

20 Nikhil Chopra, interview by Sophie Ernst (Bombay, 2007), *HOME*, 67-68.

21 Ibid., 72.

During the conversation I had with Nikhil in his apartment in Bombay, he explained where his fascination with the Kashmiri landscape came from (Fig. 6). While drawing postcard pictures of mountains, he talked about how his

father would open up a book of John Constable (1776-1837) to show big cumulus clouds; or how his grandfather, while a student at Cambridge, would vacation in the Black Forest, because it reminded him of Kashmir. Already the British colonizers admired the picturesque landscape of Kashmir, and made the connection to European alpine landscapes.[22] Self-aware, Nikhil described the entanglement between colonial British nostalgia for 'home' and Indian bourgeois nostalgia for British culture.

Fig. 6
Nikhil Chopra
HOME, Sophie Ernst
Video still
Bombay, 2007

Since the late 1980s, Nikhil and his family have not had easy access to the family holiday home. The region saw much tension and violence, which caused most of the Hindu elite to leave. The Kashmir conflict is a legacy of the Partition of British India. In Jammu and Kashmir, the population is predominantly Muslim. The Hindu ruler of the Princely State initially voted for independence from either India or Pakistan at Partition, but the largest region became part of the Republic of India, and three wars have since been fought over the territory. Nikhil's frustration at having lost "a sense of romance" appears to stem from "nostalgia for an imagined grander time [...] juxtaposed with critical reflection of how he was raised to conceive of (political) space in a way that ignored the reality of those being marginalized".[23]

Similarly, the Palestinian filmmaker, Sami Said, also felt deprived of 'living' the landscape. Saaed Shana'a, Sami's father, was only one-and-a-half years old at the time of the Palestinian *Naqba*. While discussing the family village, Sami asked why his father kept a bit of soil with him (Saaed Shana'a used to carry a small bottle with sand from the village) (Fig. 7). He replied: "I wanted to see my

22 Bollywood added yet another layer to this sense of the picturesque; until recently it was not customary to show lovemaking scenes. Instead, the hero and heroine would suddenly find themselves dancing in deep meadows in front of a Kashmiri mountain range. Notably, when tensions rose during the late 1980s, Bollywood productions relocated to Switzerland. See, *Spatial Dynamics in the Experience Economy*, eds. Anne Lorentzen, Karin Topsø Larsen, and Lise Schrøder (Oxon: Routledge, 2015).

23 Ernst, *HOME*, 51.

land". Sami asked what the benefit of it was, querying: "Don't you think this is too sentimental?" Sami attacked his father because he felt all he owned were "memories and stories", and that these feelings and memories did not feed his reality when dealing with today's conflict.[24]

> Sami Said (son): Your memories of the house, my grandfather's house and the land, all these stories, what do they mean to you?
> Saaed Shana'a (father): These stories pushed me to miss my land and my country – wanting to go back and plough and plant the land and to relive those memories of my homeland.[25]

Fig. 7
Sami Said
HOME
Sophie Ernst
Video still
Birzeit, 2008

24 Sami Said and Saaed Shana'a, interview by Sophie Ernst (Birzeit, 2008), *HOME*, 81.

25 Sami Said and Saaed Shana'a, interview by Sophie Ernst (Birzeit, 2008), *HOME*, 79.

26 Hirsch, "Postmemory".

Sami Said and Nikhil Chopra both belong to the 'generation after', which "'remember[s]' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up".[26] In the case of Nikhil, this has become an important element of his performance art. He inhabits the landscape of the generation that came before through gestures of retelling and drawing.

The examples of Sami Said and Nikhil Chopra recall Edward Said's remark at the beginning of this text: landscape is a socially constructed and maintained

sense of place. When we spoke in Ramallah, Salim Tamari explained how in memories, certain images become dominant:

> If you look at the paintings of Shammout [Ismail Shammout, 1930-2006] for example, who became the iconic painter of Palestinian exiles, he and his wife drew pictures as if Palestine was a peasant country [...] Cities do not exist in their paintings [...] So of course it becomes a loss of heritage, but the social differences are also ironed out. But it is interesting how the memory of exile becomes dominated by the image of the peasant. And in this case, as in the case of Jerusalem, or Haifa, or Akko, the city does not appear in these images, they are all farmers tilling the land.[27]

During exile, memories of Palestine as a peasant country became prevalent. Tilling the land, or a bottle of sand, become politically significant representations in a conflict about land. In retelling, landscape and certain details in the landscape become iconic and politically charged. Images of landscape are tokens of power relations and identities.

The conversations of *HOME* demonstrate that landscape can be claimed through gestures of drawing, mapping, or storytelling. These examples clarify how memory is dependent on related circumstances, and show that the gesture of drawing is equally influenced by power. Watching the process of drawing a landscape reveals social and political associations. Landscape functions as a cultural symbol, and, as Mitchell notes, meanings and values are put, or found, in a place. Therefore, remembering a landscape is not simply sentimental, but a political act.

In a conversation for the *HOME* project between Indian historian Taha Mehmood and Pakistani author Kamila Shamsie, Kamila said that the craft of writing "makes us look at memory in a heightened poetic sense".[28] I would like

27 Salim Tamari, interview by Sophie Ernst (Ramallah, 2009), *HOME*, 97.

28 Kamila Shamsie, interview by Taha Mehmood (London, 2011), *HOME*, 50.

to add that the poetics of landscape are revealed in the performative gestures of drawing.[29]

Sophie Ernst is a visual artist who trained as an industrial mechanic before studying sculpture. She was a resident at the Rijksakademie voor Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam and completed her PhD at Leiden University in 2016. She lived and worked for four years (2003-2007) in Pakistan, where she taught as Assistant Professor at Beaconhouse National University. She has exhibited her work internationally. In her artistic and theoretical work she follows the idea of projection in relation to memory, historical objects, architecture, urban spaces, and identity. Her works evolve from conversations and interviews, and she sees making art as a response to these encounters.

REIMAGINING ROADS THE FICTION AND FUNCTION OF INFRASTRUCTURE

Robert Lundberg

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The text and photographs in this essay are a further iteration of my artistic project Bearings *(2016) which documents rural highways in the southwestern United States. This conceptual project uses my photographs in tandem with a fictional narrative to reposition roads within the canon of the Land Art Movement. The use of fiction acts as a connective thread to communicate an alternative understanding of roads, drawing on artistic concepts such as Dennis Oppenheim's permeable demarcation between gallery space and 'real world' and Richard Serra's steel sculptures reorienting one's experience of a site. Simultaneously, my own goals in deploying fiction can be elucidated by theoretical concepts such as Donna Haraway's 'speculative fabulation' and Langdon Winner's question: "Do artifacts have politics?". This text, like the project as a whole, conceives highways as art objects, inviting a reimagining of the function of roads and their effects on surrounding landscapes.*

Bearings has taken multiple forms, though it exists primarily as a gallery installation of photographs and wall texts. One panel of text lays out the conceptual underpinnings, the other gives a brief biography of Arnold Mueller, a central character in the project. The viewer is presented first with text, followed by photos displayed in groups of three. In this essay, I utilize the narrative and conceptual background, interspersed with photographs, to present a new iteration of my artistic project.

Bearings is about roads: particularly highways that run across the non-urban landscapes of the western United States. The project is also about my attempt to find my bearings in landscapes that are alien to me, finding – through the roads and the act of photographing them – connection, direction, and a sense of place. The project grew out of a discomfort I felt while travelling these roads. As a born-and-raised city dweller, I felt a sense of out-of-placeness in these vast landscapes, to which roads brought feelings of comfort and direction. From this, I imagined a history within which the roads are sculptures intended to affect a traveller's experience of the environment through which they are passing. Finally, this project is about appreciating roads as infrastructure, as well as aesthetic, sculptural objects. Towards this aim, let us begin with a story.
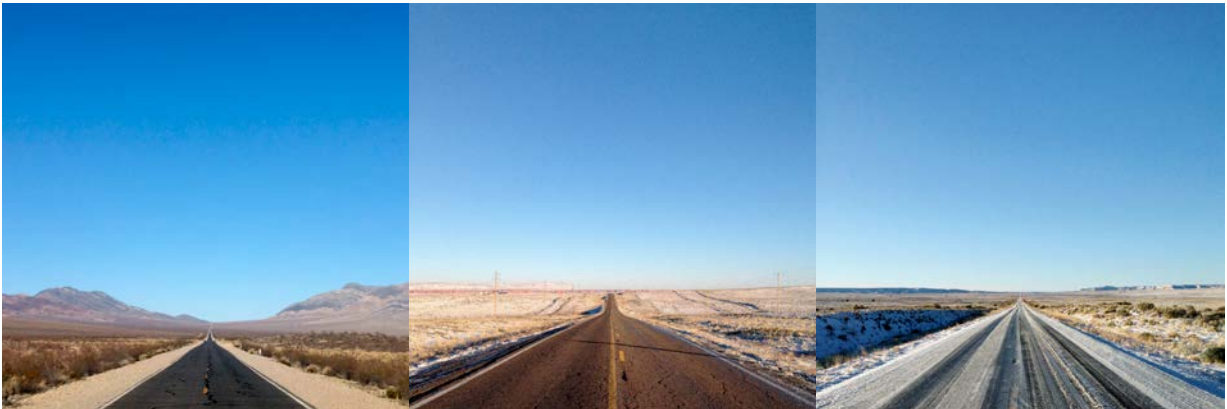

Fig. 1
California State Route 178

Fig. 2
Arizona Route 264

Fig. 3
United States Route 191

ARNOLD MUELLER: ENGINEER AND ARTIST

Arnold Mueller was a German-American transportation engineer born in 1908, and deceased in 1973. Fascinated by Germany's *Autobahn*, he helped design and build the United States highway system, significantly shaping our modern understanding of transportation and our experience therein. While few know

of Mueller, even fewer know of his ulterior motive in the building of roads. That is, his interest in their potential to reframe travellers' experiences of the vast natural landscapes between human settlements. Through this lens, one could approach Mueller's interest in road design as proto-Land Art.

Mueller was a transportation engineer, but he was also a frustrated and closeted artist. He came from a long line of stonemasons and builders. His grandparents immigrated to the United States from Germany in the mid-nineteenth century and settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin – the main hub for German immigrants at the time. Both his father and grandfather worked on major building projects in Milwaukee, including Milwaukee's City Hall. While Mueller grew up surrounded by a building culture which shaped both his knowledge and interest, he proved to be a restless soul. He left home in 1927 and travelled to Germany, drawn by an interest in his family history, as well as the Bauhaus school, an emergent centre for artists, designers, and architects. Mueller studied sporadically at the Bauhaus school, first in Dessau and then in Berlin, until the school was closed by the Nazi government in the early 1930s. His time there instilled in him a desire to seek aesthetic forms based in functionality, which was an interest of many associated with Bauhaus. He carried this aspiration into his later work on roads.

Mueller ended up stranded in Frankfurt, Germany, during World War II, and after 1945 found work in the city's reconstruction projects. It was during this post-war period in Frankfurt that he had a chance meeting with Dwight Eisenhower, then military governor of the United States-occupied zone of Germany. Eisenhower would become President of the United States in the next decade. This connection proved fruitful to Mueller after he returned to the United States in 1946, where he found work with the Bureau of Public Roads, the government's precursor to the Federal Highway Administration. There he helped plan and build the United States' interstate highway system, starting in 1956 under then President Eisenhower. In designing highways,

Mueller's artistic vision was to give a literal, but also a conceptual, pathway into and through the wild and unexplored landscapes of the United States, especially in the west. His hopes relied on enabling travellers to experience these varied and perhaps alien lands, but from a slightly removed position within the safety of one's car.

Fig. 4
United States Route 163 #1

Fig. 5
Arizona State Route 98 #1

Fig. 6
Arizona State Route 98 #2

MUELLER'S INFLUENCE ON LAND ART

Despite being little known, one can see Mueller's influence in the work of a handful of artists practising later in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, namely Michael Heizer (1944 –), Robert Smithson (1938-1973), Richard Serra (1938 –), Andrea Zittel (1965 –), and Dennis Oppenheim (1938-2011). Michael Heizer is one of the originators of what became known as Land Art. Heizer wanted to expand the field of art beyond gallery and museum spaces, and sought to use land itself as a material to be sculpted. Another well-known figure in Land Art, drawing inspiration from Mueller, is Robert Smithson. In his *Spiral Jetty* (1970), Smithson uses land and water as his sculptural canvas to place the stone jetty. One can see Mueller's roads utilizing and interrupting the land they

pass through in a similar way to Heizer's *Double Negative* (1969) cutaway of Mormon Mesa in Nevada, or Smithson's stone jetty interrupting the land and water of the Great Salt Lake. Richard Serra has also drawn from Mueller's ideas in a slightly different vein, creating site-specific sculptures meant to affect one's experience of the surrounding space. Many of his interior sculptures dominate what would otherwise be open, light-filled galleries. Instead, the presence and pressure of the dark steel Serra prefers, as in *Union of the Taurus and the Sphere* (2001), creates a claustrophobic experience, especially as you try to pass between the sculpture and the gallery wall. The work of artist Andrea Zittel can also be traced to Mueller. One of her *Rules of Raugh* (2005) states that "objects ought not be functionally fixed",[1] decanting Mueller's vision of roads as both infrastructure for transportation and art objects, holding both functions simultaneously. One final artist to mention is Dennis Oppenheim, a contemporary of Heizer and Smithson, who instrumentalized Mueller's influence over the many artistic styles and movements in which he was active. Oppenheim was interested in the distinction between the world of galleries and museums, and the world where 'real life' took place, working to make that distinction more permeable. In *Site Marker with Information* (1969), he used survey stakes and photographs to accomplish this aim. Oppenheim would mark sites in the city with stakes and photos, then display the images in a gallery to designate those sites as art. This use of photography to document and reclassify found sites as art inspired my own photographs of roads.

LAND ART'S INFLUENCE ON ME

For me, these roads altered, and perhaps constructed, my experience of the surrounding landscapes. Born and raised in parts of the United States dominated by human development, green trees, and foliage, I often felt out of place in these landscapes while, simultaneously, I felt drawn to them. I found myself asking: what would I do if my car broke down and I was stranded in the middle of the road. How could I survive? How would I find water, food,

1 Andrea Zittel: *Lay of My Land*, exhibition, Magasin 3 Stockholm Konsthall, rule #4/ 2nd panel of 11, 2011, Stockholm, Sweden.

shelter? Yet, at the same time, I had a strong desire to keep exploring these lands and roads. Taking photographs gave me a way to connect and reframe my experience.

I realized photographing the roads brought feelings of comfort and direction, or, as Susan Sontag phrased it, photographing helped me "to take possession of [a] space in which [*I was*] insecure".[2] This 'taking possession' also connects back to the Land Art artists mentioned above. These artists sculpted the earth, thus claiming these sites in a tangible way. Like the roads, they redefined the landscaped they inhabited.
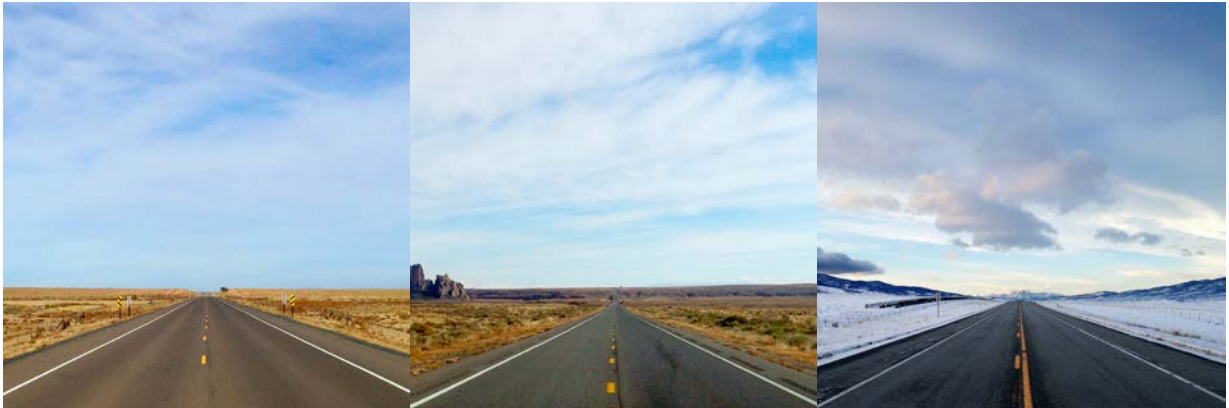

Fig. 7
United States Route 160

Fig. 8
United States Route 163 #2

Fig. 9
United States Route 285

2 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 9.

Ostensibly, these artists' works were the objects built and carved out of earth, stone, metal, and concrete. However, the means of communicating these works to the vast majority of audiences, curators, and the patrons funding these remote endeavors was, and often still is, photography. Likewise, for me, the primary work is the roads. My photographs act as a convenient and (hopefully)

aesthetically compelling stand-in to allow different viewers to interact with the project. The use of photographs to reimagine functional objects as artwork links to Smithson's work. *The Fountain Monument* (1967) documents six drain pipes pouring liquid into a body of water, converting quotidian objects and alterations of the land into monuments with an aesthetic purpose beyond simple functionality. Photographing the roads both takes possession of them, and alters their function, redefining them as art in the gallery space.

CONCLUSION

I imagined this history of Arnold Mueller, aiming to have the audience share my vision of roads as sculptures meant to reframe the experience of travelling across these landscapes. The story of Mueller, his timeline, photos, and life milestones was displayed as part of the exhibition, along with an artist statement of my personal experiences, some of which I have detailed above. The fictional character of Mueller acts as a connective thread to better grapple with, and communicate, the concepts undergirding the taking of these photos. The story of Mueller elucidates this alternative function and experience of these roads. That Muller's story is fiction enables a reconceptualization of roads' aesthetic and functional impact. This reimagining, like Donna Haraway's concept of 'speculative fabulation' – which she links to the making of fables – prompts an ethical consideration.[3] Conceptually and physically sculpting roads takes possession of the surrounding landscapes. The fabulation of Mueller reframes this vast, infrastructural project as aesthetically rooted and artistically driven; the Engineer takes a back seat to the Artist. Like Dennis Oppenheim, the act of photographing appropriates the highways as art objects, which invites the reimagining of roads. Science and Technology Studies scholar Langdon Winner famously asked: "Do artifacts have politics?"[4] Winner's question drives the use of a false history, or fable, to speculate what intentions – what politics – are, or could be, designed into roads. In this work, roads are imbued with a new political intention which, in turn, makes visible the politics already built in.

3 Donna J. Haraway, SF, *Speculative Fabulation and String Figures: 100 Notes, 100 Thoughts: Documenta Series 033* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2012).

4 Langdon Winner, "Do Artifacts Have Politics?," *Daedalus* 109.1 (1980), 121-36.

The histories we are told inform our understandings of the landscapes we inhabit. This project uses photography in tandem with the historical fabulation of Mueller to reposition roads within the Land Art canon. To reinscribe roads with artistic intent, and reframe roads as art objects, welcomes the viewer into a space of suspended disbelief. *Bearings* implicates not only the way we make sense of roads' physical relationship to the landscapes, but also the way we conceptualize the objects themselves.

Robert Lundberg makes music, takes photos, builds things, thinks about and drinks water. He has performed a wide range of music throughout the United States, Canada, and Europe. His photography often focuses on the interaction of 'wild' and human-built spaces, as well as the line between representation and abstraction. He earned his BFA in Jazz Performance from The New School (New York) and is pursuing a JD and MS in Law and Environmental Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Additionally, he is a graduate fellow of the Holtz Center for Science and Technology Studies, and a graduate associate of the Center for Culture, History, and Environment (both University of Wisconsin-Madison).

Nathalie Mannaerts
Meanwhile
160 x 200 cm
Oil on canvas
www.nathaliemannaerts.nl