

COURTYARD GARDENS OF VANCOUVER
A STUDY OF THE CONTEMPORARY URBAN LANDSCAPE

by

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ii

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Courtyard Gardens of Vancouver

A Study of the Contemporary Urban Landscape

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ABSTRACT

COURTYARD GARDENS OF VANCOUVER

A STUDY OF THE CONTEMPORARY URBAN LANDSCAPE

The walled front gardens in the eastern sector of metropolitan Vancouver that have appeared since 1970 are studied. The research questions are, what are the visual characteristics of these gardens, by whom and for whom have they been created, and what are the design and sociological processes involved in their transformation of the urban landscape?

Answers were obtained by combining geographic field methods with Jean Baudrillard's artifactual use and exchange value analysis. Baudrillard's concept of "simulacra" was also used to understand the gardens. In-depth interviews with garden residents expanded on the field findings. Two hundred and nineteen surveys were completed from the over 2400 walled gardens estimated. The ethnic associations and visual characteristics of the gardens were determined. There was a greater ethnic diversity than expected and ethnic preferences for design variations. By virtue of this data and a literature review, these gardens were as a contemporary courtyard garden style which used design characteristics also found historically in Persian paradise gardens. The courtyard gardens' appeal across ethnic groups is explained by pan-diffusion of these design characteristics in historical periods.

Created by recent immigrants, these gardens express love and beauty and provide pleasure and contemplation. Any increase in property value is an ancillary result. The gardens do not intentionally represent any social status. Baudrillard argues that the lack of status represented by these artifacts produces "simulacrum": recognizable copies for which no original model exists.

The study concludes that the courtyard gardens are "simulacra", rather than replicas, of gardens in history which used certain designs from Persian paradise gardens. They show how urban landscape change is brought by ethnically diverse peoples with a shared garden design heritage and how the social values of that heritage change within its contemporary cultural expression.

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The idea of investigating the cultural and social meanings of the front gardens of the ordinary people came from my supervisor Dr. Edward Gibson. The idea that ordinary people can make a difference to our world was introduced to me by Dr. Hamish Dickie-Clark of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Dr. Gibson introduced me to the idea that this difference has a visual element that can be seen actively occurring in our landscape. I am indebted to the continued support and guidance that I have received from Dr. Gibson in this study and also from Drs. Warren Gill and Archie MacPherson.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL	p. ii
ABSTRACT	p.iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	p. v
LIST OF TABLES	p.viii
LIST OF MAPS	p. ix
LIST OF FIGURES	p. x
CH.1 A GENERAL INTRODUCTION.	p. 1
Endnotes	p. 9
CH.2 THE OBJECTIVE AND METHODS.	p. 10
Endnotes	p. 19
CH.3 THE PRIVATE GARDEN: AN OVERVIEW.	p. 22
Endnotes	p. 32
CH.4 THE PRIVATE GARDEN: A CULTURAL HISTORY.	p. 35
Endnotes	p. 44
CH.5 THE PRIVATE GARDEN: TYPE, DESIGN AND COMPOSITION.	p. 46
Endnotes	p. 57
CH.6 THE COURTYARD GARDENS OF EASTERN VANCOUVER.	p. 61
Endnotes	p. 71
CH.7 THE COURTYARD GARDEN: A FABRICATED POETRY.	p. 91
Endnotes	p.111
CH.8 THE CONTEMPORARY COURTYARD GARDEN: CONCLUSIONS.	p.116
Endnotes	p.122
APPENDIX 1. SURVEY PROCEDURE SHEET.	p.124
APPENDIX 2. STREET ADDRESSES OF SURVEY SURVEY SAMPLE.	p.125
APPENDIX 3. SURVEY RECORDING SHEET	p.130
APPENDIX 4. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NINE GARDEN SUB-TYPES.	p.131

APPENDIX 5. SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW REQUEST LETTER.	p.133
APPENDIX 6. INTERVIEW GUIDE AND RECORDING SHEET.	p.134
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	p.137

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. Estimation of Quadrant Densities for S.F. & Duplex Dwellings based upon Vancouver and Burnaby Land Maps.	p. 76
TABLE 2. Estimated Population of Single Family Dwellings and Duplexes in Vancouver and Burnaby based upon Census tract divisions within survey grid.	p. 77
TABLE 3. Estimate of Percentage Population of Front Gardens in Vancouver and Burnaby in the Courtyard style.	p. 78
TABLE 4. Estimate of Courtyard Garden Population	p. 79
TABLE 5. Sample Sizes based upon Population Estimate	p. 79
TABLE 6. Summary of Field Survey Results - Type, Forms and Horticulture	p. 80
TABLE 7. Summary of Field Survey Results - Form	p. 81
TABLE 8. Summary of Field Survey Results - Horticulture	p. 81
TABLE 9. Summary of Field Survey Results - Textures	p. 84
TABLE 10. Summary of Field Survey Results - Materials	p. 84
TABLE 11. Summary of Field Survey Results - Motifs	p. 85
TABLE 12. Survey Distribution: Ethnic Names	p. 88
TABLE 13. Length of House Residency from 1989 and Garden Age.	p.112

LIST OF MAPS

- MAP 1. 1982 Map of the Italian Community
in Vancouver and Burnaby. p. 73
- MAP 2. Grid Map of Survey Area Showing
Location of 219 Randomly Selected
Survey Sub-Squares p. 74
- MAP 3. Census Tract Map of Survey Area p. 75
- MAP 4. The Riviera Berici, Veneto, Italy p.113

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. A typical courtyard garden in east Vancouver.	p. 59
FIGURE 2. An example of the garden type in Vancouver.	p. 59
FIGURE 3. An example of the courtyard type in Vancouver.	p. 60
FIGURE 4. An example of the yard type in Vancouver.	p. 60
FIGURE 5. The four physical properties.	p. 82
FIGURE 6. The six design elements.	p. 82
FIGURE 7. The six compositional elements.	p. 83
FIGURE 8. Decorative cement balls.	p. 86
FIGURE 9. Decorative urns and planters.	p. 86
FIGURE 10. Decorative human figures.	p. 87
FIGURE 11. Decorative Lions.	p. 87
FIGURE 12. The Persian garden tradition represented in a Vancouver courtyard garden.	p. 89
FIGURE 13. The Persian garden tradition represented in an Italian villa garden.	p. 90
FIGURE 14. The Persian garden tradition represented in an Indian palace garden.	p. 90
FIGURE 15. The courtyard garden of an Italian resident.	p.114
FIGURE 16. The courtyard garden of an Oriental resident.	p.114
FIGURE 17. The courtyard garden of an East Indian resident.	p.115
FIGURE 18. The courtyard garden of an Arabian resident.	p.115

CHAPTER 1

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Biographers of landscape in Geography have often looked to the ideas of great men or to sweeping political or economic changes from which to provide understanding of the changing cultural landscape. They have often "underestimated the importance of 'thousands of lesser figures who have left their mark ... on the geography of every country'."¹ In this study I will examine a private front garden style that has become more and more popular in the metropolitan Vancouver landscape over the last two decades (See Figure 1, p. 42a). I will talk with some the "figures who have left their mark" with these new gardens styles that stand in obvious even striking contrast to the traditional private 'lawn' front gardens of the City.

The biography of these new front gardens will show that they are the creation of an interaction between the reproduction throughout time and across space of the concept of a material cultural tradition and of individuals' needs to substantively express personal and cultural values in a material way at this time and in this place.² The dynamism of this interaction produces continuously changing significations of meanings and relationships with the artifacts used to create the material cultural landscape. These changing meanings and relationships challenge geographers seek new understandings of the contemporary cultural landscape and to develop and refine

methods by which to arrive at appropriate understandings.

This study is a contribution toward meeting that challenge through developing an understanding of these new gardens and through successfully applying the abstract concepts of a contemporary social theory in an analytic and explanatory manner to the production of the cultural landscape. The challenge to show that abstract concepts of a contemporary social theory have a visual component which can be seen literally concretized in the cultural landscape was met by this study. This demonstrates the viability and desirability of incorporating contemporary social theory in the explanation and understanding of material production in the visual cultural landscape. Informed by this theory, the study's findings challenge the idea that definitive explanations of the cultural landscape can be made by cultural geographers. The findings also provoke those geographers to develop new approaches by which to expand their understandings of the cultural landscape.

The gardens under study

Front gardens built since 1970 in the eastern sector of metropolitan Vancouver have changed the urban garden landscape. These new walled gardens have white and red lions on top of brick gate posts. Fountains pour water through the mouths of gargoyles and sea-horses. Brick walls and wrought iron fences have replaced wooden fences. Brick fence posts have been topped with cement copies of balls, pinecones, planters and statues. Billiard table lawns have been replaced with white marble chips

or gravel and with raised brick *parterre* flower beds in circle, star and rectilinear shapes. Plantings of multi-coloured rose bushes have replaced picturesque flower beds. Dazzling white humanesque statues have been mounted on pedestals to gaze over cement copies of Greek and Roman terra-cotta urns, planters and benches. These gardens are reminiscent of the great villa gardens of Italy.

The research questions raised regarding these gardens are: what are the visual characteristics of these gardens; for whom and by whom are they created; and what are the design and sociological processes involved in the resulting transformation of the urban landscape? Initially I thought my research would show that the gardens were created by members of Vancouver's Italian community who had copied from the style and designs of the gardens which surround many villas in Italy. At the inception of this study I referred to the gardens as "Italianate" gardens. Like their counterparts in Italy, I thought that the Vancouver² gardens were created to represent the wealth, power and prestige of the garden owners within their Italian community or even among the larger Vancouver community.

This study shows that my initial assumptions about the gardens were incorrect. The gardens' design characteristics reflect a plurality of origins. They are reminiscent of the great Italian villa gardens. But these characteristics are not only derived from Italian Renaissance gardens but can also be

found within the designs of the Islamic courtyard and the older Persian paradise garden. These gardens are built by different immigrant groups who share a common garden design heritage drawn built with characteristics also found in the Persian garden style and are not indicative of any wealth, power or prestige among the garden residents. These conclusions were arrived at through both empirical field observations and interviews with garden residents. The account of these observations and interviews forms the substance of this text.

Organization of the text

The behavioural and material approaches to the study of the landscape in cultural geography will be reviewed in Chapter 2. Behavioural approaches are directed to the study of human behaviour within a landscape rather than the study of artifacts in that landscape. This study will focus on gardens as artifacts in an urban landscape. The material approach which is similar to the early Berkeley school of landscape morphology studies artifacts in the landscape. I will adopt this material approach using a Realist method, to answer the questions guiding this research.

Jean Baudrillard's theory of the intrinsic and extrinsic nature of the artifact will provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the gardens' cultural uses and values. Baudrillard's theory of the "simulacra", the separation of culture and social structure, in post-modern² North American society will also be used to provide an explanation of the

gardens' social meaning. This study will therefore be in two parts. The first part, Chapters 2 to 6, will deal with the description and analyses of the intrinsic nature of the gardens. The second part, Chapter 7 will cover the extrinsic values expressed by the gardens.

Methods of study

The first question concerns the concept, origin and diffusion of the North American private garden will be covered in Chapter 4. The characteristics of the "Italianate" front garden will be developed in Chapter 5. After developing these characteristics and conducting field research it will become clear that a more appropriate name and description for an "Italianate" garden would be a Courtyard garden derived from within the style of the formal Persian Paradise garden. The name Courtyard garden will be used from now on to refer to the "Italianate" gardens under study. Where the term Paradise-style garden is used it will refer to the historical formal gardens of Europe and Asia.

a - Analytical Methods

It will be estimated, in Chapter 6, that the Courtyard gardens will number between 2400 and 3400 (6%) of all the front gardens in east Vancouver and north Burnaby. Having established the characteristics which will define these gardens, a field survey of 219 randomly selected Courtyard front gardens will be undertaken. Contrary to expectations it will be found that

Italian residents of these gardens accounted for only 36% of the garden residents, other Europeans comprised another 32% and the remainder were from other ethnic groups. This unexpected finding will make it necessary to examine the reasons why this style of front garden was popular across different ethnic groups. The appeal of the gardens' style across different ethnic groups in Vancouver will be explained by the pan-diffusion of the Paradise-style garden design across several cultures during historical times as detailed in Chapter 4.

b - Ethnographic Methods

Information on the extrinsic values of the gardens will be obtained through an ethnographic enquiry among some of the gardens' residents. In depth interviews with twelve residents will be held which provided demographic and ethnographic information about the residents and their gardens and which will be detailed in Chapter 7. Seven residents will be deliberately chosen because of their particular gardens and five will be chosen at random from the survey sample: nine will be Italian but no residents of Asian origin will agree to participate. A desire to express beauty through the exercise of labour and craftsmanship will be a prime factor in the building of the gardens. It will be found that these respondents were poorly educated and had no excess of wealth, social or political status above that of their neighbours.

Conclusions

I will demonstrate that the Courtyard gardens are not traditional artifacts but rather contemporary artifices. They are post-modern imitations or "simulacra" of the Formal Persian Paradise-style Private Pleasure gardens which maintain the intrinsic use and values of pleasure and beautification but no longer make reference to an extrinsic social structure. Extrinsicly, the gardens are not intentional displays of ethnic identity nor representations of wealth, power or social prestige.

The public do ascribe an "Italian" ethnic identity to garden residents and to the garden style, as was done initially in this study. The research has shown, however, the "Italian" ethnic ascription not to be generalizable to all garden residents and to be an historically inaccurate ascription of style. Such ascriptions probably say more about the culture of the observer than the observed. Intrinsicly, the gardens reflect the builders' needs to express love and create beauty within their own traditional garden culture.

The appeal for these gardens was brought to Vancouver by immigrants from the Mediterranean, the Middle East, India and China. Spread through diffusion in historical periods, this style is now a part of the traditional garden culture of these immigrants. The Vancouver gardens express traditional concepts of beauty and enjoy traditional contemplative use. They are in the Vancouver landscape at this time by a diffusion of cultures

to Vancouver through recent immigration during the post-modern period. A period in which a separation of culture and social structure is taking place in North America. This timing, combined with a small amount of surplus income, enables these poorer immigrants to build gardens which were the privilege of only a wealthy and powerful elite in their countries of origin.

These gardens are the fabricated poetry of relatively poor immigrant labourers and artisans. These gardens express the beauty of the love a man or wife feels for their spouse and children. They are gardens which can have family fig trees to remind them of their family heritage. The Courtyard gardens are real, tangible and have different culturally relative values to their owners and to their observers. It is these culturally relative values which determine the gardens' design process and sociological meaning in the Vancouver landscape. This study concludes that, by the fulfillment of the "simulacra" criteria, these gardens show that geographers must take into account the way in which the representational values of artifacts in the cultural landscape change in contemporary society. Those artifacts, as landscape geographer Donald Meinig has noted, form "parts of an ensemble which is under continuous creation and alteration". Cultural geographers cannot assume a representational continuity of artifactual meaning within an ongoing dynamism between the reality of cultural tradition and the actuality of lived experience. A dynamic which produces the

"accumulation" of social values reflected in that cultural landscape which the geographer seeks to understand."

Endnotes

1. Marwyn S. Samuels (1979) "The Biography of Landscape" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (Donald W. Meinig ed.) p. 67.

2. *ibid.* p. 69.

3. Post-modern is defined as referring to the fourth period of capitalist modernization (the electronic era) which is usually seen to have commenced in the early 1970's and have gained full momentum coincidental with the election of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in Britain. (Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, p.5) Theoretically, post-modernism is the representation of the unrepresentable as being the real in order to signify the present condition's continuity with a past reality of norms and values which have never historically existed. (Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p.81)

4. Vancouver will be used as an inclusive name in this study and incorporates those east Vancouver and north Burnaby neighbourhoods where the gardens are to be found.

5. Donald W. Meinig (1979) "Introduction" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* p. 6.

CHAPTER 2

THE OBJECTIVE AND METHODS.

The study of the landscape in cultural geography follows two approaches: the behavioural or cognitive and the material (artifactual) or morphological. The behavioural approach deals with the cognitive affect of the landscape on human behaviour. The material approach deals with the effect of human ideas and action on the landscape.

Each approach uses a distinct research focus. The focus of research in the behavioural approach is on what individuals' say and claim their perceptions to be of the landscape and their actions within that landscape based upon those perceptions. It is a morphological study of the psychological landscape. The focus in the material approach is on the landscape which individuals have created. It is a morphological and artifactual study of the cultural landscape.

Since the initial focus of this study is on a certain style of front gardens, and not on any individual's perceptions or actions in response to those front gardens, only a brief discussion is necessary to show the inappropriateness of the behavioural approach. The behavioural approach to landscape studies developed out of the disciplines of Urban Planning and Architecture. Garrett Eckbo succinctly summarized the behavioural approach to landscape studies by writing that the objective of landscape studies "is large yet modest. We want to

consider the entire landscape - but always as experienced by individual human beings (emphasis added)."¹ The behavioural point of entry into a landscape study is not with a specific landscape but with the analysis of the relation between that landscape and the "technical-functional and sensory-emotional aspects" that the landscape design is consciously or unconsciously intended to serve.²

John V. Punter, in his article "Landscape aesthetics: a synthesis and critique", divides behavioural studies into two categories: landscape perception and landscape interpretation. Landscape perception is defined as that geographic research which looks at how people perceive, evaluate and react to their landscape environment. Landscape interpretation is defined as that geographic research which looks at the methods the researcher uses to 'read' the 'messages' which the landscape environment is 'communicating'.³

One of the earliest texts in the landscape perception category is Kevin Lynch's 1960 book, *The Image of the City*, which was expressly concerned with "the visual quality of the American city by studying the mental image of that city which is held by its citizens. (emphasis added)"⁴. Lynch's book, combined with the quantitative revolution in Geography, led to a great number of attempts within the behavioural approach to quantify the affect of landscape elements.⁵

Following in the more traditional humanistic approach to Geography during the period of the quantitative revolution,

non-positivist geographers looked to *The Human Experience of Space and Place* (Anne Buttimer and David Seaman, 1980). This experiential approach used methods developed in Anthropology and partly drew its theory from Phenomenology. "The phenomenological foundations of geographical reality," is clearly stated by geographer E.C. Relph to "consist of three pillars of spaces, landscapes and places as they are directly experienced as attributes of the lived-world." (emphasis added). Relph concludes that the focus of study in this approach to geographic enquiry is the "responses and experiences we have of the environments in which we live..."⁴

Punter's Landscape interpretation category has recently developed as a behavioural sub-genre of cultural/historical geography, but which differs from the traditional morphological approach. This behavioural approach is exemplified in a 1980 article by Lester B. Rowntree and Margaret W. Conkey titled "Symbolism and the Cultural Landscape". In this article Rowntree and Conkey, partly using Symbolic Interactionist concepts, argue that cultural symbols in the landscape can be "best understood in terms of a model based on accepted ecological principles. Attributes drawn from a biological model of stress response are ... shown to be applicable to cultural situations."⁷ In this sub-genre, the focus of analysis and explanation is through the application of an *a priori* biological/ecological/symbolic model to any cultural landscape

which is used as a case study.

The behavioural focus of inquiry is on individuals, their thoughts, reactions and emotional responses (their affect) to the landscape in which they find themselves. An inquiry into the phenomenon of the new style of gardens in Vancouver which used the behavioural approach would not be able to answer the question of what are these gardens and why are they in this place at this time but simply give us how the residents feel about their gardens.

The alternative to a behavioural approach is the material or morphological approach. This approach "draws its evidence for culture from the concrete artifacts, material activities, and transformations of environment produced by man."⁸ The morphology of the landscape under Carl Sauer's definition was "man's record", his population, housing and production, on the landscape".⁹ Morphology means the form of the material object, the artifact, in the landscape. The form of the artifact in this study is the private front garden.

This material approach to landscape study, that can be traced back to the production of the "Human Geographies" of Friedrich Ratzel in Germany and of Paul Vidal de la Blache in France. This method is first and foremost descriptive. In England, this approach was exemplified by W. G. Hoskins in his *The Making of the English Landscape*, where Hoskins' puts his emphasis more on the morphological (form) aspects of the English landscapes. Hoskins' questions concerned how the

English countryside came to be physically shaped, or formed, the way that it is.

Artifactual (style and content) aspects have had more emphasis in American Geography. The artifactual work of Fred B. Kniffen on house types in the Southern United States which was carried out in the 1930's has been carried on by researchers such as Phillip Wagner and Alan Gowans. J. B. Jackson used this artifactual approach to studies of the American cultural landscape in his own writings. This concept is likewise found in many of the writings in the journal *Landscape* which Jackson edited.

The artifactual approach relies on the study of the artifact as a representative object of society's material culture. Thomas Schlereth quotes one definition of material culture as entailing "the actions of manufacture and use, and the expressed theories about the production, use, and nature of material objects."¹⁰ Howard Marshall has further defined material culture as it relates to geographic inquiry as being "the array of artifacts and cultural landscapes that people create according to traditional, patterned, and often tacit concepts of value and utility that have been developed over time."¹¹

With the artifactual approach the focus of study is directly on the objects of human production in the landscape. It is a realist approach in its method of inquiry as it empirically focuses on an external object. The realist method

provides a detailed description of the gardens, thereby allowing comparisons to be made with other known garden types, and allows an explanation to be provided based upon that comparison. It is an appropriate method to answer the question of "what are these front gardens?".

The results of such a study can only provide a description and classification of the artifact. This has often been the case in the past, both within and without the discipline of Geography, and has specifically been the case with gardens as will be seen in Chapter 2. The material or morphological approach to the study of garden landscape does not adequately deal with the second part of the question of "for whom and by whom are they created and what are the design and sociological processes involved?" To provide these explanations it is necessary to consider the social characteristics of the gardens' producers.

Norman T. Newton's comprehensive book on the cultural landscape, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* shows, through a focus on the history of landscape change, that those changes parallel cultural changes within societies. Newton records how landscape designs have analogically arisen from the "cultural context" of times and have influenced future cultural landscapes through mimesis.¹²

This socio-cultural extension to the material approach has been more often carried out by art and architectural historians than by cultural geographers. The work of art historian Allan

Gowans in *Images of American Living* and *The Comfortable House* and the work of Geographer Edward Gibson in "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change" are examples of where the material approach has been expanded to show that the landscape artifacts are expressions of larger cultural ideas and trends.

The linkage between an artifact and its socio-cultural meaning is found in the values of signification which an artifact carries. Sociological identification of these values has usually been made in two ways. Either, in a human agency analyses of symbolic tradition, such as Simon J. Bronner (1986) in his "parable" utility and morality values analysis of American folk artifacts and Grant McCracken's (1988) theory of embedded productive and consumptive "patina" values. Or, in structural Marxist based theories of value which are ultimately based on a determinist theory of surplus labour (exchange) value. Sophisticated theories such as Ian Hodder's (1986) analysis of ideological values and Daniel Miller's (1987) theory of consumptive values fall into this second category. Unfortunately, both of these two approaches to the signification value of artifacts consider this signification to be singular in meaning and fixed over time. In other words, the cultural context of the artifact's production may change but the meaning of its value remains constant and fixed. These theories are therefore reductionist. They reduce the signification value of an artifact to a fixed and singular interpretation of meaning.

To counter this reductionism, sociologist Jean Baudrillard, in his theory of the object, argues rather that artifacts are representations of the "cultural context" of the times and reflect this culture in four ways. Baudrillard divides the value of an artifact into extrinsic exchange value and intrinsic symbolic value and the utility of an artifact into intrinsic use value and extrinsic sign value.¹⁹ The study of the garden as artifact can be conducted under these four categories. Baudrillard's concept of extrinsic exchange value refers to viewing the garden as a market commodity which possesses equivalence to other exchangeable forms of market commodities such as money, time, and labour. The existence of the garden therefore represents a conversion of some other form of exchange value to the garden form which, in its turn, now possesses an extrinsic exchange value.

The concept of intrinsic symbolic value refers to the garden representing some other, usually immaterial or abstract, value. The garden as a totality, and its component elements, can therefore be 'read' to learn what immaterial or abstract values are being represented by the garden's intrinsic style. For example, the idea of *Paradise* in Christian thought and its perfection of *Beauty* experienced through the presence of God.

The concept of intrinsic use value refers to the garden's functional use of space as suggested by its form and design. A formal, geometrically ordered garden form and design does not

suggest the fluidity of entry and movement and multiple use of space that could be suggested by naturalistic form and design. Therefore, the use value of a formal, geometrically ordered garden is intrinsically ascribed by its form and design. For example, the concept of the formal front garden equated to a formal outdoor 'front-parlour'.

Extrinsic sign value refers to the garden's ability to communicate information about the owner's social and cultural status. In other words, the garden is a sign of the owner's cultural tradition and his or her wealth, power and prestige. For example, if the front garden is used to store derelict cars and to hang laundry, it is likely that most people will view that garden as a statement about the owner's cultural sensibilities and social standing. On the other hand, if the garden is neatly lawned and filled with flowers and manicured exotic shrubs most people will not confuse that owner's cultural sensibilities and social standing with those of the owners of the derelict cars and laundry.

Information on the intrinsic uses can be obtained from an examination of the artifact itself. This information is intrinsic in the artifact's fabrication. To determine the intrinsic uses of the gardens it is necessary to classify, describe and analyse the gardens. The intrinsic symbolic and use values are obtained from the answers to the "What is it?" question. Information on the extrinsic categories can be obtained from those people who built the gardens. This

information is extrinsic to any attributes of the artifact. The extrinsic sign and exchange value answers are obtained from the "Why is it there?" question. Baudrillard's concept of the four attributes of the artifact provides a theoretical refinement to the descriptive problem inherent in the artifactual research approach used by the earlier cultural geographers and connects with the realist method of inquiry.

The realist method provides an explanation of the artifact under study and then verifies that explanation against information obtained from those involved in the artifact's production. The realist method involves three steps: first, a comprehensive classification, data collection and analysis of the artifacts in the landscape; second, the analysis of that data and developing propositional explanations from that analysis; third, the verification of those explanations through ethnographic inquiry¹⁴. The first step is covered in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 which deal with the comprehensive classification of the private garden. Chapter 6 deals with the data collection, its analysis and the development of propositional explanations from that analysis. The ethnographic verifications of those explanations are discussed in Chapter 7.

Endnotes

1. Garrett Eckbo, *Urban Landscape Design* p. 3.

2. Ibid. p. 5.
3. John V. Punter. "Landscape aesthetics: a synthesis and critique." in *Valued Environments* p. 102.
4. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* p. 2.
5. The U.S. Forest Service, for example, conducted studies to measure and quantify the individual's emotional reaction (the affect) to the landscapes of its forests and parks. Elwood L. Shafer, & James Mietz, *It seems possible to Quantify Scenic Beauty in Photographs*. U.S.D.A Forest Service Research Paper NE-162, 1970
6. E.C. Relph. *The Phenomenological Foundations of Geography* p. 25.
7. Lester B. Rowntree & Margaret W. Conkey, "Symbolism and the Cultural Landscape." in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol.70, No.4 December 1980, p. 460
8. Philip L. Wagner. *Environment and Peoples* p. x.
9. Carl O. Sauer. "The Morphology of Landscape" in *Land and Life* (John Leighly ed.) pp. 342 & 343.
10. Clellan S. Ford (1937) "A Sample Comparative Analysis of Material Culture" quoted in Thomas J. Schlereth (1985) "Material Culture and Cultural Research" in *Material Culture, A Research Guide* (Thomas J. Schlereth ed.) p.3
11. Howard W. Marshall (1981) *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie: A Regional Culture in Missouri* quoted in Thomas J. Schlereth (1985) "Material Culture and Cultural Research" in *Material Culture, A Research Guide* (Thomas J. Schlereth ed.) p.4
12. Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land, The Development of Landscape Architecture*, pp. xxii & xxiii.
13. Jean Baudrillard (1981) "The Ideological Genesis of Needs" in *The Political Economy of the Sign* (Charles Levin tr.) p. 66
14. Ethnographic inquiry is defined in this study as being the involvement of the researcher in 'face-to face' interaction with the gardens' residents and their families in order to obtain a "depiction of perspectives" from within the context and social setting of the inquiry. This involves unstructured in-depth interviews without on-the-spot note taking or questionnaire completion. Notes on the interview are made by the researcher immediately after leaving the respondents.

(Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, p.24.)

CHAPTER 3

THE PRIVATE GARDEN: AN OVERVIEW

No amount of quantitative research exists on the changes in front garden styles in North American or European urban neighbourhoods. While there is much literature on gardens and landscaping ideas, most of this literature is descriptive; it is neither culturally nor socially analytical in nature nor does it attempt explanations for the existence of gardens or their different manifestations by reference to social or cultural theory.

The descriptive literature on private gardens can be divided into a major and a minor genre. The major, and more popular, genre deals with garden styles - their forms, contents and histories. The minor, and more academic, genre deals with the socio/cultural functions of these various styles. The garden style literature is by far the most predominant. Much of this literature has been written for popular consumption and mostly takes the form of encyclopedias, guide books, 'how-to' books, and travelogues.

The garden style literature has had a long history. An ancient description of Prince Cyrus of Persia's garden was made by the Greek traveller Xenophon in the third century B.C. A medieval example of such travelogue writing can be found in Marco Polo's 1275 report on the Persian gardens of Kublai Khan.¹ This descriptive tradition follows through to

contemporary garden books such as *The Oxford Companion to Gardens* (1986)².

The garden styles literature is vast and repetitive in nature. This review is intended therefore to be exemplary rather than exhaustive. One of two comprehensive overviews of the history and development of garden styles is found in Christopher Thacker's *The History of Gardens* (1979) which covers the history of the private pleasure garden from the Garden of Eden, through Persian, Islamic, Chinese, Japanese, Medieval gardens to the formal Renaissance gardens of Europe and the naturalistic garden movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The second overview is Julia S. Berrall's *The Garden: An Illustrated History* (1966) which covers the same territory as Thacker but Berrall emphasizes the horticulture within the garden styles whereas Thacker emphasizes the historical development of the garden designs.

Marie Luise Gothein's two volume *A History of Garden Art* (1928) is one of the best examples in the 'history and development of styles' genre. It covers the historical development of all Western and Eastern garden styles from Ancient Egypt to the early Twentieth Century and provides descriptive accounts of many of the world's finest formal gardens.

Private pleasure garden styles in the Middle East, Central Asia and India are described in Elizabeth B. Moynihan's *Paradise As A Garden in Persia and Mughal India* (1979).

Moynihan shows the influence on forms, designs and contents of Asian gardens brought through conquest, first by the ancient Biblical Empires and then by Islamic conquest of the same area.

The Gardens of Mughul India: A history and a guide

(Crowe, Haywood, Jellicoe, Patterson, 1972), is a set of essays which covers the history, form, style and content of the Paradise-style gardens of the Mughul Emperors of India during the time of the Renaissance in Europe. One issue of the Indian magazine *Marg* (1987) was devoted to the connections and influences on garden designs which existed between the Court of the Medici and other wealthy mercantile families in Renaissance Italy and the Court of the Mughul Emperors in India.³ The influence of Mughul Paradise gardens by way of the English Formal garden on nineteenth century Italian gardens is also discussed in an article by Rosa Baldacci, "L'India e l'Inghilterra. Un giardino, una storia, un film: "Il giardino indiano" (1987). Baldacci shows that much of the horticulture of the late eighteenth century naturalistic English garden, which influenced the anglicization of many Renaissance Italian gardens, was derived from horticultural developments in the Mughal gardens.⁴ Baldacci's view is supported by Edward Malins in his article "Indian influences on English houses and gardens at the beginning of the nineteenth century" (1980).

Gardens of Islam, the influence of which spread from Spain to India and China between the 6th and 13th centuries, are the subject of Jonas Lehrman's book *Earthly Paradise: Garden and*

Courtyard in Islam. (1980) Lehrman provides an analysis of the Paradise-style garden's form and components using analytical categories of landscape architecture; Order, Space, Form, Texture, Pattern, Light, Movement. These categories have been used in this study of the Courtyard gardens. Chinese Paradise-style gardens are included in Kazuhiko Fukuda's *Japanese Stone Gardens - How to make and enjoy them* (1970) and additional information about the design of Chinese gardens can be found in Mara Miller's article, "The Emperor Of China's Palace at Pekin: A New Source of English Garden Design" (1984) and in a field study by Victor Dove on "Temples, Tombs and Gardens in Szechwan" (1985). Miller's article shows how Chinese Paradise-style design influenced the designs of the naturalistic English garden in the late eighteenth century and Dove's article shows the influence that the Mughal Emperors of India had on Chinese Paradise-style design.

The Greek influence in the Roman Empire which eventually led to the peristyle courtyard gardens and humanesque statuary in fifteenth to eighteenth century Italian and French formal pleasure gardens is documented in *Ancient Roman Gardens* (1981), edited by Wilhelmina F. Jashemski. The articles document from archeological evidence the concept of the garden as an outdoor room of the house held in the time of the Roman Empire. This concept has been integral in home and garden designs since that time in many of the European and Middle Eastern cultures which were at that time a part of the Empire.

Marella Agnelli's *Gardens of the Italian Villas* (1987) continues in the garden styles genre and updates some of Gothein's earlier descriptions of specific Italian Renaissance pleasure gardens. The horticulture, iconography and development of the Renaissance Italian pleasure garden between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries are the subjects of David Coffin's *The Italian Garden* (1972). An historical precursor to Baudrillard's "simulacra" concept is shown in the article by Eugenio Battisti, "*Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis*", which details the conceptual change the Italians made with the Renaissance pleasure garden. Italians moved from seeing the garden as being artificially 'natural' to seeing the natural landscape as an artifice of man used to produce the man made garden. Thus, the garden became a complete artifice or "simulacrum" of nature.⁵

The socio-cultural genre of garden literature covers what ideas and values gardens express and what functions gardens play in social relationships. J.B. Jackson notes two factors are present whenever gardens appear in the landscape. One is the need to impose rational order on a nature perceived as being chaotic and hostile.⁶ Two, pleasure gardens only appear when societies have developed a money economy and have generated surplus income.⁷

Given these two factors a choice must be made as to how that order is imposed and how the garden manifests the owner's surplus income. Both factors are based upon cultural values.

Two ideas that have influenced cultures which have developed pleasure gardens are: rational order can only be expressed through symmetrical and geometrical designs;⁹ and, second, the outside private space was an extension of the house, an outdoor room or court.⁹ Allen Wiess, in his article on Le Notre's gardens at Vaux-le-Vicomte, noted that this desire for symmetry and geometry was brought about by the discovery of the rules of perspective. As the view was considered an integral part of a garden's beauty, it became important to obtain the best view by application of the rules of perspective to garden design. These rules were also used to provide hidden 'surprises' in the gardens, such as ponds and avenues which could only be seen from one view point.¹⁰

Terry Comito, in *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (1978), has called the desire to impose order, the "redemption of space". Comito argues that this "redemption" was not from a hostile nature, but from a infinite, homogeneous, and mathematically neutral concept of space which had just been developed through the discoveries of Copernicus. Prior to the Renaissance, 'empty space' had not been a concept, except as being the gap between two physical objects. Now space came to be seen as an object in itself and open to human manipulation and use. Renaissance man had to "redeem" empty space by putting something beautiful and reflective of God's glory in the space, hence a pleasure garden was a perfect solution.¹¹ Therefore, the idea of the garden as an outdoor room of the house showing

order through symmetry, geometric patterns in its design and imbued with a sense of sacred space was within the aesthetics of those European cultures that adopted some of the design characteristics of the Persian Paradise-style garden.

How the garden has been used to mediate social relations is sparsely covered by the literature. Two studies of American urban life which noted the function of the garden in social relationships were Floyd Hunter's *Community Power* (1953) and W. Lloyd Warner's *The Living and the Dead* (1959). Hunter commented on how elites in the town he studied surrounded their gardens with high, impenetrable hedges which ensured privacy and acted as a physical and symbolic barrier to the public. The hedges denoted 'privacy', a sacred space - a removal from the other classes. Warner also found the same symbolism in the elite neighbourhood of Hill Street in his study of "Yankee City", U.S.A. On Hill Street, tall old trees provided the demarcation between the public and the private. Behind the trees, the gardens were laid out to demonstrate the owners' good taste and aesthetic sensibilities. The gardens, noted Warner, were a statement that the owners were rich and civilized.¹²

The concept of the garden as a barrier, or transition zone, between public and private space is documented by Barrie Greenbie in "Home Space: Fences and Neighbours" in *Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape* (1981). Greenbie describes the garden as being a transitional zone between "here" and

"there", inside-outside, a zone that the owner passes through from the privacy of the home to the publicity of the street, or that the visitor passes in the opposite direction; a continuum between private and public space - a dichotomous spatial relationship. The garden is the space which provides the owner with the means to inform the public and his or her visitors or passers-by, what kind of person he or she is, and for the owner to re-affirm that identity when the owner leaves or returns to the house.¹³

That American gardens were a barrier between the public and the private self can be seen in pre-revolutionary times. Loyalist William Paca's garden in Maryland displays the division between Paca's public and private life, and according to archeologist Mark P. Leone, created for Paca and his fellow countrymen the "withdrawal, and isolation needed to prevent any attack on the public order," a need to maintain order in a chaotic world.¹⁴

The concept of the American front garden as an indicator of one's cultural values, refined tastes and social position is well established. Tamara Plakins Thornton has pointed out that in antebellum America "horticulture was no mere pastime ...rather, the pursuit was regarded as a solution to some of the problems most worrisome to ... Americans in general. Thornton noted that "horticulture itself was the end product of ... refinement - as was the horticulturalist."¹⁵ Andrew Jackson Downing wrote in *The Theory and Practice of Landscape*

Gardening (1859), that while landscaping was an imitation of Nature, it should be "an expressive, harmonious and refined imitation." The end aim and purpose of landscaping was, according to Downing, "the development of the Beautiful."¹⁶

While expression of taste and refinement through beautification of private/public spaces as gardens is the stated aim of some of America's nineteenth century landscapers, there has been little sociological study of urban garden owners. Rolf Meyerson and Robin Jackson conducted a study in 1958 of two Chicago neighbourhoods and found that most people indulged in gardening as a leisure activity. Even among non-gardeners, nearly all the home owners felt, and expected to feel, some neighbourhood pressure for them to keep their gardens tidy - at least the lawn.¹⁷

Christopher Grampp's study (1985) on gardens in the San Francisco Bay area found that the majority of owners regarded their garden as an outdoor living room. Like indoor living rooms there was formal and informal division of space. The rear garden was the 'rec room', where all kinds of family activity could take place, and the front garden was the 'parlour', which was kept neat and tidy at all times and reserved only for formal occasions. Grampp found strong neighbourhood pressure to conform to the neighbourhood's standard in the look and upkeep of their front garden. Owners thought that the state of a neighbour's front yard was a "valuable indicator of good citizenship and concern for neighbourhood appearance."¹⁸

One study was conducted by Jonathan E. Kellett (1982) on the social role and functions of the private garden in England and Wales. Kellett found that each garden type functioned as an identity and status symbol for the owner. The criteria for adopting a certain type of garden was class tradition.¹⁹ There has not been many studies of private urban gardens in Canada. James and Nancy Duncan's 1984 study of Vancouver's elite Shaughnessey neighbourhood concluded that the predominant adoption of the English naturalistic garden style reflected the need of Vancouver's newly rich elite to connect themselves with the English traditions and heritage.²⁰ Edward Gibson's study of the early development of Vancouver's landscape image dealt with the larger question of the civic landscape. Gibson studied the development of the civic landscape between 1886 and 1929 and its changes from 1929 to 1970. These changes were achieved through the influence of community interest groups on civic planning and zoning.²¹

As this review has shown, while there was information from which to derive comparative criteria for the Vancouver front gardens, there were no studies on transformations of the private front garden in the contemporary urban landscape or on the socio-cultural implications of those transformations. It was for this reason that an objective field survey and quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data obtained was necessary to answer these questions.

Before undertaking a field survey it was necessary to

first develop a set of standard criteria by which to select, compare, measure, aggregate, analyse and explain the visual characteristics of the Vancouver gardens. From the above literature on the origin, spread and development of the private garden, together with the requirements of the municipal regulations of the City of Vancouver and the Corporation of the District of Burnaby regarding the creation of front gardens, a set of standard characteristics were derived. The origin, spread and development of the private garden is examined in Chapter 3 in order to provide a context for the development, in Chapter 4, of the set of characteristics required to undertake a field survey of the Vancouver gardens.

Endnotes

1. Marco Polo. (1275/1987) "Kublai Khan's Park" in *Eyewitness to History*, (John Carey ed.) pp. 37 & 38.

2. There is no entry in the *Companion* for any of the seven elements which constitute the formal garden: Order, Volume, Form, Texture, Pattern, Light or Movement. These elements are derived from Jonas Lehrman's *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam* and are discussed further in Chapter 3. It is also noteworthy that the *Companion* also does not contain any entry which provides a basic definition of the concept of the private pleasure garden. The *Companion* is, therefore, descriptive rather than analytical.

3. *Marg* (1987) Vol. XXXIX, No. 1. See especially; Jan Pieper, "Hanging Gardens in the Princely Capitals of Rajasthan and in Renaissance Italy, Sacred Space, Earthly Paradise, secular Ritual." pp. 69 - 90; Ebba Koch, "Pietre Dure and Other Artistic Contacts Between the Court of the Moghals and that of the Medici." pp. 29 - 56; Dalu Jones, "Patronage Under The Medici and The Mughals, Cultural Parallels and Artistic Exchanges." pp. 9 - 28

4. Rosa Baldacci, (1987) "L'India e l'Inghilterra. Un giardino, una storia, un film: "Il giardino indiano." in *Abitar* No. 258 Oct. 1987. pp. 306 - 312.
5. Eugenio Battisti, (1972) "*Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis*" in *The Italian Garden* (David Coffin ed.) p. 34
6. J.B. Jackson, (1980) "Nearer than Eden" in *The Necessity for Ruins* p. 31
7. Ibid, ----- (1980) "Gardens to Decipher and Gardens to Admire." in *The Necessity for Ruins* p. 37
8. E.A. Gutkind. (1969) *Urban Development in Southern Europe: Italy and Greece* p. 109
9. Giulio C. Argan. (1969) *The Renaissance City*. p. 30
10. Allen S. Weiss. (1987) "Anamorphis Absconditus." in *Art and Text* Vol. 23. No. 4. Mar/May 1987, pp. 31 - 40
11. Terry Comito. (1978) *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* Ch.3. pp. 149 - 187
12. W. Lloyd Warner. (1959) *The Living and the Dead* p. 48
13. Barrie B. Greenbie. (1981) *Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape* p. 7
14. Mark P. Leone. (1984) "Interpreting ideology in historical archeology: using the rules of perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland." in *Ideology, Power and Prehistory* (Daniel Miller & Christopher Tilley eds.) p. 27
15. Tamara Plakins Thornton. (1984) "The Moral Dimensions of Horticulture in Antebellum America." in *The New England Quarterly* Vol. LVII No. 1 p. 4 & 16
16. Andrew Jackson Downing. (1859) *The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* p. 51 & 18.
17. Rolf Meyersohn And Robin Jackson (1958) "Gardening in Suburbia" in *The Suburban Community* (William M. Dobriner ed.) pp. 274 - 275
18. Christopher Grampp. (1985) "Gardens for California Living." in *Landscape* Vol. 28. No. 3. p. 42.
19. Jonathan E. Kellett. (1982) "The Private Garden in England and Wales." in *Landscape Planning* No. 9. pp. 121 - 122.

20. James S. Duncan & Nancy G. Duncan (1984) "A cultural analysis of urban residential landscapes in North America: the case of the anglophile elite." in *The City in Cultural Context* (John Agnew, John Mercer and David Sopher eds.) pp. 255 - 276

21. Edward M.W. Gibson. (1971) *The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change: A Geographical Study of Vancouver*. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRIVATE GARDEN: A CULTURAL HISTORY

Since there are no extant criteria by which one may select characteristics for survey purposes it is necessary to define the geographical, historical and cultural parameters of the gardens from which these characteristics will be derived.

The concept of the private garden and its origin

The private garden as a "place of retreat from the daily tasks and worries", a place which reflects "harmony and is a delight to the eye"¹ developed in ancient Persia. The desert spaces of the plains and valleys of land stretched from the shores of Asia Minor on the Mediterranean in the West, through the Empires of the Medes, the Persians, Arabians and Parthians to reach present day Afghanistan in the North and past the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates to reach into Northern India and thence across the Himalyas to Central China in the East. Through irrigation and artesian wells verdant places placed a boundary upon the open desert spaces; a boundary which defined the *pairidazeza*,² or paradise of the oasis. These watered and green places became the ancestor of our private gardens in both the Occident and the Orient³ to the nomadic tribes who settled, first into agricultural communities and then into towns and cities, around 3,000 BC.

The pleasure, or paradise, garden originated around the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in today's

Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Three thousand years ago that area was a vaguely defined region called *Parsua*. The people who lived there compiled their sacred scripture, the *Zend-Avesta*, which told of the origin of these people as being in an ideal homeland called *Paradeisa* or Paradise. Paradise was a garden where the people walked and played among beautiful flowers, shady trees and musically running waters.³ The people of *Parsua* attempted to re-create the garden of Paradise in their new home for their pleasure and the Persian pleasure, or *Paradeisa*, garden came into being, probably between 2,000 - 1,500 B.C.⁴

Two basic styles of garden design eventually developed: the Western formal geometric style and the Eastern informal naturalistic style. The naturalistic style of private garden developed out of the geometric style as the concept of the private pleasure garden moved eastward to the Orient. This development was partially due to the terrain and partially due to the aesthetics of eastern religions.

The geometric style had developed in Persia around oases located on flat desert plains and alluvial river valley bottoms. As the garden moved eastward, it encountered the Oriental traditions of garden designs and it had to be adapted to hilly terrain covered with trees and with moister climates. The hilly, wooded terrain did not lend itself to geometric designs, which were meant to be viewed as one pattern on the ground. The views in the Oriental garden were always partially

restricted and hidden by the terrain and the vegetation.

The mysticism present in eastern religious beliefs also promoted an aesthetic sensibility which enjoyed naturalism and its integral mystic 'hiddenness', its sublimity.³ The two garden styles tended to develop independently in the Orient and Occident until travel and trading between the two cultural regions began once again in the 12th Century with the Venetians and the Crusaders from the Occident returning home with ideas about eastern aesthetic tastes in Naturalism and Mysticism. Ultimately these ideas influenced western garden designs and eventually informed the ideas of the naturalistic garden revolution against formal garden designs from the eighteenth century onward in France, England and America.

The spread and development of the private garden

The appearance of the formal private pleasure gardens of Amenhotep III in Egypt are contemporary with the decline of the Babylonian Empire and rise of the Assyrian Empire. Between 1500 B.C. and the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander in 331 B.C., the ancient world was ruled by those nations which first arose along the river valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. These settlements show the first evidence of paradise style gardens.

These nations influenced the culture and art of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, India and China. With the spread of the Empires of these nations, the appeal of the paradise-style garden spread to Egypt, to the shores of the Mediterranean,

Black and Caspian seas, to the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula and Persian Gulf, to the Middle and Far East, to the Indus Valley, to the plains of Sinkiang in China and to the plains of Uzbekistan and the shores of the Aral Sea in southern Russia.

At the time of the Greek conquest, the Persian Empire was rich and luxurious. Gardens, hunting parks and zoological gardens were attached to homes and palaces throughout the Empire.⁵ There is no archeological evidence that the paradise-style garden was imported into Greece. The Greeks do not appear to have used architecturally ordered garden space. Rather, they placed statues of gods and nymphs in natural settings among groves of trees and in rock niches above streams and waterfalls. Any household horticulture was done in terra-cotta vases and planters, in which citrus trees and herbs were grown, placed on mosaic floored court-yards.⁷

Greek statuary and terra-cotta planters were imported into the Persian Empire and incorporated into the Persian garden as far as the Indus Valley and China. These Greek artifacts were then carried down into central India by Persian-Greek immigrants and later into China and the Malayan Peninsula by Buddhist missionaries.⁸ It was from this Greek influence that the addition of sculpture, statuary and earthenware planters became incorporated into the paradise-style garden, while the designs of the gardens themselves remained under Persian influence.

The Roman Empire adopted the naturalistic approach of the

Greeks towards garden space, complete with Greek planters and statuary. Where shade and fruit trees were needed in urban areas, these were planted in terra-cotta pots in town-house peristyle gardens. There was no attempt at the ordered creation of space required by the paradise Garden. This naturalism, a preference for 'wildness', changed around 50 A.D. Archeological evidence from preserved gardens in Pompeii indicates that around that time there was a move towards the formalism of the Persian paradise garden in the Roman peristyle garden. Pools, fountains, low formal plantings of Box and Laurel hedges, rose-bushes, geometrical layouts combined with statuary and planters began to change the look of the Roman town-house and villa gardens. The formal paradise garden of L. Calpurnius Piso at the Villa Papiri in Herculaneum is an early example of this change in style.⁹

The adoption of Persian paradise garden characteristics in the heartland of classical Rome can be attributed to two factors. First, aqueduct technology was perfected. This was needed to provide pressurized water to operate fountains and provide a constant supply of water for shrubs and flowers. Shade trees had not needed this amount of water.¹⁰ Second, Italy began to see an influx of immigrants from its Empire coming to perform labouring and artisan work that its residents no longer would or could perform. By 60 A.D., Italy was receiving immigrants in the hundreds of thousands who were Greek speaking but ethnically diverse, coming from Cyrenaica,

Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Arabia, Parthia, Cappodicia, Armenia, Phrygia and Bythnia. There also were traders from China and the Russian steppes supplying the Romans with every form of luxury goods.

These people had three things in common: they shared the Greek language, they were descendants of those who had lived in the culture of the Persian Empire and shared its tastes. Many were employed on the land and in horticultural activities.¹¹ The advancement of technology and the influx of workers with a Greek/Persian culture provides two explanations for the change of style from naturalism to formalism in Roman gardens in 50 A.D. to 60 A.D.

The building of gardens ceased after the fall of Rome and any garden styles carried into the Dark Ages of Western Europe were kept within the confines of the castle and the monastery. These gardens were built for practical rather than pleasure use. They grew food and medicinal herbs behind the safety of thick walls. This retreat led to one change in western pleasure gardens after their revival in the Renaissance. Prior to the fall of Rome, the visual axis was taken from the garden entrance. Buildings were fitted into the overall symmetry of the garden plan. After generations spent inside restricting castle walls, the entrance axis was replaced by an axis looking out from the building. Gardens built in the Italian Renaissance did not have a central axis taken from the entranceway, rather the central axis is derived from the house. The Renaissance

villa itself is symmetrical in proportion but its garden can have several proportional symmetries depending upon where one enters the garden from the villa. Of the surveyed Vancouver gardens, seventy-nine percent have an entrance axis, which simulates the entrance axis symmetry of the original Persian design.

The Persian garden had become a combination of both Eastern (Persian, Indian and Oriental) form and design and Western (Greek and Roman) decoration by the 5th century A.D. It was a garden style that reached from the plains of Central China, the steppes of Russia and the sub-continent of India west to the shores of the Mediterranean and Atlantic Oceans in North Africa, Spain, Gaul and Britain. The style received only the influence of Islam in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. before its 'revival' in the western Italian Renaissance of Northern Italy, the eastern Renaissance of Moghul India and the oriental Renaissance of Mongol China in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Islam made two changes to the paradise garden. First, it 'purified' the design through a rigid iconoclasm which banished all representations of the human form, and therefore most Greek and Roman 'pagan' statuary and decorated planters. Second, the Muslims perfected the use of the permeable 'curtain' screen built between two columns. This screen divided the volume of the garden into private and shady spaces while maintaining the impression of light and airiness. Other attributes of the

paradise garden's form and design have been credited to Islam but arose earlier. The Muslims drew on their Persian heritage for their pleasure garden designs.¹²

The changes in the Islamic pleasure garden had the effect of once again dividing eastern and western expressions of the garden. The western had statuary and decorative elements that the eastern no longer enjoyed. The eastern had the permeable screen to demark areas within the garden which were not used in the western. Human iconography was re-introduced into the eastern garden by the first Moghul Emperor Babur (1508 - 1530 A.D.) who ruled from southern Russia to the Indus Valley.

Babur reigned over the high point of the Moghul Renaissance in art, science, religion and letters which had begun with Ghengis Khan's conquest of the remnants of the old Byzantine Empire. Babur wanted to create a blend of the indigenous Hindu and Buddhist cultures with the conquering Islamic. He relaxed the iconoclasm of Islam and kept the Islamic screening. He re-introduced the formal Persian garden into the area and removed the naturalism in Hindu and Buddhist garden design. Buddhist scholars from China came to India during the reigns of the Moghul Emperors. They took back new ideas about the formal pleasure garden and introduced them into the oasis paradise gardens of the Sinkiang region of the old Persian Empire.

News of the Moghul revival of the paradise garden spread to northern Italy and the court of the Medici in Florence. The

Italian connection in the Moghul revival of the Persian paradise garden was a two-way exchange of ideas. Italian Jesuit missionaries to the Moghul court carried with them designs of early Italian Renaissance gardens. Italian craftsmen worked in India on mosaic works for various temples and mosques and Florentine ceramic tablets were exported by the Medici to the Moghul courts and wealthy Indian business people.

The *piece de resistance* of the Moghul Renaissance, in both architecture and its paradise garden, is Shah Jahan's (1627 - 1657) Taj Mahal which was designed by Hindu and Islamic Indian architects and craftsmen together with the active help of Italian and French architects trained in the schools of Venice and Florence. This cultural and commercial exchange between Renaissance Italy and Moghul India, which also spread ideas into north-eastern China, meant that the revival of the paradise gardens in Northern Italy during the 14th and 15th centuries drew inspiration from the eastern paradise garden. This was particularly the case with a deliberately shared symbolism of animal motifs, such as the lion and the bull.¹⁹ The formal pleasure gardens of southern Italy were not necessarily a product of northern Renaissance fashions but could also have derived their style from the Islamic paradise gardens built in Sicily and in Calabria on the Italian mainland.

Summary

The historical record shows that the Persian paradise

garden spread from its original home in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. More recently the exchange of paradise garden designs between east and west is shown occurring between India and Renaissance Italy. The documentary evidence of the diffusion of some of the design characteristics of the Persian paradise garden and the mutual exchanges of garden ideas in these historical periods is important for explaining the ethnic diversity of garden residents which was found by the field survey and is detailed in Chapter 5.

This geographical, historical and cultural examination of the garden's parameters has presented criteria from which to develop the characteristics required to conduct a detailed field survey of the Vancouver gardens. This examination has shown the necessity of developing these characteristics from the criteria of gardens in both the Occident and the Orient and from cultural and regional styles within those macro-geographic parameters. The development of these characteristics is undertaken in the next chapter.

Endnotes

1. Jonas Lehrman. (1980) *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam* p.31
2. The word *pairidaeza* literally means 'enclosure' in the old Avestan Indo-European language which pre-dated the Persian language.
3. Jonas Lehrman. (1980) *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam* p. 48
4. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway. (1981) "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture" in *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Wilhelmina F.

Jashemski ed.) p.10

5. Sylvia Crowe. (1958) *Garden Design* pp. 11 - 21 6. Anne van Erp-Houtepen (1986) "The etymological origin of the garden" in *Journal of Garden History* Vol. 6. No. 3. p. 227

6. Will Durant. (1935) *Our Oriental Heritage* p. 378

7. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgeway. (1981) "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture" in *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Wilhelmina F. Jashemski ed.) pp. 9 - 28.

8. Will Durant. (1935) *Our Oriental Heritage* pp. 450 - 451

9. Wilhelmina F. Jashemski. (1981) "The Campanian Peristyle Garden" in *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Wilhelmina F. Jashemski ed.) pp. 40 - 48. The Villa Papiri and its formal Paradise Garden can now be seen recreated at the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu, California.

10. Ibid. p. 48

11. Will Durant. (1944) *Caesar and Christ* pp. 364 - 366

12. Jonas Lehrman. (1986) "Gardens of Islam" in *The Oxford Companion to Gardens* (Geoffrey & Susan Jellicoe, Patrick Goode & Michael Lancaster eds.) pp. 277 - 280. In this article, Lehrman gives the impression that the form and design of the Paradise garden was introduced into the areas covered by the Classical Empires by the spread of the Islamic Empire. He does make a comment early in his article that the Persian Pleasure garden was a cultural artifact in those areas prior to the coming of Islam. However, this comment fails to override his subsequent three pages on the Islamic origins of the form and design of the Persian Pleasure garden. The Persian origins of the Islamic garden form and design are given in Elizabeth B. Moynihan *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India*.

13. Dalu Jones. (1987) "Patronage Under the Medici and the Mughals" in *Marg* Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, pp. 9 - 28. Ebba Koch (1987) "Pietre Dure and other Artistic Contacts Between the Court of the Mughals and that of the Medici." in *Marg* Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, pp. 29 - 56. Donald F. Lach (1970) *Asia in the Making of Europe* Vol.2, Bk.1. pp. 37 - 45. Lach notes that Leonardo Da Vinci journeyed at least as far as Asia Minor, and possibly even to India, sketching and notating Persian and Islamic art, style and iconography.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRIVATE GARDEN: TYPE, DESIGN AND COMPOSITION

The basic division of private land around a residence into 'garden' and 'yard' can be found in the etymological roots of the two words. The Indo-European word *gher* meant 'fence' and *ghort* meant 'enclosure'. These two words provides a concept of the difference between the two types of enclosed space. The word *gher* forms the root of the words *gardinium*, *garten*, *garden*, *giardino* and *jardin* and is an area which is fenced, private and cultivated. The word *ghort* forms the root of the words *kurta* (Greek for farmyard), *hortus* (Latin for vegetable garden), *huerto* (Spanish for farm, vegetable garden orchard) and *yard* (English for workingspace) and is a public, work-a-day space used for sustenance production and storage.

The word 'court' is also derived from *ghort* and, through the Latin word *cortem*, has come to mean a yard, enclosed by a wall or building, entry to which is through a gate. This gated entry controls access to the space which can be restricted to certain times. These courtyards contained small areas of food garden and working space, together with a pleasure garden area as an extension off of the living quarters. As opposed to the publicly accessible 'yard', the 'court-yard' is limited and controls public access maintaining the privacy of the space.¹

In the late nineteenth and twentieth century English

speaking world, the yard and the garden have become the 'back garden (or yard)', the *ghort*, where the family vegetables are grown, the children play, the car is fixed and much family social activity takes place in the form of barbeques and afternoon teas. The 'front garden' is where horticulture is practised, formal lawns are maintained, bird baths and ponds are often present, the fencing or boundary marker is kept in good repair and clearly demarcated pathways lead the individual through the garden.²

The concept of the formal front garden for worker's homes spread into England and North America through development of the Garden City movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³ Not all English working people were able to change their concept of the garden to those espoused by the Garden City movement, either through lived experience or through reading. These people tended to retain the earlier European tradition of the public yard and semi-public courtyard as being appropriate for the use of space surrounding the urban house. Many English and North American working people do not consider the area in front of their homes need be formal and are most likely to treat it as a 'yard' in which to grow vegetables, repair the car and let the children play. These activities are relegated to the space at the rear of the house in English and North American middle class suburbs.⁴

In North America, it is possible to see three types of space around the urban single family home. (See Figures 2, 3

and 4.) There are 'gardens' which are very private, being surrounded by high visually impermeable fences. There are 'court-yards' which have their private boundaries demarcated with visually permeable walls but control public accessibility through gateways and there are 'yards' which are visually open to the public and have no physical means of controlling accessibility, as for example with North American ranch-style open plan urban landscaping.

In North America, each of these three types do not necessarily indicate the actual use of that space. While the type may conform to a 'garden' space, its use by the owners may conform more to that of the 'yard'. Conversely, the use of the North American ranch-style open plan landscaping, which conforms to the 'yard', may be more in keeping with that of the 'courtyard' where both horticultural activities, such as pleasure gardening, and practical activities, such as washing the car, may both occur.⁵

Mixed space use can occur in both front and back areas of the house. A typology of gardens for North America would require a hyphenated typology such as 'garden-yard', with the first part of the term describing the type of spacial demarcation and the second part of the term denoting the practical use of that space. This provides nine types of space surrounding the urban family house. They are:

Spatial Type / Practical Type

The Garden)
 The Garden-Courtyard) Visually & Physically

The Garden-Yard) Non-Permeable
The Courtyard)
The Courtyard-Garden) Visually not Physically
The Courtyard-Yard) Permeable
The Yard)
The Yard-Garden) Visually & Physically
The Yard-Courtyard) Permeable

The above nine types each have their shared and unique characteristics and these are described in Appendix 4.

The Vancouver gardens appear to fall under the Courtyard type as a characteristic for survey selection and could be analysed under the three functions of that type. The Courtyard type, while a necessary characteristic, would however include a large number of gardens unlike the gardens under study. The Courtyard type while a necessary characteristic is not a sufficient characteristic for survey selection. The physical properties of the Courtyard type and its compositional elements are also required.

An early description of a pleasure garden, recorded in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which existed in one of the cities of Ur, Erech (Uruk) or Lagash at 3,000 B.C. gives two physical properties of a garden. First, constraint (darkness) and release (light) is encountered in Gilgamesh's entrance to the gods' garden of everlasting life. Gilgamesh reaches the garden and to enter it has to travel through twelve days of pitch blackness before suddenly bursting into the brilliant sunlight of the garden. The narrow entrance to the garden is guarded by two 'dragons' between whom Gilgamesh must pass before entering the darkness of the gateway to *paradeisa*.⁴ The constraint

of the guarded entrance is the first physical property of the garden's form.

The second property is the proportional use of space. The *Epic* notes that gardens in Uruk occupied one-third of the space with buildings occupying one-third and fields for growing food and raising livestock in the remaining third.⁷ The pleasure garden's occupation of the available space should therefore bear a proportional relationship to the overall urban lot space occupied by the dwelling and rear yard in the ratio of 1:1:1. On the average urban lot in Vancouver,

the depth of the set back from the front road, the depth of the building, and the depth of the back yard approximate the 1:1:1 ratio set for Uruk 5,000 years ago.⁸ The *Epic* also makes a clear distinction between the pleasure garden and the produce garden. The pleasure garden was to produce emotional experiences, the produce garden was to produce food.

A third property was seen in the Babylonian Empire of 1600 B.C. The Hanging Gardens of Babylon were built by King Syros at Seramis. Syros built vaulted raised platforms, or plinths, with level tops in the form of a stepped or terraced bank against the side of his palace. In these he planted trees and other ornamental plants.⁹ The gardens at Seramis required a level surface, the third physical property of the garden. Where the site did not permit a level surface, it was obtained by constructing a plinth. The plinth served as a boundary, restricting both the visual limits and physical access to the

garden. The bounding of the garden is the fourth physical property of the pleasure garden.

Therefore in summary the physical properties of a pleasure garden are defined as a bounded, level space equally proportional to the size of the living-quarters with which it is connected and entered through a constricted opening.

The Design and Compositional Elements of the Courtyard Garden

Two detailed plans of early paradise gardens are from Ancient Egypt. A wall painting from the tomb of Amenhotep III (1411 - 1375 B.C.) shows the gardens of his royal palace. The plan of the temple garden of Karnak was found in a fourteenth century B.C. tomb at Tell el 'Amarna.¹⁰ These two plans show four of the six basic design elements in the paradise garden. These four design elements are symmetry, straight lines, rectilinearity and the quadratic sub-division.¹¹ The two other design elements are the circle and the triangle which originated in India.¹²

Symmetry derives from having a central line of sight (the axis) from a fixed point, which for the garden is the entrance. The Egyptian gardens were built with bilateral symmetry. The plan on the right of the central axis is mirrored on the left of the axis in bilateral symmetry. The central axis is a straight line of sight which runs from the garden entrance to the front entrance of the building, through the building by way of a central hall, and then down a center line in the rear garden. The building's position on the site is fixed by its

alignment to the central axis creating the symmetry of the overall design.¹²

As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, the Renaissance villa in Italy became itself the focal point for the central axis of the garden. The formal garden had a number of asymmetries imposed over its formal design symmetry to provide symmetrical perspectives of the garden when viewed from various focal points in the Villa. The Italian villa garden therefore reflected a symmetrical relationship to the architecture of the house, prior to this change the architecture of the house reflected an asymmetrical conformity to the garden design. One could therefore expect to find in the Vancouver gardens expressions of both a symmetrical conformity of house architectural plan to garden plan and an asymmetrical relationship between plan of the garden and the architecture of the house. The incident of each type of symmetrical and asymmetrical expression may reflect these two cultural traditions.

The rectilinear layout and use of quadratic division in its volume derive from the need for symmetry and the use of the central sight line. The building is centered and proportionally occupies the garden's volume that the garden naturally divides into four quadrangles. The use of only the straight line in the design predetermines the garden's rectilinear pattern. Circle and the triangle designs developed in India after the Aryan invasions of 1500 B.C. They derive by depicting a tri-une

godhead through the connection of three equidistant points of this trinity which creates a triangle. A circle is made by drawing an unbroken line connecting the three angles of the triangle.¹⁴

In summary, the six basic elements of design in a paradise-style garden are symmetry, the straight line, rectilinearity, a quadratic sub-division, and the decorative use of the circle and triangle. These last two motifs do not reflect in the outline of the garden which remains rectilinear as determined by the four original design elements.

The physical properties and design elements of the garden are created by using six compositional elements: Order, Volume, Style, Texture, Pattern, Light and Movement.¹⁵ Order refers to the garden plan and there are two types of basic plan. One plan is rectilinear and is based upon the straight line and the principles of Euclidian geometry. This form of design is seen as the ideal of perfection, man imposing order on nature. The principles of symmetry, repetition, equality of proportions and the notion of internal harmony are important in the geometrical design. The other garden plan is curvilinear, based upon the ogive curve and incorporating irregularity. This plan is naturalistic and shows the idea of man as a part of nature. The concept of assymetry, uniqueness through the inequality of proportion, the notion of man in relationship with nature are important ideological motivations for the curvilinear design. Order affects not only the layout of the garden but the choice

of plants and trees in the garden. Certain plants and trees, such as the hyacinth and the cypress tree have an order and regularity not enjoyed by daisies and the oak trees. The element of order in the Vancouver gardens can be seen by their plan and their horticulture.

Volume is the three dimensional space that the designer of the garden has to fill. The key to the use of the volume is determination of the point of entry. It is the point of entry which sets the scale of the garden and from which the view or setting of the elements in the volume are seen. From this point, links are made from one area of the garden to the next by means of walkways waterways or plantings which lead the eye around the volume, taking in the garden space and returning the eye to the point of entry. If this is achieved, the volume of the garden provides a harmonious spatial experience. The point of entry could be from the street or from the house, or from another place in the garden. For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to identify the point of entry to define the garden's volume. If it is from the street then it is a public volume, if from the house it is a private volume.

The style of a garden is influenced by cultural traditions. The style determines the placement of the waterways, the placement of the flowering plants and shrubs, the type and placement of the trees, the materials, icons and motifs used in the design and construction, the relationship of the garden to the topography and the placement of the house,

the type of order used and the spatial experience of the volume. Given that aesthetic tastes are culturally influenced, the Vancouver garden styles could be a guide to the cultural tradition of the residents.

Textures in a garden are the characteristics of the materials from which it is constructed. Brick versus stone versus wood provides different visual and tactile experiences in the garden. Texture comprises many small associations of material, including water, which join together to give an impression, a gestalt, of the garden as being naturalistic or architectural. Front gardens having a hedge as the boundary marker and entrance through a wooden gate present a more naturalistic texture than those with red brick walls and entrance through a wrought iron gate. The latter is more architectural. Horticulture adds to texture. Many leafy trees add a naturalism not found in ordered rows of bedding plants.

Light is used in two distinct ways. First it is either present or absent. This presence or absence is achieved through the density of the materials and horticulture. For example, water, marbles and plants such as trembling poplars reflect light giving brightness to a garden. Second, light is used to effect an emotional response. Through materials and horticulture the garden can be made light and picturesque or dark and sublime. The amount of light can be an intentional metaphor to create an idea of freedom, lightness of spirit, joyousness - a reflection of goodness and 'godness' - or of

confinement, darkness, fear - a reflection of the underworld.

Movement reflects the vitality of the garden both through the movement of the garden's components and the freedom of movement allowed the user. Movement is achieved through the running water, deciduous trees and plants which respond to the wind's movement and walk-ways which permit the user freedom. Naturalistic gardens, with their weeping willows, winding streams and expanses of lawn which permit the user to wander at whim, possess a greater degree of movement than architectural gardens. In the latter, the trees and plants are rigid in character, such as the evergreen Cypress tree which does not change with the seasons, or use of flowers like the iris or hyacinth as well as the restriction of human movement to formal pathways.

Summary

The six compositional elements of order, volume, form, texture, light and movement in the survey gardens demonstrate the characteristics of the Courtyard type and show the four properties of constricted entrance, proportional size and a bounded level area, using the four design elements, symmetry, straight lines, rectilinearity and quadratic subdivision belonging to the architectural style. The definition of these characteristics of the private garden in the architectural style enables a field survey of those gardens in Vancouver to be undertaken.

Endnotes

1. Anne van Erp-Houtepen (1986) "The etymological origin of the garden" in *Journal of Garden History*, Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 227.
2. Jonathan E. Kellett (1982) "The Private Garden in England and Wales" in *Landscape Planning* No.9. p. 119 - 122.
3. Ibid. p. 109
4. Rolf Meyersohn and Robin Jackson (1958) "Gardening in Suburbia" in *The Suburban Community* (William E. Dobriner ed.) pp. 281 - 283.
5. Jonathan E. Kellett. (1982) "The Private Garden in England and Wales" in *Landscape Planning* No. 9. p.119 - 122. Amos Rapoport has drawn attention to the fact that in many urban and suburban communities such activities conducted in front of the home are sufficient to classify the property as a 'slum'. Many North American municipalities have by-laws which restrict such activities and relegate them to the rear of the property. Rapoport agrees that such by-laws are discriminatory against those groups who have a different concept of the use of space around the vernacular home. (Amos Rapoport. (1973) "Images, Symbols and Popular Design" in *International Journal of Symbolology* 1973. No. 4. p. 8.)
6. *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (1960, N.K. Sandars, trans.) p. 97 - 100. Indications in the *Zend-Avesta* suggest that Paradise was located around the shores of the Caspian Sea. Will Durant, (1954) *Our Oriental Heritage* p.350
7. Ibid. p. 117
8. The RS1 lot zoning in the City of Vancouver requires that the ratio be front yards (1) to buildings (2) to rear yards (2) giving a 1:2:2 ratio. Burnaby R1 lot zoning requires that the ratio be front yards (1) to buildings (1) to rear yard (1) giving a 1:1:1 ratio. See City of Vancouver Zoning and Development By-Law RS1 pp. 6 & 7 and, The Corporation of the District of Burnaby R1 Zoning By-Law p.41.
9. Jan Pieper, (1987) "Hanging Gardens in the Princely Capitals of Rajasthan and in Renaissance Italy: Sacred Space, Earthly Paradise, Secular Ritual." in *Marg* Vol. XXXIX, No. 1. p. 80.
10. Julia S. Berrall, (1966) *The Garden: An Illustrated History* pp. 13 - 15

11. Norman T. Newton, (1971) *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* pp. 3 - 5.
12. A. Seidenberg, (1981) "The Ritual Origin of the Circle and the Square" in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* Vol. 25. No. 4. p. 271. According to Seidenberg, the straight line and the square also were employed in Indian designs by 1700 B.C. and arose from earlier 'Iranian' origins. This could account for why the square and the straight line were used in early Egyptian gardens and the circle and triangle were not.
13. Norman T. Newton, (1971) *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* pp. 3 - 5.
14. A Seidenberg, (1981) "The Ritual Origin of the Circle and the Square" in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* Vol. 25. No. 4. pp. 270 - 271.
15. Jonas Lehrman (1980) *Earthly Paradise - Garden and Courtyard in Islam* pp. 41 - 84.

Figure 1.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

A typical courtyard garden in east Vancouver

Figure 2.



Photograph by Edward Gibson.

An example of the garden type in Vancouver.

Figure 3.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

An example of the courtyard type in Vancouver

Figure 4.



Photograph by Edward Gibson.

An example of the yard type in Vancouver

CHAPTER 6

THE COURTYARD GARDENS OF EASTERN VANCOUVER

After defining the set of survey characteristics for the gardens but before undertaking the survey, it was necessary to define the boundaries of the survey area in east Vancouver and north Burnaby and to estimate how many surveyed gardens would constitute a representative sample. This information was not already available. A pilot study was therefore required to establish the survey boundaries and to statistically estimate the population size and the size of an adequately representative sample.

The Survey Boundaries

Christopher Collett's 1982 study of the Italian community in Vancouver provided the basis to begin defining the survey boundaries. (See Map 1.) The boundaries which Collett gives for the Italian community coincide with the extent of the Courtyard gardens on the eastern, northern and western sides. An appraisal of the gardens' extent was made by driving around Collett's boundaries and only his southern boundary needed extending.

The boundaries of the survey area then became: Burrard Inlet to the north; to the east one block east of Sperling Avenue as far south as the Lougheed Highway; west along the Lougheed Highway to Gilmore Avenue; south on Gilmore Avenue to Kingsway; west along Kingsway turning into 42nd Avenue to

Victoria Drive; north on Victoria Drive to 33rd Avenue; west along 33rd Avenue to Main Street; north along Main Street to 6th Avenue; east along 6th Avenue to Victoria Drive; and north on Victoria Drive to Burrard Inlet. (See Map 2.)

This area was divided into 54 equal squares. The squares were referenced alphabetically B to K from west to east and numerically 1 to 7 north to south. Not all of the squares covered areas which were totally comprised of single family dwellings having front gardens. Therefore, the selection of squares for the survey was based upon land use maps for east Vancouver (1984) and north Burnaby (1987). The grid square was laid over the land use maps and only those 39 squares occupied by 50% or more of single family dwellings (RS1 in Vancouver and R1-9 in Burnaby) were selected for survey. Each selected square was then sub-divided into 100 sub-squares with a 10 x 10 equal grid. (See Map 2.) A pilot survey was then undertaken to estimate how many courtyard gardens may exist within those 39 squares.

The Pilot Survey

Squares C5 and E5 were randomly chosen from the 39 selected squares. The front-garden of every single-family house in each of these squares was counted and the courtyard were noted. C5 had 48 (5.9%) courtyard gardens in 813 front gardens and E5 had 88 (8.8%) in 998 front gardens for a combined average of 7.5%. By overlaying the map of the 1981 Census Enumeration tracts for east Vancouver and north Burnaby (See

Map 3.) over the survey area grid and estimating how much of a percentage the tracts occupied of the grids of the survey area, (See Table 1) the number of single family homes within the 39 selected squares and assumed to have a front garden were calculated at 43,946 (See Table 2). It was estimated, using the formula of Scheaffer, Mendenhall and Ott,² that the total courtyard gardens within the 39 squares, lay between 2,421 (5.51%) and 3,406 (7.75%) of the 43,946 front gardens (See Tables 3 and 4). A representative sample size, according to Ebdon to be between 5% and 10% of the population, would be between 121 to 340 courtyard gardens.³ (See Table 5.)

Selection of Survey Site Locations

Two hundred and nineteen survey site locations, a 7.5% sample, were randomly drawn from within the 39 squares. These were points on the sub-grid corresponding to street locations and the choices were made by selecting four numbers sets from a random number table. The first two numbers identified the main square and the next two numbers identified the sub-grid location. The field survey was undertaken using a standard field survey procedure designed to ensure the randomness of the selection of a particular courtyard garden (See Appendix 1). The procedure required that the surveyor go to the street intersection nearest one of the 219 grid locations, face south and walk to the next junction and then keep turning right until the block has been circled. The first courtyard garden encountered (See Appendix 2 for the 219 addresses selected) on

this route would be the garden selected for recording on the survey sheet and for photographing (See Appendix 3.). If a garden was not encountered an adjacent block was surveyed in the same manner. The survey procedure was repeated on each subsequent adjacent block spreading clockwise outward from the grid location until a courtyard garden was encountered.

A slide photograph of the garden surveyed was later used to visually classify the garden under the three Courtyard types and to analyse its properties and compositional elements. After the field survey, the data from the survey sheets were summarized to give numerical and percentage scores for the features recorded across four survey groupings; Motifs, Materials, Forms and Horticulture.

The field survey results.

The garden survey showed that the courtyard front garden in Vancouver has the following characteristics. Ninety-two percent (202) of the 219 gardens fell into one of the three categories of the Courtyard type. Five percent (11) fitted the Garden type and three percent (6) fitted the Yard type. Of those in the Courtyard category, ninety-two percent (187) fitted the characteristics of the Courtyard-Garden type, seven percent (14) fitted the Courtyard type and one garden fitted the Courtyard-yard type (See Table 6).

The four physical properties of the garden were found in all gardens selected and were compositely expressed as a level space, occupying from one quarter to one third of the lot and

bounded by a curtain-screen wall made with brick pillars and curtain wall of brick and/or wrought-iron. (See Figure 5.) The brick pillars were decorated with precast cement round balls or pinecones. There were statues of lions on top of the brick pillars on either side of the narrow entranceway in one out of three gardens.

Eighty-four percent (184) of the gardens selected were architectural in look. The architectural elements of the gardens were compositely expressed through an asymmetrical garden plan with an off centre entranceway in seventy-one percent (155) of the gardens surveyed. This asymmetrical feature, possibly drawn from design influences of Renaissance villa gardens where the architecture of the house determines the garden plan as discussed in Chapter 5, appears to violate the need for symmetry in the architectural look. However, given the 'Italianate' architectural style of the many 'Vancouver specials' which have courtyard gardens, this asymmetry could be an Italian influence on the historical characteristics of the courtyard garden style.

Eighty-five percent (186) of the gardens used the straight line, were rectilinear in shape and seventy-five percent (166) used quadratic sub-divisions in their designs. The use of the triangle was not a significant design feature in the gardens selected and the circle was a decorative design motif in ten percent (21) of the gardens. (See Table 7 and Figure 6.)

Order in the gardens was provided by their physical

properties and architectural designs. Order was enhanced by repetition of decorative motifs, such as fence post decorations, the uniformity of spacing in the pillars of the screen wall fences and rectilinear lawns and flower beds. Order was also expressed through the use of evergreens in about thirty percent of the gardens and rectangular lawns in seventy-two percent (157) of the gardens. The horticulture reflected a naturalistic trend, with rhododendrons, begonias, geraniums and other flower and shrubs occurring in about thirty-five percent of the gardens. This naturalism was constrained in about thirty percent of the gardens through the ordered use of evergreen shrubs, such as yews, laurels and box hedges. The naturalism of these gardens was offset by the architectural look of the Courtyard type (See Table 8).

The gardens had an outside point-of-entry with an open volume. This outside point-of-entry made the volume public in seventy-nine percent (173) of the gardens. The high asymmetry tends towards right-hand entrance-ways which visually directs the eye from the street, through the entrance-way, up to the front door of the house and then anti-clockwise around the garden to the entrance-way. The volume is open at the entrance and becomes more constricted as the eye travels around the garden, culminating in the permeable barrier of the front fence.

A visual and tactile experience of architectural smoothness was dominant in eighty-four percent (184) of the

gardens. This smoothness was achieved through the use of cement (51%), brick (76%) and wrought iron or aluminum (71%) as construction materials. Little use was made of field or flagstone (19%) or wood (12%) (See Tables 9 and 10). Ninety-two percent (202) of the gardens allowed a large amount of daylight to enter. The materials and horticulture of the gardens, while not necessarily reflecting light, did not absorb light. The gardens were also metaphorically light by architectural design and lack of heavy, natural plantings or built structures. Wrought iron fences contributed to the perception of lightness. These gardens lack any movement. Straight pathways of cement, stone or gravel in eighty-five percent (186) of these gardens present an architectural rigidity not seen in a naturalistic garden. (See Figure 7.)

Decorative motifs abound and are a distinctive feature. One in ten gardens have some statuary of cement or terra-cotta balls (50%), urns with fruit (14%), planters (34%), pinecones (23%), acorns (4%), classical or religious human figures (5%), gothic gnomes (4%), lions (29%) or other animals (5%) or birds (6%). (See Table 11 and Figures 8, 9, 10 and 11.) The predominant horticulture was beds of rose bushes (65%) and mixed annual flowers (53%) with grass lawns (72%) (See Table 8). These decorative motifs are an integral part of the courtyard garden, but their form and style will vary according to aesthetic tastes, ethnic affiliations and availability of supply. The production, use and cultural and symbolic

meanings of these motifs makes for interesting but independent inquiry and have not been dealt with in this study.

The Residents Name Survey

While overall there were more similarities than differences in the gardens selected, there were variations both in design and in the ethnic origin of the residents. Variations in the gardens' designs could be due to these ethnic variations. But the question had to be asked, why the overall similarity given the ethnic variety? It was decided to identify the ethnicity of the residents of the selected gardens and to detail any relationships between ethnic similarities and design variations and ethnic variations and design similarities.

A broad identification of ethnicity could be made from the resident's name. The names of the residents for the 219 gardens were found B. C. Directories *Greater Vancouver Criss-Cross*. Where a resident was not listed in the *Cris-Cross*, the street address was found in the Assessment Roll for either the City of Vancouver or the District of Burnaby and the resident's name obtained.

The residents' names were divided into eight groupings: Italian names (divided between confirmed and unconfirmed), Spanish/Portugese names, Oriental names, East Indian names, European names (ie: English, French, Polish, German), Arabic/Persian names and unclassifiable. The designations were subjective but those names designated as Italian were checked against *L'unica Guida Telefonica Italiana per L'Ovest Canada*.

Of those names, 86% were listed in the *Guida* and were then considered as confirmed Italian names. The subjective designations of the names was upheld as accurate with the Italians. Italians (36%) comprised the largest ethnic group with Europeans at 17%, Orientals at 16%, Spanish/Portuguese at 15%, East Indians at 6%, Arabic at 2% and 8% were unidentifiable (See Table 12).

This result was surprising as it had been expected that the Italians would form the majority of residents. There was a greater variation of ethnicity than was originally thought. Paradoxically, there was a greater conformity of style to the gardens than would be expected from the ethnic diversity. Prior to the field survey it was thought that Italians residents would make up almost the total of the 219 gardens selected.

While there was little use of water in most gardens, the Italians and Arabs showed more propensity to fountains and ponds than other ethnic groups. The Spanish/Portuguese predominantly favoured smaller balls on their fence posts, the Orientals and Italians favoured medium sized balls whereas the Europeans favoured large balls. The Spanish/Portuguese were the predominant users of the pinecone fence post decoration and the Italians were the predominant users of classical-style urns as planters. Oriental owners were the predominant users of lions as entrance decorations. The Italians predominated in the use of classical and realist statuary whereas the Spanish/Portuguese predominated in the use of animals and birds

and religious icons. There was no apparent ethnic variations in the horticulture of the gardens except in the fig tree, which was predominant with Italians. There was a slight predominance among Italians for naturalistic gardens, rusticated texture and curvilinear plans (See Table 6).

The aggregated characteristics of the 219 gardens which were surveyed as a representative sample of all Vancouver gardens of this type identify a number of the most salient design characteristics of these gardens as falling within the ancient Persian paradise-style garden tradition. (See Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15.) The survey suggests the hypothesis that these gardens are contemporary private pleasure gardens representative of the wealth, power and prestige historically associated with the owners of this garden style. The verification of this proposition was undertaken through in-depth interviews with garden residents the results of which are discussed in Chapter 7.

While there was subtle differences of style between ethnic groups there was great uniformity of style. There are two explanations for this uniformity. First, that there has been simple copying (mimesis) of the garden style within the Vancouver landscape. Common-sense would suggest that this contagious diffusion is occurring in the Vancouver neighbourhoods where these gardens appear. However, the interviews with residents indicated that such copying had not taken place and thus cannot provide a complete answer for the

uniformity. A sociological explanation of the adoption of this style by some Vancouver garden owners is dealt with in Chapter 7. Second, that this garden style had an origin and development in which all of these ethnic groups shared. The historical record explored in Chapter 3 shows that the second explanation of this uniformity can be supported from available documentary evidence. The gardens of the diverse ethnic groups display a uniformity of design characteristics drawn from an historically shared garden culture and yet also show evidence of local cultural and regional variations in design characteristics which are unique to specific ethnic groups.

Summary

A possible identification of the Vancouver gardens as using some of the more salient design characteristics of both the villa gardens of Renaissance Italy and the earlier Persian paradise-style gardens enabled explanatory propositions to be made about the design and social processes represented by these gardens. These propositions were developed through use of Jean Baudrillard's four categories of artifactual analysis.

Verification of these propositions was undertaken through ethnographic field work. This stage of the study is discussed in the next chapter.

Endnotes

1. Christopher William Collett. (1982) "The Congregation of

Italians in Vancouver". p. 78

2. Richard L. Scheaffer, William Mendenhall and Lyman Ott.
(1979) *Elementary Survey Sampling*. p. 156

3. David Ebdon. (1985) *Statistics in Geography* Chapter 3.
pp. 34 - 52.

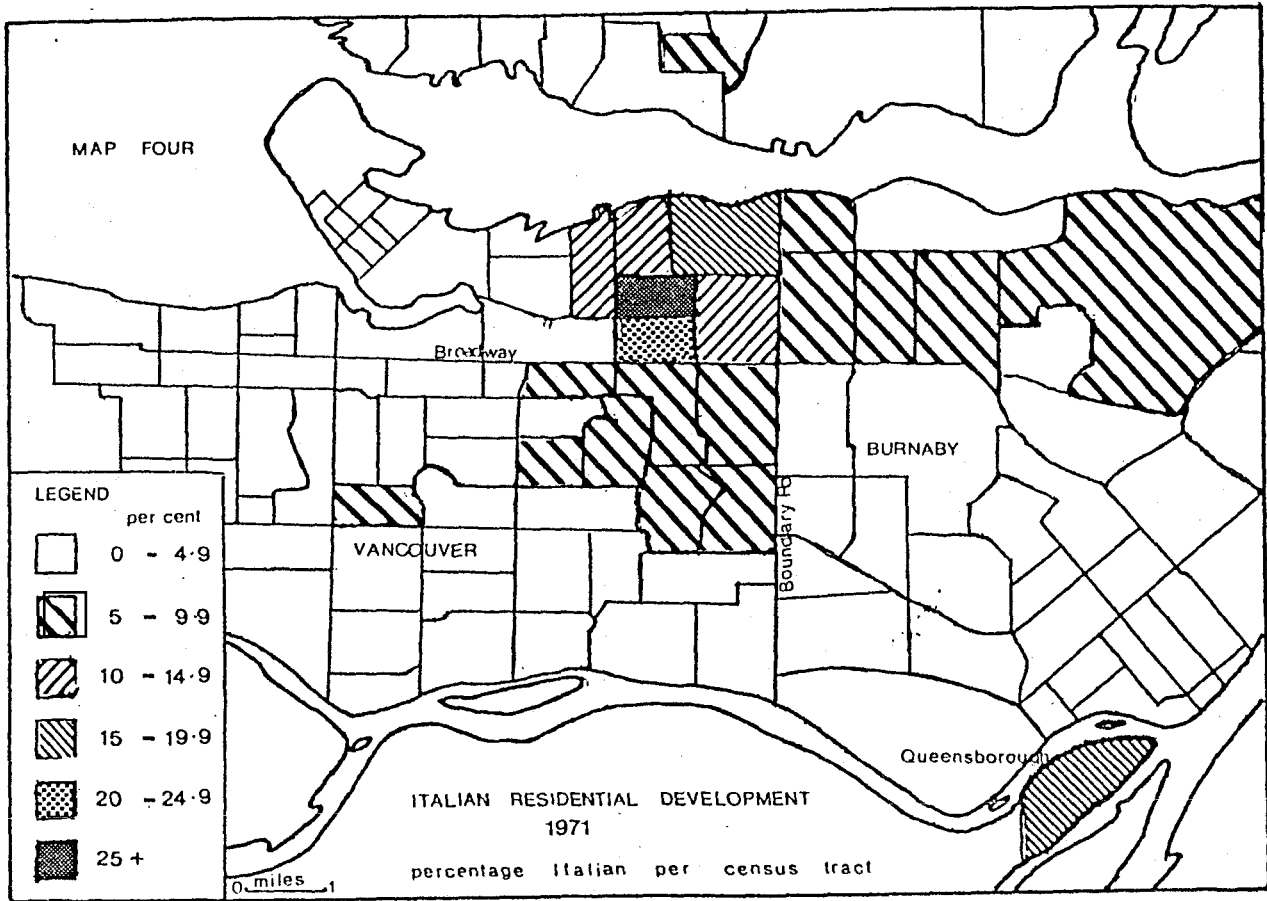
4. There are presently four suppliers of cement and terra-cotta yard art and products in the Vancouver area. Two are manufacturers of cement yard art and are Ital-Decor Ltd. and Fraser Valley Cement Works Ltd. Thomas Hobbs Florist Ltd in Kerrisdale, Vancouver, imports terra-cotta yard art and products from Italy on a regular basis. The Landscape Supply Company in Burnaby also imports terra-cotta yard art and pots from Italy, buys hand crafted cement yard art from a local Italian craftsman in Burnaby, and purchases mass produced cement yard products from a cement manufacturer in North Vancouver.

Thomas Hobbs and The Landscape Supply Company purchase mainly for local market consumption. Ital-Decor manufactures yard art, planters and yard furniture for the local mass market and does custom work for a wide market area which reaches into the Prairies and as far south as California. Fraser Valley Cement Products mass produces yard art, planters and yard furniture for a wide market area which reaches east to Ontario and Washington and Oregon in the U.S.

Guiseppi (Joe) Tinucci, owner of Ital-Decor, is the only yard-art craftsman among the four supplying companies. Tinucci was an apprentice and trained in Renaissance and Baroque art and design in Italian schools of Fine Art before coming to Canada. Fraser Valley Cement Products Ltd. was started by an Italian craftsman but is currently owned by an Italian who is not. The other two companies are owned by persons who are not trained in that particular craft skill.

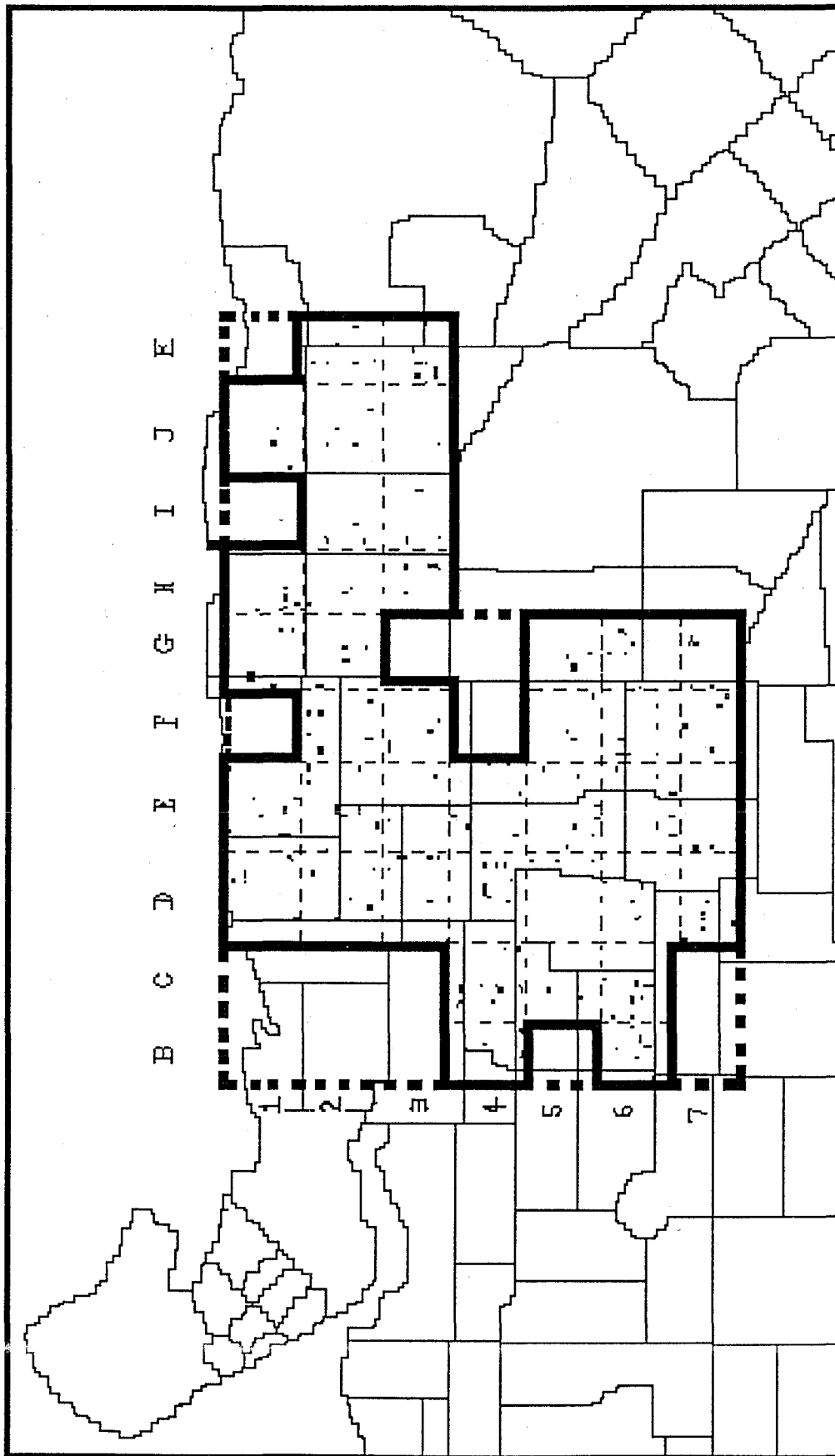
Map 1

1982 Map of the Italian Community in Vancouver and Burnaby



Source: Christopher William Collett, "The Congregation of Italians in Vancouver"

Of 219 Randomly Selected Survey Sub-Squares

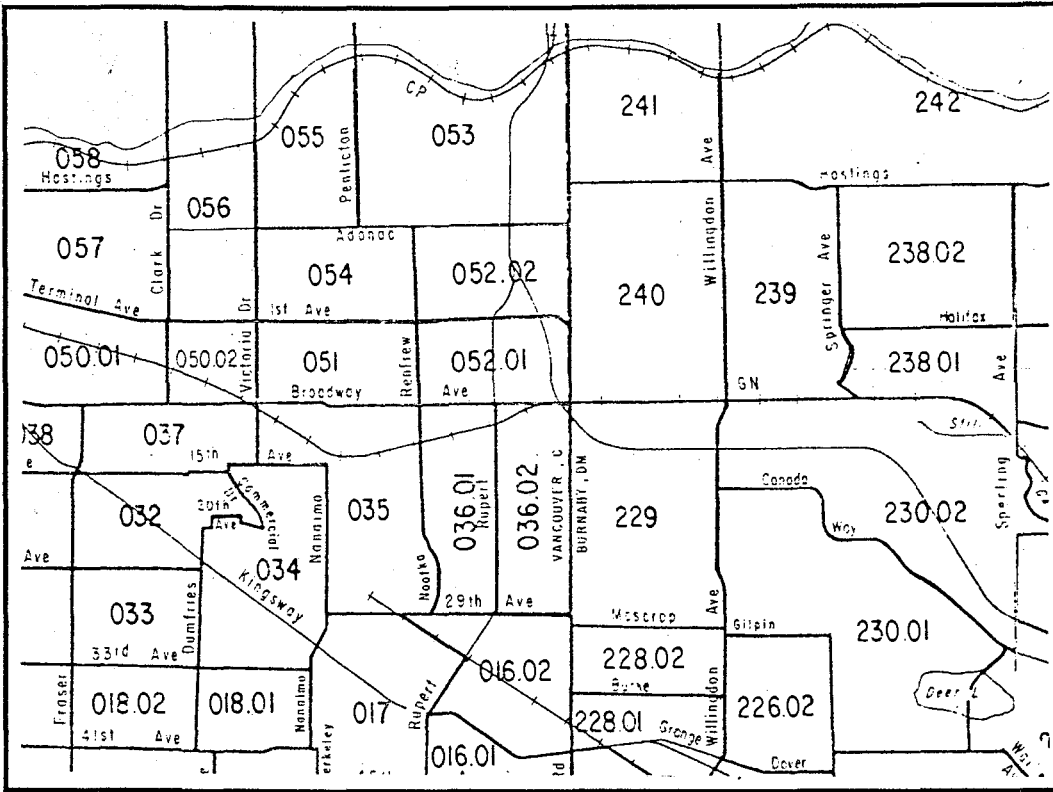


Source: Based upon Map of Christopher Collett, "The Congregation of Italians in Vancouver" 1982. The solid boundary of the survey area contains the grid squares selected for field survey. The total survey grid outline is completed with the broken boundary line. There are 39 squares within the solid boundary line which correspond with the squares shown in Table 1.

MAP 3

Census Tract Map of Survey Area

75



Source: Statistics Canada, Federal Electoral Districts And Census Enumeration Areas - Population and Dwelling Counts - 1986.

TABLE 1.

Estimation of Quadrant Densities for S.F. & Duplex Dwellings
Based upon Vancouver and Burnaby Land Use Maps.,

Census Tracts	Quadrants Cover														% of Tract within grid
	%	Quad	%	Quad	%	Quad	%	Quad	%	Quad	%	Quad	%	Quad	
Vancouver															
053	33	1G	16	2G	50	2F	100	1E	50	2E					85.0
052.02	16	2G	50	2F	50	2E	50	3F	50	3E					98.0
052.01	50	3F	50	3E	50	4E									80.0
036.02	33	5G	16	6G	50	5F	25	6F							70.0
016.02	16	6G	33	7G	100	7F	50	6F	25	7E					100.0
036.01	50	4E	50	5F	50	5E	25	6E	25	6F					95.0
055	100	1D	50	2D											100.0
054	50	2D	50	3D	25	2E	25	3E							70.0
051	25	3F	50	3E	50	3D	50	4D	50	4E					90.0
050.02	50	4C													100.0
035	50	4E	50	5E	25	6E	25	6D	50	5D	25	4E	50	4D	100.0
037	50	4C	50	4B											100.0
032	100	5C													50.0
033	100	6B													100.0
034	100	5C	100	6C	50	5D	25	6D							100.0
017	25	6D	50	7D	75	7E	50	6E	25	6F					100.0
018.01	50	7D													30.0
Burnaby															
238.02	100	2J	75	2K	66	3J	50	3K							100.0
238.01	33	3J	25	3K											100.0
243	12	3K	25	2K											5.0
237	12	3K													2.0
239	100	2I	100	3I											100.0
240	100	2H	100	3H	75	2G									75.0
241	75	1G	100	1H											90.0
242	100	1J													50.0
229	75	5G	50	6G											50.0
228.02	25	6G	33	7G											25.0
228.01	33	7G													10.0

Total of 39 grid squares selected for inclusion in the survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, Federal Election Districts and Census Enumeration Areas - Population and Dwelling Counts - 1986. and Maps 2 and 3.

TABLE 2.

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF SINGLE FAMILY DWELLINGS AND
 DUPLEXES IN VANCOUVER AND BURNABY BASED UPON
 CENSUS TRACT DIVISIONS COVERED WITHIN SURVEY GRID

CENSUS TRACT	SFD	DUPLEX 1	QUADPLEX	TOTAL	% OF TRACT within grid	EST. POP.
<u>VANCOUVER</u>						
053	2440	10	80	2530	85.0	2150
052.02	1275	130	40	1445	98.0	1416
052.01	1155	125	45	1325	80.0	1060
036.02	1440	5	20	1465	70.0	1025
016.02	1790	50	85	1925	100.0	1925
036.01	1390	15	35	1440	95.0	1368
055	1100	150	145	1395	100.0	1395
054	2025	20	235	2280	70.0	1596
051	1765	35	140	1940	90.0	1746
050.02	475	45	215	735	100.0	735
035	2095	50	115	2260	100.0	2260
037	1180	65	710	1955	100.0	1955
032	1365	70	175	1610	50.0	805
033	1580	45	95	1720	100.0	1720
034	2225	70	135	2430	100.0	2430
017	2495	50	140	2685	100.0	2685
018.01	1325	5	45	1375	30.0	413
<u>BURNABY</u>						
238.02	1420	280		1700	100.0	1700
238.01	710	5		715	100.0	715
243	1250	305		1555	5.0	78
237	845	35		880	2.0	18
239	1500	70		1570	100.0	1570
240	1765	165		1930	75.0	1448
241	1520	100		1620	90.0	1458
242	1635	130		1765	50.0	882
229	1060	180		1240	50.0	620
228.02	765	135		900	25.0	225
228.01	415	175		590	10.0	59
TOTAL						43946*

Source: Statistics Canada, Federal Electoral Districts and Census Enumeration Areas - Population Dwelling Counts - 1986.

TABLE 3.

ESTIMATE OF THE PERCENTAGE POPULATION OF FRONT GARDENS
IN VANCOUVER AND BURNABY IN THE COURTYARD STYLE

Sample Grid Squares	No. of Front Gardens	No. of Courtyard Gdns.
C5	813	48
E5	<u>998</u>	<u>72</u>
	1811	120
		6.63%

Calculation of the estimation of error of this percentage based upon the equation:

$$\hat{V}(\hat{p}) = \frac{N-n}{NnM^2} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{(a_i - pm_i)^2}{n-1}$$

where: m_i = Number of gardens in preliminary survey = 1811; $m_i^2 = 1,656,973$
 a_i = Number of courtyard gardens in preliminary survey. = 120; $a_i^2 = 7,488$
 $a_i m_i = 110,880$
 M = Mean of gardens per grid square in preliminary survey. = 905.5
 N = Number of squares selected for survey from grid. = 39
 p = Margin of error in estimation

and:

$$\begin{aligned} \hat{V}(\hat{p}) &= 7488 - 2(0.0663)(110880) + (0.0663)^2(1656973) = \\ &7488 - 2(7351) + (0.0043956)(1656973) = \\ &7488 - 14702 + 7283.39 = 69.39 \end{aligned}$$

$$\hat{V}(\hat{p}) = \frac{(39-2)(69.39)}{39(2)(905.5)^2(1)} = 0.00004$$

$$\hat{p} = 0.0663 \pm \sqrt{0.00004} = 0.0663 \pm 0.012649$$

or $\hat{p} = 6.63\% \pm 1.12\%$ error of estimation

therefore:- the lower estimate of courtyard gardens is 5.51% of the population,
the mean estimate of courtyard gardens is 6.63% of the population,
the higher estimate of the courtyard gardens is 7.75% of the population.

Source:-

Scheaffer, Richard L.; Mendenhall, William and Ott, Lyman. (1979)
Elementary Survey Sampling, North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press.

Chapter 7, Section 5, Cluster Sampling, bounded error of estimation in
population proportion estimate. pp. 156 - 157.

TABLE 4.

ESTIMATE OF COURTYARD GARDEN POPULATION			
Lowest Population Estimate	43946	@ 5.51%	= 2421
Mean Population Estimate	43946	@ 6.63%	= 2914
High Population Estimate	43946	@ 7.75%	= 3406

Source: Table 2 and Table 3.

TABLE 5.

SAMPLE SIZES BASED UPON POPULATION ESTIMATES			
Population Estimate	5% Sample	7.5% Sample	10% Sample
2421	121	181	241
2914	147	<u>219</u>	292
3406	170	255	340

Source: Table 4 and Ebdon, David Statistics in Geography, Chapter 3.

TABLE 6.

Summary of Field Survey Results - Type, Forms and Horticulture

Type or form	Occurance	Percent	Ethnic Over Rep.	Ethnic Under Rep.
Curtain Screen	176	80.0	Survey	Distribution
Arcades	31	14.0	Italians	Orientals
Courtyard Type	202	92.0	Survey	Distribution
Garden-Ctyd.	11	5.0	Italians	
Yard-Ctyd.	6	3.0	Oth. Europeans	
Asymmetry	155	71.0	Oriental Spanish	
Symmetry	64	29.0		Orientals
Outside P. of Ent.	173	84.0		Italians
Architectural	184	84.0	Orientals	Italians
Light	202	92.0	Orientals	Italians
Rigid in mvemnt	186	85.0	Orientals	Italians
Rect. image	166	75.0	Spanish	Europeans
No water allusion	181	83.0	Survey	Distribution
Allusion to water	38	17.0	Survey	Distribution
			Arabs	Orientals
			Italians	
Crescent Wall	19	8.0		Italians
				Oth. Europeans
<u>Horticulture</u>				
Roses	142	65.0	Survey	Distribution
Grass	157	72.0	Survey	Distribution
Evergreens	67	30.0	Survey	Distribution
Fig Trees	18	8.0	Italians	
Rhodedendrons	80	36.0	Survey	Distribution

Source: Field Work Garden Survey 1988 & 1989 and Residents Name Survey, Table 12.

TABLE 7.

Summary of Field Survey - Form

Type	Occurance	Percentage
Topiary	12	5.5
Crypt	12	5.5
Terracing	20	9.1
Ramp	1	
Raised Circle	21	9.6
Raised Star	5	2.2
Crescent Wall	19	8.6

Source: Field Work Garden Survey 1988 & 1989

TABLE 8.

Summary of Field Results - Horticulture

Type	Occurance	Percentage
Roses	142	64.8
Cypress	24	10.9
Yew	16	7.3
Laurel	23	10.5
Grass	157	71.7
Begonia	15	6.8
Flower Beds	117	53.4
Hanging Bk.	16	7.3
Ivy	6	2.7
Bamboo	4	1.8
Pampasgrass	4	1.8
Broom	3	1.3
Willow	5	2.3
Poplar	1	
Pine	23	10.5
Fir	29	13.2
Cedar	34	15.5
Fruit Tree	23	10.5
Wisteria	3	1.3
Grape	5	2.3
Fig	18	8.2
Box	29	13.2
Magnolia	6	2.7
Other	76	34.7
Rhodos	80	36.5
Begonia	16	7.3
Geraniums	76	34.7

Source: Field Work Garden Survey 1988 & 1989

Figure 5.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

The four physical properties: a bounded, level proportional space with constricted entrance

Figure 6.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

The six design elements: symmetry, straight line, rectilinearity, quadratic sub-division, circle and square

Figure 7.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

The six compositional elements of the courtyard garden:
Architectural order, open volume, tactile smoothness, lightness, rigidity
and the courtyard pattern of design

TABLE 9.

Summary of Field Survey - Textures

Texture	Occurance	Percentage
Smooth	22	10.0
Rough	110	50.0
Hard	87	40.0
Source: Field Work Garden Survey 1988 & 1989.		

TABLE 10.

Summary of Field Results - Materials

Material	Occurance	Percentage
Gravel	56	26.0
Cement	111	51.0
Brick	166	76.0
Flagstone	12	5.0
Other Stone	30	14.0
Bark	8	3.0
Wood	19	8.0
Wrought Iron	156	72.0
Chain	14	6.0
Industrial Lk.	17	7.0
Plastic	7	3.0
Other	7	3.0

Source: Field Work Garden Survey 1988 & 1989

TABLE 11.

Summary of Field Survey Results - Motifs

Motif	Occ.	% Gdns	Number	Av. per Gdn.	Cat. 1	Eth. Pref.	Cat. 2	Eth. Pref.	Cat.3.	Eth. Pref.
Balls	110	50.0	706	6.4	Small	Spanish	Med	Oriental Italian	Large	Europe.
Urns WF	31	14.0	169	5.4		Survey. Dist				
Urns NF	74	34.0	315	4.2		Italian				
Fountain	34	15.5	43	1.2						
Pool	2		2							
Shell	1		1							
Balustrd.	4		5							
Isol. Clm	2		2							
Trellis	2		2							
Lantern	39	17.8	72	1.8						
Plinth	6		7							
Pagoda	1		1							
Icon	6		6							
Acorn	9	4.1	38	4.2						
Pinecone	51	23.0	304	5.9		Spanish				
Hf. Class	10	4.6	28	2.8		Italian				
Hf. Goth	10	4.6	14	1.4		Spanish				
Hf. Real.	4		7	2.0		Italians				
						Spanish				
Hf. Othr.	6	3.0	12	2.0						
Lions	64	29.0	128	2.0		Oriental				
Oth. An.	12	5.5	22	1.8						
Birds	13	5.9	34	2.6		Spanish				
P. Furn	2		2							
Arcade	31	14.1								

Source: Field Work Garden Survey 1988 & 1989 and Residents Name Survey, Table 12.

Figure 8.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Cement balls feature as a decorative motif in fifty percent of courtyard gardens

Figure 9.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Urns and planters are used in forty-eight percent of courtyard gardens

Figure 10.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Human figures are striking additions to five percent of courtyard gardens

Figure 11.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Lions or other animals and birds are found in forty percent of courtyard gardens

TABLE 12.
Survey Distribution of Ethnic Names

Ethnicity	Number	% Distribution
Italian Conf.	66	31.0
Italian Ucnf.	11	5.0
Span/Port	33	15.0
Oriental	36	16.0
East Indian	14	6.0
European	37	17.0
Arabic	5	2.0
Unidentified	17	2.0
TOTAL	219	100.0

Source: Field Work 1988 & 1989, the Tax Rolls of the City of Vancouver and the Corporation of the District of Burnaby and L'unica guida telefonica Italiana per l'ovest Canada, Vol. 13.

Figure 12.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

The Persian garden tradition represented in a Vancouver courtyard garden

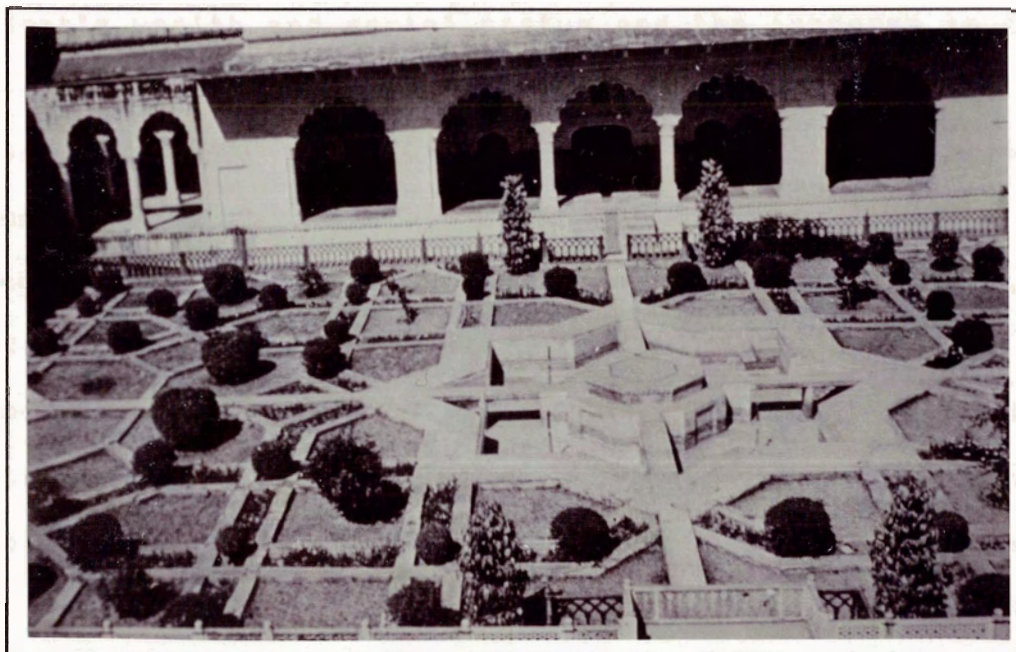
Figure 13.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

The Persian garden tradition represented in an Italian villa garden

Figure 14.



Source: *The Gardens of Mughul India, A History and Guide*, (1972) p. 26.

The Persian garden tradition represented in an Indian palace garden

CHAPTER 7

THE COURTYARD GARDEN: A FABRICATED POETRY

The field identification of the courtyard gardens as using similar design characteristics as gardens within the Persian paradise garden tradition provided the base for an artifactual explanation of the garden's intrinsic and extrinsic values. Jean Baudrillard's theory of the artifact provides a theoretical framework to explain the historical intrinsic use value of the courtyard garden as providing pleasure and relaxation and the intrinsic symbolic value as expressing the desire for Order and Beauty. The extrinsic use and exchange values historically were the public presentation of the resident's wealth and social status and the increase in the property value.

An ethnographic survey was undertaken to verify these propositions as they applied to the contemporary gardens through in-depth interviews with selected residents. Forty residents were chosen for a visit. They were sent an introductory letter requesting an appointment (See Appendix 5). Fourteen residents were deliberately chosen because of their exemplary gardens, the other twenty-six were chosen at random. After a few days of receipt of the letter, they were phoned for an appointment. Only twelve residents (5.47%), seven chosen and five random, agreed to a visit. The visits lasted about one

hour and no notes were taken during the conversations. Immediately upon leaving the information was noted on the interview guide and record sheet (See Appendix 6), together with any additional information obtained.¹

Results of the in-depth interviews

Nine residents were Italian, six coming from southern Italy of whom two came from the village of Calabrito. Three came from northern Italy, two of whom came from the village of San Fiore, near Treviso. These villagers were not friends in Canada. The other three residents were Portuguese, Polish and Canadian. The Polish resident's garden had been built by the previous Portuguese owners but the Pole had no desire to make changes. No oriental residents selected and sent a letter would agree to a visit when phoned for an appointment.

The earliest year of arrival was 1954 followed by 1957, 1961, 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1973 for the Italian residents. The Portuguese resident arrived in 1971 and the Polish resident in 1976. The Portuguese resident had worked in France for several years before coming to Canada. One Italian resident had spent 13 years in England before coming to Canada and another had spent 12 years in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Both residents showed a Spanish/Portuguese influence in their gardens although neither had met in Vancouver. They both had an inverted half-moon arch decoration on their garden wall. The residents were first generation immigrants with wives and eldest children born in the 'old country' and younger children born in Canada.

Education and training

Most residents had only received primary schooling, finishing between grades 5 to 8. One resident was illiterate and one had received a secondary education. The residents did not regret only receiving a small amount of education. Some said that more would not have benefitted them in Canada without their being fluent in English. Continuing in education was not an option for most as the schools only went up to grade 8.

Eleven residents worked in construction. Two owned their own construction businesses, three were labourers, five were tradespersons and one was a cement worker. The Polish resident is currently working as a janitor but was trained as a millwright. One of the two contractors was Italian and was the only immigrant to have received a post-secondary education. He trained as an electro-mechanical engineer in a trade school for three years before emigrating to Canada. The other contractor was Canadian born and trained and worked as a journeyman finishing carpenter before starting his own business. Of the other nine garden residents, four had no skills training and had worked as farm labourers in Italy; two of these were labourers in Canada, the third was a bricklayer and the fourth was the cement worker. The five other Italians in Canada had trade training in Italy but in two cases not the same trade they practised in Canada. A carpenter in Canada had trained as a metal machinist in Italy, a labourer in Canada trained as a shoemaker in Italy.

The majority of the residents had, therefore, little secondary schooling but had received training and practice in craft and artisan skills after leaving school and going to work. These skills are their only means of self-expression. One Italian respondent said that through his garden he was able to show the "beauty of the love" that he held for his wife and children. His courtyard garden was his expression of the "beauty" and "love he felt in his heart"; a love he was unable to adequately express except through building their garden.

How the gardens were created

Seventy percent of the residents had built their gardens within the last twelve years. One respondent had lived in their house for thirty years but only redesigned the garden, in the new style, in 1977. (See Table 13.) All those interviewed said that the design for the garden had come from their own and their wife's ideas and that they had not copied a model or had someone else design the garden. The universally stated reason for building the gardens was beautification and the pleasure the residents derived from contemplating and working in their garden. None had used landscape contractors to build the garden, but half had had the help of another family member or friend. Only two of the gardens were redesigned from older gardens; all of the others were built from scratch.

Nine residents estimated a cost for materials to build and stock the garden ranging from a low of \$350 to a high of \$7000 with an average material cost of \$3480 (See Table 13). This

cost indicates that these residents had been able to accumulate a small surplus of income to spend solely on creating a pleasure garden as opposed to a practical garden. However, the amount was limited and required that they perform much of the labour and craft skills. Much of the materials used had also been re-cycled from elsewhere. Many residents indicated that they could not have afforded to spend more money on their gardens, despite wanting to do so. Most saw the garden as a long-term capital project on which they would spend money and labour each successive year to make further additions and improvements.

Eight residents thought that the gardens increased their property value. One resident's assessment went up directly he had finished the garden and he thought, therefore, the City must believe the garden increased his property value. Two residents were not sure that it increased their property values and one resident did not know. All residents stressed that despite increasing the value of their property they did not build the garden for that reason.

Attitudes to their ethnicity.

Nine of the residents had seen and visited the formal public or private pleasure gardens of the elites in Italy, Portugal, Brazil, Poland and Canada before building their own garden. Only two of the residents had actually read books or magazines about these elite gardens.

All of the residents, except the Canadian, were urban

dwellers in their 'old country' and all except one lived in the centre of their town or village. They were connected to family landholdings outside of the community and worked that land. They did not have gardens surrounding their homes: their front doors opened to the street. Their land provided both food and money to the family's economy but that was insufficient to make the family independent of wage labour or craft practices. The residents came from an 'old country' urban lifestyle but with a strong heritage for gardening on their land. Most of these owners had seen how a formal Paradise-style garden belonging to the 'old country's' elite was designed and decorated. These residents, without having the necessity for food production, were now able to turn their front gardens into courtyard versions of Paradise-style gardens. No other garden was used as a model. These gardens are not copies of any elite formal garden, but incorporate design and decorative elements reminiscent those 'old country' gardens.

Only three residents said their gardens even looked like a formal European garden.² The other residents did not think that their gardens resembled any European garden, nor would they be seen as Italian by their children or friends. Half of the residents did think that the general public may see the gardens as being Italian. It was not intended but they did not mind if it occurred. The other half of the residents did mind if their gardens were seen as Italian by other people. These residents did not see their gardens as reflecting their

ethnicity. The Canadian resident saw his garden as just being a "Vancouver garden", like many others .

None of the residents was able name the design they were using, such as *parterre* or *broderie*, and only two were able to identify the statues they had in their gardens. One Italian resident, who had a pair of lions sitting either side of her front door, said that if the lions heads were turned inward to the door, as these were, it showed that the head man of the family lived there. The head of the family, the great-great-grandfather who was over ninety years old, did live in the house. This resident also said that swans were a sign of good friendships. There were two swan planters in her garden and they had been given to her by a very good friend. She said that the swans should always be given by a friend to symbolize that friendship, not purchased oneself.

Five Italians had traditional plants growing in their gardens, such as fig trees, olives and grapes. Fig trees were present in eight percent of the gardens. One resident had a traditional Italian flowering plant growing in the garden. The trees in many gardens are 'family' fig trees. The cuttings are brought from Italy and are taken from a fig tree which has been in the family for many generations. Cuttings are given to the sons when they have their own land to plant the cutting. Some residents who did not have a family tree in Italy acquired a cutting from the original fig tree planted in Vancouver, around 11th and Commercial, and have started their own line for their

sons. The residents had no symbolic or mystical meanings attached to their fig trees except that their own had the "nicest fruit". That was sufficient reason to continue growing it. They saw no significance to family fig tree histories, such as how the family tree was saved from destruction in World War 2 or a similar story, which each family seems to have about their tree.

Wealth, power and prestige.

Nine of the residents thought that they were materially better off in Vancouver than they would have been staying in the 'old country'. Two residents thought that was only marginally so, but for one of these an injury had prevented him from working. The Canadian resident thought he had been a little successful. While some residents thought they were better off in Vancouver, they did not think that they were better off than the average Canadian. They all stated that they had had to work much harder, and send their wives out to work, to obtain the same economic level of the average Canadian. They did not think that their economic status was anything special, or better, which would set them above their fellow immigrants.

Eight residents thought that they had been successful in achieving their goals in Vancouver, such as owning their own home, but only five felt that they had achieved their family, social and cultural goals. The other six residents felt that they had enjoyed closer family cohesion, higher social status and a better cultural life in their 'old country'. Even among

the five who felt they had been successful, there was still some feelings that they were neither fully Canadian nor fully Italian any more.

One of these successful residents told of recently going to the post-office in his home town in Italy. He waited in line, but others of higher status kept going to the head of the line to be served. He waited more than one hour and then, being fed-up with such un-Canadian deference to the social order, he too walked to the head of the line and asked to be served. To his surprize he was. On his way out he saw a family friend and remarked to him about his instant rise in social status. The friend said to him that he was no longer an Italian but a Canadian and therefore a visitor to the town. He would not be expected to follow the local rules of social status anymore. The resident said he felt alienated from his home town, and from Italy, by that remark and has not visited there again. However, he did not feel fully a Canadian either, but was as he said "an Italian-Canadian, neither Italian or Canadian". He viewed the hyphenated ascription of ethnicity as a negative.

Among those who felt less successful, reasons were cited, such as disrepectful children, lack of family solidarity, lack of respect for religion or a lack of respect from others in Vancouver for the social status they had at 'home'. They felt that life in Canada lacked the romantic charm that in the 'old country' held, such as open displays of love and affection, public laughter, freely available music, opera and dancing, as

well as street corner political debates.

The residents' economic and social status was not considered by themselves as anything special. They did not consider their wealth or social status as worthy of public affirmation through their front gardens. The suggestion met with laughter from some residents, as they could point to others who they considered more wealthy or prominent in their neighbourhood and who did not have courtyard gardens.

Interaction with their ethnic culture.

All of the residents spoke English plus their native language. Three residents also spoke a third language. The ethnic language was the usual language of communication among family members, friends and ethnic co-workers. English was used to communicate with the public at large. In some cases, the children acted as interpreters for the older members of the family in complex or difficult matters.

Seven residents read books, magazines or newspapers in their ethnic language and five did not. One resident could not read and the other four were not interested. Six Italian residents listened to Italian opera and attended Italian opera in Vancouver. Four Italians did not listen to Italian music. Only two Italian respondents did not watch the Italian television station in Vancouver or listen to the Italian radio station. The Polish respondent listened to Polish radio programming. However, most Italians stated that they mainly watched or listened to the Italian news programs, not the

cultural programming and they preferred regular Canadian/American T.V. entertainment programs.

All but two respondents, one Italian and the Canadian, regularly visit the Italian Cultural Center or the Polish community center. Mainly they attend for social functions such as parties, weddings and ethnic festivals. None of the Italians had visited the Italian Cultural Institute, most had not heard of it and those that had did not know its function. Those that had heard of it associated it with the Italian "aristocracy" in Vancouver and not for working people like themselves.

Half of the residents participated in an ethnic group or organization in Vancouver but only one resident held an office. No respondents belonged to any non-ethnic groups, or held any civic or political office. The ethnic groups were divided between social groups, such as Italian regional associations, church groups, over 50 clubs, and cultural groups such as Italian choirs and dance groups.

Travel to the 'old country' was infrequent among all the residents except one. He was an importer who makes yearly trips to Italy. The other residents averaged about one trip every five years usually for births, weddings or funerals, rather than holidays or sightseeing. Often the visits were made only by the husband or the wife, rarely together or with the children. None of the residents planned to permanently return to the 'old country'. The residents said that generally they would prefer to travel in other parts of the world that they

had not seen before than go 'home'. There did not appear to be any desire to travel to their 'old country' for nostalgic reasons. Several residents complained about the expense of having to go for family reasons and having to conform to traditional lifestyle and customs when there. They disliked being seen as a source of unlimited money by their relatives on these infrequent visits.

The residents' interaction with their ethnic community was more reactive than proactive. They participated in that culture when required to do so for social reasons and for news and information purposes. The residents took little or no cultural or political role in keeping their ethnicity alive in Vancouver. They did not see their courtyard gardens as being their contribution to maintaining their ethnicity.

Summary

The interviews with the residents upheld the historical intrinsic symbolic and use value propositions of the courtyard gardens being for the purpose of pleasure and contemplation and to express ideas of love and beauty. The proposition that the historical extrinsic use value of the gardens is the public expression of cultural identity, wealth power and prestige of the residents was not verified by the interviews. The existence of the extrinsic exchange value of the garden was suggested by the perceived evidence of property tax increases but this was an accidental and ancillary factor. This separation between the

extrinsic use value and the other values of the gardens was not expected under Baudrillard's theory of the artifact. But such a separation is however explained by Baudrillard's concept of "simulacra".

Baudrillard's concept of "simulacra"

A common-sense view of the spread of these gardens in the Vancouver landscape would suggest that simple copying of the garden style from one neighbour to the next, mimesis, would be an explanation for their adoption across both space and ethnic groups. This type of local diffusion is what geographer Torsten Hagerstrand has called contagious diffusion. However, Hagerstrand has pointed out that his contagion model was based upon stable, closed, agrarian communities where face-to-face communication among known individuals, "pair-wise tellings", was possible for innovations to be adopted through contagious diffusion. His model was not developed within an urban context and was developed before the advent of today's mass media, such as television.³

The use of contagious diffusion theory in settings of complex societies has been criticised by geographer Derek Gregory as being merely descriptive of the incremental spatial regularity of an innovation not explanatory of its adoption by individuals or groups. Gregory argues that mimesis is an inadequate explanation for this adoption as it fails to account for the social processes which underly its adoption by some and not by others.⁴

Geographer Susan Smith has conducted a study of how the perception of neighbourhood environment images has been acquired among immigrant ethnic groups in Birmingham, England. Her study included East and West Indians, Orientals, Arabians and East Europeans. She found that only 3% of the 531 immigrants in her study acquired a perception of their neighbourhood environment through personal observation. Only 14% acquired that perception from neighbours and other members of their ethnic community. The majority, over 52%, obtained their perception of their neighbourhood environment from the media, especially television.

Smith does not suggest that these people have merely adopted images from the television instead of from their neighbours. Rather, television sensitized them to certain images which became salient over other images when they recognized them as present in their own neighbourhood environment. Smith found that the media acted as the legitimating force for the acceptance and use by these immigrants of certain images in their neighbourhood environment. It was from the media that these immigrants to a new culture took their permission to have (possibly retain) certain neighbourhood images, not from their neighbours or cultural peers.⁵

The limited evidence of the interviews suggests that the same factors may be operative in Vancouver. The majority of those interviewed indicated that they did not copy their garden

designs from their neighbours and that they regularly watched mainstream North American television rather than any ethnic cultural programming. The role of the media could provide an explanation for the presence of the one Canadian garden resident who would not have ethnically shared in any common Persian garden tradition. For those who share in the common garden tradition, media imagery may legitimate for them their continued use of such a tradition in their new cultural context.

Little geographic work has been done on the role of television in the production and reproduction of material culture, especially landscape artifacts and images, in contemporary mass society. North American television programming and advertising over the last ten years has deliberately featured much design imagery of the post-modern era which reflects the historical design imagery also used in the courtyard gardens.⁶ This 'historicism' is an integral feature of post-modern design in both art and architecture.⁷ Sociologist Jean Baudrillard has attempted to develop a 'sociology' of television through which he can show a sociological link between a 'fictional reality' (directed, scripted, filmed versions of "real life") of television programming and advertising and contemporary social actions in mass society. Television, through an aggregation of multiple images which in time and space may not be relational to each other, creates a simulation of reality freed from the

constraint of that time and space actuality. The image on the screen does not replicate reality but becomes a "simulacrum" of reality.⁹ Baudrillard's "simulacra" means "models which have no referent... in any 'reality'".¹⁰ "Simulacra" are singular copies of a plurality of originals but which have lost referentiality to any particular social structure - the extrinsic use value.

Baudrillard draws a distinction between North American and European mass society and culture. In Europe he argues, mass society still is able to evaluate the "simulacrum" of reality presented by television against an existing continuation of earlier social structures and cultural traditions. In North America, which as a mass society 'traditionally' follows a cult of the New, there is no continuation of social structure and cultural tradition from which mass society can evaluate the simulated reality presented by television. He sees North American culture as being "fractal, interstitial, superficial, ... born of a rift with the Old [European] World."¹⁰ In America, the "simulacra" of television determines what constitutes 'tradition'.

Baudrillard for an example shows Italian culture, which is a culture of "stage and scene", contrasted to American culture, which is of the "obscene". By "ob (-) scene", Baudrillard means out-side of, separated from, the European scene; the obverse of the European cultural scene. In Italy the scene, the courtyard garden, is set within a stage of traditional cultural values.

In North America, the courtyard garden is set within an "open space", "deserts of meaningless", an absence of traditional culture. The scene stands alone, without the support of traditional social structure which is the stage. In North America, the scene alone is a "simulacrum", an artifice, implying the presence of an absent stage.

Baudrillard holds that contemporary social relations in post-industrial North America are now regulated through "simulation" not "reality". By "reality" he means social relations that are represented by the intrinsic and extrinsic use and exchange values of the culture's artifactual production. That representation has been broken in North American material culture creating a separation between cultural expression and social structure.¹¹

This separation has come about through a long evolution of the "counterfeiting" production techniques of the Renaissance over-the-counter art workshops with stock "stucco-angels" for every occasion and purchaser. The possession of such "counterfeit" artifacts could no longer indicate a noble and royal presence but it could still indicate wealth, status and power in Renaissance society. Baudrillard calls this a first order of "simulacra".

The artifact continued to enjoy referentiality until the mass production of the Industrial Revolution. The artifact then became available to a mass public and suffered a further dillution of its referentiality. But even then the underlying

social structure served to inhibit the indiscriminate and improper use of an artifact. The artifact still had referentiality through control by the social structure. Baudrillard calls this a second order of "simulacra", where the social structure controls the use of material culture.

In post-modern North American society, the reproduction of artifacts has become the production of artifices. There is no longer any control exercised by the social structure over indiscriminate consumption of artifices. As an imitation, the artifice no longer refers to the social structure. The artifice can create its own social structure, such as in the Asian imitations of European fashion house clothing, which mirror the originals in every way except in the social standing of the consumers. However, the use of the imitation by some of the masses sets them apart and begins to create its own social structure. Baudrillard calls these artifices a third order of "simulacra".¹²

Before Baudrillard's concept of "simulacra" can be proposed as an explanation for the lack of any historical extrinsic use value referentiality with the Vancouver gardens, it must be verified that Baudrillard's concept enjoys historical extrinsic use value referentiality in Europe. Field work for this verification was undertaken in northeastern Italy.

Italian Field Observations

Field work was conducted in the villages in the Berici

Valley, south of Vicenza, Italy, in September 1988 (See Map 4.) to verify Baudrillard's theory that in contemporary Europe the extrinsic use value of the courtyard garden would still be representative of wealth, power and prestige. Observation showed that the Vancouver courtyard garden barely existed in northeast Italy. There were many examples of Paradise-style villa gardens dating from the last century, but few new gardens.

Where courtyard gardens were found, they were on the periphery, at the junction of the village with the farmland. None of these gardens were in the urban core. Three gardens were identified as belonging to a lawyer, a doctor and a businessman and landowner. Baudrillard's theory was supported by these observations. In northeast Italy, those courtyard gardens seen were representative of business and professional status. There were no courtyard gardens found around the homes of the labouring and craft workers.

The courtyard gardens in Vancouver conform to Baudrillard's simulation model of the separation of cultural expression from social structure. The courtyard gardens are "simulacra" of the Persian paradise-style gardens, an old cultural tradition spread to Vancouver through immigration and given new shape and new meaning by a new geographical and post-modern social setting.

Endnotes

1. During the course of conducting the twelve interviews it became apparent that the answers being obtained were remarkably in agreement. It was decided, therefore, that rather than spending considerably more time in sending out additional letters in the hope of obtaining more residents who would agree to be interviewed, that the agreement of the answers already obtained indicated that ten to fifteen further interviews would not necessarily produce any different answers. A 5.47% sample is considered by David Ebdon in *Statistics in Geography* (Chapter 3 pp. 34 - 52) to be within acceptable sample boundaries of 5 - 10% of the population.

A caveat must be added however, the twelve people interviewed could have given similar answers due to the majority coming from the northern Mediterranean area. Unfortunately no Oriental people selected would agree to be interviewed and no Arabic or East Indian people were included through the random selection process. The answers obtained from these ethnic groups may have been different from those of the Mediterranean groups.

2. It is interesting that these three respondents all had a connection with Portugal.

3. Torsten Hagerstrand quoted in Derek Gregory (1985), "Suspended Animation: The Stasis of Diffusion Theory." in Derek Gregory and John Urry (eds.), *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, pp.300 - 301.

4. Derek Gregory, (1985) "Suspended Animation: The Stasis of Diffusion Theory." in Derek Gregory and John Urry, (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, p.304.

5. Susan J. Smith, (1985) "News and the Dissemination of Fear" in Jacquelin Burgess and John R. Gold (eds.) *Geography, the Media and Popular Culture*, pp. 231, 244-245 and 251-252.

6. Arthur Kroker and David Cook, (1988) "Television and the Triumph of Culture" in Arthur Kroker and David Cook (eds.) *The Postmodern Scene: Excremental Culture and Hyper-Aesthetics*. p. 269

7. Charles Jencks, (1984) *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, p.80

8. Jean Baudrillard, (1987) *The Ecstasy of Communication*.

9. Mark Poster. (1988) "Introduction" to *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, p. 6
10. Jean Baudrillard. (1988) *America*, pp. 8 & 10.
11. Jean Baudrillard. (1988) "Symbolic Exchange and Death" in *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, (Mark Poster ed.) p. 120.
12. Jean Baudrillard. (1983) "The Orders of Simulacra" in *Simulations*, pp. 83 -102. & "Symbolic Exchange and Death" in *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, (Mark Poster ed.) pp. 119 - 148. The above summary of the three orders of *simulacra* is synthesized from these two works of Baudrillard. Baudrillard's writing is metaphoric and hyperbolic that it is difficult to quote it comprehensibly removed from its context. Because of his unorthodox style, Baudrillard is "difficult theorist to understand". (Mark Poster. 1988 "Introduction" in *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, pp 7 - 8.) Because of this, no claim is made to have presented a definitive interpretation of Baudrillard's theory of the simulacra, but the substance is present.

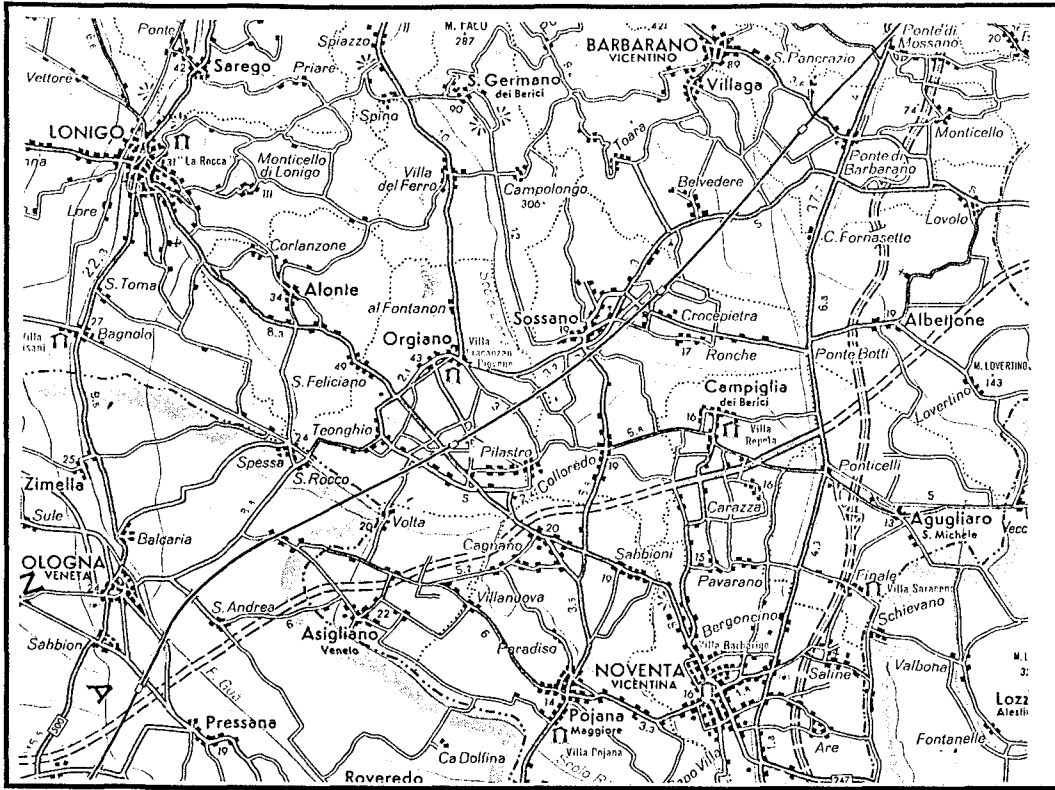
TABLE 13.

LENGTH OF HOUSE RESIDENCY AND GARDEN AGE FROM 1989

Rsp. #	Yrs in hse.	Gdn. Built	New/Renv.	\$ Mat. Cost.
1	3	1986	New	6000
2	12	1977-80	New	5000
3	9	1980	New	500
4	12	1978	New	7000
5	3	1986	New	6000
6	2	1988	New	4000
7	17	1983	Renv	350
8	9	1980	New	1500
9	17	1972	New	0
10	5	unknown	unknown	unknown
11	30	1977	Renv	0
12	13	1976	New	1000

Source: Field Work Residents Interviews 1989.

The Riviera Berici, Veneto, Northeast Italy



Source: Vicenza Carta Della Provincia, Litografia Artistica Cartografica, Firenze.

Figure 15.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Ethnic diversity: the courtyard garden of an Italian resident showing predominant use of classical style urns.

Figure 16.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Ethnic diversity: the courtyard garden of an Oriental resident showing predominant use of lions and naturalism

Figure 17.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Ethnic diversity: the courtyard garden of an East Indian resident showing use of flowering shrubs and plants.

Figure 18.



Photograph by Rod Fowler, 1988

Ethnic diversity: the courtyard garden of an Arabic resident showing predominance of allusions to water

CHAPTER 8

THE CONTEMPORARY COURTYARD GARDEN: CONCLUSIONS

Edward Soja (1989) recently wrote that geographers need to become "explorers" again and "re-explore" the cultural landscape to notice the way the world has changed.¹ Front gardens built since 1970 by immigrants, working quietly to create their beautiful places out of their urban spaces in the eastern sector of metropolitan Vancouver, have changed the urban landscape. This study undertook to explore these beautiful places created by those "lesser figures" who Marwyn Samuels said are often "overlooked" but have "left their mark on the geography of every country".²

The questions that motivated this study were "What were the visual characteristics of what was initially believed to be "Italianate" gardens; for whom and by whom were they being created; and what were the design and sociological processes involved in their transformation of the urban landscape?" The analysis of the field survey data has clearly shown that by virtue of the gardners' use of bounded level rectilinear space, smooth ordered architectural look, outside point-of-entry, open volume, and decorative motifs, these gardens can be identified as being within the Persian paradise-style garden tradition.

These gardens are created by recent immigrants from European, Asian and Indian countries, whose garden cultures

have been influenced by pan-diffusion of certain design characteristics similar to those used in the Italian Renaissance, Islamic and Persian garden traditions. They have created these gardens for pleasure, beautification and property value enhancement. The designs of the gardens have been modified to conform to municipal zoning restrictions in Vancouver and reflect cultural and regional variations depending upon their creator's ethnic heritage. The gardens do not conform to expectations of status referentiality, a social function they have historically performed.

Coincidental to the main research findings, it should be noted that the temperate climate of the Vancouver area is similar to traditional regions where the Persian garden is found and permits the use of cement or terra-cotta ornaments and a certain horticulture. These gardens would not be feasible in other parts of B.C. or Canada where winter temperatures drop far below zero which would destroy cement and terra-cotta forms.

The research approach to answer the study's questions was artifactual, using both historical and empirical evidence, and ethnographic. First, the historical record provided the criteria from which to develop the characteristics necessary to conduct an empirical survey of the gardens. These criteria and characteristics enabled the gardens to be systematically selected, analysed, classified and identified. The historical evidence also supplied the traditional intrinsic and extrinsic

artifactual values of the garden. The validity of these artifactual values were then verified through in-depth interviews with residents.

This objective artifactual and ethnographic approach has the strength of not predetermining the biography of the gardens from an *a priori* theory about their socio-cultural meaning. It allows the artifact and those who have created it to 'speak' and to generate explanations through the artifact's history, its intrinsic and extrinsic values and through the biographies, intentions and actions of its creators. In this study, this approach led to an unexpected result: the diversity of ethnic ownership of the gardens; fewer gardens were Italian than originally believed. This approach also generated propositions about the wealth, power and prestige of the garden residents. These propositions were shown to be false when those interviewed were relatively poor and lacked community power and social status. A study using an *a priori* theory may have assumed that all the gardens were created by Italians and accepted that the gardens would represent wealth, power and status without testing these notions.

On the other hand, the weakness of this artifactual and ethnographic approach is the inability to generalize the findings about the gardens and their creators into a larger picture of Canadian cultural and social ethnic relations which the use of a theory would have permitted. This study is a cross-sectional case study without a larger problem, such as

ethnic cultural expression in Canada, being present or discussed.

The cross-sectional nature of the study also has other limitations. It isolates the artifact in both time and process. The growth of more elaborate designs over time, a noticeable feature of the Vancouver gardens, is not addressed by this type of study. Ethnographically, the Italian bias in the interviews and absence of Orientals is also problematic. Further study should be conducted on the developing processes of local garden design and in obtaining ethnographic information on Oriental and East Indian garden residents.

Despite these limitations, this study of the courtyard front gardens of metropolitan Vancouver has attempted to address the dynamism which exists between the objective, historical reality of the Paradise garden tradition and the subjective, contemporary actuality of lived experience for the gardens' creators. For artifacts in the cultural landscape, this dynamism produces continuously changing significations of meanings and relationships. This study has shown that in Canadian contemporary society the original symbolic value of an artifact may be absent. That value is now available for newly created significations of relationships for different user groups who are unconcerned about its original symbolic significance.

This finding is important if cultural geographers are to understand the way in which artifacts will be culturally used

by social groups in the post-modern Canadian landscape. These changing meanings and relationships challenge cultural geographers who have previously sought for definitive explanations to continuously explore for new meanings in the contemporary cultural landscapes. These new explorations must consider that contemporary use of artifacts can now make them artifices, or "simulacra" as defined by Jean Baudrillard, and the intrinsic symbolic value of any "simulacra" must necessarily carry no fixed referential meaning.

In the exploration of this study, a new approach was undertaken by using Jean Baudrillard's concepts and theories of the artifact. There is a need to develop other approaches in cultural geography using concepts such as those found, for example, in Deconstruction theory. New approaches to understanding cultural meanings through artifact analysis must be developed and cultural geographers must become explorers again and "re-explore" the biography of the cultural landscape, especially the one left by the "lesser figures" of our world.

Five areas of new "exploration" in the courtyard gardens of Vancouver are suggested from the findings of this study. First, the phenomenological role of the gardens as a refuge from the immigrant's alienating new cultural and social world could be explored.³ Second, the behavioural role of the gardens in providing a structure of order and stability and the relationship of that requirement to social-psychological needs could be explored.⁴ Third, a typology and set of

characteristics for the morphology of the Vancouver gardens within the courtyard style and any correlation of that typology to ethnicity could be explored.⁵ Fourth, further empirical work could be carried out in identifying which were the first gardens established, did they serve as models, who were the first creators, residents, artisans and artists, who contributed to the garden's early design in the Vancouver landscape could be explored.⁶ And fifth, the current role and motives of Vancouver building contractors in creating these gardens concurrent with the speculative construction of new homes could be explored.⁷

These were the challenges that this study undertook. I believe that this exploration was timely in the field of cultural geography if it is to continue as a rigorous, substantive and contributing branch of the Geographic discipline. I believe its results should provoke future cultural geographers to re-explore the methods and re-examine the definitive explanations given about the cultural landscape in the light of our changing world. Understanding in cultural geography must be an ongoing exploration, never seeking definitive explanations but only exploring new meanings. This study has shown that the social meaning of the cultural landscape is contemporary and changeable even with a courtyard garden in east Vancouver that is traditionally an unchanging Paradise.

Endnotes

1. Edward W. Soja, (1989) *Postmodern Geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*, p. 8.
2. Marwyn S. Samuels, (1979) "The Biography of Landscape" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (Donald W. Meinig ed.) p.67
3. The concept of certain landscape expressions as representing a refuge is discussed in the work of J. Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape*.
4. A study similar to that carried out by James and Nancy Duncan on the English-style gardens in the Shaughnessy neighbourhood of Vancouver, as detailed in their paper "A cultural analysis of urban residential landscapes in North America: the case of the anglophile elite", could be undertaken on the courtyard gardens of east Vancouver.
5. This would be an extension of this current study that repeats the development of typology of garden characteristics but for gardens within the courtyard style.
6. The biography of the courtyard garden landscape in Vancouver would also be, as Marwyn Samuels has suggested, a biography of those "lesser people" who began this courtyard garden expression in this area.
7. A study similar to that of Susan J. Smith's study in Birmingham, "News and the dissemination of fear", would measure the way new home consumer's tastes have been influenced by the media (newspapers, radio and television) and the way that influence and presence of a pre-built courtyard gardens have impacted new home sales in the area.

APPENDICES

FIELD INSTRUCTION FOR SAMPLING OF ITALIAN YARD ART IN VANCOUVER

1. Using the survey base map provided go to each street junction in the quadrant indicated.
2. Facing South at the junction, walk to the first Italian garden and record data as instructed on the survey form. If no garden is met before the next street junction then continue on the following until one is met. Turn to the right at the next street junction and continue on the path around the block by turning right until you reach the point of the beginning on the search path.
3. If the block is circled and no Italian garden is met then walk in a path North from the beginning point and repeat paragraph (2).
4. If no Italian garden is met after completing paragraph (3) then return to the beginning point and walk on a path walking first West then East following the instructions in paragraph (2) until an Italian garden is met.
5. If there is no street junction in the quadrant go to the middle of the street having the longest linear footage in the quadrant and following streets and lanes, walk on counter clock wise on an even - larger circular path until an Italian garden is met.

* An Italian garden is defined as a residential yard that is fenced that has at least one classical motif.

Appendix 2.

Street Addresses of Survey Sample showing residents contacted and interviewed.

vc= residents contacted by letter and phone.
vr = residents interviewed.

1	1D	2503 E. Pender, Vanc.	
2	1D	2685 Cambridge, Van	
3	1D	2530 Triumph, Van.	
4	1D	1823 Pender, Van.	
5	1D	2623 Dundas, Van.	vr
6	1D	2420 E. Pender, Van.	vr
7	1D	2559 Dundas, Van.	
8	1D	2693 E. Georgia, Van.	vc
9	1D	2557 Oxford, Van.	vr
10	1E	2783 McGill, Van.	vr
11	1E	2781 Cambridge, Van	vr
12	1E	2677 Cambridge, Van	
13	1E	2651 Triumph, Van.	
14	1E	2661 Triumph, Van.	
15	1E	2527 Triumph, Van.	
16	1E	2704 Pandora, Van.	
17	1E	2725 Pandora, Van.	
18	1F	2005 E 13th, Van.	
19	1G	3730 Eton, Van.	
20	1G	231 Macdonald, Van.	
21	1G	510 N. Boundary, Bby	
22	1G	3580 Oxford, Van.	
23	1G	3945 Dundas, Van.	
24	1H	4248 Triumph, Bby	
25	1H	4311 Pandora, Bby	
26	1H	4104 Triumph, Bby	
27	1H	4075 Triumph, Bby	vr
28	1H	3931 Oxford, Bby	vr
29	1H	4261 Pandora, Bby	
30	1J	6591 Bessborough, Bby.	
31	1J	27 S. Grosvenor, Bby.	vr
32	1J	391 N Grosvenor, BBy	
33	1J	5420 Pandora, BBy	vr
34	2D	1952 Charles, Van.	
35	2D	2676 William, Van.	
36	2D	2105 Parker, Van.	
37	2D	525 Penticton, Van.	vr
38	2D	2236 Napier, Van.	
39	2D	2254 Ferndale, Van.	
40	2E	2746 Adanac, Van.	
41	2E	2888 E. Georgia Van.	vr
42	2E	816 Nootka, Van.	vc
43	2E	2952 Grant, Van.	vr
44	2E	932 Nootka, Van	
45	2E	2957 Grant, Van.	
46	2E	2709 Kitchener, Van	
47	2E	2976 Venables, Van.	

Appendix 2.

Street Addresses of Survey Sample showing residents
contacted and interviewed.

vc= residents contacted by letter and phone.
vr = residents interviewed.

48	2F	506 Rupert, Van.	
49	2F	3679 E Georgia, Van.	
50	2F	3483 Napier, Van.	vr
51	2F	3257 William, Van.	
52	2F	3208 William, Van.	
53	2F	1375 Rupert, Van.	
54	2F	3032 Venables, Van.	vc
55	2F	3482 Franklin, Van.	
56	2G	1175 Gilmore, Bby	vr
57	2G	3806 Parker, Bby	
58	2G	3835 Francis, Van.	
59	2G	3895 Venables, Bby	
60	2G	878 Macdonald, Van.	vr
61	2H	4259 E. Pender, Bby	vr
62	2H	907 Rosser, Bby	
63	2H	4040 Parker, Bby	
64	2H	4774 Union, Bby	
65	2H	4254 Napier, Bby	
66	2H	4211 Parker, Bby	
67	2H	4126 Venables, Bby	
68	2I	4545 Francis, Bby	
69	2I	4548 Union, Bby	
70	2I	4560 Francis, Bby	vr
71	2J	5647 Union, Bby	vc
72	2J	5302 Francis, Bby	
73	2J	5331 Venables, Bby	
74	2J	5307 Springdale Crt Bby	
75	2J	5120 Venables, Bby	
76	2J	5930 Charles, Bby	
77	2K	1084 Cliff, Bby	
78	2K	610 Kensington, Bby	
79	2K	6926 Union, Bby	
80	2K	5627 Curtis, Bby	
81	2K	6670 Union, Bby	
82	2K	6861 Dunedin, Bby	vr
83	2K	1380 Cliff, Bby	vc
84	2K	Next to 6513 Dunedin Bby	
85	3D	2057 E 3rd, Van.	
86	3D	2463 Kitchner, Van	vr
87	3D	2518 E 3rd, Van.	
88	3D	2402 E 3rd, Van.	
89	3D	1885 Penticton, Van.	
90	3E	2891 Kitchener, Van.	
91	3E	2716 Kitchener, Van.	vc
92	3E	2935 E. 5th, Van.	
93	3F	3371 E. 3rd, Van.	

Appendix 2.

Street Addresses of Survey Sample showing residents
contacted and interviewed.

vc= residents contacted by letter and phone.
vr = residents interviewed.

94	3F	3356 E. 3rd, Van.	
95	3F	NE. Corner of Kitchener & Kaslo	
96	3H	1323 Whitsell, Bby	
97	3H	1322 Rosser, Bby	vr
98	3H	4207 Kitchener, Bby	
99	3H	4187 William, Bby	vc
100	3I	4612 Brentlawn, Bby	
101	3I	4860 Highlawn, Bby	
102	3I	4814 Fairlawn, Bby	
103	3I	4590 Midlawn, Bby	
104	3J	5550 Buchanan, Bby	
105	3K	6120 Parkcrest, Bby	
106	3K	7003 Halifax, Bby	
107	3K	6616 Kitchener, Bby	
108	3K	6602 Delwood Crt, Bby	vr
109	3K	1700 Fell, Bby	
110	4B	511 E. 8th, Van.	vr
111	4B	2131 E. 7th, Vancouver	
112	4B	961 E. 14th, Van	
113	4B	3579 Bella Vista, Van.	
114	4B	1008 E. 14th, Van.	vc
115	4B	1014 / 1018 E. 16th, Van.	vr
116	4B	1310 E. 8th, Van.	
117	4B	1175 E. 15th, Van.	vr
118	4C	2022 E. 8th, Van.	
119	4C	1760 E. 13th, Van.	
120	4C	3562 Woodland, Van	
121	4C	1033 E. 14th, Van.	
122	4C	1316 E. 18th, Van.	
123	4C	1040 E. 14th, Van.	
124	4C	1971 E. 4th, Van.	vc
125	4C	1093 E. 15th, Van.	
126	4C	1860 14th, Van.	
127	4C	2200 block, E 14th Van.	
128	4C	1387 E 13th, Van.	
129	4D	2321 E 12th, Van.	
130	4D	2496E 11th, Van.	vc
131	4D	1837 E 14th, Van.	vr
132	4D	2691 Naniamo, Van.	
133	4D	2542 E 12th, Van.	
134	4D	2436 E 12th, Van.	
135	4D	2333 15th Van.	
136	4E	3079 E 15th, Van.	
137	4E	3078 E. 15th, Van.	
138	4E	2675 Penticton, Van.	
139	4E	3034 Grandview, Van.	
140	4E	2705 E. 15th, Van.	

Appendix 2.

Street Addresses of Survey Sample showing residents
contacted and interviewed.

vc= residents contacted by letter and phone.
vr = residents interviewed.

141	4E	2952 E. 5th, Van.	
142	5C	1668 E. 21st, Van.	
143	5C	1649 22nd, Van.	
144	5C	3752 Maxwell, Van.	
145	5D	2750 E. 16th, Van.	
146	5D	2535 E. 23rd, Van.	
147	5E	3541 Renfrew, Van.	
148	5E	3092 E. 21st, Van.	
149	5E	3155 E 18th, Van.	
150	5E	2627 E 19th, Van.	
151	5E	3040 E 22nd, Van.	
152	5E	3930 Kaslo, Van.	
153	5E	4076 Penticton, Van.	
154	5D	3515 Lakewood, Van.	
155	5F	3990 Cassiar, Van.	vr
156	5F	311 E. 21st, Van.	
157	5F	3242 E. 19th, Van.	
158	6E	3111 E 29th, Van.	
159	6F	4606 McHardy, Van.	
160	6F	3551 29th, Van.	
161	5G	3570 Kalyk, Bby.	
162	5G	3781 Linwood, Bby.	
163	5G	3918, 3920 Boundary, Bby	
164	6B	4809 Henry, Van.	
165	6C	1676 E 29th, Van.	
166	6B	1236 E. 26th, Van.	
167	6B	4542 Elgin, Van.	
168	6B	4751 Inverness, Van.	
169	6C	1349 E 28th, Van.	
170	6C	4341 Welwyn, Van.	
171	6C	4105 Victoria Drive, Van.	
172	6C	1682 E. 29th, Van.	
173	6C	1761 E 34th, Van.	
174	6C	1728 E. 28th, Van.	
175	6C	4760 Fleming, Van.	
176	6C	4515 Fleming, Van.	
177	6C	1775 E 29th, Van.	
178	6D	4369 Gladstone, Van.	
179	6D	2268 Wenonah, Van.	
180	6D	2428 Galt, Van.	
181	6D	2189 E. 29th, Van.	
182	6D	4279 Brant St., Van.	
183	6G	4506 & 4508 Inman, Bby.	
184	6E	4947 Moss, Van.	
185	6E	4606 Slocan, Van.	
186	6E	4870 Slocan, Van.	
187	6E	2725 Chevenne, Van.	

Appendix 2.

Street Addresses of Survey Sample showing residents contacted and interviewed.

vc= residents contacted by letter and phone.
vr = residents interviewed.

188	6E	4875 Killarney, Van.	
189	6F	3160 E 29th, Van.	
190	6G	4525 Smith, Bby.	
191	6F	3425 Price, Van.	
192	6F	4024 Windemere, Van.	
193	6F	3253 E 29th, Van.	
194	6F	3378 Monmouth, Van.	
195	6F	3135 Windemere, Van.	
196	6G	3776 Moscrop, Bby	
197	6G	3855 Pine, Van.	
198	6G	3844 Spruce, Bby	
199	6G	3005 E. 29th, Van.	
200	6G	3873 Spruce Street. Bby.	
201	7D	2308 E. 39th, Van.	
202	7D	2106 E. 42nd, Van.	
203	7D	2587 E. 40th, Van.	
204	7D	2261 E. 40th, Van.	vr
205	7D	2039 E. 34th, Van.	
206	7D	2209 E. 39th, Van..	
207	7D	2411 E. 39th, Van.	vc
208	7D	5348 Rhodes, Van.	
209	7E	2604 Duke, Van.	vr
210	7E	5415 Rhodes, Van.	vc
211	7F	5330 McHardy, Van.	
212	7F	5571 Melbourne, Van.	
213	7F	5574 Aberdeen, Van.	
214	6G	3849 Lister, Bby.	
215	7F	3315 Austrey, Van.	
216	7G	3625 Rae, Van.	
217	6G	4092 Kincaid, Bby	
218	7G	4077 Moscrop, Bby	
219	7G	4083 Moscrop, Bby	

APPENDIX 4

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NINE GARDEN SUB-TYPES.

The Three Garden Types

The Garden in this typology would contain the first four of the five physical properties found in the Persian private pleasure garden. These properties are an enclosed rectangular space, the presence or allusion of water, an ordered horticulture, a level surface area and the presence of manufactured decorative items. A detailed discussion of these properties is covered in Chapter 5. The Garden is likely to be professionally designed, built and maintained.

The Garden-Courtyard contains the first four elements of the Persian garden but the space is used as an extension to the living space of the house. The family performs utilitarian tasks in this space and socializes with other family members, friends and neighbours. The design, building and maintenance of this type of garden is most likely conducted by the home-owners.¹ This type of garden is the most common rear garden in the metropolitan Vancouver landscape.

The Garden-Yard also contains the first four physical properties of the Persian garden but the space is used solely for utilitarian purposes. Here the owners are concerned about privacy and security but not about horticulture. The privacy and security are required to conduct utilitarian activities such as truck servicing, manufacture and transportation of goods or storage of materials.

The Three Courtyard Types

The Courtyard in the urban North-American worker's home is fenced or walled and gated. It is designed to reflect both horticultural and functional activities of urban life. It combines the horticulture of the contemplative Persian garden with, useable domestic fruit trees and other household plants and also allows undifferentiated off-street space to park and work on the family car. This is the most common type of urban front garden found in the metropolitan Vancouver area.

The Courtyard-Garden would contain the fenced and gated aspects of the courtyard together with at least four of the physical properties of the Persian garden. It will however display only the horticultural aspects and aesthetic appeal of the private pleasure garden and will most probably be designed and built by craftspeople. The creators see the garden as a work of beautification, continuing the ancient idea of the garden, than as a utilitarian space to be functionally used. They see the Courtyard-Garden as the formal outdoor room which is an extension of the house. If a car driveway is present in the front of the house, the garden will be differentiated from it in a formal manner thereby maintaining the integrity of the courtyard-garden.

The Courtyard-Yard displays the same fenced and gated features of the courtyard but the use of the space will reflect utilitarian concerns and may be completely devoid of any horticulture.

The Three Yard Types

The Yard displays none of the first four physical properties of the Persian garden, will be very public in its appearance and if any fencing is present it is to direct, rather than control, physical access not visual access and it will be devoted entirely to utilitarian or social pursuits. This type of garden will usually not be found around a private home, and is more prevalent in commercial or institutional settings. There is very little private, family social activities conducted in this space and very little family production of food or goods. In North America it is best characterised by a asphalt or cement surface and an industrial chain link fence.

The Yard-Garden will have the attributes of open access but will exhibit at least the first four physical properties of the Persian garden and its owners will consider its horticulture and design as an art form. This type of garden tends to be in front of commercial or institutional buildings but can also be seen in the North American Modern-style open-plan garden suburb developments. It will probably be professionally designed and built. Little family social life will be conducted in this space and any goods located in this space will be for public display and social standing.

The Yard-Courtyard contains all of the open public aspects of the yard but is characterised by the mix of both horticultural and functional pursuits carried on in the courtyard. It displays the owner's level of interest in amateur horticulture together with fruit and other domestic food production, such as herbs, but also provide space for parking and fixing the car and for the children to play. It is the informal out-door room of the house.

Endnotes

1. Rolf Meyerson & Robin Jackson "Gardening in Suburbia" (1958) in *The Suburban Community* (William M. Dobriner ed.) pp. 271 - 286 & also Christopher Grampp (1985) "Gardens for California Living" in *Landscape* Vol. 28. No. 3. pp. 40 - 47.

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-3321

Appendix 5.

Sample of Letter requesting Interview

May 26th, 1989

Mr. & Mrs. Garden Resident,
27, Grosvenor,
Burnaby, B. C.
V5G 3N7

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Garden Resident,

Your front garden has been included in a survey that I am conducting of front gardens in the East Vancouver and North Burnaby area.

I am studying the gardens of the suburbs as part of the work to obtain my Master's Degree in Cultural Geography at Simon Fraser University. I am interested in front gardens like yours.

I would like to ask you how you came to landscape your front garden in the style that you have and to ask you about your family's previous experience on gardening.

I will be phoning you shortly to set up an appointment for an interview with you at your convenience. You are under no obligation to participate in this interview and need only to say "No" when I phone you, or, return this letter to me telling me you do not wish to be phoned.

The notes that I make of our interview will remain strictly confidential and you will not be personally identified in my study.

If you have any further questions please call me at either my home (420 3316) or at the Department of Geography (291 3321) and leave a message for me. Meanwhile, I look forward to speaking with you shortly on the telephone.

yours sincerely,

Rod Fowler, B.A.
Master's Degree Candidate

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW GUIDE AND RECORDING SHEET

Garden Survey Number:

Interview Number:

Biographic Information

Name:

Address:

Phone:

Spouse's name:

Children:

Ages:

Interviewee Emmigrant:	From:	When:
Spouse Emmigrant:	From:	When:
Children Emmigrant:	From:	When:

Interviewee's Ethnic Identification:

Garden Information

How Long Lived in House:

Who Designed the Garden:

(If Tradespersons, who were they:)

Where did the design, Model come from:

Did they obtain help from neighbours in design and/or building of the garden.

(If so, do these neighbours have a similar style of garden.)

Who built the garden and when:

Was the garden built from scratch or was an earlier garden renovated:

Approx. total cost:

Does it increase the property value in the respondent's opinion:

Ethnicity Questions

Have the respondents seen the formal gardens of Palaces and Villas in their old country.

If yes-

from living there:

from visiting there:

from magazines, television, films or books:

If they lived in the old country, was it a city, town, village, countryside.

In which area of the community did they live, central core, suburbs, outskirts.

Does their garden look to them the same, or similar, as the ones they used as models:

Do they want their garden to look the same or similar:

Do they think their garden will help to show their children what the old country looks like:

Do they think their garden will help show to other ethnic groups what gardens in their old country look like:

Do they think their garden identifies them as belonging to an ethnic minority group:

to others of their group:

to the public at large:

Was this their intention:

Do they want this:

Do they know the names and meanings of -

the forms in the garden:

the statues in the garden:

Have they planted what they believe to be traditional old country plants in the garden:

Presentation of self

Do they think that they are financially better-off now than when they were in the old country:

Do they think that they have been successful in Vancouver in what they wanted to do in Canada:

Cultural Questions

Languages spoken:

Do they read their ethnic (or other) -
 Books, Magazines or newspapers:
 Listen to Ethnic Opera, Music or Drama:
 Listen to Ethnic Radio and T.V. Shows:

Do they travel to the old country:
 How often:

Did they sell-up in Canada and return to the old country and then return to Canada again:

Do they go to their ethnic Cultural Centre (if one):
 How often:

If Italian, do they go to the Italian Cultural Institute:
 How often:

Do they belong to any ethnic social or political groups or organizations -
 In Vancouver:
 In old country:

Do they hold an office in those groups or organizations:

Do they belong to any other groups or organizations in Vancouver or elsewhere:

Do they hold an office in those groups:

Socio-Economic Questions

What are their occupations in Vancouver:

Do they possess any trade, vocational or professional training:

Educational level(s) achieved:

Other Information Offered by Interviewees

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