

THE OLIVE TREE AND THE HOSPITALLERS' GARDENS IN JERUSALEM AND LONDON

By Margaret King

Three bronze swifts hide within the branches of a living olive tree in a cloister garden in the centre of London. A further 150 bronze swifts swirl around a sculpture of an olive tree in a peace garden in the Old City of Jerusalem. Both gardens commemorate the early medicinal healing given by the eleventh-century Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, which provided care and treatment for pilgrims after their long journey to the Holy Land. The cloister garden sits within the grounds of the medieval Priory of St John in Clerkenwell, once the English headquarters of the Order, whilst the peace garden in the Muriṣtan, Jerusalem lies over the underground ruins of the one thousand year old Hospital itself.

The Muriṣtan peace garden

It was the native olive tree and the swifts that flock to the Old City every spring that were the inspiration behind the sculpture for a new garden of peace in the Muriṣtan district of Jerusalem. There had been a tiny garden here since 1972, recessed from the street with a memorial marking it as the site of the medieval Hospital of St John. Extended in 2016, the garden was fashioned from the rubble of a neighbouring football pitch, with the ancient cisterns, tunnels and tombs hidden underneath.

Standing centre-stage is artist Mark Coreth's bronze sculpture of an olive tree, with a canopy made not out of leaves but out of 150 swifts (*fig. 39*). Coreth modelled its 'tired, battle-worn trunk' on a tree, hundreds of years old, that he found in Tantur up in the hills above Jerusalem. For millennia the olive tree has provided those who tend its groves with fruit, oil for anointing, eating and cooking, and medicinal balms, and it holds a special place in all the Abrahamic religions. For Coreth, the gnarled bronze tree symbolises the fractures, tensions and resilience of modern day Jerusalem - 'its age, its beauty, its suffering but also its new growth' - whilst the swirling bronze swifts conjure up the restless movement and migration of its people through the ages.

The entrance gate boasts an eight-pointed white cross, which is the badge of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (*fig. 40*). Two Mediterranean cypress trees stand either side of the gate with bougainvillea spilling over the wall. It is a small, enclosed paved courtyard, landscaped by Bayan Hadieh, providing a rest area for patients at the hospital, with a fountain and a pergola to give shade from the hot sun, a space for entertainment, a museum and a panoramic outlook over the city. Some of the migrating swifts are now occupying nesting boxes in the garden walls.

The garden was created when St John Eye Hospital renovated a former ophthalmic clinic as a walk-in clinic at the heart of the Old City of Jerusalem, just south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Although it sits within the grounds of the medieval Hospital, the ruins of the original buildings have either been destroyed or buried under the modern Muriṣtan compound. This is a densely populated area where 38,000 people live in less than one square kilometre, many of them below the poverty line. It is an area that cries out for green and tranquility.

The Hospitallers in Jerusalem

If doctors fail you, let these three be doctors for you:

A joyful mind, rest, and a moderate diet.¹

The origins of the Muriṣtan peace garden are rooted in the late eleventh century when the legendary 'Blessed Gerard' was head of a pilgrim hospice, a *xenodochium*, dedicated to John the Baptist. Gerard's origins are obscure but it is probable that he was one of a number of Benedictine brothers from the rich maritime republic of Amalfi in southern Italy, with the famous medical school of Salerno nearby. Gerard proved to be highly resourceful, developing a network of hospices along the pilgrim routes from Europe to Jerusalem. By 1113 he had persuaded Pope Paschall II to formally recognise the brotherhood as a religious order - the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, known as the Hospitallers - with a duty of care for the sick regardless of their creed or country.

Jerusalem had long been a destination for pilgrims, and there had been a hospice here since before the time of Charlemagne. It was a

1. From *The Salernitan Regimen of Health*, the medieval didactic poem attributed to the Schola Medica Salernitana (medical school of Salerno), c.12TH century.



39. The Tree of Hope in the Muristan peace garden, 2016
(COURTESY OF MARK CORETH)

40. Looking west towards the entrance gates of the Muristan peace garden, c.2016
(COURTESY OF ST. JOHN EYE HOSPITAL, JERUSALEM)

city with strong walls, gates and paved streets; rich in languages, cultures and beliefs; holy to Jews, Christians and Muslims. Following the brutal capture of the city by the Crusaders in 1099, pilgrims streamed into the new Christian kingdom, often arriving ill and impoverished after arduous journeys (fig. 41). True to their name, the Hospitallers offered them hospitality in the form of food and accommodation in a vast enclosure, which contained enormous halls with vaulted roofs supported by pillars. The enclosure also contained the small monastery of St Mary of the Latins (fragments of whose cloister have been restored), and two other churches, one of which - St John the Baptist - still stands.

Gradually the hospice evolved into a Hospital of more than a thousand beds, with an innovative medical regime of rest, good diet and hygiene. The sick had a bed of their own with fresh linen, a sheepskin cloak, blanket and boots, a lavish diet of meats, milk, bread and fruits, and much use of oxymel - a medicinal syrup made from a mix of herbs sweetened with honey or sugar.

Little is known about the early gardens of the Hospitallers; if they existed they are long buried under the city streets. No remains of medieval garden beds have been uncovered, but it is tempting to imagine that medicinal herbs were grown near to the Hospital, as in the monastic infirmary gardens of Europe, most famously at the wealthy monastery of St Gall in Switzerland. Knowledge of healing herbs was well advanced in the Levant thanks to early Arabic translations of ancient Greek texts, in particular Dioscorides' authoritative work on the medicinal properties of more than six hundred plants. These ancient texts were built upon by Islamic scholars such as Ibn Sina (known as Avicenna in Europe), who wrote a massive six volume *Canon of Medicine* in the eleventh century.

Many of the plants used to heal, cure, soothe and sedate grew wild in the Levant across its Mediterranean scrub, desert grasslands, mountain ranges and coastal sand dunes. Hyssop (*Origanum syriacum*) is a plant of Palestine symbolising spiritual as well as physical purification - 'purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean' says the *Book of Psalms*. A decoction of hyssop made with figs, water, honey and rue to help inflammation of the

lungs and shortness of breath was recorded by the sixteenth-century English plantsman and author of *The Herball*, John Gerard. Tarthuth (*Cynomorium coccineum*) is a plant of the desert that lies underground feeding parasitically on the roots of salt-tolerant plants until the winter rains, when its leafless red spikes shoot up through the sand. It was prescribed by Arab physicians as early as the ninth century for bleeding disorders, and was heralded as 'the treasure of drugs'. (Later, when the Hospitallers retreated to Malta in the sixteenth century, they found tarthuth growing in abundance, hence its common name of Maltese mushroom. They guarded and harvested it each year, and proudly presented it to royal and noble families across Europe.) Of the many species of *Anemone*, the scarlet *A. coronaria*, commonly known as the windflower, grew in abundance across Palestine. There is a story that the Bishop of Pisa brought back soil as ballast on his return from a crusade in the Holy Land. This soil was spread on Pisa's Campo Santo where a wonderful display of flowers emerged the following spring. Gerard records its 'virtues' as purging the head by smelling its juices and clearing phlegm by chewing its roots. Some believe that this plant was the biblical 'lily of the field', whilst others give that distinction to the scarlet Martagon or Turks cap lily (*L. chalcedonicum*) which grew on the plains of Galilee.

The demands on the Hospitallers for food and provisions must have been enormous. The enclosure was bounded on the south by the narrow lane of David Street where there was a market which may have belonged to the Hospitallers. To the east were three more vaulted markets, where butchers and herbalists plied their trades. A covered street known as the 'Street of Herbs' sheltered in this complex of richly stocked markets selling fruits, herbs, spices and other produce supplied by the nearby villages with their orchards, vineyards and gardens. (Although Jerusalem was surrounded by dry, inhospitable hills, the fertile valleys nearer the coast were renowned for their lemons, pomegranates, vegetables and sugar canes). Ready-cooked foods for the pilgrims filled Malquisinat, the Street of Bad Cooking.

The Latins settled, cultivated the land and traded with the merchants of Pisa, Venice,

Genoa, Sicily, Marseille and Amalfi. Ideas about medicinal practices and herbal remedies flowed across this busy trans-Mediterranean network of seafaring travellers. And as the pilgrims and crusaders journeyed home through the mountainous roads, river crossings and seaports, they brought 'souvenirs' of seeds, shrubs and herbs with them, often accidentally. Legend has it that the Cedar of Lebanon (used for the roof of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem in about 830BC) was introduced to France by Louis VII on his return from the failed Second Crusade, whilst *Rosa gallica*, the apothecaries' rose used for medicinal, decorative and cosmetic purposes, was brought by his wife Eleanor.

The Crusaders' rule in Jerusalem was short-lived, lasting only 88 years. Constant attacks from the surrounding Muslim kingdoms compelled the Hospitallers to defend their lands by adopting a military branch of knights, and building castles and fortresses in addition to protecting and caring for pilgrims. This unlikely combination of knighthood and monasticism was a new and uniquely Crusader institution. When Jerusalem finally surrendered to Saladin, the Hospitallers withdrew to Acre where they built spectacular new headquarters, but they were soon forced out of Palestine to retreat westwards, finally ending up in Malta. The great Hospital in Jerusalem was lost, leaving behind only the name 'Murištan', a name derived from the Persian word '*Bemarestan*' which means 'hospital'.

The priory in Clerkenwell

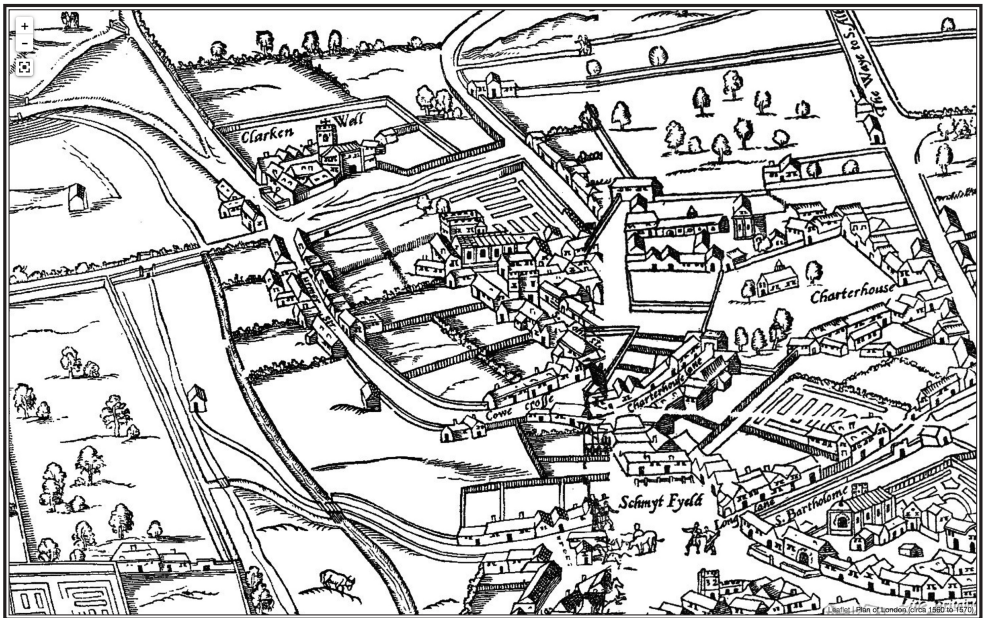
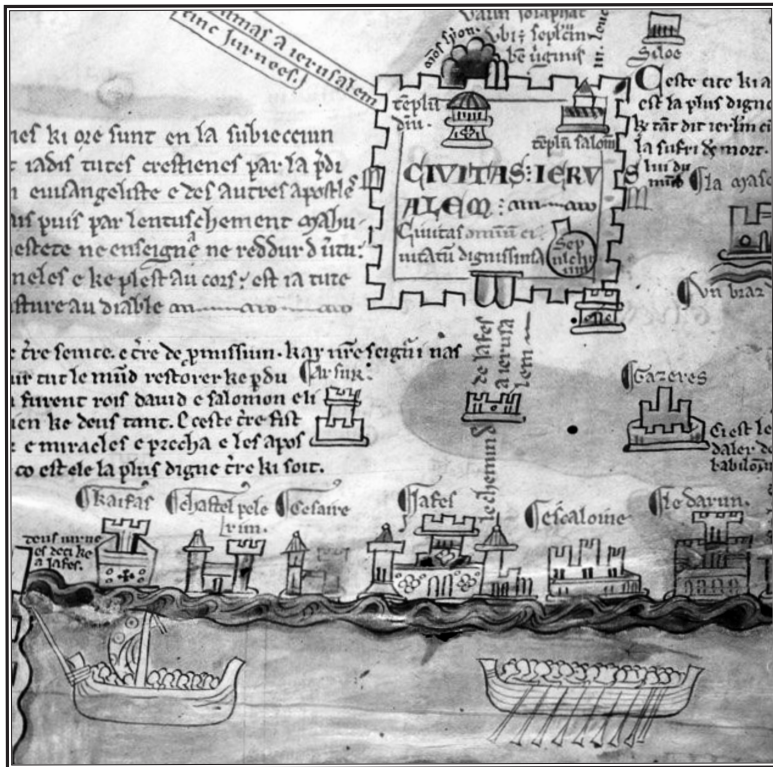
The Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem fired Europe's imagination and gifts poured in to fund the Hospitallers' mission. Their kindred order, the Templars, enjoyed the most popularity for a while, however the Hospitallers became rich enough to establish priories and hospitals in Pisa, in St Gilles in the south of France, and also in London when, in 1144, they were granted ten acres of land just outside the City walls in Clerkenwell. This became the headquarters of the English branch of the Order of St John with a crypt and a grand Priory Church with a circular nave, recreating the shape of the Byzantine rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

In common with all monastic

establishments at that time, the Clerkenwell Priory gave hospitality to travellers, but there is no evidence that it ever became a hospital. Alms were given to the poor, and funds were raised so that knights could march through the City of London on their way to the Holy Land. According to the monk and chronicler, Matthew Paris, writing in 1229, 'They set out elegantly from their house in Clerkenwell with around 30 uncovered shields, spears raised and standard going before them.' Meadows, pasture and gardens stretched out beyond the precinct walls and the 'sweet, wholesome, clear water' of a nearby well - the Clerks' Well from which the area got its name - was enjoyed both by the brethren and the Benedictine nuns next door. Within the precinct, there was an orchard with a fishpond, sometimes called 'fridaye ponde' as it supplied the fish for the meatless diet mandatory on Fridays and in Lent.

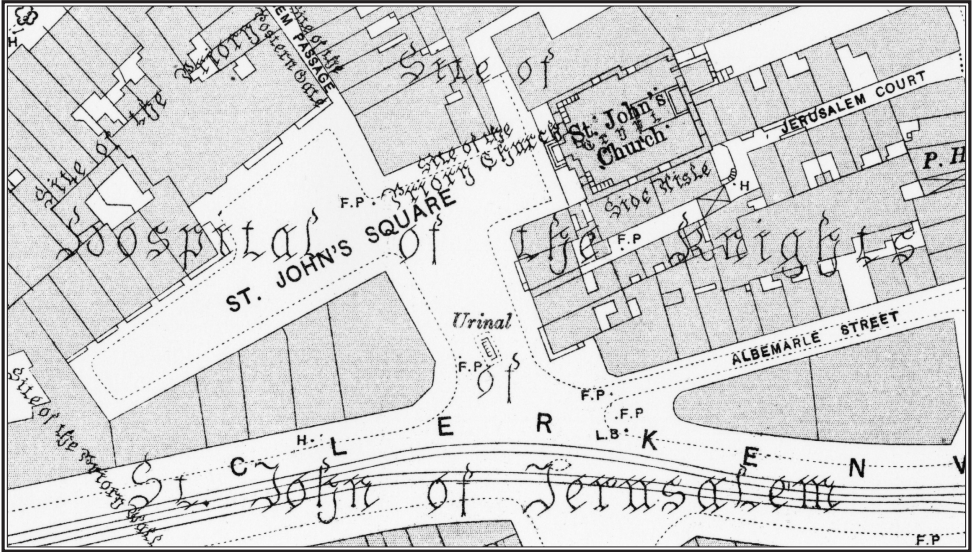
Over time, the priory developed into a complex of large halls, offering princely hospitality to the rich and the powerful, whilst an outer precinct developed for the chaplains and knights, their servants and tenants. By the end of the thirteenth century the round nave of the Priory Church had been rebuilt on conventional rectangular lines with a Cloister adjoining the chapel. Today the footprint of the circular church is marked in cobbles on the pavement in St John's Square. There were vegetable and herb gardens and dove-cotes (*fig. 42*). The Hospitallers flourished in Clerkenwell for four hundred years, somehow surviving the poll tax revolt of 1381 when the church nave was again destroyed and the prior beheaded - he had been responsible for collection of the hated tax. Increasingly the English Order became known for avarice and, having grown to become one of the greatest ecclesiastical landlords in England which included the site of what was to become Hampton Court, it was stripped of all its land and wealth in the Reformation. Though not formally suppressed, its activities came to an end.

It was not until the late nineteenth century that the British Order of St John was revived. Seeking to establish medical links to



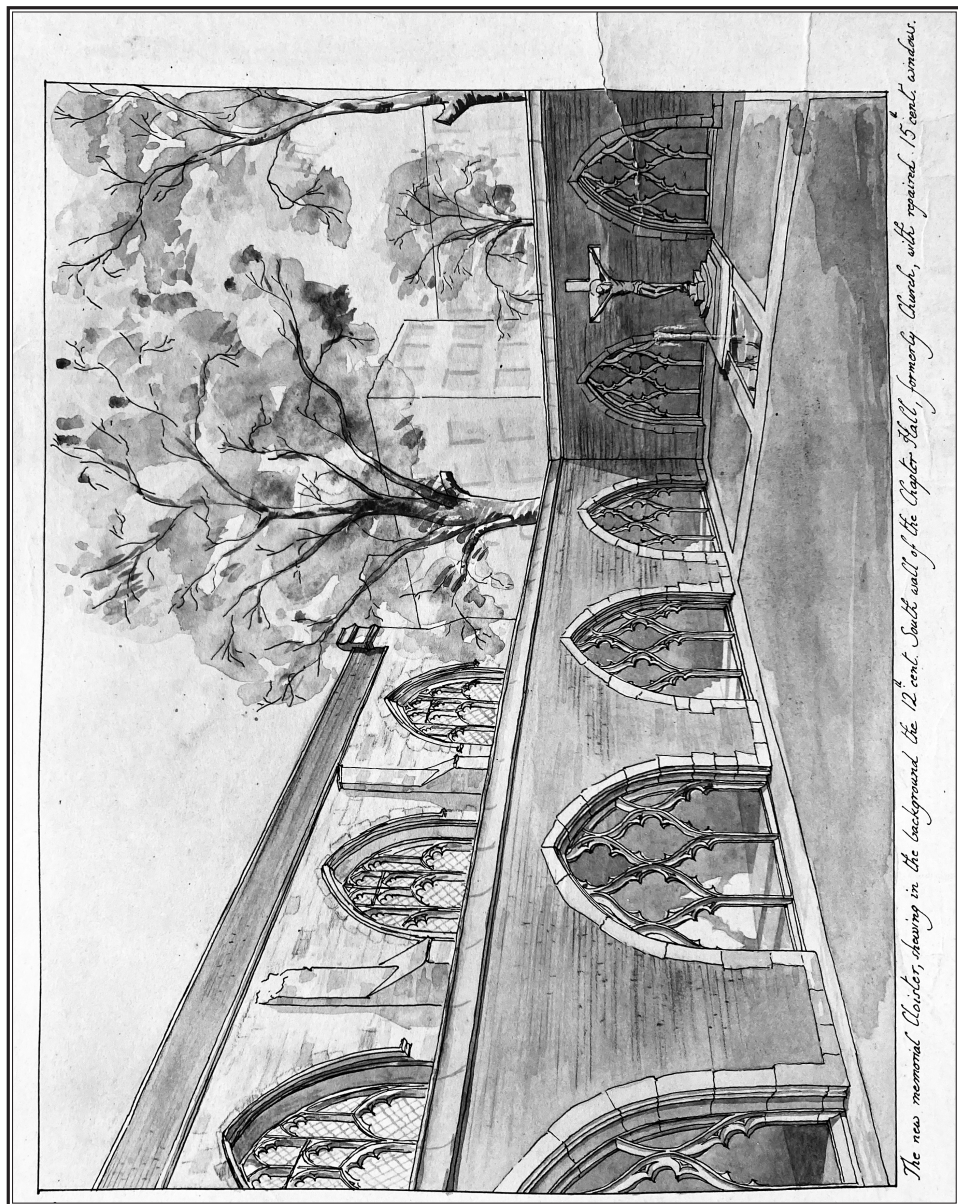
41. Ships arriving to dock on the shores of Palestine with Jerusalem as the destination.
Extract from an illustrated itinerary to Jerusalem, Matthew Paris c.1250
(COURTESY © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD)

42. Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John in the centre, with the Nunnery of St Mary to the north, both founded by Jordan de Briest. Extract from Agas Map, c.1651
(COURTESY © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD)



43. Site of St. John's Church in 1894. Extract from Ordnance Survey, London VII.45 revised 1894
(REPRODUCED WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND)

44. Ruined church and site of the new cloister garden in 1955
(COURTESY © MUSEUM OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, LONDON)



45. Plan for the new memorial cloister. Watercolour detail from Rebuilding Plan designed by Seeley & Paget and drawn by Lord Mottistone, March 1952
(COURTESY © MUSEUM OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, LONDON)

its past, two charities were founded - St John Ambulance (as it is now known) and St John Eye Hospital in Jerusalem.

The cloister garden in Clerkenwell

*Why should a man die who has sage in his garden?
Against the power of death there is not medicine in
our gardens*

*But Sage calms the nerves, takes away hand
Tremors, and helps cure fever.*

Sage, castoreum, lavender, primrose,

*Nasturtium, and athanasia cure paralytic parts of
the body.*

O sage the saviour, of nature the conciliator!²

At the heart of the cloister garden in Clerkenwell is an olive tree, this time a real one, encircled by a pebble sett. The olive tree was already well over one hundred years old when it was transplanted in 2015 to a place in the garden formerly occupied by a fountain. Almost hidden within the branches of the tree are three bronze swifts sculpted by Mark Coreth, a grouping which tells of the three Abrahamic faiths and the hope of peace. They echo the bronze olive tree with its canopy of swirling swifts which stands in the peace garden in the Muriṣtan.

The Priory Church, largely demolished after the Dissolution leaving only the chancel, side aisles and crypt, had been rebuilt in the 1720s as a second parish church for Clerkenwell. A narrow alleyway known as Jerusalem Court, a 'rough and reputedly dangerous' address according to Charles Booth's investigator, wound its way over the site of the thirteenth century Cloister towards St John's Street, its tenements abutting the church until they were pulled down in 1906 (*fig. 43*). As the size of the parish dwindled the church became redundant, and in the 1930s it was handed over to the modern Order.

More devastation was to follow, this time from the Blitz in May 1941, leaving only the outer shell of the church and miraculously the twelfth-century crypt below. An extensive restoration programme was then undertaken, to designs by architects John Seeley (Lord Mottistone) and Paul Paget, which included a scheme for a memorial garden and cloister adjoining the church on open land acquired before the war (*fig. 44*).

The garden was created in 1959, slightly to the east of the site of the medieval Cloister, with the wall of the renovated church and crypt below forming its south-facing boundary. A porticoed archway with iron gates commemorating Thomas Docwra (one of the last priors before the Dissolution, who had spent vast sums on rebuilding much of the Priory Church and gate house) frames the entrance. The pre-war ground level had already risen well above its medieval level and the rubble from the fire-bombed church raised it even higher leaving room for only a shallow layer of top soil in the garden. There were a series of revised designs for the garden, stored today in the archives of the Order's Museum at St John's Gate. A watercolour detail from an early 1952 rebuilding plan shows a formal compartmented lawn surrounded by a four-sided cloister, with a crucifix on a plinth behind a rectangular ground-level pool and simple fountain (*fig. 45*). However these were times of austerity, funds were short and the plans were scaled back. The garden was eventually grassed like a simple medieval cloister garth, with a perimeter path of York stone and a single cloister-walk that formed the east boundary of the garden. A stone crucifix carved by Cecil Thomas was hung on the cloister facade as a memorial to those who lost their lives in the two world wars (*fig. 46*). Rather oddly, a sixteenth-century cannon was mounted on a plinth in the centre of the north-facing border for a time (it was removed to the Museum in 1975). Benches and some 'peripheral planting' running alongside the cloister-walk and the north-facing border were added sometime later.

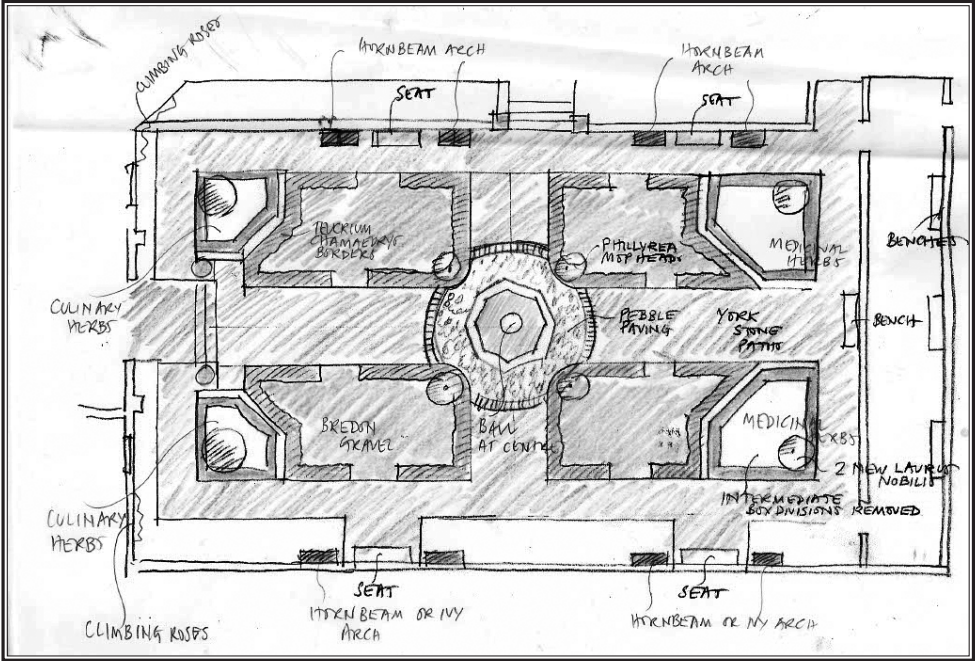
After a period of decay the cloister garth was restored in the 1990s to a more elaborate design by James Nash (some of the funding came from the Corporation of London). Nash was an 'adventurer' who rode alone from Istanbul to Jerusalem in a horse and cart in the late 1980s to raise money for St John Eye Hospital, a poet and presumably a keen gardener. The grassed open space was left for 'functions' including schemes with local schools organised by the Museum staff.

2. From *The Salernitan Regimen of Health*, *op.cit.*



46. Cloister garth and sculpture from the Docwra gate entrance, c.1960
(COURTESY © MUSEUM OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, LONDON)

47. Garden from cloister walkway with grassed open spaces, box-edged knot gardens and fountain, 2006
(COURTESY © MUSEUM OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, LONDON)



48. Ideas for the cloister garden designed and drawn by George Carter, 2010
(COURTESY OF GEORGE CARTER DESIGN)

49. Cloister garden with raised corner beds, central fountains and new beds ready for planting, 2011
(COURTESY OF ALISON WEAR)



50. Cloister garden with central olive tree in 2021
(COURTESY © MUSEUM OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN/HARRIET LANGFORD)

Photographs from 2006 show quarter-octagonal raised beds planted as 'simple box-edged knot gardens' at the four corners of the lawn and a long-awaited fountain at the centre. The corner beds by the garden entrance each contained a bay tree whilst those by the cloister-walk contained roses (*fig. 47*).

In 2010, in conjunction with a major redevelopment of the Museum, the garden was re-landscaped in its present design (with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Wellcome Trust). For the first time, the garden was opened up to the public. The corner beds and fountain were retained, but all the grass was removed and paving stones laid to create a cross-walk leading to the central fountain and dividing the garden into four rectangular sections. Surrounding each section, narrow beds were carved in a formal, geometric pattern, originally envisaged as a gravel and *Teucrium chamaedrys* parterre with cloister-like hornbeam arches on the north and south boundaries, suggested by garden historian and designer George Carter (*figs. 48 & 49*).

The final planting design by Alison Wear was more informal and focused on the medicinal and culinary herbs of the monastic period to reflect the work of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem. Each quadrant is filled with paving stones and surrounded with soft and aromatic planting of lavender, rosemary, wormwood, sage, poppy, cotton lavender, thyme and marjoram, spilling over the edges of the pathways, with dramatic spires of fennel and cardoons. Jerusalem sage (*Phlomis fruticosa*), rock roses (*Cistus sp.*), false Maltese cross (*Lychnis chalcidonica*), two citrus trees and two young olive trees in strategically placed containers, also reflect the history of the Order in the eastern Mediterranean. When the Hospitallers retreated to Malta, apothecaries dried and stored their medicinal herbs in beautiful pharmacy jars which can be seen in the Museum. A shady border along the north-facing boundary has a water spout and more eclectic planting, including St John's wort (*Hypericum sp.*) which was used as a remedy as early as the first century AD, then as a magic charm to protect against witches,

demons and diseases during the Middle Ages, whilst in more recent times, it has found its place in the treatment of depression and anxiety disorders.

More recent touches to the garden have been to replace the central fountain in 2015 with the olive tree (probably for practical reasons) (*fig. 50*), and finally to settle the three bronze swifts in the branches of the tree a couple of years later (*fig. 51*). The garden is much loved and much used, especially at lunch times, and is well maintained by a volunteer gardener. There are benches, books to share and read, and plans for a new community gardener. Private receptions and summer parties are popular. The strip of green land running behind the cloister and church still has beehives, and honey is made and sold every year. This is a tranquil, ornamental space of birdsong and humming bees, surprisingly well secluded from the clamour and hustle of Clerkenwell.

Gardens of remembrance and commemoration

These two courtyard gardens with their olive trees have both been created as a place of remembrance of the care and healing given by the medieval Hospital in Jerusalem. Both sit on long-demolished historic sites which once belonged to the Hospitallers, with fragments of ancient architecture from the medieval buildings remaining. From the shelter of their small, enclosed spaces, they offer a place to escape the masses in the midst of busy and fraught city centres.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Mark Coreth, Bayan Hadieh, George Carter, Alison Wear, the Museum of the Order of St John London and St John Eye Hospital Jerusalem.

Sources of information

Maggie Campbell-Culver *The Origin of Plants*
Headline 2001

Mark Coreth 'Swifts of Hope fly for St John',
Jerusalem Scene Winter 2016

E. Hume 'Medical Works of the Knights Hospitallers'
Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine Vol 6
No 5 May 1938



51. Bronze swift in the olive tree, 2021
(PHOTOGRAPH MARGARET KING)

Amit Re'em, Jon Seligman, Zubair 'Adawi and Rafef Abu Raya, *Crusader remains in the Muristan, Old City of Jerusalem: A decade of archeological gleanings*. Atiqot, January 2011.

Jonathan Riley-Smith *Hospitallers The History of the Order of St John*, Bloomsbury, 2018

Barney Sloane and Gordon Malcolm *Excavations at the Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell*, MOLAS Monograph 20 2004

Philip Temple eds. *Survey of London* vol 46, *South and East Clerkenwell*, 2008

GOD-SENT DELIGHTS:

EMSLIE HORNIMAN PLEASANCE GARDENS

By Elena Fateeva

The Emslie Horniman Pleasance Gardens are situated in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. Approaching the Pleasance westwards from Conlan Street the setting is much as it would have been at the time of its creation in 1914 – a mixture of civic and industrial buildings belonging to the late nineteenth century, including a school and an omnibus garage (fig. 52). The white rendered wall along East Row meets one's eye as something out of the ordinary: large round openings, pillars reminiscent of flying buttresses; it is as if a medieval church has unwrapped itself onto the street, complete with articulated entrances and Tudor arches (fig. 53). The effect is mystical and fortress-like.

It is not surprising given the garden's presentation that its designer was an architectural rebel. A proponent of the Gothic tradition on spiritual, rational and artistic grounds, C.F.A. Voysey (1857-1941) was, according to his biographer Wendy Hitchmough, the most influential designer in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century with a world-wide reputation. It was his ideas, in particular his interpretation of the works of John Ruskin and A. W. N. Pugin, that earned him the respect of his peers and left an enduring legacy.¹ He was so committed to his ideology that his sometimes bitter rejection of

the classical revival of the early 1900s cost him his thriving practice and gravely affected his personal circumstances.² It was during these financially strained times that the commission to design the Pleasance came from his long-time friend and client Emslie Horniman (1863-1932). Horniman, having purchased the 0.4-acre piece of land in Kensal Town, gifted it to the people of London to be used in perpetuity as a recreation ground.³

New Kensal Town, as it was known at the time, was created by London's need to extend out. Its locale was enclosed by the construction of the Grand Union Canal in the north and the Great Western Railway in the south.⁴ A series of developments between the 1840s and 1870s introduced tightly-packed narrow houses, which were occupied by an ever-expanding population of migrants from the inner city as well as workers from the railway, nearby gasworks and local laundrettes (fig. 54).⁵ Laundering was a chief occupation in Kensal Town earning it the nickname "soapsuds island".⁶

Conditions in this isolated part of the city were extremely over-crowded: 'Inhabited by the poorest of the poor – most of the houses let out in tenements – three, four, five and six families in a house, [...] a particularly drab looking locality' is how Kensal Town was described at the time of the garden's opening.⁷ By then it had already been condemned by Charles Booth as a slum, although his description gives it an air of a pleasant rural suburb: 'trampled under foot by the advance of London, but still able to show cottages and gardens; and gateways between houses in its streets leading back to open spaces, suggestive of the paddock and pony of days gone'.⁸

As a liberal MP for Chelsea between 1898 and 1907 Emslie Horniman was acutely

2. Hitchmough, *CFA Voysey, op.cit.*, pp.11, 209.

3. London County Council (LCC), *Opening of the Emslie Horniman Pleasance, Kensal Town, On Wednesday, 20th May 1914*, p.5.

4. LCC, *Opening of the Emslie Horniman Pleasance, ... op.cit.*, p.6.

5. 'Kensal Green', in *Survey of London: Volume 37, Northern Kensington*, ed. F H W Sheppard (London, 1973), pp.333-339. See British History online <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol37/pp333-339>.

6. English Heritage, *Old Oak Outline Historic Area Assessment*, Geraint Franklin, Appendix B, Series no.8-2015, p.12.

7. *Indicator*, 22 May 1914.

8. Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, first series, vol. 1, 1902 (p.243), quoted in British History online <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol37/pp333-339>.

1. Wendy Hitchmough, *CFA Voysey* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1995), p.7.