

ENTRETIENS
SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ
CLASSIQUE
TOME LX



LE JARDIN DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ

Introduction et huit exposés
suivis de discussions

Entretiens préparés par Kathleen Coleman

*Volume édité par Kathleen Coleman,
avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron*

« Chaque année, au siège de la Fondation à Vandœuvres, auront lieu des *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, au cours desquels des spécialistes, représentant plusieurs pays, feront des exposés sur un domaine choisi et, au cours des discussions qui suivront, procèderont à d'enrichissants échanges de vues. » C'est ainsi que le baron Kurd von Hardt, créateur de la Fondation qui porte son nom, introduisait le premier volume des *Entretiens*, paru en 1954 sous le titre : *La notion du divin depuis Homère jusqu'à Platon*.

De 1952 à nos jours, 60 *Entretiens* ont eu lieu sur autant de thèmes différents. Les 60 volumes contenant les communications et les discussions présentent une synthèse de la culture classique proposée par plus de 400 spécialistes.

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POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

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éditions Esterel, Lyon, 2009

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avec la collaboration de Barbara Gruen

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TOME LX

TABLE DES MATIÈRES
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DANS
L'ANTIQUITÉ

INTRODUCTION ET HUIT EXPOSÉS
SUIVIS DE DISCUSSIONS
par

Kathleen Coleman, Christian E. Loeben,
Stephanie Dalley, Évelyne Prioux, Rabun Taylor,
Annalisa Marzano, Bettina Bergmann,
Giulia Caneva, Robin Lane Fox

Entretiens préparés par Kathleen Coleman
et présidés par Pierre Ducrey
19-23 août 2013

Volume édité par Kathleen Coleman,
avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron

FONDATION HARDT
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE
VANDŒUVRES

2014

LE JARDIN DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ

RECHERCHES SUR LA MISE EN SCÈNE DE L'ESPACE
DANS LES JARDINS DE L'ANTIQUITÉ

INTRODUCTION
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PRÉFACE

Chacun des *Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt sur l'Antiquité classique* a son histoire propre. Dire que l'histoire des 60^e *Entretiens* est plus riche, plus variée, plus inattendue que celle des 59 autres éditions serait donc leur faire injustice. Et pourtant les 60^e *Entretiens* sont bel et bien particuliers.

Leur numéro d'ordre, en premier lieu, 60. En 1952, le baron Kurd von Hardt invita un groupe de savants à séjourner dans la maison de maître qu'il venait d'acquérir à Vandoeuvres et à participer aux premiers *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*. Jusqu'au jour de sa mort en 1958, il craignit que sa fondation ne disparaîsse, et les *Entretiens* avec elle. 61 ans après les premiers *Entretiens*, ses craintes sont démenties : en 2013, pour la 60^e fois, des savants, chercheurs et professeurs, hommes et femmes, venus de plusieurs pays différents, se sont réunis à la fin du mois d'août pour participer à des *Entretiens*, en l'occurrence pour parler des *Jardins dans l'Antiquité*.

La formule inventée en 1952 est restée identique, ce qui confirme sa pertinence : les participants présentent chacun un exposé d'environ une heure. Leur communication est ensuite discutée durant une seconde heure. Relevons la présence de trois auditeurs, qui ont pris une part active aux discussions : Damien Nelis, Natsumi Nonaka et Katharine von Stackelberg. Les textes et les discussions sont publiés sous la forme d'un volume cartonné de couleur bleu marine, enveloppé d'une jaquette gris-souris sans illustration, cela d'une manière également immuable depuis la parution du tome 1 en 1954. Jusqu'ici, un petit nombre de volumes seulement ont été enrichis d'illustrations.

La seconde des particularités qui distinguent le présent volume est son élégante jaquette illustrée. Enfin, l'ouvrage comprend un cahier de photographies, dont certaines en couleurs.

Grâce au thème retenu, les jardins, les éditeurs n'ont donc pas hésité à prendre quelque distance par rapport à l'austérité usuelle de la collection.

Le baron se serait réjoui d'un autre changement : le cadre dans lequel se déroulent les *Entretiens* depuis 2009 n'est plus le salon, comme à l'origine, ni la salle principale de la bibliothèque, mais l'orangerie. On ignore le plus souvent les difficultés qu'a dû surmonter Kurd von Hardt pour faire naître, puis vivre sa fondation. En effet, contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait imaginer, il ne disposait que de moyens financiers relativement modestes. Ni lui, ni ses successeurs n'ont pu mobiliser les ressources nécessaires pour redonner au jardin son lustre des années 1860, ni pour restaurer l'orangerie et la serre. Il a fallu attendre 2007-2008 et le soutien de généreux mécènes genevois, la Fondation Hans Wilsdorf, la Loterie Romande et la Banque Pictet, pour que le jardin conçu dès 1858 par les nouveaux propriétaires, Elie et Amélie Périer-Ador, avec le concours de leur architecte Samuel Darier, retrouve son apparence d'alors.

L'orangerie et la serre remis en état, le jardin fleuri, les arbres fruitiers replantés et étagés dans les espaliers du XIX^e siècle inspirèrent à Kathleen Coleman, membre de la Commission scientifique, l'idée d'organiser une série d'*Entretiens* sur les jardins dans l'Antiquité. La Commission scientifique de la Fondation accepta son projet avec enthousiasme.

Les 60^e *Entretiens* se sont déroulés à la fin du mois d'août 2013, exactement du 19 au 23 août. Préparés par Kathleen Coleman, ils ont été présidés par le soussigné. L'édition du volume a été assurée par Kathleen Coleman, avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron. La jaquette et la mise en page des illustrations sont dues à Alexandre Pontet, Shaolin-Design, Lausanne. L'organisation pratique a bénéficié du concours de Gary Vachicouras, secrétaire scientifique suppléant, de Patricia Burdet, secrétaire, et de Heidi Dal Lago, cuisinière et gouvernante.

L'usage veut que les participants soient conviés à une visite de la Fondation Martin Bodmer, à Cologny, où ils ont été accueillis et conduits comme de coutume par son directeur, le professeur

Charles Méla. Une après-midi a été consacrée à la visite du Conservatoire et Jardins botaniques de la Ville de Genève, sous la conduite de Pierre Mattille, chef du secteur des serres.

Terminons en signalant une particularité de plus des 60^e *Entretiens* : les collections et les serres du jardin botanique de Genève ont bénéficié d'une présentation détaillée et élogieuse rédigée par un connaisseur, Robin Lane Fox, dans sa chronique hebdomadaire du *Financial Times*, édition du 6 septembre 2013.

A chacune et à chacun, la Fondation Hardt exprime sa vive reconnaissance.

Pierre Ducrey,

Directeur de la Fondation Hardt

What is a garden? At the very least, it is a cultivated space, distinct from — things possibly breeding here — the surrounding landscape, and associated with a certain way of life — understanding the needs of the plants that is necessary for cultivation. As a "cultural, essential representation of cultural and social life", gardens are a collective historical subject whose historical study requires the combined resources and methods — of the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the

This paper has benefited greatly from input from members of the "Gardening A. team". I would like to express my gratitude to Thomas J. Mervin, John van der Valk, Anneke Eijssen, Sophie Marquet, and the members of the "Gardening A" team for their help during the preparation of this article for publication, and to Paulette Gervais for her assistance with preparing it for print.

KATHLEEN COLEMAN

MELIOR'S PLANE TREE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ANCIENT GARDEN

"Within a few weeks of surveying all the empty space we had on the building's roof and how it was bathed in sun the whole day, I decided to start a garden and received permission to do so from the commanding officer. I requested that the prison service supply me with sixteen forty-four-gallon oil drums that they sliced in half for me. The authorities then filled each half with rich, moist soil, creating in effect thirty-two giant flowerpots. I grew onions, aubergines, cabbage, cauliflower, beans, spinach, carrots, cucumbers, broccoli, beetroot, lettuce, tomatoes, peppers, strawberries, and much more. At its height I had a small farm with nearly nine hundred plants."

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*

What is a garden? At the very least, it is a cultivated space, distinct from — though possibly blending into — the surrounding landscape, and associated with a settled way of life accommodating the cycle of the seasons that is necessary for cultivation. As a "central, essential expression of cultural and social life", gardens are a cohesive historical subject whose comprehensive study requires the combined resources and methodologies of the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the

* This essay has benefited greatly from acute comments by Christopher A. Parrott. I would also like to register here my gratitude to Thomas J. Keeline, Eva von Kügelgen, Michele Loporcaro, Pippa Skotnes, and the librarians at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin for their help during the preparation of this volume for publication; and to Pascale Derron for her dedication from beginning to end.

humanities.¹ They constitute both universal and culturally specific ways of accommodating the natural world and expressing human attitudes and values. Gardens are material but also symbolic. Their essence is elusive. Their histories tend to be localized in periods or nations, however broadly or narrowly conceived. This volume spans three millennia of history in the Mediterranean world; it is about the ancient garden.

Can we, however, speak of '*the* ancient garden'? Should we not, rather, speak of 'ancient gardens' in the plural, without the definite article? The *Entretiens* at the Fondation Hardt on "Le jardin dans l'Antiquité" conveyed, above all, the multiplicity of spaces that qualified as gardens in Antiquity, the myriad uses to which they were put, and the range of ways in which they were represented. This volume does not claim to provide an overview of the subject or to represent all the ways in which it can be tackled; rather, the individual contributions focus on specific moments and locations within those three millennia of ancient Mediterranean history, taking up the evidence for specific themes and employing inter-disciplinary approaches to interpret it.²

The *Entretiens* were conducted during a week of glorious late-summer weather in 2013 in the idyllic setting of La Chandoleine, the villa owned by Baron von Hardt, set at the top of a sloping garden with a view of Mont Blanc in the distance. The year would close with the death of Nelson Mandela, the genesis of whose garden on the roof of Pollsmoor Prison outside Cape Town is described in the epigraph to this chapter. The garden at the Fondation is mostly parkland — grass surrounded by trees shading gravel walks, beehives, and the

¹ DIXON HUNT 1999, 79, arguing eloquently that garden history should be regarded as a separate discipline. On the necessarily heterogeneous nature of writing on gardens, see ELKINS 1993.

² Gardens in Greek culture, represented here by the article by Évelyne Prioux, should also have been treated by the doyenne of Theophrastan studies, Mme Suzanne Amigues, who was unfortunately prevented by ill health from participating. For evidence not treated in this volume, papyri, in particular, remain an untapped resource.

Baron's grave. President Mandela's prison plot was a kitchen garden, brimming with vegetables. Leisure activities and edible produce are the two commodities most obviously supplied by gardens today: food for the soul, as well as the body. Both these functions are attested in the evidence for gardens in Antiquity; the garden setting for the Baron's tomb also has ancient precedent.

Some aspects of ancient gardens are less familiar today, however, although not entirely unknown: their religious associations; the incorporation of vegetal motifs as architectural features; plants as metaphors for literary production; the status of gardens as competitive cultural symbols; their cachet as loci in which to display exotic new species; the interplay between boundedness and permeability; the symbolism of individual species of plants; and gardens' contested status as loci of danger and seduction, but also of honest labor and productivity. All these aspects are treated in the essays that follow, which themselves address different sorts of evidence by means of various methodological approaches. Adopting a primarily philological method, I shall here try to tease these same aspects out of a literary description of a noteworthy feature in a single Roman garden in the first century CE, and then show how it reflects *in nuce* the themes of the rest of the contributions.

I. Putting down roots

A garden is somebody's property. A particular feature in it may, indeed, be a prized possession. If so, it is a sure bet for access to its owner's heart, on the same footing as a precious statuette, a precious pet, a precious slave.³ During the late Flavian period, Atedius Melior owned a residential property on

³ Cf. STAT. *Silu.* 4, 6 (on the Hercules Epitrapezios statuette of Novius Vindex); 2, 4 (on the death of Atedius Melior's parrot); 2, 1 (on the death of Melior's *puer delicatus*, Glaucias); 2, 6 (on the death of Flavius Ursus' *puer delicatus*, Philetos).

the Caelian Hill, probably on the southern slope, due south of the Colosseum along the so-called Via Caelimontana, where residences were located in *praedia* of ample dimensions.⁴ A notable feature of this property was a tree with a remarkable growth-habit, described by Statius in the opening lines of a poem composed for Melior and subsequently published in the book dedicated to him:

Stat quae perspicuas nitidi Melioris opacet
arbor aquas complexa lacus; quae robore ab imo
<in>curuata uadis redit inde cacumine recto
ardua, ceu mediis iterum nascatur ab undis
atque habitet uitreum tacitis radicibus amnem.⁵

5

"There stands a tree that shades the clear waters of brilliant Melior, embracing its pool. Curving over the water from the base of its trunk, it grows back, raising its lofty head upright, as though it were born again from the middle of the water and dwelt with hidden roots in the glassy stream."

To explain the tree's extraordinary shape, Statius tells a story (8-61): Pan chased the nymph Pholoë from one fabled haunt of Rome's rural past to another, until she sank down, exhausted, beside a pool on the spot that would one day become Melior's garden; as Pan closed in on her, Pholoë, warned by an arrow from Diana, took refuge in the pool. Pan, unable to swim, was foiled of his prey, but he achieved virtual union with Pholoë by planting beside the pool a plane-tree sapling, which curved over it to caress the nymph's waters with its leaves before continuing its growth into the sky. The story ends in a neat paradox, *exclusos inuitat gurgite ramos*, whereby Statius imagines

⁴ GIANNELLI 1993, 209. For a concise description of the Caelian, "densely inhabited by the C2 BC and . . . predominantly residential thereafter", see CLARIDGE ²2010, 341-343 (quotation at 341). For plans, see COARELLI 2007, Fig. 56; CLARIDGE ²2010, Fig. 153. On Atedius Melior, wealthy and cultivated, see PIR² A 1277; WHITE 1975, 272-275. The exact location of his property is unknown; literary attestations are collected by RODRIGUEZ ALMEIDA 1995.

⁵ *Silu.* 2, 3, 1-5. In the passages quoted in this article, I print the text I think most likely to be authentic, with *apparatus criticus* appended where it is warranted. Unattributed translations are my own.

predator and prey achieving a lasting accommodation.⁶ This harmonious conclusion to the story is mirrored by the qualities that Statius ascribes to Melior in a graceful coda, offering the poem to him as a birthday gift and expressing the hope that he will live to a robust old age in peaceful seclusion, pursuing a moderate lifestyle amid his ample wealth and cultivating the memory of his deceased friend, Blaesus.

Statius himself describes this poem, and the following one in memory of Melior's parrot, as *leues libellos quasi epigrammatis loco scriptos*.⁷ It is rooted in the ecphrastic tradition of the *locus amoenus*.⁸ The myth that it recounts is predicated most immediately upon Ovid's account of Pan and Syrinx (*Met.* 1, 689-712), but it also alludes to his treatment of Apollo and Daphne (*Met.* 1, 490-567), Poseidon and Coronis (*Met.* 2, 572-588), and Alpheius and Arethusa (*Met.* 5, 577-641), with echoes of his tale of Narcissus (*Met.* 3, 402-493). The Ovidian cast to this whimsical *aetion* has often been discussed; so has the Epicurean lifestyle pursued by Melior, who, like many of Statius' patrons, adapted the tenets of orthodox Epicureanism to accommodate a high standard of comfort and refinement.⁹ The poem has also been interpreted as a political allegory or, at least, as alluding to political difficulties in Melior's past.¹⁰ What has not yet been appreciated, however, is the botanical and horticultural precision with which Statius fertilizes the

⁶ "She invites the branches she had shut out with her water", *Silu.* 2, 3, 61. On the syntactical ambiguity of *gurgite* — instrumental or separative — mirroring the ambivalence of the story, see CANCIK 1965, 56. English syntax does not admit this ambiguity; the translation "with her water", ostensibly instrumental, is placed after "shut out" to convey the possibility of a separative sense.

⁷ "Light poems written, as it were, instead of an epigram", *Silu.* 2 *praef.* 16-17.

⁸ RÜHL 2006, 290. On the *locus amoenus* as part of Ovid's legacy to subsequent literature, HINDS 2002, esp. p. 147.

⁹ Ovidian features: VAN DAM 1984, *ad loc.*; BILLERBECK 1986; PEDERZANI 1992; 1995; DEWAR 2002; MORZADEC 2003; HARDIE 2006; NEWLANDS 2011a, *ad loc.* Epicureanism: ANDRÉ 1996; MYERS 2005; NEWLANDS 2011a, 13-15.

¹⁰ WHITE 1975, 272-273; VESSEY 1981; HARDIE 1983, 66-67; NAUTA 2002, 312-323. Political overtones are resisted by BILLERBECK 1986, 533-535.

story.¹¹ The Ovidian atmosphere of lecherous gods, fleeing nymphs, and virtual metamorphosis is the more brilliantly crafted for being cast in authentic botanical terms. All these delicately observed details are, indeed, reminiscent of Ovid's own 'cinematographic' technique; an acute discussion of Statius' poem has commented on the way in which it displays "the same literalness of myth that characterizes the humor of the *Metamorphoses*".¹²

Melior's tree was a plane, as emerges halfway through the poem (*primaeuam . . . platanum*, 39). Its shape in the opening description comprises precisely the growth habit of *platanus orientalis* L., the magnificent shade tree from the East that was first brought to Rome in the competition to import exotic species during the territorial expansion of the later Republic.¹³ Unless they are pruned, the lateral branches will dip downwards to the point where they touch the ground, and the growth is so vigorous that they then grow upwards again, either rooting at the point of contact or propped up on an artificial support (Fig. 0.1).¹⁴ This is the swooping habit that Statius ascribes to Melior's tree: *robore ab imo / <in>curuata uadis redit inde cacumine recto / ardua* (2-4). Statius' words seem to imply that the crown (*cacumen*) rises directly from the growth that curves over the water, in which case it is possible that Melior had had the rest of the tree pruned away by an expert *topiarius* (surely included among the team of gardeners employed by a wealthy home owner), so as to create this effect; but it suits Statius' purpose to treat it as a natural

¹¹ Without adducing any details, MORZADEC 2003, 102 notes the general characterization of Pan as a gardener: "Pan se comporte en véritable paysagiste créant un 'jardin' autour de ce lac en transplantant un jeune platane et en l'arroasant, avec tout le savoir-faire d'un bon jardinier".

¹² DEWAR 2002, 399.

¹³ JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 145-146; MARZANO *infra*, 215-218. The leaves of the plane are conducive to evaporation, which cools the ambient temperature: VIGOUROUX 2007, 83.

¹⁴ VIGOUROUX 2007, 52.

and spontaneous growth that is not to be ascribed to human intervention.¹⁵

In Statius' poem, the atmosphere of untrammeled nature is paramount; unlike his other poems about properties belonging to his patrons — Manlius Vopiscus' villa at Tibur (*Silu.* 1, 3), the baths of Claudius Etruscus in Rome (1, 5), the villa of Pollius Felix at Surrentum (2, 2) and its shrine to Hercules (3, 1) — this one mentions no man-made elements: neither buildings nor landscaping. The 'marvels of civilization' that are so prominently celebrated elsewhere in the *Siluae* are here replaced by the product of cultivation: nature facilitated by nurture.¹⁶ The stamp that Melior has imposed upon the landscape of the Caelian — attributed by Statius to the divine collaboration of Pan — is not the unmistakably human construct of Pollius Felix' roofed open-air staircase (*Silu.* 2, 2, 30-33) or Pliny's row of box neatly clipped to spell his gardener's name and his own (*Ep.* 5, 6, 35); rather, it is nature herself, in an unnatural but (Statius implies) spontaneous form. The focus upon pristine nature rather than a built environment cannot have been determined by Melior's Epicureanism, since other patrons whose building projects are extolled — notably Manlius Vopiscus and Pollius Felix — are presented as equally Epicurean in their outlook. Rather, we seem to see here a sensibility that privileges the natural over the artificial in a landscape where the only mediation is effected by a deity who embodies the wild in nature.

Statius attributes horticultural skill to Pan by incorporating exact observation and appropriate terminology into his racy Hellenistic *epyllion*:

primaevam nisu platanum, cui longa propago
innumeraeque manus et iturus in aethera uertex, 40

¹⁵ *Topiarii*: MARZANO *infra*, 228-229. On the enormous range and specificity of employment in a wealthy Roman household, see TREGGIARI 1975.

¹⁶ On 'marvels of civilization' as a trope characteristic of the *Siluae*, see PAVLOVSKIS 1973, 1-21; for a corrective emphasizing the same trope in earlier Latin authors, ÖBERG 1978.

depositus iuxta uiuamque adgessit harenam
optatisque aspergit aquis¹⁷

39 *nisu Peyrarède: uisu M*

"Beside it, with an effort, he set a sapling plane, which would have a long stem and innumerable 'hands' and a top soaring into the sky, and he piled up fresh earth and sprinkled it with the longed-for water."

Pan goes to a lot of trouble in planting the plane tree; the conjecture *nisu* for the redundant *uisu* of the manuscript — a sapling is, of course, going to look like one — fits the context of careful horticulture, as Pan, the archetypal gardener, sets about transforming the primeval landscape into a *hortus*. (*de*)*ponere* (41) is the *mot juste* for planting a seedling, sapling, or slip; the word itself conveys the importance of getting the plant into the right position.¹⁸ Both the simplex and compound forms are used in technical treatises, such as in giving instructions for planting olive slips (*taleae*) in holes (*scrobes*): *Si in scrobibus aut in sulcis seres, ternas taleas ponito;*¹⁹ *oportet . . . arbusculam depo-nere ita rectam, ut quod scrobe extiterit in medio sit.*²⁰ Hence Ovid uses the precise word in recommending this activity as a way of getting over a love affair: *ipse potes riguis plantam depo-nere in hortis; / ipse potes riuos ducere lenis aquae.*²¹

As Ovid knows, after planting comes watering; but on Melior's property things are done with proper care, as well as in the proper sequence, so that Statius imagines Pan building a trough around the sapling first, to keep the water from running away:

¹⁷ *Silu.* 2, 3, 39-42.

¹⁸ *ponere*: *TLL* 10/1.2636.35-2636.63 (REINEKE & HILLEN); *OLD* s.v. *pono* 4; SVENNUNG 1935, 597. *deponere*: *TLL* 5/1.576.74-577.1 (JACHMANN); *OLD* s.v. *depono* 5a.

¹⁹ "If you plant in holes or trenches, put slips in three at a time", CATO *Agr.* 45, 3.

²⁰ "You should set the small tree in an upright position, so that the part which stands out from the planting-hole is in the middle", COLUM. *Liber de arboribus* 17, 2, trans. E.S. FORSTER & E.H. HEFFNER.

²¹ "You yourself can set a plant in a well-watered garden; you yourself can guide the channels of gently-running water", OV. *Rem. am.* 193-194.

harena (41), denoting light soil in general (i.e., not only sand),²² had to be 'heaped up' (*adgessit*), just as Columella prescribes banking up earth around fruit trees as one of the tasks for the end of May (i.e., before the dry spells of summer): *Item omnes arbores frugiferae circumfossae aggerari debent, ut ante solstitium id opus peractum sit.*²³ Caesar uses the same word to describe damming narrow valleys so as to cut off the Pompeians' water supply at Dyrrachium: *has [angustias uallium] sublicis in terram demissis praesepserat terramque adgesserat, ut aquam continent.*²⁴ Watering a newly planted plane tree is essential for packing the earth down around the roots,²⁵ but Pan is careful not to drown the sapling by pouring a stream of water over it; rather he 'sprinkles' the thirsty plant (*aspergit*, 42).²⁶ This basic fact of plant care was more or less proverbial in the ancient world, providing a ready analogy for the disastrous efforts of parents who give their children homework that is either too much or too difficult: "Just as plants are nourished by moderate amounts of water, but drowned by too much, in the same way the mind is developed by moderate tasks, but submerged by those that are overwhelming".²⁷

At the same time, Melior's plane tree is subtly anthropomorphized:²⁸ *primaeus* is overwhelmingly applied to human beings, and the only other application to a plant is by the late

²² *TLL* 6/3.2526.53-2527.25 (BRANDT); MYNORS on VERG. *Georg.* 1, 69-70.

²³ "Likewise, all fruit trees should be dug round and earthened up so that this task can be accomplished before the solstice", COLUM. *Rust.* 11, 2, 46.

²⁴ "Sinking piles into the ground, he fortified the narrow defiles and heaped up earth, to keep the water inside", CAES. *BCiu.* 3, 49, 3.

²⁵ VIGOUROUX 2007, 75.

²⁶ Presumably with water from the pool, hence the subtle *double entendre* in *optatis . . . aquis*: the water is desired by the plant; the nymph that the pool embodies had been desired by Pan.

²⁷ ὥσπερ γάρ τὰ φυτὰ τοῖς μὲν μετρίοις ὑδασι τρέφεται, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς πνήγεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψυχὴ τοῖς μὲν συμμέτροις αὔξεται πόνοις, τοῖς δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσι βαπτίζεται, [PLUT.] *De liberis educandis* 13.

²⁸ The identification between the tree and Pan is noted briefly by commentators: CANCIK 1965, 50; VAN DAM 1984, 315; PEDERZANI 1995, 185; NEWLANDS 2011a, 169.

antique agricultural writer, Palladius, describing the young flowers of 'Phyllis', i.e., the almond tree:

Phyllis odoratos primaeuis floribus artus
discisso pruni cortice fixa tegit
pomaque permuat uelamine persica mixto
duritiemque docet tegminis esse loco.²⁹

propago is strictly the slip from which a new tree is grown, but in Statius' poem it looks forward to the trunk that will develop from Pan's sapling.³⁰ In descriptions of trees, technical and metaphorical language come together in the common designation of branches as *bracchia*,³¹ but *manus* (40) is almost unattested, save for one instance in Palladius: *Nunc teretem pingui producit acumine malum / fraxineasque nouo flectit honore manus*.³² Hence, in conjunction with *primaeuam* and *uertex* (40), *manus* contributes to the anthropomorphization of the tree precisely by substituting a new anatomical metaphor in place of the familiar *bracchia*.³³ Furthermore, plane trees grow to an enormous size: under favorable conditions, their height can reach 40-50 m, or occasionally 60 m; the diameter of the area covered by foliage can extend to 75 m.³⁴ Hence *innumeræ* and *iturus in aethera uertex* are also justified.

Having planted the sapling, Pan addresses it as *nostri pignus memorabile uoti* ("memorable token of our desire", 43), asking

²⁹ "Phyllis, installed in the plum's divided bark, / covers its fragrant limbs with early flowers. / She changes peaches into fruit with hybrid coats, / and trains her hard shell to replace their skin", PALLADIUS *Ins.* 149-152, trans. J.G. FITCH; *TLL* 10/2.1234.13-15 (WERNER).

³⁰ Hence closer to the primary meaning than the rubric "laxius, sc. vario respectu, de quolibet ramo vel parte arboris" at *TLL* 10/2.1942.52-57 (BURCH), which is more applicable to the other example cited, *propagines e uitibus altius praetentas non succedit [flamen Dialis]*, GELL. *NA* 10, 15, 13.

³¹ PERUTELLI 1985.

³² "Now lengthens the rounded apple to a fertile tip / and bows the ash tree's hands with novel honours", PALLADIUS *Ins.* 59-60, trans. J.G. FITCH; *TLL* 8.366.32-34 (BULHART). (A textually vexed passage at *Hercules Oetaeus* 1625 is too insecure to be taken into account.)

³³ As noted by VAN DAM 1984, 315.

³⁴ VIGOUROUX 2007, 52.

it to caress the pool with its leaves and promising to guard both sapling and pool in return. In such contexts, *pignus* would normally refer to children.³⁵ Just as, from birth, a child starts to grow, so Statius goes on to describe how the sapling develops into an adult tree:

Illa dei ueteres imitata calores uberibus stagnis obliquo pendula trunco incubat atque umbris scrutatur amantibus undas. Sperat et amplexus, sed aquarum spiritus arcet nec patitur tactus. Tandem eluctata sub auras libratur fundo rursusque enode cacumen ingeniosa leuat, ueluti descendat in imos stirpe lacus alia. Iam nec Phoebeia Nais odit et exclusos inuitat gurgite ramos. ³⁶	55 60
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53 imitata *Markland*: animata M

"The tree, reflecting the god's former passion and leaning over the abundant waters, broods over the stream with its curved trunk and explores it with its loving shade. It hopes for an embrace, but the breeze on the water keeps it away and will not accommodate its touch. Finally, struggling into the air, it balances underneath, and skillfully lifts its smooth head again, as though it were descending to the depth of the pool with a second root. Now Apollo's Naiad no longer resents it and invites the branches she had shut out with her water."³⁷

³⁵ E.g., Cornelia to her husband: *nunc tibi commenda communia pignora Paulle* ("Now I entrust to you the pledges of our mutual love", PROP. 4, 11, 73); Medea to Jason: *per superos oro, per auitae lumina flammæ, / per meritum et natos, pignora nostra, duos* ("By the gods I beg you, by the light of our ancestral flame, by my own service and the two children who are our pledge", OV. *Her.* 12, 191-192); *TLL* 10/1.2125.37-48 (OTTINK). Examples referring to plants are confined to poetry: cf. (of the time for sowing) *Date nunc sua matrī /pignora, tempus adest* ("To the mother give / — The time is come — the pledges of her love", COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 163-164, trans. E.S. FORSTER & E.H. HEFFNER); (of reciprocal grafting between the citron and the black mulberry) *nec non et citrei patiuntur mutua rami / pignora, quæ grauido cortice morus alit* ("The citron's branches allow the loan of their offspring, / which the mulberry nurtures in its teaming bark", PALLADIUS *Ins.* 109-110, trans. J.G. FITCH).

³⁶ *Silu.* 2, 3, 53-61.

³⁷ For the ambiguity of the syntax: *supra*, n. 6.

It seems that the tree dipped over the water and up again, which Statius interprets as a sign that its attempt to embrace the nymph who had taken refuge there was unsuccessful. Rising from its own reflection, the tree then grows straight up into the air, *as if* (Statius says) *it had rooted underwater*. Planes do, in fact, root where their branches touch the ground (see Fig. 0.1), and forcing them to the ground so as to root is one way of creating a new plant.³⁸ Statius cannot see what is happening underwater; but the reflection of the tree climbing into the sky looks, upside-down, as though it is descending all the way into the depths, and Statius' description of this reflection may hint also at this rooting-habit of the plane.³⁹ As with the description of the tree in the opening lines, his account here follows the order of the tree's growth, from root to top, perhaps an acknowledgement of a garden-owner's interest in the progress of his plants.

The plane tree was an exotic and fashionable import, renowned for its shade and its fabled association with intellectual discussion and a cultivated lifestyle.⁴⁰ Statius stresses the reflection of Melior's tree in the pool at its base. The spot was doubtless chosen, in part, to cater to the plane's need for a well-watered site; plane trees flourish in the saturated soil on the banks of rivers, where the water is well oxygenated, and are therefore commonly planted along rivers and canals.⁴¹ Archaeology confirms that the Romans favored planes as poolside trees: two parallel rows of root cavities on either side of the pool in the peristyle garden of the Villa San Marco at Stabiae are thought to belong to planes; likewise the row of root cavities in the sculpture garden alongside the pool at Oplontis.⁴²

³⁸ VIGOUROUX 2007, 71-72.

³⁹ As the commentators note, the diction in this passage creates great difficulties, but, on the interpretation above, the objection that *ueluti descendat in imos / stirpe lacus alia* is "sheer nonsense in the context" (SHACKLETON BAILEY 2003, 389-390) is unsustainable.

⁴⁰ MARZANO, *infra*, 215-216.

⁴¹ VIGOUROUX 2007, 80-81, 87.

⁴² JASHEMSKI 1993, 298 and Fig. 333 (Oplontis); 306 (Villa San Marco).

But Melior's impressive specimen was probably also planted beside the pool precisely to exploit its aesthetic potential. The younger Pliny comments on the aesthetic effect of the reflection of ash and poplar along the banks of the Clitumnus, using diction strikingly similar to Statius' (and employing the reflexive technique of anaphoric juxtaposition), *ripae fraxino multa, multa populo uestiuntur, quas perspicuus amnis uelut mersas uiridi imagine adnumerat.*⁴³

Plants, however, were not the only decoration in an ancient garden. The presence of sculpture in Roman gardens is amply attested, not only by archaeology — the finds at Oplontis being a signal example — but also by paintings, such as those in the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro in Pompeii depicting a garden dotted with herms topped by portraits, and pillars supporting *pinakes* of sleeping Maenads and the like.⁴⁴ The subjects are overwhelmingly mythological. Mythology is the natural dimension from which to evoke creatures to populate a garden. A painting, shattered into many fragments and discarded on a trash heap in the garden of the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, seems to have been part of the decoration damaged in the earthquake of 62 CE. The restored portion depicts the mask of a Silenus — along with Pan, a regular in the entourage of Dionysus — surrounded by a profusion of vines, ivy, quinces, olives, oleander, and roses, with a set of panpipes suspended from a red

⁴³ "The banks are clothed with ash trees and poplars, whose green reflections can be counted in the clear stream as if they were planted there", PLIN. *Ep.* 8, 8, 4, trans. B. RADICE. The 'Spiegelmotiv' is noted by CANCIK 1965, 49-51 (parallel quoted on p. 55).

⁴⁴ Sculpture as a characteristic element in Roman gardens: VON STACKELBERG 2009, 24-35; case-study of garden sculpture at Oplontis: DE CARO 1987; garden paintings at Casa del Bracciale d'Oro: CONTICELLO 1991. In contrast, some garden paintings are entirely devoid of man-made decoration, such as the 'garden room' in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, in which a lattice fence, a wall, and a bird cage are the only man-made structures within a landscape prolific with trees, flowers, shrubs, and birds: for reproductions in full color, see SETTIS 2002, 78-89.

ribbon in front of it and a *situla* (bucket) below (Fig. 0.2).⁴⁵ This painting suggests a pictorial rendering of the same impulse that lies behind Statius' gift to Melior: a sensibility that gardens are host to hidden forces. These forces generate a pronounced erotic charge, the natural manifestation of nature's fertility — hence the lust that characterizes Pan, god of the woodland and nature.

Whether Statius knew something about gardening or picked up tips from the head gardener, or whether Melior himself conversed enthusiastically with him about the care of young plane trees, is difficult to say. Part of the success of Statius' occasional poetry is that he elaborates manual labor and other banal activities into subjects for poetic ecphrasis, his most notable achievement in this regard being the description of the building of the Via Domitiana (*Silu.* 4, 3, 40-55), which is the most detailed account of road building to have survived from the Roman world. At the same time, he elevates his patrons' concerns by blending the everyday realm with the mythological.⁴⁶ Gardens are a sphere where untamed forces are in constant tension with human control. Myth provides a satisfactory explanatory model for such forces. We should neither assume that Melior 'believed' the story of Pan and Pholoë, nor categorize the poem as a mere literary diversion. Melior may have himself suggested the mythological *aetion* to Statius; or, as is usually assumed, Statius may have invented it. But, either way, it provides a piquant and satisfying explanation for a prominent feature on Melior's property; and Statius' expert inclusion of precise botanical and horticultural detail must have increased Melior's satisfaction even more.

⁴⁵ SAP (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei) inv. 86075: MASTROBERTO 2003, 402-403 (with illustration on p. 403); ROCCO 2003 (with Fig. 3). Further Dionysiac accoutrements (*syrinx*, *cista*, phallus, and goat's head) are badly damaged and only partially visible. Dionysiac associations of the Roman garden: VON STACKELBERG 2009, 27-30. Dionysiac sculpture in Italian gardens: NEUDECKER 1988, 47-51. Statue of Pan in the garden of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: NEUDECKER 1988, 154, No. 14.62.

⁴⁶ COLEMAN 2005, 57-58.

II. Branching out

Slight though Statius' poem may be, it refracts in miniature many of the persistent themes in the rest of these *Entretiens*. Gardens in soggy northern climes have no need of water-features, although they sometimes include them all the same, but in the dry Mediterranean climate in Antiquity they were highly prized features requiring much skill in hydraulic engineering, and they were often decorated with corresponding intricacy and extravagance.⁴⁷ The gardens of Pharaonic Egypt, whether attached to temples, palaces, tombs, or private houses, consistently display a water-basin as the central motif and, together with the refreshing presence of water, they also emphasize shade, a feature likewise prominent in Statius' poem. Visual evidence for Egyptian gardens, much of it displaying multiple simultaneous perspectives, survives from the walls of the rock-tombs of the Egyptian elite in Thebes from the New Kingdom (latter half of the 2nd millennium BCE); the most famous of these is the painting of an enormous temple garden from the tomb of Sennefer during the reign of Amenhotep II (1425–1400 BCE), now destroyed, but fortunately copied meticulously in watercolor in the nineteenth century.

Starting from these tombs, which are painted with colorful scenes that seem to convey to the viewer a lively impression of daily life, Christian Loeben explains how they also show nature playing a religious and cultic role; in the approximately fifty tombs painted with such scenes, it is not easy to draw a line between a faithful representation of daily life and a symbolic expression of religious belief. By comparing these representations with gardens that have been recovered by archaeological excavation, including the site at Tell el-Dab'a in the eastern Nile delta that probably qualifies as the most ancient garden in

⁴⁷ For the recent discovery of a spectacular *nymphaeum*, 25 m long, at Massa Lubrense on the Sorrentine peninsula, comprising 12 mosaic niches and a cascade, see BUDETTA & VON HASE 2013 (with further bibliography at n. 3).

the world, Dr. Loeben is able to test the extent to which the paintings corresponded to reality. He emphasizes the multiple functions of actual Egyptian gardens and also the specific significance of these paintings in the tomb, where the realistic features of gardens were blended with idealized representations, perhaps not simply representing pleasure gardens, but functioning as symbols of an ordered world that overcomes chaos. High walls and rigid orthogonal plantings accordingly characterized Egyptian gardens. It is noteworthy that these features receive no mention from Statius, who imagines a pristine landscape in the mythological past, before Melior became its custodian;⁴⁸ but it seems likely that in reality part, at least, of Melior's property displayed the orthogonal regularity that the younger Pliny cultivated in his own gardens and that we see reflected in the bird's-eye views of villascapes in paintings from Pompeii and its environs.

One of the functions of the individual poems in the *Siluae* is to perpetuate the honorand's reputation and interests, with the result that, in Melior's case, his memory and that of his plane tree are preserved to this day. Literary perpetuation obviously depends upon the transmission of the text; that of the *Siluae*, disseminated in a single manuscript, hangs by a thread. Another method of perpetuation involves the incorporation of specific vegetal motifs into art and architecture, buildings being one of the more robust means of perpetuating memory (*Exegi monumentum aere perennius / regalique situ pyramidum altius*).⁴⁹ Cryptic textual references are sometimes confirmed by iconographic features, as in the dissemination of palm-tree motifs as architectural ornament in Mesopotamia, supplementing glancing

⁴⁸ Hence Markland's conjecture of the archaic *tesca*, denoting wild places devoted to rural deities, for *tecta* at *Silu.* 2, 3, 14, where a reference to buildings (represented by the *tecta* of the sole surviving manuscript) would be out of place in the pristine landscape: for archaisms in the *Siluae*, see VAN DAM 1984, 297–298.

⁴⁹ "I have built a monument more lasting than bronze and higher than the royal mound of the pyramids", HOR. *Carm.* 3, 30, 1–2.

references in the Assyrian epics. Stephanie Dalley explains how, early in the second millennium BCE, several temples in Babylonian, Assyrian, and northeast-Syrian cities were decorated with external and internal façades representing male and female date-palm trees in mud-brick. Significantly, some have been found outside zones in which the date palm produces fruit. This decorative scheme symbolizes a sacred grove, such as is very common at religious sites known from later Elamite texts, and the design coincides with a time of Elamite supremacy in Mesopotamia. But date-palm symbolism persisted beyond the early second millennium; it is found in Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine on column bases, capitals, and balustrades, foreshadowing the design of load-bearing Ionic capitals. It is also shown on Hellenistic and Roman sculpture and coins, well beyond zones where the tree bears fruit, and so Dr. Dalley argues that we have to seek reasons for its dissemination among the adjacent cultures that produced it.

Statius' poem, which ends by wishing Melior a long life, has been interpreted as hoping that his poem, too, will last, and his landscapes have been interpreted as reflecting the artifice of his poetry.⁵⁰ The identification of poems with different types of plants is a trope that goes back to the archaic lyric poets, who were the first to use the metaphors of picking flowers and weaving garlands to describe the qualities and workmanship of poetry. In her contribution on the image of the garden in ancient stylistic discourse, Évelyne Prioux shows how these metaphors were gradually expanded to equate poetry with fruit, or poetic activity with the grafting of trees, so that the text itself came to be compared to a garden, in the sense of a cultivated space combining the qualities of a kitchen garden and one designed for pleasure. Descriptions of gardens in classical literature generally imitate a restricted range of models. Scholia on many of these texts emphasize the central importance of

⁵⁰ Longevity: BILLERBECK 1986, 535; HARDIE 2006, 213; NEWLANDS 2011b, 108–110. Artifice: MYERS 2005, 111; NEWLANDS 2011a, 15.

poetic composition and the notion of mimesis in ancient literary theory: the garden of Alcinoos comes to stand for the paradigm of 'sweetness' of style, while ancient critics evaluating the comparison in *Iliad* 21 between the Scamander and domestic irrigation channels either celebrate or bemoan Homer's talent in evoking little rivulets in a garden. Dr. Prioux demonstrates how Greek and Latin authors quote the Homeric descriptions and Virgil's account of the garden of the old man of Tarentum in *Georgics* 4 in order to stake out a position in these stylistic debates, and how their own garden descriptions, especially those of Second Sophistic authors such as Longus, the Elder Philostratus, and Achilles Tatius, establish criteria for evaluating their literary creations and advertising their aesthetic principles by making use of terminology borrowed from ancient literary criticism. By his choice of critical terms, each author therefore seeks to differentiate his own 'garden' from that of his predecessors.

Statius' poem on Melior's tree implies that Melior's horticultural interests match Statius' emphasis on his refinement and cultural tastes. In the poem commemorating the death of Melior's *puer delicatus*, Glaucias, the brief description of Elysium as a place of drab sterility (*quae munera mollis / Elysii, steriles ramos mutasque uolucres / porgit et obtunso pallentes germe flores*⁵¹), in contrast to its usually lush characterization, suggests that, in addition to being influenced by Seneca's barren Underworld, Statius interpreted the pain of Melior's loss by imagining the afterlife devoid of the plants and birds that Melior appreciated on this earth. Melior's literary characterization in the *Siluae*, therefore, offers a hint of the role that the garden could play in the self-representation of a cultivated Roman in the first century CE. A more detailed picture, based largely upon archaeological evidence, is pieced together by

⁵¹ "He stretched out the gifts of gentle Elysium, sterile branches, speechless birds, and pale flowers nipped in the bud", *Silu.* 2, 1, 203-205. For the non-canonical depiction of Elysium in these lines, see VAN DAM 1984, 171-172; NEWLANDS 2011a, 114.

Rabun Taylor for a supremely wealthy and powerful figure who was not Roman but Romanophile: King Herod.

Herod was an Idumaean who adopted the customs of his Judaean subjects, while also cultivating the fashions of the Hellenized Roman elite whom he served as client king and occasional companion. Dr. Taylor demonstrates that Herod's allegiance to his Roman allies is evident in the design of his palace-villas at Jericho, Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Herodeion, although these residences also drew from native, Egyptian, and Near Eastern traditions. Formal and symbolic parallels to Herod's architectural manipulation of garden landscapes can be found in many sites in Italy. Dr. Taylor explores the ways in which Herod's palace gardens, with their groves, pools, streams, peristyles, pavilions, and views (and, at Herodeion, perhaps even a royal tomb), consciously evoked both Roman and distinctly regional prototypes. He canvasses the possibility that Herod was directly inspired by the gardens and villas of his associates in Rome, Agrippa and Messalla, while adopting the Roman tendency to epitomize famous sites in miniature within grand domestic settings. The sites identified in connection with Herod, however, have specifically regional meaning: the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, which Herod quoted in the planted 'theatre' at his third winter palace at Jericho; and Tyros, the garden-palace of Hyrcanus the Tobiad in the Transjordan, which may have influenced the design of the Pool Complex at Herodeion. During this period of architectural ferment, ideas traveled westward too; and Dr. Taylor explores the possibility that the Naumachia of Augustus at Rome, with its island memorial and encompassing garden, took its cue from Herod's world.

The range of indigenous plants in any given corner of the world today has been so adulterated by the import and naturalization of exotic species that it is hard for us to appreciate the excitement and acquisitive instincts that were spurred by the successful introduction of a distinctly advantageous plant, such as the arrival of an enormous shade tree in a hot climate.

Annalisa Marzano describes the fever generated by 'botanical imperialism' in the late Republic and early Empire, with particular emphasis upon the reaction accompanying the introduction of the plane tree. Melior would hardly have shared the Elder Pliny's equivocal attitude to this foreign import, still highly prized more than a century after its arrival at Rome, whose only virtue (in Pliny's eyes) was the provision of shade; indeed, its lack of fruit had already been noted by the practically-minded soon after it was introduced to Italy.⁵² Moralizing writers of the 1st century CE, including Livy, saw Rome's great territorial expansion in the Republican period as the turning point, when the influx of booty, slaves, and luxuries into Rome precipitated the decline of Roman moral standards. Dr. Marzano observes that military conquests brought not only works of art and new tastes to Rome, but also new plants and trees, which ended up in the villa gardens of victorious generals. But it was not purely a matter of decorative display. The dual character of the ancient garden as both decorative and functional is evident in this context also: the interest of the elite in new plants or new varieties of fruit tree is prompted in part by their concern to improve agricultural production on their estates, which helps to explain why, particularly in the Augustan period, a keen interest in horticulture and grafting developed among the upper classes.

In his poem about Melior's tree, Statius makes only one reference to his patron's house, locating the spot where Pholoë came to rest: *qua nunc placidi Melioris aperti / stant sine fraude lares*.⁵³ In conjunction with *lares*, metonymy for "house", *aperti*, literally "open", suggests generosity; but it also strikingly contradicts the traditional picture of the Roman *domus* as an enclosed space, cut off from the outside world. One of the features in common between Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and

⁵² PLIN. *HN* 12, 6; cf. the disapproving designation *platanus . . . caelebs* ("bachelor plane", HOR. *Carm.* 2, 15, 4).

⁵³ "Where tranquil Melior's house stands open, free of guile", *Silu.* 2, 3, 15-16.

Roman gardens is the circuit marking the boundary between cultivated and uncultivated space or between private garden and public domain. In some modern societies, notably parts of the suburban United States, boundaries between neighbors' yards, or between the yard and the street, are marked by sporadic low bushes or a shallow ditch, or even eliminated altogether. But the garden as an enclosed and demarcated space seems to have been a fundamental concept in ancient society. Bettina Bergmann focuses on the enclosure via a group of images painted in porticoes and interiors in Italy in the 1st century CE: miniature, self-contained, and perfectly ordered garden precincts, seen from above in an axonometric plan. She argues that such images were inspired by changes in the countryside after the granting of Roman citizenship to Italians in 90-89 BCE, when processes of colonization and centuriation were implemented that fundamentally reshaped the terrain, and she shows how inscriptions on rural landmarks, as well as texts and diagrams preserved in the manuscripts of the *agrimensores*, shed light on the immense value placed upon boundaries, both natural and man-made.⁵⁴ Surveying, in particular, she argues, constituted a sophisticated technique of reading landscape, and this skill became intimately allied with the evolving practices of agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, and the visual arts.

The religious associations of an ancient garden that make it a natural setting for figures from mythology — like Pan, co-opted by Statius as Melior's gardener — also invest its plants with spiritual symbolism. Giulia Caneva teases out this association from a botanical perspective, starting from the premise that extensive knowledge of the natural world in classical Antiquity acted as a vehicle for communicating spiritual and religious values. She analyzes the symbolic content of some key examples of floral elements in wall-painting from Rome and Pompeii, and examines the representation of nature in

⁵⁴ Hence the extensive body of Roman legislation concerned with this issue: BEHREND 2013.

sculpture of the Augustan age, notably the Ara Pacis, where the fantastic simultaneously — and impossibly — co-exists with the realistic, forming a continuum that underlines the interconnections existing within the natural world. The biodiversity of the floral kingdom in Roman iconography comprises about two hundred species characteristic of various Mediterranean habitats, chosen, Dr. Caneva argues, for their symbolic power. These shrink to about fifty species that are represented in the depiction of gardens *sensu stricto*. The meaning of these plants seems to depend upon the combination of selected species or their hierarchical arrangement within a single image. Allowing for variables, Dr. Caneva argues that in specific instances the ideal garden seems to embody a religious or philosophical message that expresses a vision of human life as transitory, but eternally capable of regeneration and rebirth, just like the cosmic cycle of nature.

The erotic atmosphere that infuses the description of Melior's tree is part of the pathology of gardens that troubled the early Christians, as Robin Lane Fox makes clear in his contribution; the ambiguity of the garden as simultaneously a spiritual retreat and a place of temptation was a paradox that the early Christians wrestled with, countering the eroticism of the pagan garden with the image of the 'enclosed garden' of the Church, which was associated with Christian virginity. Moralizing Christian writers soon set out the *bon usage* of scents and cut flowers, with special emphasis on 'natural' meadow gardening. While Christian accounts of martyrdom, the 'true Christian' gospel of Mani, and some of the apocryphal texts about Paradise transposed to Heaven particular flowers and trees, a new Christian 'language of flowers' emerged. Byzantine texts on the meaning of flowers and Byzantine mosaics of Paradise then established this imagery within formal parameters. But Christian gardens were real, as well as imaginary: Cyprian and Gregory of Nazianzus showed richer Christians the perils of having too grand a garden of their own. Productive vegetable gardening turns out to be the approved type

of early Christian gardening, exemplified by Antony in Egypt and monks in the Holy Land. In their different ways, two celibate Christians, St. Augustine and Paulinus of Nola, exploited the garden and gardening in their lives and writings. Garden-miracles and cautionary tales of divine intervention among gardeners appear in the dialogues of Gregory the Great, based on oral traditions in sixth-century Italy, and in his Italian monastery monks duly become role models for what is a recommended pastime today: gardening for the elderly.

Gardens exist both in reality and in the imagination. What do they symbolize? Nelson Mandela's garden on the roof of Pollsmoor Prison symbolized growth, and growth symbolizes hope. A single tree in Atedius Melior's garden symbolized the explanatory force of myth. Egyptian gardens symbolized seclusion, fecundity, and wealth in this life, and happiness and comfort in the next. Palm-tree motifs symbolized the importance of the date palm in Mesopotamian culture and religion, and the influence of that culture upon its western neighbors. For Greek and Latin authors, gardens and the plants within them symbolized the act of literary composition and its creations. For Herod the Great, gardens, and especially their water features, symbolized his personal power and, beyond that, his status among the power brokers of the Roman Empire. The bringing of new plants to Rome symbolized the fruits of imperialism and the initiative of the generals and governors who embellished Italy with these exotic acquisitions. The fenced-in gardens painted on Roman walls symbolized the order that the Romans imposed upon the landscape, and simultaneously the inter-penetration of nature and nurture. The plants of the Roman garden symbolized spiritual forces, and the conflicting symbolism of the garden in early Christian thought reflected the cultural tumult of the transition from pagan pluralism to a society ruled by the church. The seemingly inexhaustible symbolism of the ancient garden, combined with the desires and constraints that gave it physical shape, suggests that much in it remains to be cultivated by scholars in the future.

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I

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DER GARTEN IM UND AM GRAB – GÖTTER IN GÄRTEN UND GÄRTEN FÜR GÖTTER: REALE UND DARGESTELLTE GÄRTEN IM ALten ÄGYPTEN

I. Vorbemerkungen

Im Jahr 2007 war in einem der berühmtesten Gärten der europäischen Renaissance, dem Boboli-Garten hinter dem Palazzo Pitti in Florenz, die Ausstellung “Il giardino antico da Babilonia a Roma. Scienza, arte e natura” zu sehen und zwar im dortigen Zitronenhaus, der “Limonaia”. Es ist bezeichnend, dass sowohl in der Ausstellung als auch in ihrem gewaltigen Katalog¹ zwar dem Titel entsprechend die antiken Gärten in Vorderasien sowie in Griechenland und Italien vorgestellt wurden — die altägyptischen Gärten hingegen wurden nur am Rande erwähnt. Für damals ist das verständlich, denn es existierten nur wenige Publikationen zur ägyptischen Gartenwelt.² Heutzutage wäre das nicht mehr der Fall, denn in den letzten Jahren sind die ägyptischen Gärten durch publikumswirksame Sonderausstellungen und durch die sie begleitenden Publikationen sowie andere Veröffentlichungen stark in das Bewusstsein der interessierten Öffentlichkeit gerückt. Den Beginn machte dabei 2009/10 die überhaupt weltweit erste Ausstellung über

¹ Di PASQUALE & PAOLUCCI 2007.

² Als Überblickswerke im Wesentlichen: MOENS 1984; WILKINSON 1998; HUGONOT 1989; 1992.

den ägyptischen Garten: "Unweit von Eden: Altägyptische Gärten — Paradiese in der Wüste" im Museum August Kestner in Hannover. Sowohl diese erfolgreiche Ausstellung als auch ihr unmittelbar danach vergriffener Katalog³ waren das Vorbild für weitere Ausstellungen mit Begleitpublikationen: 2011 in Köln⁴ und 2012 in Leiden.⁵ Schließlich in 2013, zufällig auch zur Zeit der *Entretiens*, war dann in Neuenburg (Neuchâtel) eine Ausstellung über ägyptische Pflanzen zu sehen,⁶ die — um den Aspekt des altägyptischen Gartens erweitert — demnächst in Basel zu bewundern sein wird.⁷

Diese Ausstellungen und inzwischen auch eine Reihe neuer Monographien zum Thema⁸ machen deutlich, dass gerade die altägyptischen Gärten von allen antiken Kulturen am besten dokumentiert und mittlerweile auch in Literatur⁹ umfassend behandelt worden sind, die nicht nur der Fachöffentlichkeit sondern auch einem breiteren interessierten Leserkreis zugänglich ist.

II. Einführung

Die Quellenlage zu antiken Gärten im Niltal ist ausgesprochen vielfältig. Gärten werden in hieroglyphischen und anderen altägyptischen Texten erwähnt und sogar beschrieben. Es

³ LOEBEN & KAPPEL 2009.

⁴ "Ägyptische Gärten", im Römisch-Germanischen Museum: TIETZE 2011.

⁵ "Tuinen van de Farao's", im Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: GRECO, OETERS, & RAVEN 2012.

⁶ "Fleurs des Pharaons: Parures funéraires en Égypte antique", im Laténium: JACQUAT & ROGGER 2013.

⁷ "Blumenreich: Wiedergeburt in Pharaonengräbern", im Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Eine Begleitpublikation unter der Herausgeberschaft von ANDRÉ WIESE ist in Vorbereitung.

⁸ Siehe z.B.: BELLINGER 2008; GROS DE BELER & MAMMIROLI 2008; CINCOTTI & GHISOLFI 2011; KAPPEL & LOEBEN 2011.

⁹ Neben den oben genannten Ausstellungsbegleitpublikationen und Monographien siehe z.B. folgende neuere nicht-monographische Beiträge: LOEBEN 2010; 2012; 2013-2014.

gibt unzählige zeitgenössische Darstellungen von ägyptischen Gärten, allein an die fünfzig in den Gräbern der Elite des Neuen Reiches in Theben-West (2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.), die uns im weiteren intensiver beschäftigen werden.¹⁰ Hinzu kommt, dass in den letzten Jahren auch eine Reihe von Gärten bei archäologischen Arbeiten in Ägypten und im Sudan ausgegraben wurde.¹¹ Damit sind uns antike Gärten im Original erhalten, die es uns nun ermöglichen, die genannten indirekten Informationen wie Texte und Abbildungen mit den gemachten Funden unmittelbar zu vergleichen.

Zu den jüngsten dieser archäologischen Entdeckungen gehört der 3850 Jahre alte Garten im Gehöft einer Verwaltungsresidenz in Abydos-Süd (Mittelägypten)¹² mit einer Setzung von drei Reihen mit jeweils vier Sykomoren (*Ficus sycomorus*) — mit ziemlicher Sicherheit der älteste im Original nachweise Privat- bzw. Residenzgarten der Menschheit. Und selbst als recht kleines Beispiel zeigt schon dieser Garten zwei Eigenschaften, die quasi unverändert die Gestalt der Gärten des kommenden Millenniums in Ägypten prägen und auch alle ihre unterschiedlichen Typen als 'erkennbar-ägyptisch' charakterisieren wird: ihre Umfassung durch eine — in Abydos leider unbekannt — hohe Mauer sowie die beinah unumstößliche Pflanzenanordnung in Reihensetzung.

Noch älter als der 1999-2001 von amerikanischen Ägyptologen in Abydos-Süd ausgegrabene Residenzgarten könnten eventuell zwei Tempelgärten Ägyptens sein, jedoch ist bei diesen über Jahrtausende in Betrieb gebliebenen Bauten stets schwer beweisbar, ob die archäologisch vorhandenen Baumgruben tatsächlich aus der ursprünglichen Erbauungszeit stammen. Es handelt sich dabei um den Anfang der 1980er Jahre genauer untersuchten Tempel der sogenannten "Roten

¹⁰ Siehe die praktische Zusammenstellung der Gartendarstellungen in Gräbern in: GROS DE BELER & MARMIROLI 2008, 124-125.

¹¹ Zum erstgenannten Garten siehe: EIGNER 1995. Zu beiden: EIGNER 2009; WOLF 2009.

¹² WEGNER 1992, 33-34.

Pyramide" von Pharao Snofru in Dahschur (Altes Reich, 4. Dynastie, um 2520 v. Chr.) und um die unterschiedlich großen Baumgruben vor dem Totentempel von Pharaos Monthuhotep II. in Theben-West (Mittleres Reich, 11. Dynastie, um 2000 v. Chr.), wo Wurzelreste Sykomoren und Tamarisken nachweisbar machten.¹³

Das weite Spektrum von Informationen, das uns die Quellen zu antiken Gärten im Niltal bieten, erlaubt uns auch, ganz unterschiedliche Typen von Gärten, die von den Ägyptern angelegt wurden, zu definieren. Neben Gärten in den Residenzen hoher Verwaltungsbeamter gab es sie natürlich auch in den Palästen der königlichen Familie (Residenz- oder Palastgärten), Gärten gehörten zu den Wohnhäusern der ägyptischen Elite (Hausgärten), Tempelanlagen waren offensichtlich ohne die sie umgebenden Gärten undenkbar (Tempelgärten), und es gab Gärten für die Toten — reale in der Nähe der Grabanlagen (Nekropolengärten) und ideale (Wunsch-)Gärten im Repertoire der Wandbilder innerhalb der Gräber.

Gärten waren im täglichen Leben aller Bevölkerungsschichten Ägyptens kaum wegzudenken und so verwundert es auch gar nicht, dass Gartenpflanzen sogar zu sprechenden Protagonisten in der ägyptischen Literatur werden konnten. Aus der Regierungszeit des Pharaos Amenhotep III. (Neues Reich, 18. Dynastie, 1390-1353 v. Chr.) kennen wir dank erhaltener Etiketten-Schriften mit den Titeln "Buch von der Sykomore und dem Moringabaum" und "Buch vom Granatapfelbaum",¹⁴ offensichtlich Pflanzenfabeln, deren Inhalt jedoch leider nicht überliefert ist.¹⁵ Gartenpflanzen, die wie Menschen fühlen und sprechen, sind auch aus anderen ägyptischen Texten her gut bekannt. Ein Papyrus im Ägyptischen Museum in Turin¹⁶ hat uns die letzten drei Strophen eines Liebesgedichtes erhalten, in

¹³ Zu beiden Tempelgärten siehe: TIETZE 2011, 187-191.

¹⁴ Zu diesen auch als "Exlibris" bezeichneten Etiketten siehe: AUFRÈRE 1999; KONRAD & PAMMINGER 2010, 7-10.

¹⁵ Zu Fabeln und Tiergeschichten im Alten Ägypten siehe: LOEBEN 2009.

¹⁶ Inv.-Nr. 1966. Dazu ausführlich: MATHIEU 1996, 81-93.

dem ein Granatapfelbaum (maskulin), eine Sykomore und eine junge Sykomore (beide feminin) darin wetteifern, wessen Schatten von (menschlichen) Liebenden als Ort für Liebesabenteuer wohl am meisten geschätzt wird. Am Ende siegt die junge Sykomore und spricht:

“Komm (Liebende), verbringe diesen Tag im Glück sowie morgen und übermorgen, bis zu drei Tagen, unter meinem schattigen Laubwerk sitzend!

(. . .)

Ich bin die Verschwiegenheit (selbst) und sage nicht, was ich sehe;
kein Wort werde (ich davon) erzählen! ”

Bei diesem Zitat ist es literarisch natürlich faszinierend, dass die im Gedicht sprechenden Pflanzen in der Menschenwelt Garanten für Verschwiegenheit sind!

Offensichtlich waren die Erwartungen und Sehnsüchte, die im pharaonischen Ägypten an den Garten als Ort der Erholung, Zerstreuung und Erbauung gestellt wurden, unseren heutigen nicht unähnlich. Aus diesem Grund ist es auch nur allzu verständlich, dass in ganz unterschiedlichen Kulturen und Religionen paradiesische (Ur-)Zustände ausgerechnet in einem Garten lokalisiert werden, in einem abgeschlossenen irrealen Gebiet, das sich auffällig von der realen Außenwelt unterscheiden sollte. Kurzum, der Garten ist immer ein Idealbiotop, nach dem man sich sowohl im wirklichen Leben als auch in einer jenseitigen Existenz sehnt. Und diesen hohen Ansprüchen konnte der altägyptische Garten durchaus gerecht werden.

III. Gärten in Gräbern: Beispiele ägyptischer Gartendarstellungen

Im Folgenden sollen zwei ausgewählte Beispiele für Darstellungen altägyptischer Gärten in Gräbern etwas genauer vorgestellt werden.

Als "Bürgermeister von Theben", "Bauleiter im Amun-Tempel" und "Bauleiter des Königsgrabes" war Ineni einer der höchsten Beamten während der Regierungszeiten der Pharaonen Amenhotep I. und Thutmosis I. am Beginn der 18. Dynastie (Neues Reich, um 1490 v. Chr.). Er wurde in einem sehr beeindruckenden Grab in der dem Tal der Könige vorgelagerten Hügelkette, in der die Gräber für die hohen Beamten des Neuen Reiches angelegt wurden, bestattet. Auf der Rückseite eines Pfeilers der Grabfassade ist die farbige Darstellung des Anwesens von Ineni mit einem riesigen, hinter einer hohen Mauer verborgenen Garten gemalt (Abb. 1.1).¹⁷ Sein Zentrum ist ein Teich, in dem Lotusblüten erkennbar sind und aus dem ein Diener Wasser schöpft. Ein solcher Teich war ein so integraler Bestandteil eines jeden ägyptischen Gartens, dass er Gärten generell auch ihren altägyptischen Namen gab: SCHA heißt sowohl See/Teich als auch Garten, im Sinne von "Seegebiet/-gelände/-land". Über dem Teich von Inenis Gartendarstellung befinden sich drei gleichgroße Bildstreifen mit Darstellungen von Bäumen, wobei nur in der Mitte des unteren Dattel- und Dumpalmen abgebildet sind. Dum- oder Argunpalmen finden sich auch auf zwei Niveaus in der rechten Hälfte des obersten Bildfeldes der Szene. Auf seiner linken Seite sind der an einer Lotusblüte riechende Ineni und seine Frau in einem Gartenkiosk sitzend zu sehen. Vor ihnen steht ein Diener, eventuell der gleiche, der zuvor Wasser am Teich geschöpft hat, das er jetzt dem Grabherrn und seiner Frau darreicht. Über dem Diener befindet sich in drei Kolumnen folgender, auf Ineni bezogener Text: "Seinen Garten im Westen (d.h. im Totenreich) durchqueren, sich erfrischen unter seinen Sykomoren, diese (des Gartens große und) perfekte Bäume sehen, die er auf Erden angepflanzt hat unter dem Lob dieses edlen Gottes Amun, dem Herrn von Karnak". Anschließend folgt eine Liste von annähernd 500 Bäumen, unter denen sich auch: "73 Sykomoren,

¹⁷ DZIOBEK 1992, 60, Taf. 15. Für eine weitere Wiedergabe der Farbaufnahme siehe auch: KAPPEL & LOEBEN 2011, 78.

31 Mimusops-Bäume, 170 Dattelpalmen, 120 Dumpalmen, 5 Feigen, (. . .) 12 Weinstöcke, 5 Granatapfelbäume, (. . .) 1 Argunpalme, (. . .) 9 Weiden und 10 Tamarisen" befinden. Sollten dieses Angaben zutreffen — und es gibt keinen Grund daran zu zweifeln —, dann darf man sich Inenis Garten offenkundig nicht gerade als Schrebergarten, sondern als recht stattliches Anwesen vorstellen.

Unter Pharao Thutmosis III. (Neues Reich, 18. Dynastie, 1479-1425 v. Chr.) war Rechmire Wesir. Dieses nach dem König zweithöchste Amt im Staate gestattete Rechmire sich in Theben-West das größte Beamtengrab des Neuen Reiches anzulegen. Die riesigen, vollständig bemalten Wandflächen beinhalten auch eine Darstellung von Rechmires Garten (Abb. 1.2).¹⁸ Der durch ein Tor (links) zu betretende Garten ist auch hier um einen Teich herum angelegt, auf dem eine Barke mit einer Statue von Rechmire schwimmt, die von Männern an beiden Seiten der Ufer getreidelt wird. Direkt am Teich und ganz außen sind Sykomoren in Reihen gepflanzt. In einer Pflanzreihe zwischen ihnen sind Dattel- und Dumpalmen zu erkennen, die von einem Mann beerntet und von zwei weiteren bewässert werden.

Die voranstehend beispielhaft vorgestellten Privatgärten hoher Beamter des ägyptischen Verwaltungsapparates verdeutlichen einen generell geltenden, erheblichen Unterschied zwischen den altägyptischen und unseren heutigen Gärten: Die Auswahl von den im ägyptischen Garten vorkommenden Pflanzen ist weniger zur Zierde, sondern vielmehr zum Nutzen geschehen, obwohl auf schöne Pflanzen, wie Klatschmohn, Kornblumen und Mandragora natürlich nicht verzichtet wurde (Abb. 1.3). Sowohl die sehr pflegeaufwändigen Sykomorenbäume als auch die Dattel- und Dumpalmen sind neben willkommenen Schatten- vor allem bedeutende Nahrungsspender.

¹⁸ DAVIES 1943, pl. CX.

IV. Besonderheiten bei Garten-Darstellungen: Rituale und Götter im Garten

Eine Reihe von Gartendarstellungen in den thebanischen Gräbern der ägyptischen Elite des Neuen Reiches zeigt im Garten angesiedelte Aktivitäten. Neben Wasserschöpfen und -trinken, was den vorhergenannten Versorgungsaspekt des Gartens unterstreicht, sind es Handlungen, die mit dem Kult für den Verstorbenen in Verbindung stehen. Bei Rechmires Gartendarstellung war das Treideln einer wohl mit einer Statue des Verstorbenen versehenen Barke auf dem Gartenteich zu bemerken. Dies verweist darauf, dass „Toten-Gedächtnis-Feiern“ in den Gärten lokalisiert werden — bei Darstellungen in Gräbern auch nicht sehr verwunderlich.¹⁹ Es ist jedoch bis heute nicht geklärt, wo sich diese Gärten, in denen „Toten-Gedächtnis-Feiern“ abgehalten wurden, befunden haben, ob es Gärten am Grab, im Wohnhaus des Verstorbenen oder im Tempel waren. Meines Erachtens erübrigert sich diese Frage, denn als Bild im Grab ist es überhaupt nicht zwingend anzunehmen, dass die Darstellungen dieser Bühnen kultischen Geschehens auf einen bestimmten, real existierenden Ort verwiesen. Aus diesem Grund verwundert es auch nicht, dass das, was wie eine simple Darstellung eines Gartens aussieht — gerade durch ihre Präsenz im Repertoire der ägyptischen Grabmalereien —, auf alle Fälle auch eine darüber hinausgehende Konnotation besitzt.

Um diese zu verstehen ist der Blick auf eine weitere Garten-Darstellung aus einem Grab in Theben hilfreich (Abb. 1.4).²⁰ Sie stammt aus dem Grab des Nebamun aus der Zeit von Pharaos Amenhotep III. (Neues Reich, 18. Dynastie, 1390-1353 v. Chr.) und befindet sich nicht mehr in jenem Grab, sondern ist heutzutage eines der vielbewunderten Meisterwerke des British Museum in London, wo vor ein paar Jahren alle Wandmalerei-fragmente aus diesem Grab restauriert und neu ausgestellt

¹⁹ Siehe auch: ARNST 1989; GESSLER-LÖHR 1992.

²⁰ PARKINSON 2008, 132-137, Fig. 142.

wurden. Auf den ersten Blick scheint sich diese Gartendarstellung nicht wesentlich von der vorangehend betrachteten aus dem Grab des Rechmire zu unterscheiden, wieder bildet ein Teich das Zentrum des Gartens, um den herum Dattelpalmen und Sykomoren gruppiert sind, auch Mandragorasträuche sind auszumachen. In der Ecke rechts oben erkennt man jedoch, dass dem Stamm eines Sykomorenbaumes eine weibliche Person entwächst, die mit ihren Armen und Händen Sykomorenfeigen in Körben und Wasser in einer Situla präsentiert. Dieses Phänomen ist von keiner anderen der vielen Gartendarstellungen der thebanischen Gräber her bekannt und sicher in keinem real-existentierenden Garten anzutreffen. Diese Darstellung ist auch keine Illustration der eingangs zitierten Pflanzenfabel mit sprechenden Sykomorenbäumen. Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine ägyptische Baumgöttin, wie sie aus einer Vielzahl von altägyptischen Darstellungen her bekannt ist (Abb. 1.5).²¹

Sinn der Baumgöttin ist zu vergegenwärtigen, dass ein Baum Menschen ernährt und seine schiere Präsenz auch das Vorhandensein von Wasser anzeigen, das die Menschen erfrischt — in heißen Wüstenregionen überlebensnotwendig. Als Baumgöttinnen können sich viele ägyptische Gottheiten manifestieren, die dann nur durch eine Beischrift genau identifiziert werden: z.B. der Totengott Osiris,²² jedoch bevorzugt weibliche Gottheiten wie Nut, Renenutet, etc. Im hier gezeigten Fall (Abb. 1.6), zweifelsfrei mit einer der schönsten Darstellungen einer ägyptischen Baumgöttin (heute im Museum August Kestner in Hannover²³), handelt es sich — wie in der Beischrift zu lesen ist — um „... die große Isis, die Mutter des Gottes (Horus)\", die sich im Parallelrelief (heute Ägyptisches Museum Berlin²⁴) übrigens in einer Dattelpalme manifestiert. In beiden

²¹ Darstellung im Grab des Paschedu in Deir el-Medineh, Theben-West, Grab Nr. 3.

²² Zu Osiris als Baumgott siehe: KOEMOTH 1994.

²³ Inv.-Nr. 2933; LOEBEN & KAPPEL 2009, 78-79, Kat. 63 (mit weiterer Literatur).

²⁴ Inv.-Nr. 7322; WILDUNG, REITER, & ZORN 2010, 47, Abb. 19.

Fällen versorgt sie den Priester der Sachmet Nijaji und seine Gattin mit Wasser und Nahrung. In diesem Beispiel wird die Göttin — deutlich erkennbar — ohne Kopf dargestellt, dafür ist ihre weibliche Brust umso präsenter. Und das stellt die Rolle der Baumgöttin besonders gut heraus: Sie ernährt die Toten und spendet ihnen dadurch Leben in der Ewigkeit ihrer jenseitigen Existenz. Aus diesem Grund sind Baumgöttinnen auch willkommene Dekore von ägyptischen Opfertafeln (Abb. 1.7). Im gezeigten Beispiel — wieder aus dem Museum August Kestner in Hannover²⁵ — ist rechts Osiris als nicht-anthropomorpher Baumgott zu sehen und links — diesmal mehr Frau als Baum — seine Schwestergattin Isis.

V. Gärten für Götter

Mit der Möglichkeit der Präsenz von Baumgöttinnen in ägyptischen Gartendarstellungen kommt dem Garten auch die Rolle eines Ortes zu, an dem sich nicht nur die Menschen, sondern vor allem auch die Götter gern aufhalten. Dass dem Garten *per se* damit auch die Funktion eines Tempels zukommen konnte, macht ganz besonders einer jener Privatgärten deutlich, die im frühen 20. Jahrhundert von dem deutschen Archäologen Ludwig Borchardt in Achet-Aton, d.h. „Lichtland des (Sonnen-gottes) Aton“ (das heutige Amarna), der bereits in seinem fünften Regierungsjahr von Pharao Amenhotep IV./Echnaton neu errichteten Residenzstadt in Mittelägypten, ausgegraben wurden. Im Zentrum der für ägyptische Verhältnisse außergewöhnlich gut erhaltenen Stadt wurden die Palast- und Tempelanlagen errichtet. Um sie herum befanden sich die Gehöfte der hohen Beamten und Priester, 532 Wohnanlagen, die von den Archäologen genau untersuchen werden konnten. Viele von ihnen besaßen auch Gärten, die nicht selten die Größe von

²⁵ Inv.-Nr. 1935.200.692; LOEBEN & KAPPEL 2009, 79-80, Kat. 64 (mit weiterer Literatur).

annähernd einem Drittel der Gehöftfläche einnehmen. Insgesamt 57 Gärten sind in allen Teilen der Stadt zu finden.²⁶

Diese zum Teil riesigen Gärten können nun definitiv nicht nur als reine Erholungsanlagen betrachtet werden. Die meisten von ihnen besitzen in ihrem Zentrum neben dem obligatorischen Teich auch einen kapellenartigen Bau und viele auch einen Eingang, der einen Pylon, das typisch ägyptische Tempeltor, repräsentiert. Dies macht sie zu religiösen Installationen, zu regelrechten Miniaturtempelanlagen. Als ganz besonderes Beispiel dafür kann das Gehöft eines "Vorstehers der Rinder des (Gottes) Aton", dessen Eigenname leider aus den Grabungsbefunden nicht ersichtlich ist, herangezogen werden (Abb. 1.8-1.9).²⁷ Die an den gefundenen Pflanzgruben eindeutig zu erkennende Art und Weise, in der die Bäume im Garten gesetzt sind, entspricht der Stellung von Säulen in ägyptischen Tempeln. Vergegenwärtigt man sich nun, dass von der altägyptischen Tempelarchitektur immer als "zu Stein gewordener Natur" gesprochen wird — die Säulen repräsentieren bekanntermaßen immer Pflanzen, hauptsächlich Papyrus²⁸ —, dann können wir in diesem Garten genau die Umkehrung dessen beobachten. Dort wo sonst steinerne Tempelsäulen sitzen, kommen im Garten Bäume zum Einsatz. Dass diese Angleichung besonders in Achet-Aton ohne Probleme möglich war, liegt unter anderem an dem ganz besonderen Vorzug, den Echnaton dem Sonnengott gab, weshalb seine Tempel zwar Säulen aber nicht die sie sonst tragenden Dächer aufweisen. Dies war natürlich mit Bäumen im Garten ganz genauso der Fall. Übrigens entnahmen die Archäologen aus allen Baumpflanzgruben, in denen sich noch Wurzelreste erhalten hatten, Proben und schickten sie an das Botanische Museum in Berlin. Leider sind von dorther keine Untersuchungsergebnisse bekannt geworden

²⁶ TIETZE 2011, 212-226.

²⁷ Dazu ausführlich: LOTH 2009.

²⁸ Für ein Beispiel, wo anhand des Säulentyps von "zu Stein gewordenem Klang" in der ägyptischen Architektur gesprochen werden kann, siehe: LOEBEN 2005.

und die eingeschickten Proben scheinen leider auch nicht mehr erhalten zu sein, weshalb die Typen der gepflanzten Bäume bedauerlicherweise unbekannt bleiben müssen.

Eine weitere Besonderheit der Kunst der Epoche von Pharao Echnaton ist, dass in den Reliefs der Gräber der hohen Beamten, die sich in den das Stadtgebiet von Achet-Aton eingrenzenden Hügeln befinden, auch die Tempel der Stadt illustriert sind. Anhand dieser Darstellungen wissen wir, dass die Tempel von Amarna mit Bäumen umstellt waren und sich um ihre Teiche herum weitreichende Gartenanlagen befanden (Abb. 1.10). Diese Wiedergaben stimmen erstaunlich genau mit den Grabungsergebnissen überein: Pflanzgruben für Bäume wurden z.B. an den Außenmauern des so genannten "Kleinen Aton-Tempels" von Achet-Aton gefunden (Abb. 1.11).

Vor und nach der nur knapp zwanzig Jahre währenden "Amarnazeit" von Pharao Echnaton war der Tempel des Gottes Amun von Karnak (im heutigen Luxor, Oberägypten) der bedeutendste in Ägypten. In seiner enorm ausgebauten Gestalt der Zeit um Christi Geburt kann er heute sicher als die größte antike Tempelanlage der Welt gelten. Es gibt zwei zeitgenössische Abbildungen von Gartenanlagen, die im Kontext des Amun-Tempels stehen. Zum einen besitzen wir die Darstellung des Tempelgartens, einer quadratischen Gartenanlage, die den vorangehend behandelten Gärten entspricht. Diese Wiedergabe, die sich im Grab des Bürgermeisters von Theben, Sennefer, befindet, das auch für seine Weinlaubdecke in der unterirdischen Grabkammer berühmt ist (Regierungszeit von Pharao Amenhotep II., 18. Dynastie, 1425-1400 v. Chr.), ist heute jedoch leider nur schlecht erhalten, aber dank einer 1828 angefertigten Kopie komplett überliefert (Abb. 1.12).²⁹ Der

²⁹ ROSELLINI 1834, tav. LXIX. Für die originale Vorzeichnung dieser Lithographie siehe jetzt: BETRÖ 2010, 178-179. Für ein Foto des bis vor kurzem aktuellen Zustandes siehe: <http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/photo/snnfr_cc_tc_gardenv.jpg> (Zugriff Februar 2014).

Aktuell ist das Grab Restaurierungs- und Forschungsgegenstand der Université Libre de Bruxelles (Leitung: Laurent Bayav), infolge dessen auch die

Garten konnte durch ein an einem Kanal gelegenes Tor (rechts) betreten werden. In seinem Zentrum liegt diesmal ein großes, von Weinpflanzungen bedecktes Areal, an das sich Kapellen für den Kult an Königsstatuen anschließen. Vier Teiche gibt es in diesem auch von schriftlichen Erwähnungen her bekannten Garten und Baumpflanzungen in geraden Reihen.

Einmalig für ägyptisches Kunstschaffen ist die als äußerst realistisch anzusehende Darstellung des Amun-Tempels im thebanischen Grab von Neferhotep (Ende der 18. Dynastie, um 1320 v. Chr.).³⁰ Die Darstellung (Abb. 1.13) steht im Kontext eines offensichtlich sehr denkwürdigen Besuches des Grabbesitzers im Tempel, wo er bis zum Tor des Vierten Pylons, jedoch nicht ins Tempelinnere zugelassen worden war. Nach neueren Erkenntnissen näherte er sich diesem Tor vom Süden her, wo ein Stichkanal bis an den Südeingang des Tempels heranführte. Schon das Gelände in der Umgebung des Kanals und der Anlegestelle ist als Garten gestaltet. Bemerkenswert ist, dass Pflanzungen von Sykomorenästen den Tempel einrahmen, wie es in der Darstellung eindeutig zu erkennen ist. Von diesen konnten aber wegen der ständigen Tempelumbauten und -anbauten archäologisch keine Spuren mehr nachgewiesen werden.

VI. Gärten an Gräbern

Neben den oben besprochenen Privatgärten von Amarna ist der bedeutendste archäologisch nachweisbare Garten Ägyptens der Residenz- und Nekropolengarten von Tell el-Dab'a im östlichen Nildelta (um 1600 v. Chr.).³¹ Dieser von österreichischen

Gartendarstellung inzwischen partiell gereinigt worden ist; siehe folgendes Foto: <http://www.sennefer.at/Sennefer/images/TT96A/Sennefer_GartenbildUE.jpg> (Zugriff Februar 2014).

³⁰ LOEBEN 1992. Eine jüngst an dieser Deutung des Autors geübte Kritik ist eindeutig unberechtigt und wird demnächst an anderer Stelle ausführlich zurückgewiesen werden: SCHLÜTER 2009, 153–155.

³¹ EIGNER 1995; 2009.

Ägyptologen ausgegrabene Garten muss nicht nur als der größte, sondern auch am genauesten untersuchte Garten Ägyptens angesehen werden. Es handelte sich in einer ersten Bauphase um verschiedene, um den herrschaftlichen Palast herum angeordnete Gärten, hauptsächlich Beetpflanzungen. In der Endphase der archäologischen Nachweisbarkeit wurde dann direkt neben der Residenz die Nekropole der Herrscher hier angelegt, mit oberirdischen Grabbauten (Abb. 1.14). Auffällig ist hierbei, dass es direkt vor deren Zugängen Baumsetzungen, wahrscheinlich Dattelpalmen, gab. Der Ausgräber Manfred Bietak möchte hierin einen direkten Nachbau jener Kulttopographie sehen, die in der Ägyptologie als "Butisches Begräbnis" bezeichnet wird und durch eine große Reihe von Abbildungen (meist Neues Reich) bekannt ist (Abb. 1.15).³² Dabei handelt es sich um ein imaginäres Begräbnis eines jeden Ägypters, der nach seinem Tod heilige Stätten Ägyptens besucht, darunter auch Abydos (Oberägypten) und Buto (im Nildelta). Typisch für die Darstellungen des "Butischen Begräbnisses" ist der Hain von Buto mit Reihen von Sykomoren und Dattelpalmen, wie sie besonders schön auf einem Relieffragment im Museum August Kestner in Hannover zu sehen sind (Abb. 1.16). Und genau die Dattelpalmen möchte nun der Ausgräber mit der realen Situation in der Herrschernekropole von Tell el-Dab'a in Verbindung bringen. Sollte dies tatsächlich nachgewiesen werden können, dann hieße das, dass außer diesem Nekropolengarten andere bekannte, häufig dargestellte ägyptische Gärten auch real-existierende 'Nachbauten' besaßen, die quasi 'Bühnen' für funeräre Rituale waren.

VII. Fazit

Spätestens mit dieser Erkenntnis muss fortan bezweifelt werden, ob es sich bei der Mehrzahl der zahlreichen ägyptischen

³² BIETAK 1994.

Gartendarstellungen überhaupt um Darstellungen von 'Vergnügungsgärten' handelt, oder ob nicht generell der Garten im wesentlichen ein Topos für die geordnete Welt — kontra Chaos — war, das stets das Denken und Streben der Ägypter sowohl im Diesseits als auch im Jenseits bestimmte. Ob es sich dabei um einst reale Orte gehandelt haben kann oder — konform zum eben festgestellten — vielleicht doch eher um Ideal-Topoi als Wunschorste für (jenseitige) Aufenthalte und (diesseitiges) kultisches Geschehen muss dabei offen bleiben.

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DISCUSSION

S. Dalley: When gendered trees are portrayed in Egyptian wall-paintings, but without an anthropomorphic image within the tree, is there a schematic artistic convention for marking the gender that might correspond to the ‘female’ triangles/diamond pattern and the ‘male’ spiral pattern on palm trunks in the Mesopotamian world?

C. Loeben: In ägyptischen Darstellungen sind wirklich nur diejenigen Bäume als männlich oder weiblich charakterisiert, die als partiell anthropomorphe Baumgottheiten wiedergegeben sind — wie erwähnt, sind davon die meisten weiblich, also Baumgöttinnen. In dem von mir genannten Liebesgedicht mit männlichen und weiblichen Bäumen haben die verschiedenen Bäume ihr Geschlecht allein durch den Umstand erhalten, dass die ägyptischen Wörter, die sie bezeichnen, grammatisch entweder männlich oder weiblich sind (z.B. Granatapfel = ägypt. INEHEMEN = mask. / Sykomore = ägypt. NEHET = fem. mit der dafür typischen Endung auf -T). Die botanische Geschlechtlichkeit innerhalb dieser Arten haben die Ägypter meines Wissens nach nicht unterschieden und folglich auch nicht kenntlich gemacht.

S. Dalley: The genders attributed, for example, to the pomegranate and the sycomore: does the planting tend to put male and female in pairs, as if to encourage the production of heirs who would be able to continue funerary rites?

C. Loeben: Dinge in Bezug auf ihr Weiterleben im Jenseits und die damit verbundene Notwendigkeit für Nachkommen im Diesseits zu sorgen, die sich um die nötigen Totenrituale

kümmern, haben die Ägypter bekanntermaßen sehr beschäftigt und sie haben in der Tat einiges dafür getan, Kontinuitäten zu gewährleisten. Die mit keiner anderen antiken Kultur vergleichbaren, extrem aufwändigen Grabausstattungen sind der beste Beweis, dass sie ja nur genau diesen Sinn haben. Aus diesem Grund wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass Wandmalereien in einem Grab die Subtilität besitzen könnten, auf Nachkommenschaft zu verweisen. Bei den beliebtesten und am meisten in Darstellungen gezeigten Gartenpflanzen der Ägypter verhält es sich mit dem grammatischen Geschlecht folgendermaßen: maskulin sind z.B. Dum-Palme, Granatapfel und Wein; feminin Dattel-Palme, Sykomore, Feigenbaum und Papyrus. Eine erste kurSORische Durchsicht der Gartendarstellungen in den thebanischen Gräbern hat ergeben, dass bei gemischten Reihungen ein Ordnungsprinzip offensichtlich folgendes ist: Oben weitausladende Bäume (wie beide Palmen-Arten) wechseln sich mit unten voluminöseren (wie die Sykomore) ab. Dies ist meines Erachtens aber eher den ägyptischen Darstellungskonventionen, nämlich so eindeutig und gut erkennbar wie irgendwie möglich zu sein, geschuldet. Aber erst eine genaue Untersuchung zur Zusammenstellung der Pflanzen nach ihrem (grammatischen) Geschlecht könnte Gewissheit verschaffen. Auf den ersten Blick ist die absolut berechtigte gestellte und damit unbedingt untersuchenswerte Frage jedoch mit "nein" zu beantworten.

S. Dalley: Were there plants/trees that would have died seasonally, because the flooding of the Nile swamped their roots?

C. Loeben: In den Sommermonaten waren die Felder Ägyptens drei Monate lang durch die Nilflut unter Wasser gesetzt. Nicht viele Pflanzen konnten das überleben. Nach Auskunft meines botanischen Beraters und Koautors, Sven Kappel, können die Gehölze Nilakazie, Weide sowie die beiden ägyptischen Feigenarten, normale Feige und Sykomore, am längsten im Wasser stehen, ohne Schaden zu nehmen. Aus diesem Grund

sind Dattel- und andere Haine empfindlicherer Bäume sowie natürlich auch die ägyptischen Gärten im leicht höher befindlichen Terrain angelegt worden. Besonders hohe oder lang anhaltende Nilfluten, die es immer wieder einmal gab, haben dann natürlich auch diese Pflanzungen zerstört. Sie sind danach dann einfach wieder neu angelegt worden. Aus dem nur saisonal benutzten Tempel, der sogenannten "Großen Anlage" von Musawwarat es-Sufra (Obernubien, heutiger Sudan) wissen wir, dass in dortigen Höfen Pflanzungen immer wieder, offensichtlich stets zum vorgesehenen Betrieb des Tempels, Setzungen durch in Töpfen angelieferte Pflanzen vorgenommen wurden.¹

S. Dalley: Is anything known about Egyptian gardeners and the work they did?

C. Loeben: Der Beruf des Gärtner ist für das pharaonische Ägypten gut belegt. Die Bezeichnung für Gärtner ist KAMU bzw. KARY. Seine Hauptaufgabe war das Setzen und Bewässern der Pflanzen, wofür das Wasser aus den Gartenteichen geschöpft wurde. Da jedoch die reichlich Früchte tragenden Sykomoren eine der wichtigsten Gartenpflanzen der Ägypter waren, hatte der Gärtner noch eine ausgesprochen wichtige und sicher zeitraubende Arbeit. In die Früchte der Sykomorenbäume legt nämlich die Gallwespe "Sycophaga sycomori" ihre Eier ab. Das Schlüpfen der Larven macht die Früchte ungenießbar. Aus diesem Grund ritzen ägyptische Gärtner die jungen Früchte mit einem Messer an. Dies beschleunigt den Reifungsprozess, so dass die Früchte vor dem Schlüpfen der Gallwespenlarven reif sind und somit genießbar bleiben. Das Vokabular der Ägypter besitzt folglich zwei ganz unterschiedliche Wörter für Sykomorenfeigen: KAU für die normalen, jedoch ungenießbaren Früchte und NEQAWET, was wörtlich

¹ WOLF 2009; 2011.

“die Angeritzten” bedeutet und die genießbaren Feigen bezeichnet. Ich kann mir denken, dass diese Arbeit einen ägyptischen Gärtner gut beschäftigte.

A. Marzano: You showed us an image of a garden which has at its centre an elaborated pergola with a grape vine. I was wondering whether the grape vine has any symbolism in representations of Egyptian gardens and what role this plant has in general in garden compositions.

C. Loeben: Im pharaonischen und auch heutigen Ägypten wird Wein stets in Form einer flächenmäßig großen, von Unmengen von Ziegelpfeilern gestützten Pergola angebaut. Ihre Höhe ist ungefähr so bemessen, dass man darunter stehen konnte. Dadurch werden zwei Dinge befördert: (1) kann im Schatten des Weinlaubs Leben stattfinden und (2) können die nach unten hängenden Trauben durch einfaches Pflücken aus der Höhe geerntet werden. Meines Erachtens sind es im wesentlichen diese zwei, ausschließlich rein pragmatischen Aspekte, die ihre Rolle im ägyptischen Garten bestimmen. Eine darüber hinausgehende symbolische Bedeutung könnte man aus folgenden Gründen vermuten — sie wird meines Erachtens jedoch nie explizit, z.B. durch beigeschriebene Texte, ausgedrückt. In den ältesten religiösen Texten, die die Menschheit besitzt, den sogenannten Pyramidentexten (Mitte 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.), wird vom Wein als dem “Kind des Himmels” (Spruch 1082), also als göttlicher Frucht, gesprochen und an anderer Stelle der Himmel als Weingarten bezeichnet (Sp. 1112d). Die sich über den darunter Agierenden ausbreitende Weinpergola könnte also als Himmel angesehen worden sein. Da dies aber im Kontext von solchen Darstellungen — wie gesagt — nie schriftlich geäußert worden ist, wäre ich mit einer solchen Deutung eher zurückhaltend. Mit Wein, sowohl der Pflanze als auch dem Getränk, stand der ägyptische Totengott und Gott der Ernährung Osiris in enger Beziehung. Ebenfalls bereits in den Pyramidentexten wird Osiris als “Herr des

Weines im Überfluss" (Sp. 1524) bzw. "Herr der Weinbereitung" (Sp. 819) bezeichnet. Kein Wunder also, dass er von den später nach Ägypten gekommenen Griechen mit Dionysos identifiziert worden ist.

A. Marzano: Was wine used in religious rituals or only destined for the priests?

C. Loeben: Unter den Ritualen, die der ägyptische Pharao täglich vor den Göttern zelebrieren musste, nimmt das "Geben von Wein" einen hohen Stellenwert ein.² Wein war auf alle Fälle das Getränk der ägyptischen Oberschicht und wurde besonders gern bei Hof konsumiert. Dabei wurde Wein — übrigens sowohl roter als auch weißer — auch aus entfernten Gegenden, wie den Oasen der Libyschen Wüste oder Vorderasien an den Hof gebracht. Das Getränk des einfachen Volkes war aus vergorenem Brot gebraute Bier.

B. Bergmann: It is interesting that the term for garden is what grows around a water basin or pool ("poolside", artificial oasis), for it suggests a perception very different from the Latin *maceria*, which refers to the wall surrounding a garden or grove. It makes sense that the plantings should originate in a water source rather than in a ditch in the ground. What, then, was the role of the wall, which in some representations appears fortified and in others serves as the threshhold for viewers to survey a tiered garden?

C. Loeben: Genau das gleiche trifft ja auch für unser modernes Wort "Garten" zu, das bekanntermaßen von lat. *hortus* abgeleitet ist, womit ein von einer Einfriedung umschlossener Bereich gemeint ist. Wie oben gesagt, sind sowohl Teich als auch Mauer die typischen Kennzeichen eines altägyptischen Gartens. Aber eigentlich ist ja das gesamte Land Ägypten durch

² Poo 1995.

seine üppige Vegetation als ein riesiger Garten anzusehen, insbesondere durch die schroffe Konfrontation mit den das Niltal umgebenden Wüsten. Eine Mauer trennt natürlich einen 'besonderen' Teil sowohl von dieser allgegenwärtigen Gartenlandschaft als auch vom sie natürlich erreichenden Nilwasser ab. Aus diesem Grund, denke ich mir, war sicher die Wasserquelle in Gestalt des Teiches in der Gartenmitte für die Ägypter wohl das — *sine qua non* — bestimmende und namensgebende Phänomen. Dass in manchen Fällen die Gartenmauer wie eine Festungsmauer aussieht, ist dadurch zu erklären, dass aus getrockneten Nilschlammziegeln errichtete Mauern häufig eine wellenförmige Innenstruktur aufweisen, die sich dann auch auf den Mauerkronen abbildet. Für die Ägypter war das nicht zwangsläufig ein Festungs-Aussehen. Und dass ein ägyptischer Garten dank der hohen Mauern nicht einsehbar sein sollte, steht sicher mit den dort stattfindenden eher privaten bzw. kultischen Ereignissen in Zusammenhang. Von öffentlichen Gärten, im (modern-westlichen) Sinn von für jedermann zugänglichen Parkanlagen, die es meines Wissens in Europa auch erst seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts im Zuge des Zeitalters der Aufklärung gibt, ist im pharaonischen Ägypten nichts bekannt.

B. Bergmann: The composite perspectives of Egyptian garden representations are often illustrated as a parallel to or a forerunner of Roman bird's-eye views. Yet the spatial compositions are quite different from the later ones and also seem to vary among themselves. Sometimes trees appear right side up and other times in mirror image on either side of the basin. The sectional view at Karnak is unique, but the basin appears again as a plan. The grape pergola at the center of the representation of the garden of Amun presents a god's viewpoint, while other elements are seen from the side. Can one explain the differences among these spatial composites? Do they characterize the physical relationships within the garden? That is, are particular viewpoints conveyed?

C. Loeben: Ägyptische zweidimensionale Darstellungen sind nie perspektivisch sondern stets aspektivisch. Dabei steht im Vordergrund, dass jedes einzelne Element einer Darstellung so eindeutig wie möglich wiederzugeben ist. Ein flacher Teich oder z.B. auch die Wasseroberfläche des Nils kann niemals von der Seite gezeigt werden. Die Oberfläche muss immer 'aufgeklappt-senkrecht-stehend' repräsentiert werden, um z.B. als Teich erkennbar zu bleiben. Die darin befindlichen Fische und Pflanzen sind dann selbstverständlich wieder in der typisch-ägyptischen Seitenansicht wiedergegeben. Was die Pergola im Zentrum des Amuns-Garten betrifft, so scheint sie durch das einheitlich wiedergegebene Weinlaub von oben gesehen zu sein. Hinter/unter dem Laub sind jedoch die Stützen der Pergola zu erkennen, die erwartungsgemäß von der Seite gezeigt sind. Diese Gartendarstellung zeigt übrigens — um zur anderen Frage zu kommen — alle Bäume und Pflanzen in Reihen. Bei der Gartendarstellung im Grab des Rechmire scheint die 'Luftansicht' (bird's-eye view) korrekter wiedergegeben worden zu sein, so dass nämlich die von der Seite gezeigten Bäume rundherum vom Teich 'weggeklappt' erscheinen und es somit zur Darstellung von auf dem Kopf stehenden Bäumen kommt. Auf unterschiedlich aussehende, also in anderen Arten und Weisen angelegte Gärten lassen diese zwei grundsätzlich verschiedenen Darstellungsweisen jedoch auf gar keinen Fall schließen. Sie sind lediglich zwei unterschiedliche bildliche Lösungen der Ägypter, anhand von Aspektive auch ein Höchstmaß von Räumlichkeit wiederzugeben.

R. Lane Fox: You have talked about temple gardens. What would you say about the many 'gardens' which were growing the many flowers for garlands, rituals and bouquets? Are they also gardens, or only — or partly — 'farms'?

C. Loeben: In den Gärten, die ich gezeigt habe, wurden Blumen für den häuslichen Eigenbedarf angepflanzt und gepflückt. Letzteres kennen wir sogar durch Gartendarstellungen mit

darin Blumen pflückenden Mädchen. Für die Masse von Blüten, die für die bekannten Blumengirlanden und typisch ägyptischen Stabsträuße — ohne die kein Kult in Ägyptens Tempeln und Gräbern denkbar wäre — zur Verfügung standen, gab es sicher ausgedehnte, durchaus holländischen Tulpenpflanzungen vergleichbare Blumenfelder. Diese befanden sich jedoch im jährlich von den Nilwassern überschwemmten Fruchtland und sind somit absolut nicht archäologisch nachweisbar. Von Darstellungen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. her wissen wir, dass z.B. Lilien von Frauen auf offensichtlich entsprechenden Feldern für die Parfum-Herstellung geerntet wurden. Somit ist eigentlich sicher davon auszugehen, dass es Blumenfelder in früheren Zeiten und auch für die Produktion von Blumenschmuck gegeben haben muss. Auf alle Fälle ist im pharaonischen Ägypten der Beruf des Kranzflechters wohl bekannt und für diesen Job musste ja auch genügend zu verarbeitendes 'Rohmaterial' zur Verfügung stehen.

R. Lane Fox: Everything you describe is so different from the use of the garden, and its representations in Greek art and literature, at least until c. 280 BCE. Your gardens are behind walls and gates. Would you agree that Greek visitors and residents seem completely ignorant of the Egyptians' ideas about Egyptian gardens? Homer's gardens of Alcinous are not explicable by anything seen in Egypt nor (in my opinion) by anything much from 'East of Helicon', in Asia.

C. Loeben: Ich stimme völlig zu. Es scheint, dass das pharonisch-ägyptische 'Garten-Konzept' keinerlei Berücksichtigung in der Rezeption durch das Ausland, also im wesentlichen durch Perser, Griechen und Römer, gefunden hat. Ganz anders sieht das beim gesamten fruchtbaren Niltal aus, das selbst ja — wie oben bereits angemerkt — ein paradiesischer Garten inmitten von Wüsten ist. Das Niltal haben dann besonders die Römer gern in den Gärten ihrer Villen nachempfunden, mit regelrechten 'Nilflussläufen' z.B. in einigen Gärten in Pompeji;

oder auch den Canopus in der Villa Adriana, der das Nildelta 'nachbaut'. Ägypten selbst, als das paradiesische Land am Nil war in den römischen Gärten offensichtlich sehr präsent, aber eben überhaupt nicht der altägyptische Garten. Inwiefern die Ägypten besuchenden Ausländer diesen überhaupt wahrgenommen haben, kann ich leider nicht sagen. Quellen, die darüber Auskunft geben könnten, sind mir nicht bekannt.

STEPHANIE DALLEY

FROM MESOPOTAMIAN TEMPLES
AS SACRED GROVES TO THE DATE-PALM MOTIF
IN GREEK ART AND ARCHITECTURE

I. The palm-tree motif in Mesopotamian temple-façades

During the Middle Bronze Age in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC several major city-temples in Mesopotamia displayed mud-brick façades that imitated palm trees, as if the temple stood within a sacred grove. This short-lived fashion in religious architecture coincides with a period of Elamite imperial power over all of Mesopotamia,¹ led from Susa in western Iran as well as Anshan (near the much later city at Persepolis), twin capital cities; the fashion in Mesopotamia can be compared with a much longer-lived tradition in Elam for shrines in actual sacred groves.

The symbolic importance of the date-palm allowed motifs derived from the tree to spread beyond the area where living date-palms flourish. They are used on stone columns further west, both as bases and as capitals in the 'Proto-Aeolic' or 'Proto-Ionic' style. The palm frond as a symbol of victory can be traced to a version of the Babylonian *Epic of Creation*. In Mesopotamian temple architecture the style of those façades can be linked to an episode in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and its fore-runners. This paper explores some relationships between the

¹ POTTS 1999, 160-187; CHARPIN, EDZARD, & STOL 2004, 213-231; DURAND 2013.

physical phenomena and two great works of Babylonian literature: visual schemes in temples of a particular period on the one hand, and the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and the *Epic of Creation* on the other. It shows how date-palms and their fronds continued to carry their early significance into Hellenistic and Roman art, still linked to the great literary works of Mesopotamia.

Before villages, towns, and cities began to emerge in the ancient Near East in the aftermath of the last Ice Age, humans felt a sense of grandeur and spirituality in nature, recognising a numinous presence in natural springs, in mountain peaks, in forests and groves. In Mesopotamia the architecture and decoration of early urban temples continued to recognise the allure of those prehistoric places, inhabited by a divine presence. This is known in part from the naming of great temples whose ziggurat (a solid temple tower attached to the main building) was evidently intended to represent a holy mountain; and in part from the architecture itself. The great temple at Nippur in central southern Iraq was called É.KUR, literally "house-mountain", and the names or epithets of some deities also refer to it, such as Nin-hursag, "lady-mountain".² Such temples with courtyard buildings leading to their ziggurats were built in the monotonous, flat alluvium from which the mountains of the Zagros to the west can often be discerned.

In the words of Simon Barnes:

"When you walk in ancient woodland, you are generally struck by the idea of how much like a cathedral it all is. But perhaps we've got it the wrong way round. Perhaps the point is that our ancestors made cathedrals to look and feel like forests: in search of such things as silence, majesty, a sense of the specialness of place, an area at once spacious and confined, a place to speak in whispers and to tread softly, a place where personal silence brings an almost tangible response, a place where humans are deeply at home but feel a deep sense of privilege at doing so. And then from the lofty, vaulted ceiling an angelic voice

² KUR and HUR.SAG are both Sumerian words for "mountain". KUR can also mean "Underworld".

cascades down to mortals below [he refers to birdsong].³ The columns of a cathedral do a good job in holding the roof up: but perhaps that's their secondary function. Perhaps their primary function is to recreate in pilgrims the sense of the sanctity of the forest."

One might compare this with Strabo's acerbic remarks: "... the poets embellish things, calling all sacred precincts 'sacred groves', even if they are bare of trees. Such, also, is the saying of Pindar concerning Apollo: 'stirred, he traversed both land and sea, and halted on great lookouts above mountains, and whirled great stones, laying foundations of sacred groves [i.e., temples]'".⁴ The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* links that god's temples with wooded groves, and since Leto, about to give birth to the god on the Aegean island of Delos, embraced a palm tree, one may infer that palm groves were associated with his shrine there.

Early in the 2nd millennium BC a remarkable new fashion arose in Mesopotamia. Many city temples were built to show the appearance of a grove of date-palms imitated in mud-brick façades (Fig. 2.1). This marks a change from the earlier tradition of rectangular niches, sometimes called reveals, which were purely geometric designs allowing shadows to break up the bright, reflective surface of smooth-plastered brick. None of the palm-tree façades of the early 2nd millennium is found in a palace context; all are associated with temples.⁵

The first example of the new fashion is the so-called Bastion of Warad-Sin (Figs. 2.2-2.4). It is a monumental entrance to the great ziggurat terrace at Ur in southern Iraq, part of a huge complex dedicated to the Moon-God. This is dated by inscribed foundation deposits to the reign of Warad-Sin, king of Larsa, who reigned in the 19th century BC (c. 1834-1823 by the Middle Chronology). He was the son of Kudur-mabuk, grandson

³ *The Times*, March 10th 2012.

⁴ STRAB. 9, 2, 33, trans. H.L. JONES.

⁵ See, e.g., GIOVINO 2007, 188.

of Simti-šilhak, both of them having Elamite names, although Warad-Sin is a Babylonian name. This is evidence that the dynasty had Elamite origins, at least in part, and it was the most powerful of that period, until Babylon under Hammurabi eventually gained ascendancy.

Framing the stairs up to the terrace were two slender free-standing columns, whose bricks were cut and set to form a pattern of triangles in shallow relief. As a date-palm grows taller, the lower fronds are cut off, causing a characteristic pattern to extend up the trunk of the tree; according in part to exactly how the cutting is done, and in part how the angle of light falls at any particular time of day, the pattern resembles either triangles (also referred to as diamonds, scales, and imbrications) or spirals. Hence the pattern on these columns seems intended to imitate the effect of palm-tree trunks.⁶ On either side of the entrance the façade of the walls was decorated with semi-engaged pillars similarly patterned. The surface was covered with plaster, coloured grey or green. Not surprisingly, preservation was insufficient for the shape of the tree-top to be identified. The level at which the Bastion stood was 1.60 m higher than the lower terrace. The whole effect for the worshipper, therefore, was of entering, or looking up to, a forest or date-palm grove over which the ziggurat towered like a mountain peak. Because the way on to the terrace was partly obstructed by contemporary buildings, it has been suggested that the doorway, which was approached up elegant semi-circular steps, acted like a stage, as a place where worshippers could view the deity without entering sacred space, as if standing, like Gilgamesh and Enkidu, at the edge of a sacred forest.⁷ Such doorways framing a deity and approached up steps are depicted on terracotta plaques in low relief (Fig. 2.5).⁸ The

⁶ WOOLLEY 1939, 42-43.

⁷ BLOCHER 2012.

⁸ BATTINI 2009, Figs. 4-5.

plaques with this scene are probably limited to the Old Babylonian period.

A similar effect was produced for the worshipper approaching the great temple of the Sun-God at Larsa at roughly the same period; no foundation inscriptions were found to give precise dating. The first of two huge courtyards through which one processed towards the temple tower was excavated sufficiently to reveal a façade with semi-engaged pillars of two types: triangles alternating with a spiral pattern. This decorative scheme flanked the doorway that led from one huge courtyard to another (badly preserved) courtyard and on in a straight line towards the temple tower itself.⁹ As with the Bastion of Warad-Sin, approach to the ziggurat was made as if through a forest towards a mountain. Monumental staircases separated the palm-tree courtyards from the ziggurat. From a distance it was as if a palm-tree-clad mountain rose up from the flat and featureless plain of lower Mesopotamia.

Other temples of roughly the same date, also in southern Iraq, with similar columns of moulded brick, are reported from Zabalam and Abu Thahab, both in the modern province of Dhi Qar, centred on Nasiriyeh.¹⁰ East of the Tigris, Tell Haddad also had a temple at the same approximate period, with engaged columns that represented palm trunks (Figs. 2.6-2.7).¹¹ Black paint was found inside, although no details are published. All those temples were central to the city, but the deities to whom they were dedicated are not known.¹²

The same decorative scheme has been found on several temples in cities of northern Mesopotamia west of the Tigris, including northern Iraq and north-eastern Syria, where the date-palm does not flourish, and for that reason one may infer

⁹ HUOT *et al.* 1978, 185-202 and Figs. 1 (plan) and 2 (brickwork); HUOT 1980-1983.

¹⁰ AL HAMDANI 2008.

¹¹ AL HAMDANI 2008; SULAIMAN 2003-2004, esp. 141, Fig. 9 (plan).

¹² I have been unable to find evidence that there was such a temple at Terqa, as stated by FITZGERALD 2010, 48.

that the fashion spread from south to north. One example is Tell Basmusian, in north-eastern Iraq, the largest site in the Rania plain, just south of the better-known site of Shemshara;¹³ and at Tell Leilan in north-eastern Syria.¹⁴ They belong to the same period, although none is precisely datable, since neither foundation inscriptions nor brick inscriptions have come to light. A fine example has been excavated at Tell al-Rimah south of Jebel Sinjar in north-western Iraq, where the palm-tree façade encircles the exterior of the building, including its attached ziggurat, as well as all the walls of the interior courtyard (Fig. 2.8). The darkness of a forest is projected internally, for antechamber XV between the central courtyard and the ziggurat had both floor and walls coloured black in all three building phases; Room III had a black floor,¹⁵ and there were black patches on the jambs of the door leading from room XXV to room II.¹⁶ The use of black paint is comparable with what was found at Tell Haddad. This would have enhanced the effect, already conveyed by the external decoration, of entering a dark forest.¹⁷ One may compare the grey or green colour observed at Ur on the palm trunk pillars.

The inspiration for this type of decoration for a temple façade may derive from Elamite temple-groves, although evidence of any kind is lacking until a later period. The design is known only from the latter half of the 2nd millennium; no Elamite inscriptions or temples are extant for the period of the temples with palm-tree façades in Iraq and Syria.¹⁸ We have already referred to Kudur-mabuk, father of Warad-Sin, in the 19th century; two generations later, Elamite emperors as overlords exerted power as far west as Mishrifeh, ancient Qatna in west-central Syria, according to recent evidence from texts

¹³ AL-SOOF 1970, 65-104.

¹⁴ WEISS 1985, 5-34.

¹⁵ OATES 1966, 127.

¹⁶ OATES 1990, Pl. 5.

¹⁷ OATES 1967, 70-96.

¹⁸ POTTS 2010, 58.

found at Mari on the middle Euphrates.¹⁹ However, no temples in Elam built by the emperors whose names are known from those Mari texts have yet come to light, so it remains to find material proof that Elamite palm-grove temples continued to maintain traditions of earlier centuries.

At Susa by the Achaemenid period the citadel rose some 40 m above the flat alluvium which surrounds it on all sides, so presumably brick representations of trees rather than living ones were essential for reasons of water supply. Already by the end of the 2nd millennium the citadel would have been very high. Its patron god Inšušinak, "Lord of Susa", was called "Inšušinak of the grove" in the 12th century.²⁰ There a brick façade representing palm trees is dated by the accompanying brick inscriptions to the reign of Šilhak-Inšušinak in the 12th century BC.²¹ The god Išni-karab was likewise called "of the grove", perhaps with reference to a part of Susa.²² The building is called an "exterior chapel of wood/trees" (the term can mean both timber and living trees; Elamite inscriptions are notoriously difficult to interpret correctly) and the façade, though badly damaged, shows a bull-man holding a palm tree (Fig. 2.9).²³ From the combination of inscription and iconography, the façade is "thought to represent a sacred garden".²⁴ The word "garden" is used here in a very broad sense, corresponding to the very wide scope of Babylonian *kirû*, a Sumerian loanword that can refer to any kind of plantation — trees of all kinds (most commonly fruit; as we would say, an 'orchard'), vegetables, herbs, and presumably also flowers and potted plants, etc., whether belonging to the palace or to the temple. When the Persian word entered the Babylonian language as

¹⁹ See n. 1.

²⁰ Huteluduš-Inšušinak, son of Šilhak-Inšušinak.

²¹ POTT 1999, 240.

²² POTT 1999, 247.

²³ POTT 1999, 240.

²⁴ POTT 1999, 240; also HENKELMAN 2008, 443-445.

pardēsu ("paradise"), it was used as an alternative to *kirū*, apparently with the same wide range of meaning.

At Ur the Bastion of Warad-Sin is thought to have remained visible into Late Babylonian times, a remarkable continuity of about 1,400 years, even though the fashion in façades had reverted to the older, traditional, abstract style of rectangular niches.²⁵ Some of the other temples with palm-tree façades, often in a ruined state, may have been identifiable many centuries after they were built, but new building in that style did not persist. A house altar at Ur had a spiral decoration, so perhaps the tradition was kept up in a domestic sphere.²⁶

Five centuries after the main Elamite inscriptional evidence for grove-temples, the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal sacked Susa, destroyed or damaged its ziggurat, looted the temples, and added in his account: "its secret groves, which nobody foreign had approached (?) nor stepped inside their boundary, my battle troops went into them".²⁷ We are lucky enough to have a drawing made of a now-lost stone sculpture probably showing the ziggurat at Susa surrounded by trees in the time of Ashurbanipal (Fig. 2.10).²⁸ One cannot, however, interpret the perspective with any confidence; the ziggurat may stand at a much higher level than the trees, some of which are clearly date-palms; others cannot be identified with certainty, though some kind of pine or cedar is possible.

At Choga Zanbil in western Iran the Elamite temple of the great goddess Kiririsha was in a grove (*kištum.ma*), according to inscriptions of the 14th century BC. A long list of 19 grove-sanctuaries (*siyan husame*) was drawn up by Silhak-Inšušinak I (12th century BC), indicating that that type of sanctuary was already common at that time.²⁹ Not all of them were dedicated

²⁵ BLOCHER 2012, 55 n. 12.

²⁶ WOOLLEY & MALLOWAN 1976, 14, Fig. 40.

²⁷ BORGER & FUCHS 1996, 52-55, 240-241, §F32.

²⁸ READE 1976, 100-101 and Pl. 25; no longer thought to be Erbil.

²⁹ For transliteration, see KÖNIG 1965, 111, no. 48, col. iii, lines 145-278; for revised translation, POTTS 2010, 58 and HENKELMAN 2011, 494.

to deities with Underworld or funerary associations, so it may be mistaken to infer that all Elamite shrine-groves were connected with the veneration of ancestors. This has sometimes been suggested³⁰ because in the inscription of Ashurbanipal, quoted above, the next lines concern the opening and desecrating of royal tombs, but it is disputed whether they refer to a part of the same episode or a second, separate item.

Did the style arise in mud-brick as an imitation of buildings made of timber which have not survived? This is possible, for although brick had been the main building material both in Mesopotamia and in southern Iran from earliest times, the much earlier temple at Tell al-Ubaid, four miles west of Ur, used timber pillars structurally on its free-standing canopy support. The building, one of the earliest known temples, dates to the Early Dynastic III period, around the early 3rd millennium BC. So one certainly cannot relate every use of the palm-tree motifs in temple architecture to Elamite influence; the pillars there were made of real palm trunks coated with thick plaster, to which a mosaic of variously coloured terracotta cones was applied to give a pattern resembling the trunk of a date-palm, and they were decorated with mother-of-pearl, red sandstone, pink limestone and black bituminous stone. They do not surround the building.

The palm-tree façades of the early 2nd millennium, by contrast, are not structural. Lacking hallmarks of timber construction, they are better explained as a decorative style imitating the planting of living trees. Mud-brick is an ideal medium for moulding into different shapes. Since the citadels lay high above the water-table and were surrounded by mud-brick, which would dissolve in the water needed to irrigate real trees, it is most unlikely that real trees were ever planted there until the time of the Sargonid kings with their aqueducts in the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC.

³⁰ HENKELMAN 2008, 443-445.

II. The significance of the date-palm in Mesopotamian culture

There are good reasons to think that the decorative scheme based on date-palms had symbolic significance that can be connected to its reflection in epic literature. This can be demonstrated both from sculpture and from texts. First and most obviously, in general the date-palm was a source of wealth and stood for fecundity. Babylonian texts call it "tree of riches", and the great goddess known as Inanna in Sumerian and Ishtar in Babylonian was addressed directly as "date-palm" in a hymn of Ashurbanipal in the 7th century BC.³¹ This can be compared directly with the Egyptian goddess Isis, who is identified within a date-palm in Egypt.³² In the biblical Hebrew Song of Songs (7, 7) the female lover is "In stature like the palm tree / Its fruit clusters your breasts". The trunk is metaphorically the backbone of a male deity in a Babylonian text;³³ the whole tree sways,³⁴ and its fronds are like hair blowing in the wind, according to the Song of Songs (5, 1). Those texts show that the tree was actually identified with deities both male and female.

It is generally reckoned that the date-palm will not produce fruit above 35 degrees of latitude.³⁵ Tell al-Rimah, Basmusian, Tell Leilan and the great capitals of late Assyrian kings — Nineveh, Nimrud, and Khorsabad — are thus excluded from the zone of fertility, although the tree itself may have been raised successfully without the expectation that it would yield edible dates. This reckoning, being dependent on studies undertaken for modern conditions, could be challenged on the

³¹ E.g., K (i.e., tablets in the Kuyunjik [Nineveh] collection of the British Museum) 1286 Hymn of Ashurbanipal to Ishtar of Nineveh, in LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 7, line 1.

³² LOEBEN, *supra*, p. 35.

³³ VAT (i.e., tablets from Ashur in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) 8917, 11 = LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 39, line 11.

³⁴ See *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* s.v. nazāzu.

³⁵ CHARLES 1987, 2.

grounds that climate may have altered. But Assyrian texts, unlike those of Babylonia, do not list dates among offerings to the gods, an omission which seems to support the data on climatic conditions compiled from recent evidence.³⁶ Where iconography outside the fruiting zone shows a key role played by the tree, one must search for reasons why it was not replaced by other trees that had more local significance.

In southern Babylonia and south-western Iran, the date-palm is in its ideal environment. The tree is extraordinarily productive in many respects. Dates for eating as fruits, for fermenting for alcoholic drink, and for making syrup, and stones from dates for fodder and fuel, are its obvious benefits. Also, its fronds are tough and are used for various artefacts, including roofing and trays; the trunk can be used for poles and planks, beds and chairs, cradles and bird-cages. The tough fibre around the trunk is ideal for ropes, for stuffing mattresses, and for caulking boats.³⁷ Unlike most fruit trees, the palm is not deciduous.

A characteristic of the date-palm is its ability to propagate either by sprouting the stone of a date or vegetatively by basal offshoots. In the latter, the plant sprouts by sending out a symmetrical pair of fronds which curl over, and of the two possible methods the latter is preferred for growing a new tree. As a motif carved in stone, volutes — sometimes defined as spiral scrolls — are found in the Levant about two centuries earlier than the earliest classical ones. They are depicted on the stone tablet of the Babylonian Sun-God from Sippar of the mid-9th century, on the capitals and bases of pillars supporting the canopy, as well as on the stand for the great symbol of the Sun-God (Fig. 2.11).³⁸ They are shown on pillars on a boat-house (if the small pavilion is correctly identified as such) in the garden of Sargon II in the late 8th century that is depicted in low

³⁶ POSTGATE 1987, 130.

³⁷ LANDSBERGER 1967.

³⁸ See WOODS 2004, 23-103, with earlier bibliography.

relief on a panel from the palace at Khorsabad (Fig. 2.12). Long associated with the Phoenicians, volutes are shown, rather damaged but recognisable, on a sculptured panel from the palace of Sargon's son Sennacherib, marking the entrance to a Phoenician temple, perhaps at Joppa (Fig. 2.13).³⁹ They are part of balustrades, perhaps wooden rather than stone, shown on Phoenician-style ivories of the 9th-8th centuries found at Nimrud.⁴⁰ In some 19th-century (AD) scholarship, volutes and palmettes were thought to represent honeysuckle,⁴¹ but recent work has come down firmly in favour of the motif imitating date-palms.⁴²

Such volutes found in stone on several Iron Age sites in Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus can be identified not only as capitals for columns, but also as column bases and as monumental pedestals.⁴³ The palmette which became a widespread ornament in architecture, sculpture, and painting is derived both from the crown of the palm tree, where new fronds curve downwards, and from the basal offshoots.⁴⁴ The motif was not always used in isolation: it could combine with the characteristics of other plants to sprout tendrils and lotus flowers, or wings to form a winged disk. Not surprisingly, its origins have been reinterpreted in different locations at different periods, rams' horns being quite popular.

An unusual characteristic of the date-palm is that trees are identifiably either male or female. The inflorescence of the male tree, which produces hard, inedible fruits, is used to pollinate the female. Pollination as a deliberate act of human intervention is described in texts with the same verb, *rakābum*, as was used to describe the copulation of animals and humans. From sculpture found at Tell al-Rimah, it is evident that the

³⁹ MARKOE 2000, 44-45; correction by GALLAGHER 1997.

⁴⁰ E.g., HERRMANN 1992, no. 103.

⁴¹ See GIOVINO 2007, 21, quoting LAYARD 1849 and RAWLINSON 1862.

⁴² FRANKLIN 2011; LIPSCHITS 2011.

⁴³ FRANKLIN 2011; earlier, WINTER 2003, 253.

⁴⁴ WINTER 2003, 253.

male tree — associated with a bearded god — was stylized by a spiral-patterned trunk, whereas the female tree — associated with a goddess — had the now familiar scallop- or triangle-patterned trunk (Figs. 2.14-2.15). An incised ivory pyxis from Ashur on the Tigris, of the Middle Assyrian period (late 2nd millennium BC), gives the same information in a different way, showing a cockerel perched on a spiral-trunk tree (but not a palm) to make the gender clear (Fig. 2.16). Those examples indicate that the spiral patterning of the male-associated palm trunk became a convention for indicating the male gender not only of date-palms, but also of trees that did not have trunks patterned in the same way. The Babylonian word *alamittu* has been identified as the name given to the male date-palm, although *gišimmaru* may be used as a generic term for both genders. The singular noun is masculine in form, the plural form is usually feminine.

In cuneiform lexical texts the date-palm is several times described as “the elder son of the Underworld”. This epithet provides a link with a chthonic god, perhaps identifiable as Meslamta-ea, who, it has been suggested, is associated with the image of a tree bent over, enclosing a deity, and from the trunk of the tree a second deity emerges (Fig. 2.17).⁴⁵ The image is shown on a few cylinder seals of the Akkadian period, c. 2334-2154 BC, during the same period as the Old Kingdom in Egypt, when tree-deities first appear there in art, although depicted inside an upright tree. In Sumerian and Babylonian texts the male tree-god Nin-*giš*-zida, whose name can be translated “Lord of the true / reliable tree”, is a functionary of the underworld who stands at the gate. Another arboreal god is “King Date-Palm”. Some of these associations give trees the attribute of being in touch with the Underworld and suggest a link with Egypt, where tree-goddesses offer food and drink to

⁴⁵ STEINKELLER 1992, 267-272. Photographs also in COLLON 2005, nos. 845-846.

the dead man, plainly revealing the concept that trees nourish people in the afterlife.⁴⁶

The attribution of gender to non-dioecious trees, well known in Egypt, is found even more widely in the ancient world. At times, in Hebrew and Aramaic texts at least, the date-palm representing the female gender was contrasted with the cedar representing the male gender, thereby indicating that trees could be personified as male and female even when there was no botanical reason for this.⁴⁷ The idea that trees of all kinds were either male or female, regardless of clear botanical distinctions, is also found in the *Enquiry into Plants* of Theophrastus, in whose work an inconsistency of understanding is similar to that of Mesopotamian usages.⁴⁸ As for the volutes on proto-Ionic columns, the separate genders of the male and female date-palm provide an explanation for Vitruvius' attribution of gender to the different orders in Greek architecture.⁴⁹ It can therefore be deduced that the temple façades of Mesopotamia, combining both types of palm trunk, symbolise the fertility of both genders, and are therefore suitable for the temples of gods, as well as goddesses. The façades represent groves of trees, in touch with the Underworld, surrounding a high mountain, in touch with the sky.

III. The goddess and the palm frond

The palm frond as a symbol of victory owes its power to its association with the goddess Ishtar as a war-goddess who played a leading role in supporting the king in battle. This aspect is explicit in a Babylonian ritual text connected to the *Epic of Creation* quoted below. The frond is held by a goddess on

⁴⁶ See LOEBEN, *supra*, Abb. 1.5-1.7.

⁴⁷ Song of Songs, 5, 10-15; 7, 9; *Genesis Apocryphon* col. XIX, 14-21; BLOCH 1995.

⁴⁸ THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 3, 8, 1; discussion by MEIGGS 1982, 18-19.

⁴⁹ VITR. *De arch.* 4, 1, 6-7.

various sculptures and coins of the Hellenistic Near East as far to the west as Antioch, and in upland cities such as Edessa. Examples from sculpture that can be definitely identified as palm fronds (rather than the branch of any other tree, such as olive, laurel, or myrtle) are seen being presented to the Tyche of Palmyra on a plaque found at Dura Europus (Fig. 2.18) and on the famous sculpture made by Eutychides for the foundation of Antioch around 300 BC,⁵⁰ on which the goddess holds in her right hand a bundle of palm fronds. She has her foot on the upper part of a beardless person half immersed in water. To an indigenous Near-Easterner that person would be the equivalent of Babylonian Tiamat, the sea goddess who was subdued by the victorious deity, in a pose described in the standard *Epic of Creation*, Tablet II (12th century BC or earlier): "You shall soon set your foot upon the neck of Tiamat". This is a motif that goes back to the victory stele of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (*c.* 2254-2218 BC) and persisted in later Mesopotamian art.⁵¹ Female attributes of the half-submerged, beardless figure are clear on the version from Dura Europus,⁵² on which the person holds her right breast, offering milk, to make her maternal role clear. The gesture of offering the breast on the Dura sculpture suggests that on Eutychides' design for Antioch the identification with the Orontes River, of which Strabo wrote, "Though formerly called Typhon, its name was changed to that of Orontes, the man who built a bridge across it",⁵³ is a reinterpretation of an essentially Near-Eastern motif. It has a certain ambiguity: the idea that Orontes is so youthful as to have no beard makes nonsense as a renaming from the powerful monster, Typhon; but river-gods from southern Italy, Sicily, and Greece are sometimes shown as beardless youths.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ SMITH 1991, 76 and Pl. 91.

⁵¹ See, e.g., FRANKFORT 1954, 43, 204, Pl. 44 = ⁵¹1996, 86 (with Fig. 91), 334.

⁵² See DOWNEY 1977, 172-173.

⁵³ STRAB. 16, 2, 7.

⁵⁴ See ASHMOLE 1972, Figs. 33-35; COLEMAN 1988, 120-122 and Fig. 3.

The figure of other classical river-gods found elsewhere, depicted as a complete man reclining with a large pot from which water flows, is different and easily recognisable, such as the Ptolemaic figure of the Nile personified, heavily bearded and reclining.⁵⁵ Swimmers in Egyptian and Mesopotamian art are shown with the entire body, so the composite nature of the figure as half-human, half-water, apparent in Eutychides' design and the sculpture from Dura Europus, would be understood by the non-Greek population to be representations of the sea as chaos defeated by divine order, a composite monster, with automatic recognition of the dominating foot, and as a young river god by the Greek population, to whom the dominating foot motif would not have been familiar. The mural crown worn by the goddess on both sculptures has a long ancestry in the Near East, worn by goddesses on Hittite rock sculpture of the Late Bronze Age and by Neo-Assyrian queens.⁵⁶ The foot stepping on the subdued enemy, and the mural crown, are not the only elements traceable to the Near East in earlier times. The deity Gadda/Gaddē, once thought to be a West Semitic calque on Greek Tyche, is found in Late Bronze Age cuneiform texts of the 12th century BC at Emar on the Euphrates south of Carchemish.⁵⁷

The awarding of a palm frond to the victorious deity becomes especially significant when we realise that it is found outside the area where the date-palm is productive, yet has not been replaced by an olive branch or a laurel. It can be related to a cuneiform text of the Late Babylonian period (after 539 BC, comprising Achaemenid and Seleucid rule, and perhaps earlier too; the texts are often impossible to date accurately):

(55) Month Kislev, 4th day . . .

(58) The main meal of the morning will be served to Bēl . . .

⁵⁵ See, e.g., MORENO 1994, Tome 1, 166, Fig. 214.

⁵⁶ See BOEHMER 1980-1983.

⁵⁷ ARNAUD 1986, no. 369, line 36; no. 373, line 165'; no. 461, lines 4'-5'.

(62) While [a beer mixture] is being sprinkled in front of Bēl,
 the singer (63) (will chant) Enūma Eliš [*Epic of Creation*] to
 Bēl. At (the recitation of the line) “for Usmû, who (64) carried
 your present to give the news [of victory]” the dumuniglala-
 priest will raise a palm frond⁵⁸ and (65) place it on a silver tablet
 opposite Bēl.⁵⁹

The Babylonian city from which this text comes is not known, but the month in which that ritual took place is Kislimu, when the end of the date harvest was celebrated. Another temple ritual from Babylon, which took place in the same month, tells that parts of the date-palm were presented to the god Zarīqu before being removed for ceremonial depositing.⁶⁰ Also in II Maccabees (10, 7) people in Jerusalem, again outside the area where the date-palm flourishes, celebrated their victory over Antiochus Epiphanes by “carrying branches, leafy boughs and palms”. The frond, the mural crown, and the composite human figure are all traceable to Babylonian and Assyrian myth and ritual, and have been used by Eutychides to take local tradition into account. The associated motifs confirm that the palm frond was a traditional rather than a Greek motif.

IV. Continuity of tradition

The Assyrian temple of the New Year festival, 200 metres outside the city of Ashur on the Tigris, is known from around 700 BC, and it was rebuilt to the same plan as late as the Parthian/Roman period.⁶¹ Aramaic inscriptions testify that the traditional New Year festival was still performed there in Roman times.⁶² Continuity of tradition there has thus been proved

⁵⁸ Words for palm fronds are several: *liblibbu*, *libbi gišimmari*, *eri ša gišimmari*, *zinū*.

⁵⁹ ÇAGIRGAN & LAMBERT 1991-1993, 95-96.

⁶⁰ GEORGE 2000, 280-289.

⁶¹ ANDRAE 1977, 219-224, 249.

⁶² LIVINGSTONE 2009.

from both architecture and texts. The layout of the original temple is known both from archaeology and from the *Foundation Inscription* of Sennacherib. Both within the courtyard of the temple and surrounding it, pits for shrubs were found — not big enough for trees — and a large well, a stone canal, and perhaps a cistern, for watering real plants;⁶³ the excavators suggested pomegranate bushes, which grow only to the height of a man. Since the temple lay beyond the city walls, rather than on the citadel, and it was close to the river, problems of water supply were not acute. The city of Ashur lies beyond the zone where date-palms produce good fruit, so as a great cult centre it would have ensured that rituals for the victory of the gods over the chaos of the sea perpetuated the use of palm fronds as symbols of triumph. An updated translation of Sennacherib's *Foundation Inscription* for that temple reads (lines 33-36):

“Two irrigation ditches I dug around its sides and encircled it with a garden of abundance and with orchards of fruits with productive beds⁶⁴ I surrounded its sides.”⁶⁵

Late Roman coins from cities right across the Fertile Crescent indicate that the evidence from Ashur does not stand in isolation. The date-palm frond, the mural crown, and the foot placed upon the subdued individual are all indications of a Near Eastern rather than a classical inspiration. The earliest known representation of the Tyche in imitation of Eutychides' statue appears on coins of the Armenian king Tigranes II (reigned 95 - c. 56 BC), minted in Antioch and Damascus during his occupation of Syria,⁶⁶ and around the same time on one

⁶³ See FRAHM 1997, 173-174, with references; BAGG 2000, 227 has collected and discussed the details. For ground plans of the temple, see ANDRAE 1938, Figs. 45-46.

⁶⁴ For the identification of *müsaru* as “(flower-, vegetable-)bed” see BLACK, GEORGE, & POSTGATE 2000 s.v.

⁶⁵ LUCKENBILL 1924, 137, substituting the understanding of *ša sa-sa* as a logogram for *muthummu*.

⁶⁶ MØRKHOLM 1991, 176.

from Seleucia on the Tigris.⁶⁷ In many other cities where Seleucid mints are known, much later Roman bronze coins sometimes carry the same design.⁶⁸ Following the lead of Tigranes II, they date from the reign of Augustus⁶⁹ to that of Philip I (AD 244-249), thus enduring from the end of the pre-Christian era until the mid-3rd century AD.⁷⁰ On some of those coins it is possible that breasts are shown to indicate a female 'swimmer', although both arms are outstretched and the figure is not offering a breast, whereas a breast is definitely being offered on the Tyche of Palmyra; possible examples come from the reigns of Augustus and Severus Alexander.⁷¹ It is known from texts that the New Year festival for Bel and Nabu at that period was celebrated in Edessa in the month of Nisan, when the same festival was traditionally held in Babylon.⁷² In Edessa it is known from textual evidence that the Christians did not destroy the pagan altar that stood in the centre of the city, nor did they abolish the festivals dedicated to Nabu and Bel, Babylonian gods, that were centred around it. New Year festivals were celebrated in Babylonian style also at Palmyra and at Dura Europus.⁷³ Probably at the festivals in each of those cities the defeated force for chaos was the female Tiamat.

One can connect the Old Babylonian temple façades with the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, because at Tell al-Rimah two stone sculptures depicting the face of the monster

⁶⁷ HILL 1922, *BMC*, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, 142 and Pl. XXIII no. 8.

⁶⁸ HILL 1922; WROTH 1899, *BMC*, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria; listed in each volume under the city names: Carrhae (Harran), Edessa, Nisibis, Rhesaena (Resh 'Aina), Singara; Samosata, Antioch, Laodicea ad Mare, Damascus, Demetrias.

⁶⁹ WROTH 1899, *BMC*, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, 166 no. 131 = Pl. XX no. 10; 168-169 no. 146 = Pl. XX no. 13.

⁷⁰ I have not done a complete search for the numismatic evidence, but relied on the British Museum catalogues quoted here, and MØRKHOLM 1991.

⁷¹ E.g., WROTH 1899, *BMC*, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, Pl. XX no. 13; Hill 1922, 104 no. 80 = Pl. XV no. 9; 106 no. 94 = Pl. XV no. 11.

⁷² SEGAL 1970, 52-53; DRIJVERS 1980, 30-31 and nn. 46-49.

⁷³ DRIJVERS 1980, 63-65; 98.

Humbaba,⁷⁴ one of them found *in situ* to the right of the antechamber inside the temple entrance, evoke a connection with Tablet 5 of that epic (Fig. 2.19). The heroes Gilgamesh and Enkidu approached the cedar forest in great fear and trepidation, having been warned of great danger. Their approach can be compared to that of the worshipper who stood at the foot of the steps leading up to the shrine at Ur, likewise at Tell Haddad. Humbaba was appointed by the head of the pantheon, Enlil, to guard the cedar forest and the cedar mountain, "dwelling-place of gods, shrine of Irnini, with pleasant shade, full of abundance and delight", with the fragrance of cedar and the aromatic *ballukku*-tree. This is the vocabulary of an arboretum. But it was also a place of darkness and foreboding, "the secret abode of the Anunnaki [gods of the Underworld]",⁷⁵ "the dark garden of the steppe".⁷⁶ The awe with which the heroes approached the forest is like the awe that fills a pious worshipper as he approaches the holy of holies.

In the temple at Rimah, however, Humbaba guards date-palms, not cedars. This suggests that the cedar tree might be a symbolic alternative to the date-palm tree. In a literal understanding, the decoration of that temple, by comparison with the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, has mixed its imagery: Humbaba should guard cedars, not palm trees. There may have been a preference for the 'male' cedar for temples dedicated to male deities, according to the information described earlier, or there may have been reasons still unknown for the choice of tree. It is relevant to note that Sumerian versions of the episode locate the forest to the east of Mesopotamia, in the Elamite area, whereas the standard version in Babylonian shifts the location to the Lebanon, a change that shows how flexible the stories were.

A recently discovered text in the museum of Sulaimaniyah in Iraqi Kurdistan fills a gap in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, and shows

⁷⁴ HOWARD-CARTER 1983, 69-71.

⁷⁵ GEORGE 2003, 264-265, Old Babylonian version.

⁷⁶ EDZARD 1990, 185, line 56.

that the song of birds, the sounds of insects such as crickets, and the racket of monkeys entertained Huwawa in his forest.⁷⁷ One may reflect upon the fact that "it was in and around the temples [of Mesopotamia] that complicated, sophisticated musical performances . . . took place".⁷⁸ This characteristic can be compared with the scene on an Assyrian relief of the 7th century BC showing Ashurbanipal with his queen reclining in a garden while musicians play beneath the trees.

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* has a description of a quite different garden in Tablet 9. After the death of Enkidu, Gilgamesh roams the earth in despair until he reaches the twin mountains where the sun rises: "There were scorpion-men guarding its gate." Eventually he is allowed through the gate. A badly damaged sculpture found washed out from the temple at Rimah may relate to this episode. It consists of a composite creature with wings, feathered legs, and two tails, one of which is a scorpion's tail; but its head is missing.⁷⁹ If the identification as a scorpion man is correct, it would add to the Humbaba sculptures a connection with the *Epic*, but since the head is lacking, a different demon made of composite elements is more likely.⁸⁰

When the hero has travelled through a long, dark tunnel he emerges into the sunlight in a garden where gemstones replace fruit:

" [he] came out in front of the sun.
 [] brightness was everywhere.
 All kinds of [thorny, prickly] spiky bushes were
 visible, blossoming with gemstones.
 Carnelian bore fruit
 Hanging in clusters, lovely to look at,
 Lapis lazuli bore foliage,
 Bore fruit, and was delightful to view."⁸¹

⁷⁷ AL-RAWI & GEORGE, forthcoming.

⁷⁸ KILMER 1993-1997, 467.

⁷⁹ POSTGATE, OATES, & OATES 1997, Pl. 8b, caption "scorpion-man".

⁸⁰ HOWARD-CARTER 1983, 71-72, "winged demon".

⁸¹ *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablet IX, col. v, trans. DALLEY 1989, 99.

In the next few lines, which are very damaged, other stones are mentioned, some not identified, as well as haematite, turquoise, and sea-shell. In contrast with the dark, forbidding aspect of the palm-themed approach to shrines, the colourful brightness of the gems seen by Gilgamesh as he emerged from darkness can be compared with the sight of the innermost sanctum, where the statue of the deity is adorned with jewels. Representations of trees in gemstones, coral, sea-shells, and shining bronze or copper, which are found in Mesopotamian temples from an even earlier period, are not necessarily related to Elamite practices. They are the indigenous inspiration for the jewel-garden which a worshipper might glimpse as he stood on the steps at the entrance to the symbolised temple-forest, looking up towards the magnificently adorned statue of the deity in the holy shrine. There is no suggestion that the Akkadian versions of the Gilgamesh epic derive from Elamite culture, although in the Sumerian stories the hero and Enkidu travel eastwards into the Zagros mountains rather than westwards into the mountains of the Lebanon. The passage illustrates the value placed on foliage and fruit in a garden with trees, with their colour and shine, and implies a link with the statues of deities in their shrines.

The tradition of using date-palm motifs around a temple was still known at Aphrodisias on the Meander river in the Roman period, when a *stratēgos* of the 1st or 2nd century AD made a palm grove and dedicated it to Aphrodite, presumably the same as the 'place of palms' that was rebuilt as a sanctuary of nymphs in the so-called South Agora.⁸² The palms were likely to be the Cretan palm, *Phoenix theophrasti*, which is normally coastal. They were probably transplanted as mature trees, which do not send out basal offshoots as young trees do, so they would not have interfered with nearby paving. A Semitic aspect of Aphrodite there is indicated by her Phoenician epithet, Adoneia ("Mistress"), and Aphrodisias took the name of

⁸² REINACH 1906, 107.

Nineveh, in recognition of eastern tradition. This may help to account for the choice of palms for a grove dedicated to Aphrodite in a region where neither the date-palm nor the Cretan palm was likely to flourish. The design indicates that the tree's original symbolic role in religious architecture had not yet died out. The trees are thought to have surrounded a huge pool, according to an inscription that dedicates it to one Ampelius.⁸³ To install palms there, so much trouble was taken that the symbolism of that particular tree must still have been of importance.

Looking at the design of the temple to Hephaistos in Athens, one can see the pillars outside and inside the main temple building in an arrangement that has a similarity with that of the temples at Tell Haddad and Tell al-Rimah, as well as the temple of the New Year Festival at Ashur.⁸⁴ This observation supports the Near Eastern comparisons made by Thompson for the temple of Hephaistos. Giulia Caneva has drawn attention to the unexpected fact that the date-palm is one of the best attested trees in ancient Rome, and Kourou opines that the Near-Eastern palm tree is "a pure loan from the Near East" in Greek art.⁸⁵

To conclude with the essential points: two patterns of date-palm trunks, representing male and female by an artistic convention, are found as mud-brick façades on Mesopotamian temples for a short time in the early second millennium BC. They were probably inspired by the later-known temple groves of Elam, a powerful state that dominated Mesopotamia at that time, and reflect the concept of sacred groves preserved in monumental architecture. The religious symbolism of the palm frond, identified in a ritual connected with the Babylonian *Epic of Creation*, became a symbol of victory over chaos and the rule of law and order. Transmitted thence through

⁸³ WILSON, forthcoming.

⁸⁴ THOMPSON 1937.

⁸⁵ CANEVA, *infra*, 330; KOUROU 2001, 37.

Babylonia, Assyria, and Phoenicia into classical art and architecture, the symbolism of the tree and the frond persisted also in the Roman Near East, where rituals derived from Babylonian and Assyrian practices continued well into the Christian era. Beyond regions where the tree flourished, the palm of victory remained a standard feature of Hellenistic and Roman iconography.

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DISCUSSION

R. Taylor: Regarding the image of the Tyche of Antioch and its cognates, what might be the meaning of the proposed original idea behind them? The combination, in a single image or idea, of a supreme god visibly dominating a water deity with the symbolism of the palm tree conspicuously present: how did these three elements resolve into a meaningful whole? You began with reassurance that the idea of a specifically salt-water god, such as Tiamat, could readily be commandeered for the representation of bodies of fresh water.

S. Dalley: In Babylonian mythology, sea/salt water is female, Tiamat, and fresh water is male, Apsu, but they are both forces for chaos, a primeval couple who beget many children and let them run riot. So if, as I maintain, Eutychides adapted an essentially Mesopotamian group of elements for Antioch, the river Orontes could be regarded as a force for chaos when uncontrolled. The Tyche, however, clearly has him under control, so the fresh water can be used for good. The Tyche of Palmyra found at Dura Europus dominates a female offering the breast, even though the pose of Tyche is modelled on that of Eutychides' design.

É. Prioux: Votre interprétation qui fait dériver la représentation de l'Oronte d'une représentation de Tiamat a des implications passionnantes. Eutychidès pourrait être, si l'on suit l'opinion de P. Moreno, celui qui a mis au point le premier exemple (ou l'un des premiers exemples) de divinité fluviale couchée avec sa statue de l'Eurotas.¹ C'est de manière contemporaine,

¹ Voir *supra*, n. 55.

toujours suivant l'hypothèse défendue par P. Moreno, qu'aurait aussi été mise au point (par un artiste dont nous ignorons le nom) l'iconographie du dieu Nil que nous connaissons par la statue colossale retrouvée dans l'Iseum Campense et conservée dans les Musées du Vatican. On pressent donc qu'Eutychidès et ses contemporains ont créé pour des contextes et des commanditaires donnés différentes formes de représentations des dieux fleuves et qu'Eutychidès jouait un rôle particulièrement actif dans ce processus d'invention. Si votre hypothèse sur la source d'inspiration dont dérive la représentation d'Antioche et de l'Oronte est juste, on peut supposer qu'il a conçu, en l'occurrence, une représentation spécifiquement adaptée aux Séleucides, en reformulant dans un langage iconographique grec des schémas iconographiques élaborés au sujet de Tiamat. Chez les Lagides, rivaux des Ptolémées, l'idée selon laquelle le prince se caractérise par sa capacité à dominer à la fois la mer et les fleuves est bien présente: Théocrite en fait état dans son *Éloge de Ptolémée II*. Les Lagides commanditent aussi, avec la statue du Nil, une image bilingue qui repose sur un jeu de mots égyptien — nouveau-né se disant en égyptien "homme haut d'une coudée", ce qui explique que le dieu Nil soit représenté entouré de nouveau-nés. Il pouvait donc être intéressant pour les Séleucides de commanditer une statue faisant appel à une autre forme de bilinguisme et affirmant la domination qu'eux-mêmes exerçaient — à travers la figure d'Antioche — sur les fleuves et la mer.

S. Dalley: I like this idea of a 'bilingual' image, to be interpreted according to the culture of the viewer, but with adaptations for each particular reception. The Eurotas river was particularly prone to damaging floods, as was the Orontes. The foundation cylinder of Seleucus and Antiochus with Stratonice, written in Babylonian cuneiform, and recent information about the Babylonian-style coronation of Antiochus III, show that those particular rulers did not try to suppress or supplant Mesopotamian culture but made use of it, and Eutychides would

have gone along with that policy. The imagery on much later Roman coins from a number of great cities across the Fertile Crescent, combined with textual evidence of the early Christian period, shows that themes from the Babylonian-derived New Year festival remained meaningful throughout the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire. One must not lose sight of the fact that a palm of victory, the foot placed on the defeated, and the mural crown are Mesopotamian symbols. I think comparisons with Ptolemaic combination of images will be fruitful, but for a scholar with strengths different from my own.

R. Taylor: I feel slight discomfort with the dissonance of an imagery that simultaneously seemed to recognize water as a threat and a blessing. I acknowledge Dr. Prioux's point that human (especially kingly) domination of natural features can be represented with similarly aggressive gestures, but it seems troublesome, in a specifically Mesopotamian context, for a god to be represented in such a way as to emphasize destructive or threatening aspects of water (presumably flooding), while simultaneously celebrating a product of its beneficial powers, the palm.

S. Dalley: This would be in keeping with the essential duality of Mesopotamian thought. For instance, gods are vengeful and merciful at the same time, as many hymns in Babylonian cuneiform show; the legendary Flood, source of near-universal destruction, was caused by the Tigris and Euphrates, which in other contexts were the life of the land. Although the fresh water god, Apsu, is a figure of chaos in the *Epic of Creation*, a tank representing him was a major installation in many temples, possibly equivalent to the pond in Egyptian gardens. Scholars often state that such dualism belongs to specifically Persian thought, but it largely entered Persia through Manichaean religious philosophy, which arose primarily in southern Babylonia. I wouldn't say that the statues celebrate a product of the palm, but that the palm frond is there to represent

the climax of a New Year ritual, at which a version of the *Epic of Creation* was recited, as a symbol of victory over water/chaos, renewing the prosperity of the land. The idea of victory is also demonstrated by the goddess' foot placed on the defeated figure.

A. Marzano: About Tell al-Rimah and the floor/walls coloured in black: do we know what was used? Is there any possibility that it was a pigment that changed colour due to the chemical reaction with the soil that buried the structure?

S. Dalley: In the words of the excavator, the floors "were covered with a black plaster, coloured with an admixture of finely ground charcoal, while oval patches of black colour had been applied to the jambs of nearly all the doorways of the original building, features presumably of some ritual significance".² So there can be no doubt about the ingredient for the black colour. However, at this period, in a sentence in the prologue to Hammurabi's law-code, describing the sanctuary of the Sun-God's consort Aya at Sippar (on the Euphrates not far north of Babylon), the king claims to have "decked with green the chapels of Aya". But there is no further information, so paintwork or potted plants are among possible interpretations.

B. Bergmann: It is curious that the spatial relationships — particularly of topography — on the Assyrian reliefs cannot be decoded or diagrammed in an intelligible way, whereas the three-dimensional, carved 'forests' with their black surfaces seem to invoke movements and epiphanies conveyed in literary accounts (e.g., Enkidu reaching the edge of a forest). The Assyrian relief showing Susa presents such a challenge. It would be helpful to know why our access to the visual codes in the reliefs is so difficult.

² POSTGATE, OATES, & OATES 1997, 23.

S. Dalley: We have very little of architectural remains and their relationship to gardens at any period for comparison. In particular, the scene showing a view of Susa in low relief cannot be compared with excavated buildings and walls, because remains of that period there were not found in excavations. The New Year Festival temple at Ashur is the main source, but it is not up on a citadel. Are frontal aspects aligned with side views? Are moats or shores set directly next to walls as a convention? How do we distinguish city and palace or temple walls at Susa, when we have no city-plan from the period of the picture? Bird's-eye views are easy to distinguish, and are occasionally found on reliefs, but they are mainly restricted to forts and tented camps. Besides, artistic conventions of 1800 BC are not necessarily those of 650 BC.

K. von Stackelberg: With Gilgamesh's 'jewel garden' and the temple tree trunks with mother of pearl and other semi-precious stones, I see a connection with the Egyptian practice of taking organic garden elements and transmuting them into inorganic simulacra (for example, the jewel collars based on flowers). We consider these to be utterly different substances, so what logic underpins this conceptual interrelationship between precious/semi-precious stones and trees/flowers? Might it have something to do with the comparable value of items? Or are there other factors to be considered?

S. Dalley: The value of the materials, transported from far away, is surely important, as you suggest; probably also the use of colour, and the fact that colours do not fade in stone and metal, so symbolically they preserve flowers, leaves, and trees for eternity. One needs to bear in mind that the pillars in the Ubaid temple are more than a millennium earlier than the known texts of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, but the symbolic values are probably unchanging in that culture.

K. von Stackelberg: Is it possible that the function of the black paint is to create some kind of illusionistic effect through

the manipulation of light? When we move from light spaces to dark, or even when we look from a light page to a shadowy space, our eye often overlays the colour green or red onto perception. Might the worshipper at the mouth of the shrine experience an evanescent moment of greenery?

S. Dalley: I would need to know much more about the physiology of the retina, etc., to be able to answer this! But I wonder if it is too sophisticated an approach to colour to interpret the use of black in those Babylonian temples in this way.

G. Caneva: Sarebbe interessante capire se i resti di colore nero rilevati sulla superficie esterna potrebbero avere un significato simbolico di riferimento all'idea della rinascita, oltre che all'idea dell'ombra collegata all'allegoria di un bosco.

S. Dalley: I do not know of evidence for black colour as a symbol of rebirth in this culture, but we have very little colour preserved on Mesopotamian objects in general (in contrast to Egyptian), so maybe it is possible. However, burial shrouds were red, presumably symbolizing some kind of rebirth. If the connection with the Gilgamesh episode is correct, it is hard to envisage symbolism of rebirth rather than supposing that the colour black indicates the fearful aspect of a dark forest. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, themes of rejuvenation and immortality (rather than rebirth) arise in a much later episode of the narrative.

III

ÉVELYNE PRIOUX

PARLER DE JARDINS POUR PARLER DE CRÉATIONS LITTÉRAIRES

I. Le jardin comme image métapoétique

Les auteurs littéraires antiques ont volontiers recours à des métaphores pour représenter le texte et sa composition : certaines de ces images assimilent le texte à un corps (corpulent ou chétif, robuste ou efféminé . . .), d'autres à un objet (œuvre d'art, étoffe, gemme . . .), d'autres encore à un élément de topographie qui peut éventuellement être parcouru par le lecteur (route, cours d'eau, prairie . . .).¹ C'est à cette dernière catégorie de métaphores que je vais m'attacher ici, en étudiant le cas précis de l'image du jardin pour tenter de mettre en évidence ses usages et ses évolutions dans le discours stylistique des Anciens. Comme le souligne Galand-Hallyn, “l'assimilation de l'écriture à des éléments naturels, pris séparément ou regroupés sous forme de paysage, revient très fréquemment chez les théoriciens comme chez les poètes”.² La description par Denys d'Halicarnasse du poli de certains passages de Platon fournit un exemple éloquent de ces métaphores filées du style qui constituent un paysage imaginaire en allégorie de l'écriture :³

¹ Voir par exemple WORMAN 2009.

² GALAND-HALLYN 1994, 119.

³ καθαρὰ γάρ ἀποχρώντως γίνεται καὶ διαυγής, ὥσπερ τὰ διαφανέστατα τῶν ναυμάτων, ἀκριβῆς τε καὶ λεπτῆ παρ' ἡντινοῦν ἐτέραν τῶν [εἰς] τὴν αὐτὴν

“Il est suffisamment pur et transparent comme le plus limpide des ruisseaux, avec une précision et une finesse comparables à celles de tout autre texte composé dans ce style [= le style poli] ; . . . la patine de l’ancienneté, imperceptible, qui affleure à la surface, lui donne un air de verdeur, de vigueur, et un éclat tout printanier ; comme il en émane des plus odorantes prairies, une brise agréable s’exhale de ce style.”

Cette description du style de Platon est bien sûr inspirée du *locus amoenus* du *Phèdre*.⁴ C'est ainsi dans les passages descriptifs des auteurs qu'ils étudient que les critiques anciens vont rechercher les images permettant de représenter, sous forme visuelle et dans un but didactique, un objet invisible : le style d'un auteur.⁵ On peut supposer que les auteurs vont très tôt devenir conscients de cette démarche critique qui associe étroitement l'étude du style à la réflexion sur la mimesis⁶ et que les passages descriptifs de leurs œuvres — qu'il s'agisse de descriptions de paysages ou de descriptions d'œuvres d'art — seront rédigés avec, en ligne de mire, l'idée que ces mêmes passages seront ceux vers lesquels les critiques se tourneront en priorité pour définir les caractéristiques de leur style.

Les descriptions littéraires des jardins ont-elles fait l'objet de jeux similaires à ceux que l'on constate pour la description d'autres *loci amœni*? S'agissant du jardin, on connaît, chez Quintilien, une métaphore filée opposant le luxe artificiel des jardins d'apparat à la richesse réelle d'un vignoble cultivé :

“Irai-je estimer mieux soigné tel sol où l'on m'aura montré des lys et des violettes et des anémones poussant spontanément plutôt qu'une terre avec une riche moisson ou des vignes chargées

διάλεκτον εἰργασμένων. . . . ὁ τε πίνος αὐτῇ ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡρέμα καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέψει χλοερὸν τέ τι καὶ τεθῆλὸς καὶ μεστὸν ὥρας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι. καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεστάτων λειμώνων αὖρά τις ἡδεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς φέρεται, DION. HAL. Dem. 5, 2-3, trad. adaptée de G. AUJAC. Voir aussi DION. HAL. Dem. 28, sur τὸ Πλατωνικὸν νᾶμα (la source platonicienne). Sauf indication contraire, les traductions présentées dans la suite de ce chapitre sont personnelles.

⁴ PLAT. *Phdr.* 230b-c.

⁵ Voir GALAND-HALLYN 1994, 125.

⁶ Voir HUNTER 1997, 25.

de grappes ? Irai-je préférer le platane stérile et les myrtes taillés à l'orme marié [à la vigne] et aux oliviers féconds ? Que les riches possèdent ces arbres et ces fleurs ; j'y consens ; mais que seraient-ils, s'ils n'avaient rien d'autre ? Est-ce donc à dire qu'on ne doit pas accorder aussi une beauté aux arbres fruitiers ? Qui le nie ? Aussi disposerai-je mes arbres en rangs et à intervalles réguliers. Quoi de plus joli à voir que la disposition en quinconce, qui, de quelque angle qu'on la regarde, présente des lignes droites ? Mais cette plantation a aussi d'emblée l'avantage de pomper dans d'égales proportions le suc de la terre. Si mes oliviers fuient vers le haut, j'en couperai la cime avec une serpe ; ils se développeront plus harmonieusement en bulteaux et du coup, leurs branches porteront plus de fruits.”⁷

Ce passage repose, pour la description de la vigne et de ses quinquences, sur la contamination entre le modèle des *Res rusticae* de Varron et des *Géorgiques* de Virgile. Les plantes qui composent le jardin d'agrément sont au contraire fréquemment associées avec le monde des *Bucoliques*. On trouve donc ici une opposition implicite entre *Bucoliques* et *Géorgiques* :⁸ d'un côté, Quintilien évoque un jardin productif décrit à travers des allusions à la littérature technique et didactique (*Res rusticae* de Varron, *Géorgiques* de Virgile) ; de l'autre, on trouve au contraire un jardin d'agrément évoqué à travers des allusions aux *Bucoliques* et à l'univers des bergers tesseurs de couronnes.

Nous voyons ainsi se dessiner, chez un professeur de rhétorique de l'époque flavienne, une opposition entre une vigne et

⁷ QUINT. *Inst.* 8, 3, 8–10, trad. J. COUSIN : *An ego fundum cultiorem putem in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia et uiolas et anemonas sponte surgentes quam ubi plena messis aut graues fructu uites erunt ? Sterilem platanum tonsaque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptauerim ? Habeant illa diuitiae licet : quid essent si aliud nihil haberent ? Nullusne ergo etiam frugiferis adhibendus est decor ? Quis negat ? Nam et in ordinem certaque interualla redigam meas arbores. Quid illo quincunce speciosius, qui in quamcumque partem spectaueris rectus est ? Sed protinus in id quoque prodest, ut terrae sucum aequaliter trahat. Fugientia in altum cacumina oleae ferro coercede ; in orbem se formosius fundet et protinus fructum ramis pluribus feret.*

⁸ Sur tous ces points, voir GALAND-HALLYN 1994, 126–127 ; VARRO *Rust.* 1, 7, 2–4 et 1, 16, 6 et VERG. *Georg.* 2, 70 et 285–287, opposés à VERG. *Ecl.* 2, 45–48.

un jardin d'apparat qui sont pensés comme deux allégories reflétant des choix divergents dans le domaine rhétorique. Malheureusement, le texte de Quintilien paraît à première vue isolé, dans la mesure où les autres traités rhétorico-poétiques qui nous sont parvenus n'exploitent pas la métaphore du *κῆπος* ou de l'*hortus*. Est-il malgré tout possible de replacer le texte de Quintilien au sein d'une histoire de la réflexion stylistique où le jardin ou du moins certaines de ses composantes topiques constituerait des métaphores bien connues des philologues et des lecteurs anciens ? Quels usages métaphoriques sont connus pour le jardin et ses composantes et comment évoluent-ils d'un auteur à l'autre ?

Avant d'aller plus loin, il est nécessaire de préciser que la nature du *κῆπος* ou de l'*hortus* littéraire varie pour englober un nombre variable des cultures suivantes : essences forestières, arbres fruitiers, arbustes, fleurs, aromates, légumes. La distinction nette tracée par Quintilien entre le jardin productif et le jardin d'agrément n'est que très rarement observée dans les autres jardins littéraires. Le *Moretum* pseudo-virgilien s'inspire du jardin du vieillard de Tarente, mais ne mentionne pas de fleurs : seuls sont cités les légumes, herbes et aromates.⁹ En revanche, le jardin du livre 10 du *De re rustica* de Columelle, jardin figurant au sein d'un texte didactique mais lui aussi directement tiré du jardin littéraire du vieillard de Tarente du livre 4 des *Géorgiques* de Virgile, associe fleurs d'ornement, aromates et légumes.

I.1. Le jardin, métaphore érotique et métapoétique

Il convient d'emblée de souligner que les emplois métaphoriques ou allégoriques du jardin en poésie ne se limitent pas au champ des réflexions sur le genre ou le style du poème. Le

⁹ *Moret.* 61-83. Sur ce passage, voir FITZGERALD 1996, qui propose une lecture métapoétique assimilant le *labor* du jardinier à celui du poète.

jardin n'est pas seulement un symbole métapoétique : il peut aussi être employé comme un symbole érotique.¹⁰ Cet usage peut certainement justifier en partie l'importance des jardins dans le *Daphnis et Chloé* de Longus ou la fortune de l'image du jardin dans les épigrammes. Cette double signification métaphorique du jardin peut aussi expliquer l'émergence et les évolutions d'une poésie scabreuse consacrée à la figure de Priape comme surveillant du jardin.

Lorsque le jardin est une métaphore métapoétique, il se construit généralement à travers la référence à quelques jardins littéraires topiques, sur lesquels l'attention des commentateurs anciens s'était probablement focalisée. À l'époque impériale et particulièrement dans la Seconde Sophistique, la référence majeure en matière de jardins littéraires est la description homérique du jardin d'Alcinoos, dont les commentateurs anciens célébraient la γλυκύτης stylistique. Une autre référence importante n'est autre que la comparaison épique d'*Iliade* 21, 257-262, où la poursuite d'Achille par le Scamandre est comparée aux chemins que prend l'eau dans les canaux que trace un fontainier au sein d'un jardin. Il s'agit là d'un passage homérique tantôt loué tantôt critiqué par les commentateurs anciens. Troisième référence majeure : le jardin du vieux Laërte où Ulysse retrouvera son père travaillant avec soin à l'entretien des carrés du potager au chant 24 de l'*Odyssée* (v. 226-247).

Face à ces jardins homériques, il faut bien sûr citer le jardin du vieillard de Tarente, évoqué sous forme de prétérition au chant 4 des *Géorgiques* de Virgile. Ce dernier dit ne pouvoir, par manque de temps, traiter le sujet du jardin qu'il introduit néanmoins dans la longue digression des vers 4, 116-148. L'un des points que nous ne pouvons malheureusement pas évaluer est la relation que ce développement entretenait peut-être avec les *Géorgiques* de Nicandre. En effet, l'un des lambeaux de cette

¹⁰ Cf. DIOG. LAERT. 2, 116 : le κῆπος désigne (à la suite de λειμῶν attesté en ce sens dès EUR. *Cycl.* 171) le sexe féminin. Les *Priapea* (*Priap.* 5) montrent par ailleurs que l'*hortus* est éventuellement synonyme de *culus*.

œuvre est un long développement sur la floriculture réunissant de nombreuses espèces de fleurs et quelques aromates.¹¹ Il est difficile de dire si Nicandre s'intéressait ici à des jardins ou à des champs de fleurs, mais le fait que Virgile exclut de ses *Géorgiques* les fleurs qui occupaient une place apparemment importante dans celles de Nicandre est en lui-même intéressant.¹²

Inspiré du jardin du vieillard de Tarente, le livre 10 du *De re rustica* de Columelle — poème didactique consacré au jardin — deviendra à son tour un modèle important, comme nous le verrons, pour les auteurs de l'époque flavienne, mais aussi pour des auteurs tardifs comme Palladius.

Un autre modèle, qui semble central mais qui ne nous est pas parvenu, est une description de jardin et peut-être d'un jardinier par Philitas de Cos, poète actif au tournant des IV^e et III^e siècles av. J.-C.¹³ L'existence de cette description peut être postulée à partir de l'importance que prend, chez Longus, un auteur qui étudie de près les modèles bucoliques, le jardin du vieux Philétas ; or, le jardin du Philétas de Longus possède plus d'une caractéristique qui l'apparente au jardin virgilien du vieillard de Tarente. L'importance de l'œuvre de Philitas dans l'émergence des réflexions des lettrés sur les plantes et les jardins reçoit aussi des éléments de confirmation dans l'intérêt que celui-ci paraît avoir porté à des *glōssai* désignant des noms de plantes, comme le *κάκτος* (nom sicilien d'un cardon comestible endémique de l'île) nommé dans le fr. 20 Spanoudakis.

¹¹ NIC. fr. 74 GOW-SCHOLFIELD.

¹² HARRISON 2004 estime pour sa part que le vieillard de Tarente représenterait Nicandre, auteur des *Géorgiques*.

¹³ Les sources littéraires antiques donnent soit la forme "Philitas" soit la forme "Philétas". Cette dernière, qui semble s'être progressivement imposée dans les sources grecques (en particulier à partir du I^e siècle ap. J.-C.), a été longtemps favorisée dans la bibliographie moderne, mais les études les plus récentes sur les témoignages relatifs à cet auteur ont montré que la forme "Philitas" devait probablement être tenue pour la forme originelle : voir par exemple MÜLLER 1990. J'adopte en revanche la forme "Philétas" (en accord avec les manuscrits de *Daphnis et Chloé*) pour me référer au personnage du roman de Longus : en effet, l'auteur ne rend jamais explicite le rapprochement possible avec le poète de Cos et il ne paraît donc pas légitime de modifier son nom.

Soulignons en outre que Théocrite, dont une tradition veut qu'il ait étudié la médecine avant de devenir poète, s'est formé, comme poète, auprès de Philitas. L'intérêt de ce dernier pour des termes botaniques rares pourrait suggérer qu'il fut — avant Théocrite — un poète-botaniste.¹⁴ Un témoignage supplémentaire de l'importance de Philitas pour la réflexion des lettrés sur les jardins doit peut-être être recherché dans la présence de son buste dans les éventuels vestiges d'un jardin de l'époque impériale à Crest, dans la Drôme (Fig. 3.1).

Il me paraît également intéressant de constater que le Philétas de Longus, ancien pâtre et ancienne victime du cruel enfant Éros, s'est maintenant tourné vers la culture de son jardin et que c'est à peu près à la même démarche que nous engage l'Ovide des *Remedia amoris* dans les vers 191-198, évoquant le désarroi que ce changement d'activité soudain ne manquera pas de susciter chez Amour, le cruel enfant ailé. Plutôt que de se laisser dévorer par la maladie d'amour, il faudra donc irriguer son jardin en y traçant des ruisseaux tel un fontainier (*Ipse potes riuos ducere lenis aquae, Rem. am. 194*), activité évoquée par Virgile dans le chant 1 des *Géorgiques* (1, 104-110 — Ovide imite probablement le v. 106 [*inducit riuosque*]). Il faudra aussi greffer des arbres (*fac ramum ramus adoptet, / stetque peregrinis arbor operta comis*)¹⁵ — clin d'œil évident au chant 2 des *Géorgiques* de Virgile, mais aussi aux perruques dont les coquettes qu'Ovide s'était fait fort d'instruire pouvaient se parer ! La trajectoire de l'amant imaginé par Ovide me paraît similaire à celle du Philétas de Longus et je me demande si, au-delà de l'allusion à Virgile, il ne faut pas penser qu'Ovide songe

¹⁴ Sur les connaissances de Théocrite en botanique (87 espèces différentes sont citées dans les *Idylles*) et ses liens possibles avec les écoles médicales de Cos, voir LINDSELL 2000. Sur l'intérêt tout particulier de Théocrite pour les plantes à épines et ses liens possibles, sur ce point, avec Philitas, voir MANAKIDOU 2012. Sur la valeur métapoétique des descriptions de plantes et d'arbres chez Théocrite, voir aussi SEGAL 1977.

¹⁵ Ov. *Rem. am.* 194-196 : "Tu peux toi-même tracer les chemins d'un doux cours d'eau . . . Fais que le rameau adopte des rameaux, et que l'arbre se tienne couvert d'une chevelure étrangère".

lui aussi au vieux poète de Cos qui, après avoir écrit les tourments de l'amour, aurait peut-être évoqué le soin porté à un jardin.

L'élegie 2, 34 de Properce évoque l'importance, pour le poète élégiaque, du modèle qu'est Philitas. Or, cette même élégie propose aussi une réécriture du vers 1 de la première *Bucolique* de Virgile qui place Tityre-Virgile non *sub tegmine fagi* mais sous les pins du Galèse (*subter pineta Galaesi*), autrement dit dans un lieu étroitement associé au vieillard de Tarente. C'est en prenant appui sur ce constat que Thomas a proposé de penser que les rives du Galèse constituaient le décor de l'une des élégies ou de l'une des bucoliques de Philitas.¹⁶ Pour ténus que soient les indices dont nous disposons, les textes de Properce et de Longus peuvent laisser penser que le jardin

¹⁶ THOMAS 1992. Faut-il aussi déduire de ce passage que le *fagus* passe à l'époque de Properce pour un symbole de la bucolique et qu'il s'opposerait par exemple au pin de l'élegie ? À la fin du Moyen-Âge, l'association entre bucolique et *fagus* de Tityre sera perçue comme parfaitement topique comme en témoigne la roue de Virgile. Il semble qu'à l'époque augustéenne les différents genres étaient volontiers mis en relation avec des paysages topiques, mais il est difficile de dire si les différentes essences d'arbres étaient déjà caractérisées comme convenant plutôt à tel ou tel genre et ce, suivant des associations systématiques. Cette systématisation est sans doute liée à l'œuvre des commentateurs médiévaux comme l'indique VOLK 2002, 154. On peut toutefois souligner que Virgile oppose, par exemple, les buissons et les arbustes, ainsi que les humbles tamaris (*humiles myricae*), représentatifs du paysage bucolique, au chant plus solennel qu'il s'apprête à composer dans la 4^e *Bucolique* (v. 2). LINDSELL 2000, 66, note avec raison que l'adjectif *humilis* ne convient pas aux *myricae*, et que ce vers virgilien, contraire aux observations correctes que Théocrite fait sur le milieu et l'aspect des tamaris en *Id.* 1, 13 et 5, 101, trahit la méconnaissance par Virgile de la flore qu'il introduit dans les *Bucoliques* : cette description inexacte du point de vue botanique serait, pour Lindsell, le signe de la transposition artificielle que Virgile fait d'une flore théocritienne (et associée, comme elle le démontre, à un paysage de garrigue grecque) dans le paysage italien. Au-delà de cette observation, probablement juste (même si le tamaris peut induire, au moins par la forme de ses feuilles, une idée de finesse et de légèreté opposable au chant plus solennel que le poète veut désormais composer), le choix de l'adjectif *humilis* s'explique, je pense, si l'on renonce à une lecture réaliste de la flore virgilienne : le tamaris est, à mon sens, *humilis* parce qu'il pointe vers l'imitation de vers *humiles* — ceux de Théocrite — contrairement à d'autres modèles possibles.

de Philitas était associé à une réflexion sur les interactions entre genres littéraires (et peut-être plus précisément sur les rapports entre bucolique et élégie) : le jardin est à la fois le lieu de pré-dilection du *praceptor amoris* de l'élégie et le lieu fréquenté par les tesseurs de couronnes que sont les bergers. Chez Longus, le jardin est aussi, comme nous le verrons, le lieu d'une réflexion sur les rapports entre bucolique et géorgique : le jardin transforme en effet les pâtres en cultivateurs et introduit un moment 'géorgique' au cœur de la pastorale.

Les descriptions de jardins ont donc parfois pu être associées à une réflexion sur les interactions possibles entre différents genres poétiques. Mais ces descriptions permettent aussi de réfléchir sur l'imitation de la nature et donc sur l'essence même du processus créatif : la *τέχνη* du jardinier produit une imitation de la nature et est en ceci assimilable à l'art du peintre qui crée des images peintes ou à l'art de l'auteur littéraire qui suscite par les mots la formation d'images mentales. Comme nous le verrons, cette possibilité de lecture est très clairement celle vers laquelle Longus nous pousse lorsqu'il décrit le Parc de Dionysophanès. Cette réflexion sur les rapports entre *τέχνη* et *φύσις* peut aussi prendre la forme d'une réflexion sur le caractère moralement condamnable ou non de l'ornement, de la modification des lois naturelles et du luxe. Par exemple, est-il ou non acceptable de modifier le caractère saisonnier d'une production en ayant recours à des serres ? Martial, dont les épigrammes visent, à l'occasion, à flatter des protecteurs avérés ou potentiels qui possèdent ce type de propriétés, élabore dans quelques épigrammes de grande ampleur de véritables défenses du luxe dans les jardins.¹⁷

Dans l'épigramme 8, 68, Martial célèbre une vigne protégée par une serre qui appartient à l'affranchi impérial Entellus. Répondant par avance aux critiques visant les excès de luxe que représente une telle propriété, Martial s'attache d'abord à valoriser le motif du *rus in urbe*. L'ecphrasis de la serre unit ensuite

¹⁷ Les textes pertinents sont rassemblés et commentés par FABBRINI 2007.

la célébration de son utilité à celle de la jouissance que la contemplation de cet édifice transparent procure au regard. La fin de l'épigramme présente cette serre comme un lieu où l'artifice l'emporte sur la nature, mais souligne que cette nouvelle forme de culture ne représente pas une entorse aux lois de la nature : bien au contraire, la nature se soumet avec plaisir à l'*ingenium* des hommes et consent à ce qu'il modifie l'ordre naturel des choses. L'épigramme 3, 58 sur la villa de Faustinus à Baïes s'ouvre sur une description en creux de la villa : le poète évoque la distance qui sépare cette villa entourée de terrains consacrés à l'agriculture des luxueuses villas agrémentées de parcs purement ornementaux. La célébration de la *villa rustica* se double ainsi d'un discours éthique. Le commentaire que Fabbrini consacre à la description par Martial du catalogue des oiseaux peuplant la villa de Faustinus est, à ce titre, particulièrement éclairant : on note par exemple la mention d'oiseaux (paon, flamant rose) considérés comme des raretés gastronomiques ou des objets de ravissement pour les yeux. Si l'élevage de ces oiseaux est bien souvent stigmatisé par les moralistes, Martial s'attache à montrer que les modalités d'élevage retenues dans la villa de Faustinus demeurent simples et traditionnelles : tout son discours vise à présenter les réalités les plus raffinées comme s'il s'agissait des joies simples de la campagne et de ses agréments ordinaires.

Fabbrini n'évoque pas la possibilité d'une lecture métapoétique de ces considérations sur le luxe. Pourtant, il est frappant de voir que ces textes, qui défendent la possibilité de vivre avec simplicité dans une demeure entourée d'un parc luxueux et qui affirment que la consommation de paons et de flamants roses fait partie des joies ordinaires de la campagne, figurent précisément dans des textes où Martial quitte le format normal de l'épigramme. Ces *epigrammata longa* allient en outre des caractéristiques stylistiques très variées, où les termes du *sermo quotidianus* alternent avec des expressions inspirées du registre élevé et du langage épique ou avec des figures de l'amplification (comme la description en creux). Sans préjuger de la sincérité

ou non des louanges que Martial a pour ces nouveaux jardins de luxe, il me semble que la description de jardin est, pour lui, l'occasion de modifier sensiblement la forme de l'épigramme et d'y faire entrer des ornements dont il se serait, en d'autres contextes, moqué.

I.2. *Les fruits du jardin*

Dans d'autres contextes, le jardin peut constituer une métaphore du texte ou du recueil poétique comme lieu organisé par le poète et comme lieu de production, les fruits du jardin devenant une métaphore des poèmes pris comme créations du poète, ou peut-être une métaphore des gains qu'il espère obtenir grâce à ses poèmes.¹⁸ L'auteur des *Carmina Priapea* décrit ainsi les fruits de son jardin comme bien éloignés de ceux du jardin d'Alcinoos et comme fort peu exceptionnels :¹⁹ s'agit-il d'une forme de *recusatio* exprimée grâce à la métaphore des fruits et qui opposerait les épigrammes scatologiques à l'œuvre d'Homère ? Dans la logique du recueil, cette épigramme (*Priap.* 51) contredit un autre poème de la même collection (*Priap.* 16), où le locuteur / jardinier / auteur prétendait avec emphase offrir à Priape une pomme semblable à celles qu'Homère plaçait dans le jardin d'Alcinoos ou à celle que Callimaque prêtait à son Acontios. Même si l'épigramme *Priap.* 51 indique que les voleurs viennent parce qu'ils sont attirés non par les fruits mais par la *pedicatio* dont Priape les a menacés, cette épigramme, qui contredit le poème *Priap.* 16 et nie la présence de fruits intéressants dans le jardin de Priape, participe à la logique générale du

¹⁸ Une lecture en ce sens d'*Anth. Pal.* 6, 42 paraît envisageable, mais sa pertinence ne peut être prouvée.

¹⁹ *Priap.* 51, 5-6 ; 14-19. Les vers 14-15 jouent à mon sens sur le modèle de COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 325-326, qui rassemble lui aussi les termes *caule*, *brassica*, *betae*. Quant aux vers 16 et 18, ils imitent, me semble-t-il, le modèle du jardin du vieillard de Tarente : comparer *crescensue in suum caput . . . cucumeresque humi fusos* avec *tortusque per herbam / cresceret in uentrem cucumis* (VERG. *Georg.* 4, 121-122).

recueil où Priape (et le poète avec lui) passent progressivement de la vantardise à l'impuissance la plus complète. L'ambition de parvenir, par l'épigramme scatologique, à rivaliser avec Homère et Callimaque ne peut que déboucher sur un échec comique.

Une épigramme votive probablement due à Zonas (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 22) décrit l'offrande de divers fruits à Priape par un jardinier ; la lecture réaliste (la seule proposée actuellement) n'exclut pas la possibilité d'une lecture métaphorique : dans le recueil d'origine cette épigramme pouvait introduire ou conclure une série d'autres textes présentés comme les fruits offerts à Priape. Une épigramme anonyme et de datation incertaine (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 42) évoque l'offrande de fruits à Pan par un pauvre jardinier désireux d'obtenir en échange d'autres belles récoltes. Il n'y a bien sûr aucun moyen de prouver qu'une lecture métapoétique est ici possible, mais de telles épigrammes pouvaient, dans leur contexte d'origine, faire l'objet d'une lecture différente de la lecture réaliste que nous avons tendance à privilégier aujourd'hui. Cette possibilité s'appuie au moins sur la comparaison avec *Priap.* 60, une épigramme qui se moque d'un Priape qui relève entièrement de la fiction littéraire et qui a, de ce fait, bien plus de vers poétiques à surveiller que de fruits réels.

Dans le recueil des *Xenia* de Martial, chaque épigramme évoque un produit à consommer décrit par un titre et un distique, comme s'il s'agissait de billets accompagnant des victuailles offertes en cadeau. Certains des poèmes sont présentés comme venant du jardin ou d'une terre de l'auteur ;²⁰ que certains de ces poèmes aient ou non réellement accompagné des cadeaux, dès lors que le recueil circule sous forme de livre, l'épigramme est coupée de son référent réel et se substitue entièrement à l'objet qu'elle décrit. Le recueil rassemble donc, de manière fictive, navets, asperges et autres productions du potager. Martial exploitera de manière très claire cette assimilation entre poèmes et fruits du jardin dans la suite de son œuvre :

²⁰ Voir MART. 13, 42-43.

chez lui, cette association est à la fois rendue possible par la connaissance que les lecteurs ont de ses *Xenia* et par le jeu de mots récurrent qui associe ses épigrammes légères à des *nugae*. La métaphore est présente de manière très claire dans l'épigramme 7, 91 qui est, de surcroît, adressée à un autre poète :

“Eloquent Juvénal, je t'envoie, pour tes Saturnales, ces noix cueillies dans mon petit champ. La verge libertine du dieu qui le garde a donné mes autres fruits aux jeunes filles lascives.”²¹

Le champ de Martial produit à la fois des poèmes libertins offerts à un lectorat féminin supposément friand de sujets invouables et des poèmes pleins d'esprit qui sauront réjouir un autre poète.

L'existence d'une dimension métapoétique est parfois beaucoup moins assurée, comme dans l'épigramme 11, 18 qui se présente d'abord comme une épigramme scoptique dénonçant l'avarice d'un certain Lupus qui, prétendant offrir à Martial des *praedia* (propriété), lui offre à peine un *prandium* (repas), puisque le jardin offert s'avère plus petit que celui que Martial a à sa fenêtre. L'épigramme joue sur la représentation humoristique d'un jardin miniature qu'une taupe suffit à labourer et où la souris est aussi redoutable que le sanglier de Calydon — ce qui rappelle les souris de l'*Hécalè* de Callimaque. Les *praedia* miniatures qui sont échus au poète pourraient cependant constituer un amusant symbole de l'écriture de Martial, auteur de poèmes miniatures.²²

Une image récurrente, tant dans l'épigramme hellénistique que dans l'épigramme impériale,²³ est celle du vol des fruits par un individu qui sera puni par Priape. Je me demande si cette image scatologique, si présente dans les textes épigrammatiques,

²¹ *De nostro, facunde, tibi, Iuuenalis, agello / Saturnalicias mittimus, ecce, nuces. / Cetera lasciuis donauit poma puellis / mentula custodis luxuriosa dei.*

²² Par ailleurs, les vers 10-11 de cette épigramme, qui rassemblent une mention du concombre et une mention du serpent, jouent probablement sur le modèle du concombre du jardin de Columelle (*Rust.* 10, 379-380). Une lecture métapoétique de cette épigramme a également été suggérée par GOWERS 2000.

²³ Voir *Anth. Plan.* 236-238 ; 240-241 ; 243 ; 255 ; 260.

ne peut être vue comme une mise en garde humoristique à l'intention des plagiaires éventuels, de ceux qui volent les fruits des poètes. Encore une fois, une lecture au premier degré demeure tout à fait satisfaisante et se suffit à elle-même, mais la présence de ces poèmes au sein d'anthologies et de recueils poétiques ne reçoit-elle pas une justification qui va au-delà de la reproduction, par des poètes renommés, de mises en gardes qui pouvaient réellement figurer dans les jardins ?

I.3. Les arbres et arbustes du jardin

Sans doute les différents arbres sont-ils associés de manière privilégiée à différents genres poétiques, le chêne étant l'arbre principal de la bucolique, le pin pouvant peut-être représenter les tourments de l'amoureux élégiaque et le platane renvoyant aisément au modèle du *Phèdre* de Platon comme exemple topique de l'élégance et du poli ($\gamma\lambda\alpha\varphi\psi\rho\delta\gamma$) de son style. Il est toutefois probable, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut (n. 16), que ces associations entre arbres et genres ou styles n'aient pas encore eu un caractère systématique. Nous conservons grâce à l'*Anthologie* plusieurs épigrammes décrivant un arbre isolé et dont la signification n'est pas connue à ce jour, faute de conserver le contexte original de ces textes. Étaient-ils réunis dans des anthologies de manière à former une sorte de *silua* ou de *nemus* poétique ?²⁴

²⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 9, 3 (sur un noyer) ; 312 (sur un chêne) ; 414 (sur un paliure utilisé comme haie pour un verger ou un jardin) : dans ces trois cas, seule une éventuelle organisation des poèmes sous forme de cycle apparentant le livre de poésie à une forêt, à un bois ou à un jardin nous paraît susceptible d'avoir donné à ces pièces une éventuelle valeur métapoétique. En revanche, les poèmes *Anth. Pal.* 9, 4-6 renvoient à des poiriers sauvages qui, grâce au labeur d'un *rusticus* qui les a greffés, ont été transformés en arbres portant de nobles fruits. Même s'il est aujourd'hui impossible de prouver que ces textes avaient la moindre fonction métapoétique, ils consistent en une célébration du $\pi\acute{o}\nu\circ\varsigma$ qui transforme la nature par la $\tau\acute{e}\chi\nu\gamma$ et débouche sur la production de fruits gracieux et plaisants.

Exemple emblématique des hésitations auxquelles se trouvent confrontés les commentateurs, l'un des *Iambes* de Callimaque se présentait sous la forme d'un dialogue opposant l'olivier et le laurier qui débattent, à la manière de bergers bucoliques, de leurs qualités respectives et se moquent l'un de l'autre. Cet *Iambe* repose, certes, sur l'imitation du modèle des *Fables* d'Ésope mais jouait peut-être aussi sur la connaissance, même vague, que les lecteurs de Callimaque pouvaient avoir de la vaste diffusion du motif des dialogues d'arbres dans la littérature égyptienne dont nous a entretenus C. Loeben.²⁵ À un certain point de la discussion intervient une ronce qui tente de les réconcilier mais qui est immédiatement rabrouée par les deux adversaires qui rappellent au petit buisson qu'il n'est pas de leur stature et qu'il n'a donc aucun conseil à donner. S'il ne fait guère de doute que ce texte fait partie de la série des *Iambes* qui expriment sous forme métaphorique des polémiques littéraires et esthétiques dans lesquelles était engagé Callimaque, les avis divergent entièrement sur l'interprétation qu'il convient d'en donner.²⁶

I.4. La greffe des arbres fruitiers

Récemment, Séverine Clément-Tarantino, puis Dunstan Lowe, se sont attachés à la relecture des différents passages que les poètes latins ont consacrés au motif de la greffe des fruitiers.²⁷ D. Lowe a ainsi montré comme le motif de la greffe revêt un sens métapoétique chez l'auteur néronien Calpurnius Siculus (*Ecl.* 2, 41-44), ainsi que dans l'ouverture du livre 10 de Columelle (v. 35-40) et, de manière plus claire encore à la fin du IV^e siècle ap. J.-C., dans le livre 14 (*Liber de insitione*)

²⁵ LOEBEN, *supra*, 30-31.

²⁶ Voir, à titre d'exemple, et avec des analyses peu conciliaires entre elles, KERKHECKER 1999, 83-115 ; ACOSTA-HUGHES 2002, 152-204 ; LELLI 2004, 23-82.

²⁷ CLÉMENT-TARANTINO 2006 ; LOWE 2010. Voir aussi HENKEL 2009.

qui conclut, sous forme versifiée, l'*Opus agriculturae*, traité dont les 13 premiers livres étaient écrits en prose. Chez ces auteurs, le motif de la greffe servirait notamment à évoquer le processus de l'allusion littéraire : la greffe serait une métaphore de la prodigieuse fécondité obtenue grâce à la *uariatio in imitando* obtenue lorsque l'on réelabore des modèles antérieurs. C'est sur une conclusion similaire que débouche l'étude de S. Clément-Tarantino sur la réécriture par Virgile (*Georg.* 2, 9-82) de deux hypotextes de Théophraste relatifs à la greffe des arbres. Le caractère merveilleux ou fabuleux des greffes décrites par Virgile semble prouver à lui seul qu'elles ne concernent pas véritablement la culture effective des jardins, mais qu'elles possèdent un sens allégorique. Dans un traité d'agriculture qui ne s'adresse pas seulement aux élèves que sont les paysans, mais aussi, et surtout, à Mécène qui est le dédicataire de l'œuvre,²⁸ il paraît légitime de songer que le sens métaphorique de la description des greffes pourrait être d'ordre poétique.

I.5. Les fleurs et le tressage des fleurs

La comparaison entre fleurs et poésie est très ancienne : on peut en soupçonner la présence dans un passage probablement métapoétique des *Chants cypriens* cité par Athénée et la métaphore est clairement attestée chez Sappho qui évoque les roses de Piérie.²⁹ Le motif fait l'objet de traitements métapoétiques complexes à l'époque hellénistique puis impériale : les fleurs peuvent ainsi figurer en série dans un texte poétique, sous la forme, par exemple, de l'évocation de plusieurs mythes floraux. Une partie de cette flore poétique liée à des métamorphoses ornait sans doute le poème d'Euphorion sur le bois sacré de Grynium.

²⁸ Sur ce point, voir notamment VOLK 2002, 130-139.

²⁹ Sur les roses comme symboles de la poésie chez Sappho, voir NUNLIST 1998, 206-209. Voir aussi *ibid.*, p. 209-212 pour les emplois métapoétiques du terme ἄνθος chez Pindare, Bacchylide et dans l'*Hymne homérique à Hermès*.

On peut parfois douter de la valeur métapoétique ou non de la mention des fleurs. Ainsi, l'épigramme *Anth. Pal.* 9, 610 assimile des μικρὰ . . . ἔργα au doux spectacle qu'offrent une rose dans des jardins ou une violette dans des corbeilles. L'épigramme figure dans un cycle (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 606-640) formé de pièces anonymes ou attribuées à des auteurs byzantins qui sont toutes censées, d'après le lemme de l'*Anthologie*, correspondre à des inscriptions destinées à des bains. Le lemme de l'*Anthologie* nous incite ainsi à une lecture réaliste de l'inscription où le déictique τάδ(ε) renverrait à ce que le lecteur de l'inscription supposée a sous les yeux, à savoir des bains. Pourtant, rien à part le contexte de l'épigramme *Anth. Pal.* 9, 610 dans l'*Anthologie* n'indique qu'elle se rapporte à des bains et l'inscription peut tout aussi bien être fictive que correspondre à la reproduction d'une inscription réelle. Quoi qu'il en soit, une fois placé dans le contexte du livre, le déictique τάδ(ε) peut tout aussi bien s'appliquer aux poèmes environnants (des distiques marqués par leur *breuitas*) qu'à un référent réel et extérieur au livre — le bain — que le lecteur est censé imaginer. Une lecture métapoétique devient dès lors possible. Dans la mesure où la métaphore du bain et de la fontaine est elle-même une métaphore métapoétique très courante, une lecture possible consiste à reconnaître, dans cette épigramme, un éloge du raffinement et de la grâce associés à la *breuitas* du poème.

Le terme δένθος renvoie non seulement à la fleur mais aussi à l'éclat d'une couleur. Son dérivé ἀνθηρός (*floridus* en latin) sert aussi bien à désigner le style d'un texte (harmonie ou style élégant ou poli — les notions connexes sont l'ήδυ et le γλαφυρόν) par opposition à l'harmonie ou au style austère (ἀυστηρός / *austerus*), qu'un certain usage du coloris par les peintres (*colores floridi*) par opposition au choix des *colores aucteri*. Pour ce qui est du style rhétorico-poétique, Denys d'Halicarnasse livre, dans le Περὶ μιμήσεως et dans le *De compositione uerborum*, des listes d'auteurs correspondant à l'un ou l'autre style. Sappho et Isocrate figurent, par exemple parmi les principaux représentants de l'ἀνθηρόν ou de la γλαφυρὰ σύνθεσις : Denys

cite ainsi le modèle de la prière à Aphrodite de Sappho, dont la grâce virginal évoquerait la texture d'un fin tissu, le flot ininterrompu d'une eau vive ou encore une peinture où la lumière se fondrait insensiblement dans l'ombre.³⁰ Homère passe pour sa part pour avoir excellé dans les deux styles. Un nombre croissant d'indices permet aujourd'hui de penser que ces qualificatifs remontent en réalité à une source du début de l'époque hellénistique et non à Denys lui-même. Après Denys, la grille stylistique, loin de se figer, évolue sans cesse et la métaphore du style fleuri (*floridus / ἀνθηρός*) sera employée chez Quintilien pour le style intermédiaire.³¹

Dans le domaine pictural, on peut penser que l'élaboration de ces deux descriptifs opposés du coloris remonte au IV^e siècle av. J.-C., et particulièrement à l'influence du peintre Pausias. Dans le domaine statuaire la notion existe aussi, probablement déjà chez Xénocrate d'Athènes, pour désigner les compositions (et peut-être le poli de l'épiderme) de certaines œuvres de Lysippe. L'exemple de Xénophon suggère en outre que cette image était déjà utilisée au début du IV^e siècle, peut-être pour évoquer les fioritures et ornements caractérisant la musique nouvelle par opposition à la musique ancienne.³²

Les fleurs (*flores*, *ἄνθη*) deviennent donc à un certain point de la tradition critique des images de l'*ornatus*,³³ qui vont désigner plus spécifiquement, dans certains textes rhétoriques et en particulier chez Quintilien, les figures de style. Présentes avec excès, elles font courir au texte le risque du clinquant. La

³⁰ DION. HAL. *Comp.* 23.

³¹ QUINT. *Inst.* 2, 5, 18 ; 8, 3, 74 ; 12, 10, 58. Pour des références supplémentaires, voir GALAND-HALLYN 1994, 119.

³² XEN. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 38. Cette mention figure dans une comparaison tracée entre le succès, à la guerre, des nouveaux stratagèmes — les plus propres à tromper l'ennemi — et le succès, en musique, de la musique nouvelle : Καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα καὶ ἀνθηρὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ ("et, assurément, le nouveau et le floride est ce qui emporte la meilleure réputation auprès des musiciens").

³³ Cf. par exemple CIC. *De or.* 1, 20 ; 3, 96 ; Brut. 66 ; 298 ; *Orat.* 21 ; 65 ; 96 ; DION. HAL. *Comp.* 22, 8 ; QUINT. *Inst.* 2, 5, 22 ; 6 *praef.* 9 ; 8, 3, 37 ; 10, 5, 23 ; 12, 10, 13. Voir GALAND-HALLYN 1994, 119.

présence de fleurs dans un jardin rejoint donc la question du caractère moralement acceptable ou non de l'ornement ; ce dernier est-il compatible avec le jardin productif ? Doit-il être ou non recherché ? Est-il une fin en lui-même ? Il y aura, ici, autant de réponses que d'auteurs. Par exemple, dans le livre 5 des *Fastes* d'Ovide, la déesse Flore présente une véritable défense de l'ornement que sont les fleurs et revendique sa présence au sein de l'élegie didactique, en continuité avec l'agriculture. Flore affirme en effet régner et sur les jardins et sur les champs : si les forêts sont exclues de son domaine, toutes les productions des vignes et des champs y entrent dans la mesure où le fleurissement est nécessaire à l'épi et à la vigne — preuve du caractère productif des fleurs.³⁴ Les indices de la signification métapoétique du passage sont nombreux : ce passage comporte en effet la seule occurrence du nom du poète — *Naso* — que l'on pourra trouver dans les livres 1 à 6 des *Fastes* et se conclut sur un vœu (que le chant d'Ovide fleurisse sous l'action de Flora).³⁵ La volonté de mettre sur un même plan les sujets traditionnels de la poésie didactique (travaux des champs) et le thème de la floraison, qui constitue le symbole de l'ornement cosmétique, ne peut être innocent de la part d'un poète qui compose par ailleurs un ouvrage didactique sur les cosmétiques (*Medicamina faciei feminineae*) et utilise le paon comme modèle explicatif pour affirmer le caractère moral de ses propres œuvres et se défendre face aux critiques : Ovide souligne que le paon fait la roue devant les humains pour lesquels il n'éprouve aucune appétence sexuelle,³⁶ ce qui prouve que l'ornement cosmétique n'est pas moralement condamnable et que la recherche de la parure fait au contraire partie de la nature.³⁷ D'autres

³⁴ Ov. *Fast.* 5, 261-262.

³⁵ Ov. *Fast.* 5, 377-378.

³⁶ Voir Ov. *Medic.* 31-33, avec les commentaires de HELDMANN 1982, 375-380 et PRIOUX, à paraître (a).

³⁷ Pour les mêmes raisons, sans doute, Ovide fait l'éloge de la greffe des arbres, technique qui fait partie du *cultus* et est à ce titre perçue de manière entièrement positive : *Medic.* 5-7. Jardiner et greffer les arbres est une alternative à la poursuite amoureuse pour qui souhaite se guérir du mal d'amour : *Rem. am.* 191-198.

détails confirment la pertinence d'une lecture métapoétique du passage sur Flore : Ovide indique ainsi — ce qui est vrai — que Flore est fêtée par les courtisanes et qu'elle est souvent fêtée dans l'ivresse, mais c'est, explique-t-il, parce que Flore n'est pas une divinité austère (nous reconnaissions là le couple stylistique ἀνθηρόν / αὐστηρόν) et "parce que les guirlandes de fleurs ne sont pas l'apanage des buveurs d'eau pure".³⁸ La mention des "buveurs d'eau pure" nous fait sortir du champ des *realia* de la fête romaine pour nous faire entrer dans le registre métapoétique de la controverse entre ὑδροπόται (admirateurs et imitateurs de Callimaque) et οἰνοπόται.

Columelle revendique lui aussi l'intégration de l'horticulture dans la littérature didactique. En composant sous forme d'hexamètres son livre 10 pour compléter les *Géorgiques* de Virgile, il réalise ce que son modèle avait refusé de faire : intégrer les cultures des légumes et fleurs du jardin dans l'élegie didactique. Son poème est infusé de réflexions stylistiques et métapoétiques comme nous le verrons un peu plus loin. Dans la comparaison que Columelle trace entre le cardon et l'acanthe (en réponse au refus de Virgile de faire entrer dans ses *Géorgiques* la tige de l'acanthe flexible — *flexi . . . uimen acanthi*, qui peut par exemple représenter les raffinements du style des *Bucoliques* de Théocrite), on perçoit tout l'humour d'un auteur qui n'entend pas renoncer aux fleurs dans la littérature technique et qui souhaite même les cultiver.³⁹

La signification des fleurs en poésie est profondément attachée au rôle que différents auteurs ont donné à la cueillette des fleurs (anthologie au sens littéral du terme) ou encore à la couronne florale comme symbole d'un recueil poétique. Comme

Ovide, qui a cultivé des sujets didactiques inattendus, fait ici un clin d'œil très net à son modèle virgilien comme nous l'avons souligné plus haut (p. 93-94) ; s'agit-il à nouveau d'un usage métapoétique du motif de la greffe ? Sur la greffe comme image métapoétique, voir *supra* la section "La greffe des arbres fruitiers".

³⁸ Ov. *Fast.* 5, 342 : *Nec liquidae uinctis flore bibuntur aquae.*

³⁹ Voir COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 237-241, avec les allusions à VERG. *Ecl.* 3, 38-39 et 45 et *Georg.* 4, 123-124. Sur les aspects métapoétiques du poème de Columelle, voir GOWERS 2000 et PRIOUX 2013.

image du recueil composé par un auteur assemblant ses propres compositions, la couronne est peut-être déjà présente chez Théocrite, si l'épigramme 1 Gow–Page est bien de lui. Cette métaphore permet aussi de présenter le travail d'édition et d'assemblage savant réalisé par les anthologistes qui réunissent les œuvres de plusieurs auteurs au sein d'un tout signifiant. La métaphore des fleurs et du tressage de couronnes de fleurs est celle qui structure les préfaces des anthologies poétiques de Méléagre et de Philippe.⁴⁰ Méléagre nomme ainsi 48 auteurs et leur associe à chacun une fleur, une plante aromatique, un fruit ou un type de feuillage qui entre dans la composition d'une couronne imaginaire. Malheureusement l'état de nos connaissances sur la plupart de ces auteurs et sur une partie des végétaux cités nous empêche presque systématiquement de comprendre les raisons qui ont poussé à associer telle fleur et telle poète. Des logiques de comparaison (basées sur la similitude ou l'opposition) sont à l'œuvre dans certains enchaînements : figurent d'abord des fleurs ornementales très fréquemment citées par les auteurs grecs et qui vont correspondre aux représentants archaïques de l'harmonie polie et de la γλυκύτης : roses de Sappho, narcisse de Mélanippide (poète célèbre pour avoir introduit la nouvelle musique dans le dithyrambe, malgré la résistance des partisans de l'ancien style⁴¹), pampre de Simonide. Des auteurs sont associés, par les végétaux qui les représentent, à l'ivresse et à Dionysos ; d'autres sont associés à Apollon ; d'autres encore, à une plante endémique du lieu dont ils sont originaires. Les fleurs des champs, semées par le vent, unissent trois auteurs Hédyle et Posidippe, ainsi qu'Asclépiade : probablement opposées aux fleurs cultivées, ces fleurs des champs renvoient peut-être à une poésie du καϊρός, surgissant en fonction des circonstances.

⁴⁰ Voir les préfaces des deux anthologistes : *Anth. Pal.* 4, 1 (Méléagre) et 2 (Philippe). GUTZWILLER 1998, 87, 280-281 et 286.

⁴¹ Ps.-PLUT. *De mus.* 1141d-e.

Activité typique des pâtres / chanteurs / poètes de Théocrite, le tressage des couronnes est sans doute entré à une époque assez haute parmi les métaphores métapoétiques. Il est employé par Pindare, qui joue sur l'analogie entre la couronne du vainqueur et l'ode qu'il élabore,⁴² mais il figure aussi dans un fragment que la tradition attribue à Simonide : celui-ci aurait, nous indique une source malheureusement tardive, opposé Hésiode, le jardinier, à Homère, le tisseur de couronnes.⁴³ À supposer que ce témoignage soit digne de foi, il convient de souligner l'ancienneté d'une métaphore opposant le jardin productif de la poésie didactique à un objet éphémère procurant le plaisir du chatoiement des couleurs, ou la figure du producteur à celle du rhapsode assemblant des objets qu'il se réapproprie, ou encore cueillant, sous l'effet de l'inspiration divine, les plus chatoyantes fleurs du jardin des Muses. Plutarque, dont la position doit sans doute être rapprochée de la critique de l'excès de fleurs que nous avons vue chez Quintilien, trace une opposition, dans le *Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν*, entre les tresseuses de couronnes qui produisent un objet plaisant, mais éphémère et stérile, et les abeilles qui négligent, dans leur vol, les prairies de fleurs et s'attachent à butiner le thym, certes acré, mais propice à la fabrication du miel : il s'agit pour Plutarque de ne pas s'attacher au style et de ne pas se laisser leurrer par lui, mais se focaliser sur le contenu du discours.⁴⁴

⁴² NÜNLIST 1998, 215-223 distingue plusieurs usages de la métaphore de la couronne florale chez Pindare : 1) comme métaphore de la composition (activité assimilable au tissage ou au fait de tresser des couronnes : cf. PIND. *Nem.* 7, 77 et SIMON. *Eleg.* 22, 15-16) ; 2) comme équivalent poétique de la couronne de la victoire décernée à l'athlète ; 3) comme équivalent de cette couronne décerné au poète lui-même.

⁴³ *Sent. Vat.* 1144 = *FGrHist* 8 F 6. Voir SVENBRO 1976, 193 ; NÜNLIST 1998, 215. La métaphore du poète jardinier se retrouve chez Pindare, ce qui tend à confirmer son ancienneté : PIND. fr. 6b et 288 MAEHLER et *Ol.* 9, 25.

⁴⁴ PLUT. *Quomodo adul.* 8. De manière intéressante tout ou partie de cette comparaison serait apparemment inspiré de Simonide : voir NÜNLIST 1998, 215-216.

La métaphore du tressage des couronnes fait partie non seulement des images métapoétiques les plus fréquentes, mais aussi des quelques motifs métapicturaux que nous pouvons encore reconstituer. Le peintre Pausias (du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.) était connu de la postérité pour sa *Tresseuse* (ou *Vendeuse*) de couronnes,⁴⁵ image d'une courtisane aimée du peintre qui subvenait à sa pauvreté en vendant des couronnes de fleurs et avec les créations de laquelle le peintre aurait voulu rivaliser. De manière intéressante, Pausias est également connu pour ses petits tableaux et ses scènes de genre. La possibilité de lire, dans ces témoignages sur Pausias et sur sa *Tresseuse de couronnes*, la trace des débats relatifs à l'art des peintres vient notamment de ce que nous savons que son contemporain, Nicias, avait une conception très différente du coloris et des sujets convenables à la peinture. Nicias était l'élève d'un certain Antidotos, peintre qualifié par Pline de *in coloribus seuerior* ;⁴⁶ Nicias lui-même était présenté comme le “gardien” de la technique des ombres et des lumières⁴⁷ et aurait critiqué, d'après le Pseudo-Démétrios,⁴⁸ la réalisation de petits tableaux de sujets badins. Le contraste avec Pausias paraît d'autant plus marqué que Pausias était critiqué pour son échec dans la restauration des peintures de Polygnote “parce qu'il avait rivalisé dans un genre qui n'était pas le sien” (*quoniam non suo genere certasset*),⁴⁹ quand Nicias semble avoir représenté, au IV^e siècle av. J.-C., un attachement à la tradition polygnotéenne et aux modèles du V^e siècle av. J.-C.⁵⁰ Pausias, en revanche, aurait pu incarner une forme de peinture nouvelle, tournée vers des petits sujets et distinguée, peut-être, par une nouvelle conception du coloris. Nous retrouvons ici la probable opposition entre le *floridus* et l'*austerus*,

⁴⁵ PLIN. *HN* 35, 125.

⁴⁶ PLIN. *HN* 35, 130.

⁴⁷ PLIN. *HN* 35, 131 : *Lumen et umbras custodiit*.

⁴⁸ DEMETR. *Eloc.* 76.

⁴⁹ PLIN. *HN* 35, 123.

⁵⁰ Nicias est ainsi l'auteur d'une *Nékyia*, tableau qui reprend un sujet traité par Polygnote.

deux concepts probablement utilisés dès le IV^e siècle av. J.-C. dans le cadre d'un débat esthétique opposant Nicias et Pausias.

I.6. Lierre, spirales et volutes

Une autre image métapoétique particulièrement prisée par les poètes et les critiques est celle de la volute. Chez Denys d'Halicarnasse, l'image de la volute ($\epsilon\lambdaι\xi$) sert à décrire une figure de style trop contournée⁵¹ et rejoint l'image des bouclettes et frisettes qui assimilent les raffinements du style de Platon à une chevelure coiffée avec coquetterie. On devine ici que la métaphore des ‘cheveux’ des arbres ou des plantes qui désigne très souvent les frondaisons des végétaux pourra renforcer, dans la description littéraire d'un jardin, la possibilité d'une lecture métaphorique :⁵² il pourra s'agir de confirmer, au premier degré, l'idée selon laquelle le jardin est soigné (à l'instar d'une chevelure coiffée), et de souligner, au deuxième degré, la recherche d'un style orné et poli dans l'écriture.

La volute, qui induit à la fois l'idée d'*ornatus* et de $\lambda\varepsilon\pi\tau\circ\tau\eta\varsigma$ / *tenuitas*, peut elle aussi procéder d'une image métapicturale initialement utilisée par les peintres : comme l'a montré C. Pouzadoux dans une récente étude sur le peintre de Darius,⁵³ les maîtres de la peinture italiote, et particulièrement le peintre de Darius, accordent une importance sans précédent à la représentation en perspective et avec des effets très maîtrisés d'ombre et de lumière, des volutes et spirales végétales (Fig. 3.2). Le contexte funéraire où furent découverts ces vases a le plus souvent conduit à privilégier une lecture eschatologique (le rinceau notamment peuplé de papillons pouvant

⁵¹ DION. HAL. *Thuc.* 48. LOCKWOOD 1937, s.v. $\epsilon\lambdaι\xi$.

⁵² Dans certains textes, c'est la luxuriance excessive qui doit être évitée dans le travail sur les mots et ‘peignée’ par l'action du poète-orateur-jardinier : voir CIC. *De or.* 2, 96 ; HOR. *Epist.* 2, 2, 122-123 (*luxuriantia compescet*).

⁵³ POUZADOUX, à paraître.

représenter la vie éternelle), mais cette lecture doit-elle nécessairement exclure la possibilité d'une lecture métapicturale ? À quel point les peintres ont-ils consciemment développé, en opposition avec d'autres formes de peinture, ce que les chercheurs n'ont pas hésité à qualifier de 'style orné' de la peinture apulienne ? Une telle lecture pourrait justifier l'usage que Théocrite fait des motifs végétaux dans la description de la coupe du chevrier de l'*Idylle 1* (v. 29-31). L'insistance sur le motif de la volute, bien marquée à travers la répétition du terme ἔλιξ, permet de penser que celui-ci joue un rôle précis dans l'allégorie métapoétique que Théocrite entend constituer par la description de la coupe du chevrier.⁵⁴ La volute végétale, motif de bordure qui se substitue à l'Océan qui borde le bouclier d'Achille dans l'*Iliade*, constitue certainement un symbole supplémentaire de l'écriture théocritienne.⁵⁵

I.7. Irrigation

La représentation des sources et canaux d'irrigation des jardins peut largement contribuer à suggérer au lecteur la possibilité d'une interprétation métaphorique du jardin dans la mesure où les sources et cours d'eau sont l'une des images les plus courantes de l'inspiration poétique ou du style.

Une image très importante est, comme nous le verrons, celle du jardinier traçant des rigoles puisqu'elle renvoie à un passage de l'*Iliade* dont le caractère εὔκαιρος ou ἀκαιρός était débattu par les critiques anciens dans le cadre de débats sur la mimesis en littérature et sur ses liens avec le style choisi. Il est malheureusement impossible de décider aujourd'hui si des textes tels que l'épitaphe d'un jardinier célèbre pour avoir tracé de nombreux canaux d'irrigation (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 321) pouvait à l'origine,

⁵⁴ SEGAL 1981, 27 ; HALPERIN 1983, 177-187 ; CAIRNS 1984 ; GUTZWILLER 1991, 91-92 ; FABER 1995, 412-414 ; MÄNNLEIN-ROBERT 2007, 303-305 ; DUBEL 2010, 16-18.

⁵⁵ Sur ce rinceau et ses réécritures à Rome, voir PRIOUX 2013.

et en raison de son contexte original dans un livre de poésie, faire l'objet d'une lecture métapoétique.

I.8. Qualité du sol

Quoi que rarement mentionnée, la qualité du sol, pauvre ou riche, léger ou lourd (*tenuis* ou *gravis*), est l'un des biais par lesquels la description du jardin peut se muer en allégorie du style. L'exemple le plus manifeste se trouve certainement chez Columelle : son évocation du sol adapté au jardin et de la manière de fertiliser ce sol recourt à plusieurs termes descriptifs fréquemment utilisés dans le vocabulaire stylistique. Le *pinguis ager* doit être ameubli jusqu'à ressembler à des *graciles arenae*.⁵⁶ La lecture au premier degré est parfaitement cohérente (comme il est nécessaire dans toute allégorie), mais la réflexion manifeste de Columelle sur son rapport avec l'hypotexte virgilien encourage une deuxième possibilité de lecture, métaphorique cette fois : or, la phrase peut précisément décrire l'évolution stylistique qui caractérise la suite du poème. À l'évocation ampoulée de la fécondation du sol par les semences et la pluie — passage pétri de références mythologiques qui s'achève sur une cosmogonie parodique et qui multiplie, avec emphase, les personnifications des éléments naturels (terre, pluie . . .) — succède le retour du poète vers une *cura leuior* (un soin plus léger) pour *gracili connectere carmina filo* (lier ensemble des vers par un fil tenu — v. 227) : la seconde partie du poème s'attachera donc à décrire la formation des volutes, feuilles et fruits des différentes plantations du jardin.

⁵⁶ COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 6-8 : *Principio sedem numeroso praebeat horto / pinguis ager, putres glebas, resolutaque terga / qui gerit, et fossus gracilis imitatur arenas* ("D'abord qu'un champ fertile, recouvert d'humus, profondément ameubli et qui, creusé, ressemble au sable tenu, fournisse l'emplacement du jardin aux productions nombreuses").

I.9. *Le jardinier et ses outils*

Les modèles homériques conditionnent fortement la représentation des jardiniers : tout comme Laërte cultivant le jardin d'Ulysse, ceux-ci seront, de préférence, des personnages à la fois âgés et très humbles (les épigrammes évoquent ainsi le décès ou la retraite de vieux jardiniers caractérisés par leur pauvreté). Il est probable que les motifs de l'âge et de l'apparence humble du jardinier aient été retravaillés par Philitas de Cos dans un texte que nous ne conservons pas⁵⁷ et que ce texte ait fortement influencé les représentations littéraires que l'époque hellénistique puis impériale donna de ce métier. Le modèle d'*Iliade* 21 fait de la μάκελλα ou δίκελλα (hoyau) l'outil le plus typique du jardinier, et cet outil se retrouve dans plusieurs descriptions épigrammatiques de jardiniers.

Avec l'intérêt que lui a probablement réservé Philitas de Cos, le jardinier est, semble-t-il, entré parmi les figures d'humbles travaillées par les poètes hellénistiques. Plusieurs épigrammes s'attachent à évoquer la religiosité des humbles et, parmi eux, certains textes laissent une place aux jardiniers : des épigrammes mentionnent ainsi des offrandes de jardiniers, soit que ceux-ci effectuent un sacrifice en action de grâces pour leur récolte, soit qu'ils offrent au dieu, au moment de cesser leur activité, leurs instruments de travail. Ces épigrammes sont conçues sur le modèle d'autres textes, très nombreux, qui s'attachent à la description des outils de travail des *humiles* (chasseurs, bûcherons, prostituées . . .). Il me semble qu'une partie au moins de ces textes peuvent faire l'objet d'une lecture métapoétique. L'un d'eux (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 21) nous livre une description efficace des principaux attributs du jardinier. La présence de la δίκελλα jointe à la description métaphorique des rigoles (διχετῶν) de l'arrosoir et à l'insistance sur le motif du cours d'eau qui est induite par le nom même du jardinier (Potamôn) me conduit

⁵⁷ Voir BOWIE 1985 et PHILITAS fr. 30 LIGHTFOOT.

à penser que ce texte servait initialement d'*explicit* à une section d'épigrammes et qu'il était basé sur une comparaison entre culture du jardin et rédaction des épigrammes.

II. Étude de cas : la réflexion stylistique dans les descriptions de jardins de la Seconde Sophistique

II.1. Longus

C'est en m'appuyant sur ces réflexions préliminaires que je souhaite analyser la nature de la réflexion métalittéraire qui semble se jouer dans certaines descriptions de jardins de l'époque impériale. Mon propos ne consiste pas à nier le rôle de ces descriptions dans l'économie générale de l'œuvre, leur fonction dans le récit, mais de proposer une lecture polysémique de ces mêmes passages. Par la confrontation entre plusieurs descriptions de jardins, je souhaite montrer comme chaque auteur définit son propre jardin dans une logique d'auto-représentation qui passe avant tout par la différenciation entre son jardin et celui d'autres auteurs.

Longus propose deux descriptions de jardin étroitement liées entre elles : la première est le jardin de Philétas au début du livre 2,⁵⁸ la seconde est celle du parc de Dionysophanès⁵⁹ au début du livre 4.⁶⁰ Ces deux descriptions qui surviennent à chaque fois au début de l'automne soulignent la structure du récit marquée par le cycle des saisons. Elles contribuent à former l'architecture régulière de l'œuvre puisque c'est à mi-chemin

⁵⁸ LONGUS 2, 3, 3-5.

⁵⁹ LONGUS 4, 1, 2-4, 4, 1, ainsi que 8, 1 et 8, 3 pour la description du parc après sa destruction.

⁶⁰ Pour une réflexion plus générale sur la fonction du paysage comme image du style chez Longus (avec un intérêt particulier pour le rôle de modèle structurant que joue, pour Longus, le *locus amoenus* du *Phèdre* de Platon), voir HUNTER 1997, 24-26.

entre ces descriptions que s'ouvre le livre 3. Ces descriptions de jardins, pour topiques qu'elles soient dans le roman grec, n'en sont pas moins remarquables dans un roman qui se situe dans l'univers pastoral, autrement dit chez les tesseurs de couronnes des *Idylles* de Théocrite ou des *Bucoliques* de Virgile⁶¹ et non dans le monde des jardiniers géorgiques.

Un premier indice de la qualité réflexive du jardin de Philétas tient à l'emploi, par le jardinier, du mot ἐξεπονησάμην, déjà employé par le narrateur dans le prologue pour évoquer la composition des quatre livres de *Daphnis et Chloé*.⁶² Ici, Philétas associe cette notion de πονός (d'élaboration de l'œuvre par le travail) à celle des saisons (Ὥραι) qui évoquent aussi les Heures, déesses liées à l'idée de beauté et d'agencement heureux. Au sujet de son jardin, Philétas affirme en effet : "(ce jardin) que j'ai élaboré par mon travail possède tout ce que les saisons apportent, chacune en son temps propre" (ὅν . . . ἐξεπονησάμην ὅστις ὥραι φέρουσι, πάντα ἔχων ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ὥραν ἔκάστην).⁶³ Cette phrase pourrait aussi bien définir le roman de *Daphnis et Chloé*, œuvre du πονός développant des tableaux successifs des saisons. Que le maître mot de la description de Philétas soit la mention des ὥραι est confirmé par la présentation καθ' ὥραν de ses productions, saison par saison. Le nom de Philétas évoque, comme on l'a souvent remarqué, celui du poète Philitas de Cos qui fut le professeur de Théocrite, le modèle admiré de la première génération de poètes hellénistiques. Associé à la notion de λεπτότης (subtilité et finesse),⁶⁴

⁶¹ Sur la fonction intertextuelle du paysage bucolique des *Pastorales* de Longus qui contribue à installer le lecteur dans un dialogue permanent avec les poèmes de Théocrite, voir CUSSET 2005.

⁶² LONGUS *Prol.* 3 ; 2, 3, 3.

⁶³ LONGUS 2, 3, 3.

⁶⁴ La λεπτότης de Philitas de Cos est, semble-t-il, à la fois physique (maigre) et stylistique (subtilité et raffinement du style tenu). Sur la minceur voire la maigreur maladive de Philitas, voir ATH. 12, 552b ; AEL. VH 9, 14 ; 10, 6. Pour la poésie de Philitas comme paradigme de la λεπτότης stylistique, voir PROP. 3, 1, 5-8 et 2, 1, 6, à comparer, sans doute, avec CALLIM. fr. 532 PFEIFFER. Voir BERNSDORFF 2002, 11-44 (*pace* CAMERON 1995, 488-493) et SPANOUDAKIS 2001, ainsi que PRIOUX 2007, 51-56.

le souvenir du poète Philitas de Cos est aussi étroitement associé, comme le suggère le texte de Properce, à l'image métapoétique de la source d'eau pure : l'*eau de Philitas*.⁶⁵ Aussi est-il intéressant de voir que, chez Longus, l'ecphrasis du jardin de Philétas s'achève sur l'évocation remarquable de trois sources qui l'arroSENT.⁶⁶

On note, dans ce jardin, une préférence pour les fleurs que le Boucaios de Théocrite présente comme les meilleures fleurs pour la fabrication de couronnes.⁶⁷ Le κῆπος est ici l'œuvre d'un ancien tisseur de couronnes et semble pensé en vue du tressage de couronnes. Il rassemble en outre des fleurs qui sont, par leur couleur sombre, régulièrement associées au brun Daphnis,⁶⁸ et des fleurs que l'on peut aisément associer, par leur blancheur ou leur teinte rosée, à la carnation de la blonde Chloé.⁶⁹ Les productions du jardin symbolisent donc l'union des deux amants et les plantes qui s'y rencontrent sont souvent associées à Aphrodite : le pavot, comme notre marguerite, servait à prédire l'amour,⁷⁰ la rose et le myrtle sont les plantes d'Aphrodite. Mais le myrtle est aussi associé à Dionysos qui est bien présent dans ce texte où coule l'eau de Philitas. La description du jardin est en effet précédée par une description des vendanges où Daphnis et Chloé font les bacchants et Philétas évoque la présence, dans son jardin, de grenades et de raisins qui sont associés à la sphère dionysiaque.⁷¹ Le jardin de Philétas ne symboliserait donc pas seulement l'union amoureuse des deux amants, mais aussi l'union entre l'eau de Philitas et l'ivresse dionysiaque,⁷² ce qui, d'un point de vue métalittéraire, ne peut laisser indifférent. Ce dernier trait de l'ecphrasis

⁶⁵ PROP. 3, 3, 51-52.

⁶⁶ LONGUS 2, 3, 5.

⁶⁷ THEOCR. *Id.* 10, 28-29 ; LEMBACH 1970, *s.vv.* μάκων ; ἥον, λευκότον.

⁶⁸ Voir LONGUS 3, 20, 3 ; 4, 16, 1 ; 4, 17, 5. Voir aussi 1, 24, 3.

⁶⁹ Chloé a des lèvres de rose : LONGUS 1, 18, 1. Voir aussi 1, 24, 3.

⁷⁰ LEMBACH 1970, 163, *s.v.* μάκων.

⁷¹ Voir aussi, sur les aspects dionysiaques du jardin de Philétas, ALPERS 2001.

⁷² L'expression de Properce (4, 6, 4) *Philiteis corymbis* pourrait suggérer que l'alliance du vin et de l'eau pure pouvait déjà apparaître chez Philitas : le mélange

du jardin contribue en outre à lier étroitement l'ouverture du livre 2 à l'ouverture du livre 4 et à sa description du parc de Dionysophanès. La liaison entre les deux passages est comme symbolisée par l'inversion spéculaire d'une métaphore : celle de la vigne comme lierre ou du lierre comme vigne. Décrivant au début du livre 2 les vignes basses de Lesbos, le narrateur explique qu'à Lesbos toute la vigne est basse et qu'elle ressemble en fait à du lierre rampant.⁷³

Ce passage reçoit deux réponses dans la description du parc au livre 4 : en effet, les essences forestières du parc sont couvertes de lierre "en guise de vigne et ses ombelles, énormes et noirâtres, imitaient les grappes de raisin".⁷⁴ La végétation de Lesbos, celle des vignes, mais surtout celle du parc sont donc placées sous le signe de la mimesis artistique, les plantes n'étant pas ce qu'elles semblent être ou imitant d'autres plantes. La relation d'inversion entre les deux passages est complétée par l'évocation d'une "treille haute",⁷⁵ vigne sublime au milieu des vignes basses qui souligne le caractère utopique du parc de Dionysophanès. De fait, ce parc prolonge, amplifie et réinterprète, sur le mode de la grandeur, la parenthèse géorgique du jardin de Philétas en présentant un parc d'inspiration royale, reproduisant, comme l'a montré P. Grimal, le modèle des jardins royaux à la Perse,⁷⁶ mais soigné par un simple berger, Lamon, qui ne rechigne pas devant les tâches les plus concrètes comme l'enlèvement du fumier. Ce parc dit, me semble-t-il, toute l'ambiguïté des *Pastorales* de Longus et leur rapport complexe avec la représentation de la nature.

Au centre stichométrique de l'ecphrasis, on rencontre le terme τέχνης, dans un oxymore :⁷⁷ ή τούτων φύσις εἶναι τέχνης

des styles faisait-il partie de ses ambitions esthétiques ou de celles que lui prenaient ses lecteurs ?

⁷³ LONGUS 2, 1, 4.

⁷⁴ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου . . . καὶ ὁ κόρυμβος αὐτοῦ μέγας ὃν καὶ μελαινόμενος βότρυν ἐμμεῖτο, LONGUS 4, 2, 3.

⁷⁵ ἄμπελον ὑψηλήν, LONGUS 4, 2, 2.

⁷⁶ GRIMAL 1957, 211-214.

⁷⁷ LONGUS 4, 2, 5.

("la nature de ces plantes relevait de l'art"). Ce terme place d'emblée le parc du côté de l'artifice qui permet de créer un paysage agréable aux yeux. Ce paysage est marqué par la symétrie des structures végétales qui se déploient en cercles concentriques.⁷⁸ Le texte suggère aussi cette organisation spatiale grâce à la symétrie des groupes syntaxiques qui se déploient de part et d'autre du centre de la description.⁷⁹

Comme dans le jardin de Philétas, les saisons jouent leur rôle avec des productions qui apparaissent *κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν*, mais la suite des événements compliquera les choses. Le texte, en disant le saccage du jardin causé par Lampis au début de l'automne, évoque la destruction des fleurs de printemps déracinées, ainsi que le deuil des abeilles qui continuent de chercher à y butiner, et le courage des quelques fleurs survivantes.⁸⁰ La description va ainsi à l'encontre de l'impression selon laquelle les saisons se succéderaient amenant chacune sa production spécifique. Le parc de Dionysophanès est, avant tout, un produit de la *τέχνη* grâce à laquelle coexistent dans le texte, de manière fictive et à la façon de tableaux juxtaposés ou d'une narration continue au sein d'une même peinture, les vues de l'automne et du printemps. Comme l'a souligné Richard Hunter, ce parc est en outre soigné par Lamon de manière à convenir à l'image que les maîtres habitant en ville se font de l'univers pastoral.⁸¹ Le fumier et les branches mortes sont ôtés et il nettoie les sources pour les rendres pures (*καθαρόν*). Ce dernier motif nous renvoie à l'image métapoétique bien connue de la source, mais Longus a la particularité de suggérer l'avant et l'après : la source pastorale n'est pas naturellement pure, elle l'est par *τέχνη*. La technique de vendange est en outre modifiée pour que les gens de la ville aient le "tableau et le plaisir de la vendange" :⁸² on sélectionne en effet les plus belles grappes

⁷⁸ Voir GRIMAL 1957.

⁷⁹ Pour une analyse plus détaillée de ces symétries, voir PRIOUX, à paraître (b).

⁸⁰ LONGUS 4, 8, 1.

⁸¹ HUNTER 1996, 374.

⁸² *εἰκόνι καὶ ἡδονῇ . . . τρυγητοῦ*, LONGUS 4, 5, 2.

pour les détacher avec leurs sarments, tandis qu'on presse déjà les moins belles. Comme l'a souligné R. Hunter, les soins de la campagne sont ainsi pensés en fonction d'un spectateur qui connaît la campagne par la médiation des fresques et des images de paysages qui ornent sa demeure, autrement dit par la médiation quotidienne de l'art plus que par un contact réel (qui demeure, lui, occasionnel).⁸³ Cette ambiguïté du traitement réservé au parc de Dionysophanès et à la vendange qui précède la venue du maître rappelle le prologue et la fiction selon laquelle l'ensemble du récit serait tiré d'images peintes.⁸⁴

Comme l'a montré O. Schönberger, les noms et l'ordre de succession des espèces évoquées dans l'ecphrasis du parc de Dionysophanès suggèrent que ce passage est une réécriture de la description du jardin d'Alcinoos dans l'*Odyssée*.⁸⁵ Cette remarque nous permet de comprendre pourquoi les saisons, clairement distinguées dans le cas du jardin de Philétas, tendent ici à se confondre : le modèle du passage est un jardin épique et merveilleux qui produit en toute saison.

Tableau n° 1 : Comparaison entre le jardin de Dionysophanès et le jardin d'Alcinoos (d'après ALPERS 2001, 44).

Longus (4, 2)	<i>Odyssée</i> (7, 114-132)
1. δένδρα	1. δένδρα (114)
2. μηλέας	4. μηλέαι (115)
3. μυρρίνας	—
4. ὄχνας	2. ὄγχναι (115)
5. ροιάς	3. ροιαί (115)
6. συκᾶς	5. συκέαι (116)
7. ἐλαῖας	6. ἐλαῖαι (116)
8. πρασιάτ	9. πρασιάτ (127)
9. ἄμπελον	7. σταφυλή (121)
10. περιάζουσα	8. ὑποπεριάζουσιν (126)

⁸³ HUNTER 1996, 374.

⁸⁴ LONGUS *Prol.* 1-2.

⁸⁵ SCHÖNBERGER 1960, 174 ; ALPERS 2001, 43-44.

Les différences entre la flore nommée par Homère et celle nommée par Longus sont probablement aussi significatives que les ressemblances. Longus ajoute ainsi le myrte, associé à Aphrodite et à Dionysos. Il développe aussi la nature des πρασιά (carrés) dont Homère suggérait l'éclat en toute saison : Longus peuple ses πρασιά de fleurs. Il y associe des fleurs claires et des fleurs sombres et sélectionne particulièrement les fleurs à couronnes de Théocrite, ainsi que d'autres fleurs dont Daphnis et Chloé ont eux-mêmes, plus haut, tressé des couronnes pour les nymphes, comme l'ἀναγλαλίς — pimprenelle, plante médicinale vantée pour ses vertus asséchantes mais qui n'a de décoratif que le nom puisqu'elle évoque le verbe ἀγλαλεῖθαι ("faire le coquet / la coquette, minauder"), présent chez Théocrite au sujet d'une volute végétale ornant la coupe du chevrier de l'*Idylle 1*.⁸⁶ Le jardin se transforme donc en jardin des mots de Théocrite et de la τέχνη poétique où les citations poétiques participent, comme l'a montré R. Hunter, à la γλυκύτης de la prose, suivant les préceptes que l'on rencontre, par exemple, chez Hermogène.⁸⁷

Il me semble que Longus incite aussi son lecteur à considérer quelles étaient les qualités stylistiques prêtées par les critiques au passage d'Homère dont il s'inspire — la description du jardin d'Alcinoos — et à reconnaître, dans son propre texte, une volonté d'émulation à l'égard de ces mêmes qualités stylistiques. Commentant le jardin d'Alcinoos, Eustathe loue en effet la belle ordonnance du texte homérique, son ornement qui repose sur la disposition d'une série d'homéotéleutes, ainsi que l'observation de la nature de chaque plante.⁸⁸ La critique ancienne, au moins dès Aristote comme nous l'apprend une anecdote citée par Eustathe dans le même passage, associait ce passage d'Homère à l'idée de χάρις (grâce).

⁸⁶ THEOCR. *Id.* 1, 31.

⁸⁷ HUNTER 1996, 372.

⁸⁸ EUSTATH. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 7, 120.

Plus encore que le jardin de Philétas, le parc de Dionysophanès symbolise l'alliance du vin et de l'eau : la description de la source de Daphnis et sa position, en fin de description, après l'évocation du pavillon dionysiaque, a une fonction précise. L'agencement du texte permet ainsi de confronter le cycle de peintures mythologiques qui rappellent, dans le pavillon, le pouvoir irrésistible de Dionysos avec l'image de la source épuisée par Lamon. Cette juxtaposition souligne, je pense, la nature double du texte qui se présente comme le résultat d'une alliance entre l'écriture enthousiaste du buveur de vin et l'exactitude du πόνος du buveur d'eau pure et fraîche.

II.2. Philostrate

Ces remarques sur Longus m'amènent à constater une convergence avec les *Eikones* de Philostrate, et avec un tableau qui, si son titre (*Xenia*) l'éloigne *a priori* de la description de paysage, n'en est pas moins une autre réécriture du jardin d'Alcinoos. Le tableau qui m'intéresse ici est le dernier du livre 1 : une 'nature morte'.⁸⁹ Or, ce tableau reproduit, avec des reprises textuelles, certains vers de l'ecphrasis homérique du jardin d'Alcinoos. Le livre qui s'était ouvert avec la description du Scamandre, dont le rapport avec le texte homérique est dit et commenté par le rhéteur dans l'ecphrasis, s'achève ainsi avec un souvenir d'Homère, qui est, pour nous, assez discret, mais qui devait l'être beaucoup moins pour les lecteurs de Philostrate.⁹⁰ L'Homère que cite Philostrate est donc à la fois celui du combat du Scamandre contre Héphaïstos et de l'eau prenant feu, et celui du jardin d'Alcinoos dont Aristote célébrait la grâce. Philostrate souligne ainsi implicitement la capacité

⁸⁹ PHILOSTR. *Imag.* 1, 31.

⁹⁰ *Imag.* 1, 1. On comparera *Od.* 7, 120 ("Ογχνη ἐπ' ὅγχνη γηράσκει, μῆλον δ' ἐπὶ μῆλῳ : "y mûrit poire sur poire, pomme sur pomme") et PHILOSTR. *Imag.* 1, 31, 2 (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅγχνας ἐπ' ὅγχναις ὅρα καὶ μῆλα ἐπὶ μῆλοις : "vois, aussi, les poires sur les poires, les pommes sur les pommes").

d'Homère a exceller à la fois dans le grand style et dans la γλυκύτης, jusqu'à inspirer au rhéteur la description d'une nature morte, autrement dit un tableau d'ampleur et de sujet bien plus humbles que le commencement épique du recueil.

La réécriture du texte homérique s'accompagne donc d'une réflexion critique sur le style. À partir des exemples de Longus et de Philostrate, on acquiert l'impression que les allusions au jardin d'Alcinoos constituent, pour la Seconde Sophistique, un lieu privilégié d'auto-représentation du texte. De fait, c'est sans doute au II^e siècle ap. J.-C., peut-être quelques décennies avant la rédaction de *Daphnis et Chloé* et des *Eikones*, qu'une inscription gravée sur un hermès dans l'*ager Labicanus* rapproche du jardin d'Alcinoos le jardin d'un lettré (découvert en 1758, dans les vestiges d'une importante villa située sur les premières pentes du colle Mattia, au Casale Ciuffa), présenté comme un bosquet consacré aux Camènes où l'on offrira aux vrais amateurs de poésie des couronnes de lierre (Fig. 3.3a-b).⁹¹

⁹¹ CIL XIV 2773 et 2774 ; CLE 886 (voir aussi CIG III 6186 = KAIBEL 1878, n° 829 = IG XIV 1011) :

Hortulus hic uari

Est opus Alcinoi.

Hunc · sacrum · Aoniis · lucum dic · esse · Camoenis,
ostendens · libros · heic · prope sub · platani.
Nos · agere · excubias · atque huc · si · dignus · amator
se · ferat · huic · hederae mollia · sertा · damus.
Ἄλσος μὲν Μούσας ἵερὸν / λέγε τοῦτον ἀνακείσθαι, /
τὰς βύβλους δεῖξας τὰς παρὰ / ταῖς πλατάνοις, /
ἡμᾶς δὲ φρουρεῖν καὶ γνήσιος ἐνθάδ' ἐραστῆς /
ἔλθῃ τῷ κισσῷ τοῦτον ἀν[α]στέργουμεν.

“Ce petit jardin est l'œuvre d'Alcinoos aux mille ressources” (*ou, suivant une autre interprétation possible : “Voici le petit jardin de Varus, œuvre d'Alcinoos”*).

“Dis que ce bosquet est consacré aux Muses et fais un signe en direction des livres qui sont auprès des platanes. Dis que nous les gardons et que lorsqu'un véritable amateur vient à passer dans ces lieux, nous le couronnons de lierre.”

L'interprétation qui fait de *uarius* un adjectif est due à VON PREMERSTEIN ; celle qui en fait un nom propre est due à DESSAU. L'inscription qui court de “Hunc sacrum” à “serta damus” ainsi que l'inscription grecque étaient gravées sur les troncs d'hermès acéphales sciés et retaillés à l'époque moderne (Citée du Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Gall. Lapidaria, *paries* XXIII, insc. n° 80-81, inv.

II.3. Achille Tatius

Cette contribution se limitera à quelques remarques très brèves sur Achille Tatius et son jardin de Clitophon.⁹² Il s'agit, comme pour le parc de Dionysophanès, d'un *paradeisos* et une relation d'intertextualité entre les deux textes paraît probable.

Dans ce jardin, je ne retiendrais que quelques motifs servant à décrire la croissance des végétaux : celle des végétaux entrelacés comme les éléments d'une vannerie, d'un tissu ou d'une coiffure (*περιπλοκαί*, *συμπλοκαί*, *ταῖς περιπλοκαῖς* [1, 15, 2-3]) et l'image banalisée dans la langue grecque du feuillage comme chevelure ou couronne (*φαδινῇ τῇ κόμῃ*, *στέφανος*, *βόστρυχος τοῦ φυτοῦ* [1, 15, 3-4]). Achille Tatius insiste, par le jeu des répétitions, sur ces deux motifs qui se trouvent être, chez Denys d'Halicarnasse et dans le peu que nous pouvons reconstituer de la critique littéraire hellénistique, des images du style orné et du raffinement du style ou de la composition

n° 7689-7690). Il n'est pas aisément de déterminer, dans la bibliographie relative à cette découverte, si les deux inscriptions de quatre vers étaient gravées sur les deux faces d'un hermès peut-être bicéphale ou si elles figuraient sur les troncs de deux hermès différents tous deux retaillés en vue de leur intégration dans la paroi de la Galleria lapidaria du Vatican. Le motif de l'amateur possédé par les Muses et accueilli par elles s'inspire peut-être de Platon, *Phdr.* 245a. Nous soulignons l'inscription formée de deux hémisphères qui passe pour avoir été lue à l'époque moderne, mais qui n'est pas conservée aujourd'hui. Cette inscription aurait été découverte sur le tronc d'un hermès exhumé en 1791 (encore une fois, il n'est pas aisément de déterminer à partir des documents conservés si cet hermès ne fait qu'un avec celui — ou l'un de ceux ? — portant les deux autres inscriptions). Une inscription fragmentaire gravée sur une table de marbre (attestée dans la collection Ciuffa à Rome en 1884, mais perdue depuis) faisait probablement partie du même ensemble retrouvé à La Colonna, avec, cette fois, soit l'éloge d'un acteur soit l'évocation d'un spectacle : *CIL XIV 2771*. Un autre exemple de *mouseion* au cœur d'un jardin (avec vignes, fleurs et bosquets) célébré dans un *carmen epigraphicum* gravé sur un hermès (peut-être un hermès double coiffé d'un portrait de Socrate et de Caton) a été retrouvé à Frattocchie (*AE* 1927, 121 = COURTNEY 50). Sur ces inscriptions voir FIORELLI 1882 ; 1883 ; 1884 ; LANCIANI 1884 ; TOMASSETTI 1903 ; VON PREMERSTEIN 1908.

⁹² ACH. TAT. 1, 15-16 ; BIRAUD 1995 a étudié les structures syntaxiques en miroir qui composent cette description.

(Denys parle ainsi des ‘frisettes’ de Platon⁹³). Tout comme Longus, Achille Tatius unit l’eau et le vin, filant la métaphore du calice des fleurs auprès du miroir des eaux (1, 15, 5-6). Le texte insiste, à travers ses nombreuses métaphores, sur le motif de l’art, de l’image ou de l’ornement. Les colonnes du portique forment un chœur de danse (1, 15, 1), l’eau est le miroir des fleurs (1, 15, 6), les plumes des oiseaux sont comme des fleurs (1, 15, 8) et la queue du paon comme une prairie (1, 16, 3). Cette fois, le centre stichométrique de la première partie de la description⁹⁴ coïncide avec les notions de *ποικιλία* (*ποικίλην . . . τὴν χροιάν*) et surtout de *κάλλος* (1, 15, 5). L’idée de *ποικιλία* correspond tout à fait au traitement de la couleur qui est beaucoup plus affirmé dans ce texte qui s’arrête sur des détails tels que le calice des fleurs, ce que Longus ne faisait pas du tout. L’insistance sur l’ornement est ici extrême.

J’aimerais enfinachever ce court panorama par l’examen d’un dernier jardin : la prairie du tableau d’Europe qui est, dans la peinture par laquelle s’ouvre le roman de *Leucippé et Clitophon* (1, 1, 2 - 1, 1, 13), réinterprétée comme un jardin clos (ou peut-être comme un champ de fleurs entouré d’une clôture). Ce jardin présente des *πρασιάτ* (carrés) de fleurs (1, 1, 4) poussant, avec ordre, en rangées (*στοιχηδόν*) — une prairie où domine donc la *τέχνη* d’un jardin faisant écho aux parcs royaux des Perses. Dans ce jardin, les fleurs s’abritent de la chaleur du soleil en étant disposées sous le couvert des arbres, et la présence de canaux délimitant les carrés et les irriguant est essentielle. Or, c’est précisément à ces canaux que s’attache, curieusement, l’ecphrasis en présentant — au cœur du tableau de l’enlèvement d’Europe — un humble fontainier (*όχετηγγός τις*) qui, avec son hoyau, fait sauter des mottes de terres pour dessiner les chemins de l’eau :

⁹³ DION. HAL. *Comp.* 25 (métaphore des frisettes de cheveux). Sur le motif de l’entrelacement des frondaisons végétales comme image métapoétique, voir aussi SEGAL 1977, 40-41.

⁹⁴ Par ‘première partie’, je me réfère au paragraphe 1, 15 (le paragraphe 1, 16 est en effet plus proprement centré sur le paon).

"On avait représenté un homme en train de dériver l'eau, un hoyau à la main et qui, courbé sur un chenal, livrait passage au courant."⁹⁵

Cette image, qui suit parfaitement les préceptes des rhéteurs sur les moyens d'obtenir de la γλυκύτης,⁹⁶ est, comme l'ont noté les commentateurs, un emprunt à une comparaison épique de l'*Iliade* :

"Qui n'a vu un homme tracer des rigoles partant d'une source sombre, pour guider le cours de l'eau à travers plants et jardins ? Un hoyau à la main, il fait sauter ce qui obstrue chaque canal. L'eau alors se précipite, roulant en masse les cailloux, et vivement s'écoule, murmurante, sur la pente du terrain, dépassant même celui qui la conduit. De même, à chaque instant, le flux atteint Achille, si prompt qu'il puisse être : les dieux sont plus forts que les hommes ! A chaque fois le divin Achille aux pieds infatigables songe à se retourner et à faire front ; . . . à chaque fois, le flux puissant du fleuve tombé du ciel déferle sur ses épaules . . ."⁹⁷

L'élément qui retient mon attention dans cette citation homérique est qu'Achille Tatius introduit une scène géorgique comme un intrus dans la description de la prairie d'Europe et transforme ainsi l'enlèvement d'Europe en scène de jardin.

⁹⁵ ACH. TAT. 1, 1, 6, trad. J.-PH. GARNAUD : Ὁχετηγός τις ἐγέγραπτο δίκελλαν κατέχων καὶ περὶ μίαν ἀμάραν κεκυφώς καὶ ἀνοίγων τὴν ὄδον τῷ βεύματι.

⁹⁶ Voir supra n. 87.

⁹⁷ Il. 21, 257-266 et 268-269, trad. P. MAZON :

ώς δ' οἵ ἀνήρ ὁχετηγός ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
ἀμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ύδον ἡγεμονεύῃ
χερσὶ μάκελλαν ἔχων, ἀμάρης ἔξ ἔχματα βάλλων.
τοῦ μὲν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ φηφίδες ἀπασπαὶ
ὁχλεῦνται· τὸ δέ τ' ὅκα κατειθόμενον κελαρύζει
χώρῳ ἔνι προαλεῖ, φθάνει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα·
δῶς αἰεὶ Ἀχιλῆα κινήσατο κῦμα ρόοιο
καὶ λαιψηρὸν ἔόντα· θεοὶ δέ τε φέρτεροι ἀνδρῶν.
ὅσσακι δ' ὀρμήσει ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς
στῆναι ἐναντίβιον . . .
τοσσάκι μιν μέγα κῦμα διπετέος ποταμοῖο
πλάξ" ὅμους καθύπερθεν . . .

Mais il faut aussi souligner que cet homme est tout droit tiré de l'un des passages les plus controversés de l'*Iliade* et qu'il est parfois perçu par la critique ancienne comme un intrus dans le texte homérique. Douris de Samos reprochait à Homère de s'être tellement employé à décrire l'action du fontainier qu'il empêchait ses lecteurs de se former une image mentale du Scamandre, car ce qu'il décrivait — le fontainier creusant des rigoles — était trop en deçà du danger et du bruit fracassant du Scamandre : Homère, et ses lecteurs à sa suite, perdaient entièrement de vue la violence du fleuve.⁹⁸ Le Pseudo-Démétrios loue en revanche les qualités d'ένάργεια de ce passage homérique : sa capacité à susciter la formation d'images mentales dépendrait en effet de la précision rigoureuse et du souci du détail qui caractérisent ici la description de l'action du fontainier (ἀκριβολογία).⁹⁹

Ce passage homérique était par ailleurs connu pour le poli de son façonnage (*γλαφυρὸν πλάσμα*) et c'est, je pense, dans l'idée de livrer une image de ses préoccupations esthétiques qu'Achille Tatius a retenu ce détail dans la peinture d'un jardin qui n'en est pas un au seuil de son roman. Tout comme Homère, il a, semble-t-il, plaisir à se perdre dans les détails et à façonner un texte *γλαφυρόν*, ce qu'il assume — semble-t-il nous dire par cette image — parfaitement.

À travers ce bref parcours dans les jardins de la Seconde Sophistique, j'espère avoir montré comme les détails de la

⁹⁸ DURIS fr. 89 JACOBY (probablement extrait des *Problèmes homériques* de Douris) (= *Schol. Gen. ad Il. 21*, 257) : ἔπειτο μεγάλωι ὄρυματῶι· ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνήρ ὀχετηγός οὐτελ.] τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ ἐνέθηκε γλαφυρὸν πλάσμα. Δοῦρις δ' ἀπιδέπται τὴν εἰκόναν ὡς τοῦ ὄρυματῶο καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐνδεεστέραν καὶ φησι: “ταῦτα διὰ <τὸ> τὴν ἐν τοῖς κήποις ὑδραγωγίαν ἐκμιμεῖσθαι λανθάνει πως τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας, ὡστε μηδεμιάν ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν πρὸς δὲ πεποίηκε” (“le poursuivait toujours avec un bruit fracassant. Ainsi, lorsqu'un fontainier” etc.) En façonnant son style, il (= Homère) lui a donné un *aspect poli*. Douris reproche à cette image d'être trop en deçà du bruit fracassant et du danger et écrit : “les lecteurs perdent plus ou moins ces choses de vue (= le bruit fracassant et le danger), car il (= Homère) s'emploie à dépeindre l'adduction d'eau dans les jardins ; de ce fait, ils ne se forment pas la moindre notion de ce qu'il (= le Scamandre) a fait”).

⁹⁹ DEMETR. *Eloc.* 209.

description du jardin peuvent être signifiants et permettre à chaque auteur de mettre en évidence sa singularité. Ces descriptions de jardins sont à la fois des lieux d'auto-représentation du texte et de réflexion sur le style d'Homère et sur son rôle comme source de la prose impériale.

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DISCUSSION

S. Dalley: It is interesting that symmetry is so desirable in Egyptian and Roman gardens and then in the garden descriptions of Second Sophistic authors that you studied, compared with the Assyrian attempt explicitly to imitate a natural, mountain environment without symmetry.

É. Prioux: La symétrie fait partie des principes de composition qui caractérisent à la fois les productions artistiques grecques et romaines et les jardins de l'époque impériale. Dans les descriptions de jardins de la Seconde Sophistique, il est intéressant de remarquer comme le texte s'efforce de mimer cette symétrie, comme si l'espace du jardin pouvait être transcrit dans la composition du texte. Les descriptions de Longus et d'Achille Tatus jouent sur des effets de stichométrie, plus largement connus pour la poésie que pour la prose (probablement parce que le vers constitue, aux yeux du lecteur moderne, une unité pré définie moins contingente que la ligne qui dépend des éditions), mais dont Nina Braginskaya et Dmitri Leonov ont par exemple démontré la présence dans les descriptions de tableaux de Philostrate l'Ancien.¹ Ces textes jouent en effet sur la possibilité qu'a le lecteur de repérer visuellement (peu importent la régularité et le nombre de caractères par ligne, du moment que l'écriture est à peu près régulière !) la ligne centrale d'une section donnée du texte dans l'édition dont il dispose et de constater ainsi quel élément l'auteur a choisi de mettre en valeur au centre de cette section. Le lecteur peut aussi facilement percevoir les effets de symétrie qui se déploient à peu de distance du milieu de la section qu'il considère. Il est,

¹ BRAGINSKAYA & LEONOV 2006.

en soi, intéressant de constater que ces effets de symétrie très maîtrisés apparaissent dans des descriptions de tableaux et dans des descriptions de jardins.

R. Lane Fox: Poets vary in their exact reference and awareness of flowers and natural flora. In English poetry, Shakespeare, John Clare, and D.H. Lawrence (in his travel writings) are the most observant. Theocritus is not only metapoetic. The flowers in many of his *Idylls* have been traced especially to Cos and the Dodecanese. The brilliant field botanist, John Raven, has recognized that the combination of flowers and plants at the end of *Idyll 7* belongs in one, and only one, valley on Cos (see the publication of Raven's 1976 Grey Lectures at Cambridge University).²

É. Prioux: La compétence ‘scientifique’ de Théocrite dans le domaine botanique, qui a été démontrée par Alice Lindsell et par la fascinante étude de Raven que vous citez, pose le problème de sa formation et des lieux où se jouent la ou les rencontre(s) que je crois cruciale(s) entre Théocrite de Syracuse et Philitas de Cos. Selon Lindsell, l'examen de la flore théocritéenne montre la profonde connaissance que le poète a de la garrigue des îles grecques (avec, notamment, ses cardons et ses cardons), plus que de celle de la Sicile. Ce constat va dans le sens d'une formation botanique reçue à Cos (peut-être dans le contexte de l'école médicale de Cos) — île où Théocrite a aussi vraisemblablement suivi l'enseignement de Philitas. Le tableau se complexifie cependant si l'on songe que Philitas s'est lui-même intéressé de près à des vocables siciliens, et notamment au nom sicilien d'une plante — le *κάκτος* (que Lindsell identifie à *cynara cardunculus*, le cardon comestible, une plante dont Théophraste indique clairement qu'elle appartient en propre à la Sicile et non à la Grèce).³ Or, cette

² RAVEN 2000, 24-28.

³ LINDSELL 2000.

même plante figure chez Théocrite, dans un passage qui entend probablement faire allusion à Philitas (*Id.* 10, 4). Spanoudakis, commentant le terme *κάκτος* chez Philitas, indique que celui-ci a utilisé des sources littéraires siciliennes pour constituer son répertoire de *glōssai* — ce qui est tout à fait possible. Une autre possibilité consisterait à faire l'hypothèse d'un voyage de Philitas en Sicile et en Italie du Sud — hypothèse qui ne me paraît pas aberrante, même si nous n'en avons pas trace dans les témoignages qui nous sont parvenus sur le poète. Au moins faut-il souligner son intérêt pour les *glōssai* siciliennes également attesté par le fr. 38 Spanoudakis des *Ataktaī glōssai* où il est question, cette fois, d'une *glōssa* syracusaine. En admettant que Richard Thomas ait raison de supposer que le vieillard de Tarente du chant 4 des *Géorgiques* soit une référence voilée à Philitas, il faudrait sans doute envisager l'existence d'une période occidentale dans la carrière de Philitas. Bien que nous ignorions la substance des écrits de Philitas sur les plantes et / ou un jardin, il me semble que Philitas, par son exigence de précision lexicale et ses recherches lexicographiques qui incluent des noms de plantes, pourrait être à l'origine d'une nouvelle conception des rapports entre la poésie et ce domaine précis du savoir scientifique. Le talent de Théocrite, son élève, est d'employer ses connaissances sur les plantes à une double fin scientifique et (méta)poétique ; il réaliserait ainsi une forme de synthèse entre les progrès de la botanique liés à l'œuvre de Théophraste et les métaphores qui, depuis l'époque archaïque, associent l'activité poétique aux fleurs et aux jardins.

G. Caneva: È possibile interpretare il significato delle citazioni dei cardi ? Questo ampio gruppo di *compositae* ha in comune la spinescenza, sia nei capolini, che lungo il fusto e le foglie. La loro rappresentazione in Teocrito potrebbe essere connessa al loro peculiare habitat legato al mondo pastorale (sono infatti piante tendenzialmente nitrofile e favorite dal pascolo).

É. Prioux: Si les cardons et chardons ont une signification symbolique, je ne pense pas qu'elle puisse être unique et applicable à tous les contextes. Dans le cas précis de Théocrite, de nombreuses espèces de cardons, chardons et plantes épineuses plus ou moins identifiables sont citées. Il me semble que le cas du *κάκτος* que je mentionnais à l'instant est particulièrement signifiant. Ici, Théocrite cite Philitas, un auteur étroitement lié, dans les esprits des poètes hellénistiques, à deux notions clés : je pense, d'une part, à l'idée de recherches exigeantes sur le lexique et d'une précision méticuleuse dans la lexicographie (*ἀκρίβεια* et *ὄνομάτων ὀρθότης*) et, d'autre part, à l'idée de finesse ou de subtilité (*λεπτότης*). Je pense que Manakidou a raison de voir dans le *κάκτος* de Théocrite une sorte d'hommage à ce caractère pointilleux de Théocrite, même si elle ne livre pas tous les arguments susceptibles d'étayer cette hypothèse.⁴ À mes yeux, l'idée d'épine associée au cardon / chardon est proche de l'image de l'écharde (*σκινδαλάμος*) qui sert à représenter de manière critique et moqueuse, chez Aristophane, la sophiscation du discours ou de la poésie.⁵ De même que la *λεπτότης* toute sophistique d'un Euripide est pourfendue par Aristophane avant de devenir un mot d'ordre pour les premiers poètes hellénistiques, de même l'image de l'épine pourrait, je pense, avoir été employée de manière positive chez les auteurs hellénistiques. Un argument supplémentaire vient des épi-grammes d'Antipater de Thessalonique et de Philippe de Thessalonique qui, se moquant de personnages qui ne vivent que par l'étude assidue de Callimaque, qualifient respectivement ces mêmes poètes et *grammatici* de "peuple de cueilleurs d'acanthes" et de "vers mangeant des épines".⁶

Si les épines des cardons ou chardons ont pu servir à représenter métaphoriquement la notion stylistique d'*ἀκρίβεια*, il paraît légitime de s'interroger sur les connotations que

⁴ MANAKIDOU 2012.

⁵ AR. *Nub.* 130 ; *Ran.* 818, 825.

⁶ *Anth. Pal.* 11, 20 ; 11, 321.

pouvaient suggérer les sonorités des termes ἄκανθα (qui désigne, suivant les cas, l'acanthe ou le chardon / cardon) ou ἄκανθος (épine). Ἀκριβής (dont dérive ἀκριβεία) pourrait avoir été composé à partir d'ἄκρος (pointu — voir *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*)⁷ et le lien entre les deux termes est rendu manifeste par Posidippe dans son épigramme sur le portrait de Philitas qui multiplie les termes de la famille d'ἄκρος pour laisser entendre à son lecteur quelle était l'acribie compulsive de Philitas. Ἀκανθος / ἄκανθα aurait été formé à partir de ἄκανος et ἄνθος. Ces termes sont pourtant liés l'un à l'autre par la racine indo-européenne *ak- qui exprime l'idée de 'pointe', représentée en grec par ἄκ- (voir *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*) ;⁸ d'après Pierre Chantraine cette racine *ak- "a fourni (dans la langue grecque) un nombre très considérable de dérivés, mais l'unité du groupe était sentie". Mon hypothèse est donc que les plantes épineuses et acanthiformes pouvaient aisément représenter la notion, centrale pour les poètes hellénistiques, d'ἀκριβεία et qu'il est, à ce titre, intéressant de voir jointes dans la coupe du chevrier de Théocrite une ἄκανθα (qui pourrait donc représenter l'ἀκριβεία) et la volute du lierre (qui pourrait peut-être représenter la ductilité du style ou la recherche d'ornement) — deux motifs que Virgile disjoint en les répartissant sur les deux paires de coupes évoquées dans la 3^e *Bucolique*, mais que Columelle rassemble à nouveau dans la description de l'artichaut. Cette hypothèse sur le sens de l'acanthe relève toutefois de la supposition et de la volonté de rendre signifiants tous les détails de la coupe de Théocrite dont je crois, après beaucoup d'autres, qu'elle est programmatique. Cette lecture peut être intéressante pour Virgile qui s'attache lui aussi à des questions de poétique et pour Columelle qui est, je crois, plus conscient qu'on ne le pense généralement des enjeux esthétiques de sa poésie. Je tiens toutefois à souligner que je ne pense pas que le

⁷ CHANTRAINE 1968-1980 s.v. ἀκριβής.

⁸ CHANTRAINE 1968-1980 s.v. ἄκ-, ἄκανθα.

sens d'un symbole soit le moins du monde figé dans le temps : ce que j'avance pour Théocrite est certainement très loin de pouvoir s'appliquer à tous les emplois d'un motif aussi diffusé que l'acanthe.

Pour revenir à la place des plantes apparentées au chardon / cardon dans les lieux de pâture, je pense que votre observation confirme le 'réalisme' botanique de Théocrite qui ne se trompe guère sur les milieux des plantes qu'il décrit. Je ne pense pas qu'il soit contradictoire de reconnaître que Théocrite décrit les plantes qui constituent un décor approprié pour ses pâtres et d'affirmer dans le même temps que certaines de ces plantes épineuses sont dotées, chez lui, d'une signification métaphorique.

G. Caneva: È interessante capire se l'idea delle volute è prettamente formale o suggerisce piuttosto un elemento che non ha una precisa fine, ma che si trova in fase di sviluppo e che si proietta in avanti.

E. Prioux: C'est en effet l'hypothèse formulée par Claude Pouzadoux au sujet des éventuels emplois méta-picturaux de l'image de la volute dans la céramique apulienne de la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. Encore une fois, je pense que le sens varie suivant le contexte et aussi suivant le mode de représentation. En grec, un rinceau qui progresse en ondoyant (en forme d'hélice) peut être qualifié d'*έλιξ* — autrement dit sous le terme qui sert également à désigner la volute à proprement parler ou la spirale. Dans les contextes où les représentations figurées dites 'ornementales' (que ce qualificatif soit ou non justifié) sont dotées d'une valeur symbolique, la volute en spirale et la tresse de la tige ondoyante et flexible ont peut-être des significations différentes, même s'il nous est impossible d'apprécier ce point en l'état actuel de nos connaissances.

D. Nelis: Concerning the significance of the Homeric passage describing Achilles and the Scamander, there is an

important discussion by Joe Farrell.⁹ As for your important remarks about Philetas, do you think it may be worth bringing into the picture, despite the scepticism of Peter Knox, the bucolic aspects of Tibullus, well discussed in relation to Philetas by Francis Cairns ?¹⁰

É. Prioux: Pour le premier point, M. Farrell montre en effet que Virgile imite, en *Géorgiques* 1, 104-110, la ‘scène de jardin’ qu’Homère associe à la description du Scamandre. Il met en évidence l’importance de cette référence à Homère dans le projet général des *Géorgiques* : cette référence contribue à situer les *Géorgiques* au sein d’une histoire de la poésie didactique qui débuterait en réalité avec Homère. M. Farrell ne cite pas le rapport possible avec Douris, mais celui-ci pourrait — je pense — permettre d’expliquer pourquoi le choix de Virgile s’est porté sur ce passage précis de l’*Iliade*. La raison de ce choix est sans doute que Virgile, Mécène et le public le plus érudit savaient parfaitement que ces mêmes vers avaient fait l’objet d’un débat esthétique auprès des philologues et théoriciens hellénistiques. On peut gager aussi qu’ils furent commentés, après Douris, dans des traités hellénistiques que nous avons perdus. Pour ce qui est de votre deuxième question qui touche à la figure de Tibulle, je pense en effet qu’il s’agit d’un témoin essentiel pour comprendre dans quelle mesure Philitas pouvait incarner l’entrecroisement du thème érotique et du thème de la vie rustique.

R. Lane Fox: Would you relate the poetic sensibility you have presented so well to a wider change in artistic taste in the Hellenistic age ? One example: Pindar or Anacreon never saw mosaics with representations of flowers and plants. You are surely right to pick out Pausias. From Sicyon (like Apelles) he may very well have come to Philip II’s Macedon, where the

⁹ FARRELL 1991, 211-213.

¹⁰ KNOX 1993 ; CAIRNS 1979.

magnificent floral mosaic in what we now know to be Philip's palace¹¹ is surely designed by him or a follower. The paintings in Macedonian tombs (especially at Mieza) then 'grow', in several senses, out of these new masterpieces. Do your epigrams and poets also inter-relate with flower and garden mosaics?

É. Prioux: Je pense en effet que les poètes du début de l'époque hellénistique n'ont pu qu'être sensibles aux évolutions des représentations végétales dans la peinture et la mosaïque du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. L'un des problèmes que cette question soulève est à nouveau celui de la formation de Théocrite et de l'influence que le milieu culturel de la Grande Grèce et de la Sicile ont pu avoir sur lui. Les innovations du milieu tarentin n'ont certainement pas pu laisser indifférents les poètes qui les ont contemplées.

Pour ce qui est de Pausias, j'aimerais rappeler que les anecdotes qui le montrent rivalisant avec la tresseuse de couronnes Glycère pourraient bien dériver de Douris de Samos, un auteur qui est à la fois historien de l'art, historien, théoricien de la manière d'écrire l'histoire et la poésie et dont on a souvent supposé qu'il avait participé à un ' cercle littéraire samien' fréquenté, à tout le moins, par son frère Lyncée et, vraisemblablement, par Asclépiade de Samos. Peut-être Hédyle et Posidippe le fréquentèrent-ils aussi, bien qu'ils aient été sensiblement plus jeunes que les trois autres ? Douris, tout comme Asclépiade sans doute, a également connu, avant de devenir 'tyran' de Samos, le milieu sicilien.

Pour ce qui touche à l'expression, dans les épigrammes, d'une sensibilité aux créations artistiques contemporaines, et plus particulièrement peut-être au développement des représentations de rinceaux végétaux dans la mosaïque, j'aimerais signaler l'existence d'une contribution de Kathryn Gutzwiller sur le cas précis de Méléagre de Gadara.¹²

¹¹ KOTTARIDI 2011.

¹² GUTZWILLER 2010.

B. Bergmann: Your contribution reminds us to think from an author's point of view and not take literary evidence as an automatic reflection of the 'real world' — a temptation among social and art historians that so often leads one astray. However, I wonder if, and when, we might be able situate an author's comments about gardens within his immediate setting and experience. Was Quintilian, for instance, influenced by the contemporary green spaces in Flavian Rome? Or did his thoughts move through a heady realm configured by his readings of earlier authors? If Augustan authors were more topical in their spatial references than the Alexandrian poets, how much, if anything, can we deduce about contemporary gardens from their writings? In short, can you articulate some of the nuances within the triangular relationship of present text / past text / actual garden spaces?

É. Prioux: Il s'agit d'une question délicate et le rapport entre ces trois pôles (la tradition littéraire sur les jardins, l'expérience sensible des jardins par l'auteur et la description littéraire du jardin par l'auteur) se pose de manière très différente d'un auteur à l'autre et parfois au sein d'une seule et même œuvre si l'on songe par exemple aux différences entre le traitement poétique du jardin de Columelle dans le livre 10 du *De re rustica* et son traitement en prose dans le livre 11 — ou encore aux différences entre le livre 14 (poème sur la greffe des arbres) de l'*Opus agriculturae* de Palladius et les livres en prose qui le précédent. Conclusion d'un traité de grande ampleur qui forme une somme sur l'agriculture, le poème sur la greffe mentionne, sur 30 greffes, 23 mariages qui sont impossibles dans la réalité, ce qui témoigne d'une approche volontairement basée sur la *phantasia* et potentiellement sur le sens métaphorique que l'on peut prêter à l'image de la greffe des arbres, plus que d'une approche documentaire. Ces greffes miraculeuses répondent à des unions non moins fantaisistes imaginées par Virgile dans le chant 2 des *Géorgiques* et dont les commentateurs ont souligné qu'elles reproduisaient des *adynata* empruntés à l'*Idylle* 1 de

Théocrite. Ce passage précis de Virgile pourrait donc plus traiter de poétique que d'agriculture, mais le partage reste délicat à opérer puisque Pline affirme avoir vu un arbre chargé de greffes provenant d'espèces diverses et qui pouvait ainsi porter simultanément des poires, des figues, des noix, etc. Son témoignage suggère que les expérimentations sur les greffes ont pu être un sujet d'actualité pour les Romains du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et du I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. De son côté, Columelle, qui a une expérience bien réelle et pragmatique des jardins et qui possède une connaissance approfondie des nouvelles espèces introduites dans les jardins à mesure que l'Empire romain s'est étendu, est, à mon sens, non seulement un fin connaisseur de Virgile et d'Ovide, mais aussi un connaisseur de la littérature hellénistique et un érudit bien conscient des enjeux esthétiques liés à l'imitation de tel ou tel modèle. Il tente, je pense, de concilier, en plusieurs endroits de son poème, l'intertextualité et l'évocation de réalités concrètes : ses descriptions de laitues rousses et frisées ou encore de laitues au brun mollet correspondent à la fois à des espèces dont il entend commémorer l'introduction et à d'humoristiques imitations parodiques des évocations de *puellae* à la chevelure colorée et au teint plus ou moins clair que l'on rencontre dans la poésie didactique d'Ovide. Ovide avait répondu aux *Géorgiques* par les *Medicamina* et l'*Ars amatoria* ; Columelle répond aux *puellae* d'Ovide par des descriptions de laitues ! Et, de fait, c'est bien au sujet de Columelle qu'Emily Gowers propose de saisir la relation triangulaire que vous évoquez dans son article "Vegetable Love".¹³ Comme le montre très bien Mme Gowers, les jardins en vers et en prose de Columelle résultent d'une négociation entre le modèle virgilien (parfois volontairement malmené par l'intégration de nombreux éléments non-virgiliens), le refus que le moraliste oppose à l'artifice des luxueux parcs de son temps et son intérêt bien réel pour de nouvelles techniques de jardinage (culture sous serre des artichauts) qui, elles, relèvent pleinement d'une

¹³ GOWERS 2000.

recherche de raffinement culinaire contemporaine (et, partant, d'une recherche du luxe !).

Pour ce qui est du court passage de Quintilien sur l'opposition entre jardin productif et jardin d'agrément, il procède comme l'ont montré les commentateurs de l'imitation de trois hypotextes — l'un d'eux est le *De re rustica* de Varron, les autres sont des passages des *Bucoliques* et des *Géorgiques* de Virgile. Par cette triple imitation, Quintilien illustre son propos sur la question de l'ornement en rhétorique. Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait dans ce même passage, qui demeure très général, une référence spécifique à l'un des grands jardins flaviens ou qu'il faille supposer un référent réel auquel l'auteur ferait allusion. Martial, au contraire, nomme les propriétés de personnes précises, comme les serres d'Entellus. Les commentateurs ne doutent pas de l'existence de ces lieux et du fait que Martial sert ici le projet qu'ont de riches propriétaires de passer pour moralement vertueux malgré leurs goûts de luxe et leurs dispendieuses cultures. Je pense moi aussi que ces épigrammes n'auraient pu être écrites si les propriétés qu'elles envisagent n'étaient pas conformes à ce que Martial décrit et si elles n'avaient pas réellement suscité une forme de réprobation dans l'opinion publique. Il me semble pourtant que l'existence de ces référents réels et la vocation pragmatique de ces épigrammes qui visent en premier lieu à asseoir la bonne réputation d'un riche personnage n'interdisent pas à Martial d'élaborer, dans le même temps, une réflexion d'ordre poétique et esthétique sur le genre littéraire qu'il pratique.

A. Marzano: Vorrei soffermarmi un po' sulla contrapposizione tra *technê* (come elemento che crea qualcosa di artificiale nel giardino, fatto dall'uomo) e natura. Penso che il rapporto *technê / natura* sia molto complesso. *Technê* è sì artificio, ma è un' arte che viene raggiunta con studio, esperienza e pratica solo se si hanno delle qualità naturali, delle predisposizioni innate. Allora in questo senso, se un poeta paragona la sua poesia ad un giardino che richiede *technê*, vuole forse dire che ha

un talento che gli viene dalla natura ma che lo riesce a perfezionare grazie a *technê*, creando qualcosa che non è totalmente contrapposto al naturale, solo più raffinato e perfetto ?

E. Prioux: Votre remarque est tout à fait importante, même si je ne saurais dire si la référence aux jardins est employée par les poètes avec cette intention précise. Ce qui est certain, c'est que le statut de *technê* de l'art poétique fait débat au moins depuis Socrate (le sujet est abordé dans l'*Ion* de Platon, où Socrate veut refuser à la poésie le statut de *technê* — la *technê* suppose en effet une approche rationnelle et une capacité de l'artisan à théoriser sa pratique — et assimile, au contraire, la poésie à une forme de délire prophétique).

Pour ce qui est de la complexité du rapport entre *physis* et *technê*, Ovide est certainement l'un des auteurs qui y est le plus sensible, lui qui présente l'artifice comme un prolongement de la nature et, partant, la parure (qu'il s'agisse de la parure florale du jardin, de la parure d'emprunt qui orne les arbres au rendement amélioré par la greffe, ou encore de la parure vestimentaire et cosmétique des êtres humains) comme un prolongement souhaitable de la nature. Nous pouvons toutefois soupçonner, de par la force et la conviction avec lesquelles Ovide réaffirme, à plusieurs reprises, cette position, qu'elle ne faisait pas l'unanimité.

K. von Stackelberg: I think there is a parallel between the garden text as a hybrid of the bucolic and georgic poetic genres and the garden space as an interstitial place between inside and outside. Does your reading support this idea ?

E. Prioux: Les poètes grecs et latins s'intéressent beaucoup aux figures d'hybrides et à leur potentiel métapoétique. Le jardin est peut-être une forme de lieu hybride, à la croisée entre plusieurs couples de contraires — le dedans et le dehors, l'utilité et l'agrément, la *physis* et la *technê*. Certains auteurs jouent sur la nature paradoxale ou double du jardin. C'est notamment

le cas avec Martial, auteur chez lequel le jardin se prête aussi — à mes yeux du moins — à une réflexion stylistique sur les échelles du poème et sur les registres de langue employés pour le décrire. La bucolique et la géorgique ou la bucolique et l'élégie ne forment pas, bien sûr, des couples de contraires au sens où le dedans et le dehors peuvent l'être. En revanche, on peut songer que si le jardin est le lieu de rencontre entre l'utilité (les fruits, légumes, aromates et plantes médicinales) et l'agrément (les fleurs), il se prête bien à devenir un lieu de rencontre entre l'univers des cultivateurs géorgiques et celui des tesseurs de couronnes bucoliques.

K. von Stackelberg: Your paper traces the origin of the garden as metaphor for literary style. This aspect of the garden casts a long shadow — Pliny the Younger uses it in his villa letters and so does Henry James. Do you think that as a meta-textual device the garden is more of a process than a place, something always in the process of creation and never finished?

É. Prioux: Je pense en effet que les auteurs anciens qui se sont livrés à l'exercice qu'est l'ecphrasis d'un jardin l'ont fait dans l'intention de se distinguer de leurs prédecesseurs et avec l'idée que cette description fournirait aux lecteurs les plus avisés (et à leurs imitateurs éventuels) un guide de lecture indiquant de quelle manière il conviendrait d'analyser le reste de leur œuvre. Longus et Achille Tatius nous indiquent, chacun à leur manière, quels sont les critères esthétiques à privilégier dans l'approche de leurs œuvres et ont donc conçu leurs descriptions de jardin comme un appel à la collaboration interprétative de leurs lecteurs.

RABUN TAYLOR

MOVEMENT, VISION, AND QUOTATION IN THE GARDENS OF HEROD THE GREAT

Herod the Great's position of importance in the material history of the Helleno-Roman world is now secure. Though his character remains notoriously elusive, his acknowledged status as a major actor in the Augustan program of cultural renewal no longer is in question.¹ Nor do we doubt his genius for creative hybridity, which allowed him to negotiate his sometimes conflicting roles as Hellenistic dynast, head of the Jewish state, and client king of Rome.² Thanks largely to the life work of the late Ehud Netzer, Herod's prolific building program is now felt to exceed in cultural importance the material achievements of many Roman emperors — indeed, of most Roman emperors, except for the usual suspects such as Augustus, Nero, the Flavians, Trajan, Hadrian, Diocletian, Maxentius, and Constantine. My purpose here is to examine a closely related phenomenon, Herod's cultural significance as a maker and master of gardens. I will present two case studies, one centered on his Third Winter Palace at Jericho and the other on his Summer Palace at Herodium, to consider how Herod envisioned and designed gardens, along with their architectural armatures, as venues of self-presentation and cultural reference.

¹ GALINSKY 2009.

² ROLLER 1998; JACOBSON 2001; GRUEN 2009.

Any investigation of this kind has its frustrations. Like a primitive X-ray machine, the tools at our disposal allow us to perceive mere wisps of the 'soft tissue' of our subject matter, the plantings and ephemeral furnishings that invest a garden with its character and vitality. We are left with the 'hard' evidence of architecture, water conduits, and topography, much of which is diminished, dispersed, and hard to interpret in its own right. Since I am neither a garden archaeologist nor an expert in ancient Judaea, I have chosen to take a broadly interpretive approach to the evidence, which I have tried to represent accurately and fairly. I would like to extend special thanks to Kathryn Gleason, who has done far more to change how we think about Herodian gardens than I can possibly do here, and who has generously shared her ideas and expertise with me at length.

Born to an Idumaean father and a Nabataean mother, Herod professed Judaism more as a matter of family custom or convenience than longstanding heritage. He was a cosmopolitan ruler with international ambitions who turned Roman dominance, and its promise of greater stability in the Near East, to his own advantage. Granted the Second Triumvirate's blessing to rule Judaea in 42 BCE and again in 40,³ he actively sought the approval and friendship first of Messalla and Antony, then Octavian and Agrippa, the latter of whom remained the king's fast friend until his own death in 12 BCE. Herod's early building focused mainly on defense and consolidation.⁴ His prodigious program of civic and palatial construction began around 35,⁵ and continued with variable intensity until around 10 BCE; after this, activity tailed off precipitously until his death in 4 BCE. He built major palace complexes at four different settings, two of them inherited from his Hasmonean predecessors (Jerusalem and Jericho) and two virtually on

³ JOSEPH. *BJ* 1, 243-244; 281-285.

⁴ NETZER 2006, 202-217; NETZER *et al.* 2010, 106-107.

⁵ NETZER 2006, 45.

virgin soil (Herodium and Caesarea). Archaeology and literature confirm that all of these courtly residences were abundantly appointed with irrigated gardens. Those at the Promontory Palace of Caesarea and the fortified palace in the Upper City of Jerusalem were doubtless splendid, but they may have been confined to courtyards or small dependent zones with groves.⁶ Of Herodium, I will have more to say below.

I. The Sunken Garden at Jericho

The palace complex at Jericho, on the other hand, was part of a vast irrigated Hasmonean estate principally devoted to the cultivation of two cash crops, dates and balsam. Strabo and Josephus both marvel at the great irrigated royal plantations in the region.⁷ The Hasmonean and Herodian residences at Jericho were secure but had no confining fortifications, seeming instead to have been annexed directly to the surrounding groves. By the end of Herod's reign three palace complexes sprawled over a vast area straddling the Wadi Qelt. The third and last of these, begun around 15 BCE, has justifiably attracted much attention because of its interesting variations on the model of a Roman pleasure villa, complete with hypocaust baths made of imported Italian concrete and, south of the wadi, a domed pavilion that seems to be of pure Roman inspiration (Figs. 4.1-4.2). Parts of the palace are even made of Italian-style *opus reticulatum*, which led Netzer to believe that Agrippa himself had furnished the builders.⁸

I want to focus on a feature just northwest of the pavilion that is unique in the Herodian repertory: the Sunken Garden. Its northern boundary has completely eroded away, but the rest of its perimeter can be reconstructed from the architectural

⁶ JOSEPH. *BJ* 5, 176-181; GLEASON *et al.* 1998.

⁷ STRAB. 16, 2, 41; JOSEPH. *BJ* 4, 459-474.

⁸ NETZER 2006, 55-57.

remains. In its essentials the garden was a flat, rectangular terrace, 145 × 40 m in area, cut into the wadi bank. Its south side consisted of a *nymphaeum*-like façade serving as a retaining wall for the entire length of the cut, but broken at the center by an axial *exedra* banked and stepped like a theater *cauea*. Double-aisled stoas embellished each short side, their floors at an intermediate level between the garden terrace and the upper terrace.

Apart from a few test trenches at its fringe, the central expanse of the garden has never been excavated; consequently we know very little about its plantings, paths, or water features. Pritchard found a perforated planting pot for a shrub or vine in 1951 near the façade; Netzer and Gleason recovered another from a sounding at the western edge in 1975, along with fragments of a third.⁹ We may presume that many more — perhaps numbering in the hundreds — occupied the central area. Of trees we can say nothing at the moment. Evidence of trees is not abundant in other well-excavated garden zones at Jericho, such as the apsidal Ionic peristyle in the palace proper, where apart from three or four trees shading the northern *exedra*, the entire central area was dominated by regimented rows of planting pots.¹⁰ We might extrapolate further from the arrangement of beds and promenades recently excavated at the Great Peristyle of the Villa Arianna at Stabiae.¹¹ Roman gardens seem to have varied more in the types and combinations of plants displayed than in their formal arrangements, which usually stuck to some version of the orthogonal grid. At Stabiae, hundreds of root cavities are preserved, revealing linear arrangements of a wide variety of shrubs and small trees (Fig. 4.3).¹² Water features and the architecture of the

⁹ PRITCHARD 1958, 52, cat. no. 30; GLEASON 1987-1988, 33-35; NETZER 2004, 290; GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013, 335.

¹⁰ GLEASON 1993.

¹¹ GLEASON 2010; HOWE, GLEASON, & SUTHERLAND 2011.

¹² A similar practice is evident in the courtyard of the Temple of Elagabalus in the Vigna Barberini at Rome; see VILLEDIEU 2001.

perimeter also lent individualism and character to these spaces. Notably, the remains of the circular pool in the Villa Arianna garden suggest that the garden's cliffside edge, complete with its boundary colonnade, broke outward in a roughly semicircular *exedra* resembling the Sunken Garden's south side in plan.¹³

At Jericho we are reduced to imagining the garden by proxy of its architectural container. I begin with a medium-distance, macroscopic view. To begin with, the Sunken Garden is physically separated from the palace proper by the wadi, and thus most resembles Inge Nielsen's second type of Hellenistic palace garden, which she calls *kepos* or *alsos*.¹⁴ Its architectural influences are numerous, but the general form and patterns exemplify a strongly Hellenized Roman aesthetic. At least superficially it calls to mind Domitian's garden-stadium on the Palatine, which is a similarly oblong shape enlivened by an exedral feature at the center of one long side. The garden's relatively low elevation would have maximized its visibility from the palace proper, perched on the far bluff of the wadi; but it simultaneously *reduced* the garden's visibility from the hilltop pavilion to the southeast. To be sure, the former view was the most important; but if mere visibility from that vantage had dictated the garden's disposition, it could have been achieved even more effectively with a series of shallow terraces down the gentle slope, as Herod did on a smaller scale at the Second Palace just to the north. As so often in the Herodian landscape, the goal was to render nature in pristine, rational geometries — and in this case, specifically to create a distant scenographic display of the Southern Façade, a distinctive ribbon of texture and color serving as a backdrop to the garden. But the façade had a northern exposure, leaving it buried in

¹³ In profile, of course, the Villa Arianna *exedra* is a reversal of the Sunken Garden's, the former being a protruding mass at the top of an escarpment and the latter a void hollowed into one.

¹⁴ NIELSEN 2001. However, she categorizes the Sunken Garden as a successor of her first type, perhaps because of the garden's continuation uphill for an unknown distance.

shadow most of the time, especially during the winter when the palace was in use; so it would not have offered a very lively backdrop from a distance. While we cannot reconstruct the garden's northern boundary with any assurance, like the many other gardens clustered around the Hasmonean and Herodian buildings on this site it was certainly immured, probably by a retaining wall fronting an artificial embankment to serve as a flood barrier.

As so often in Hellenistic and Roman architecture, the eye is drawn along a strong central axis but physical access to the space is oblique. Crossing the wadi from the palace on a narrow footbridge, a visitor entered the garden complex by either one of a pair of modest doorways in the wall constituting the outer enclosure on the eastern side. These opened into blind antechambers; only after a right-hand turn did one gain entry to the double stoa opening out to a view of the garden. A similar arrangement is found on the southwest side of the garden, which allowed entry by identical means, though the way of approach seems to be from the south. This side also incorporated a complex sequence of utility rooms, probably for storage and the accommodation of villa staff. The right-angle turn in a confined space, sometimes called the 'bent' entrance, is a security measure characteristic of Persian and Babylonian palace architecture and is often adopted in Hellenistic palaces.¹⁵ Clearly the garden was designed for control and surveillance of visitors at critical chokepoints. It signals that the king himself was often present there among his subjects and guests. The sheer monumentality of the space, and its potential for scenographic spectacle and display, might suggest the presence of an expanded roster of participants — as would the enormous rectangular swimming pool to the west, which awaits full investigation. From the flanking stoas one descended to the

¹⁵ NIELSEN 1994, 52-59; 116-117; 122; 187; 207. Following standard Herodian practice, the core block of the Third Winter Palace seems to have no monumental entrance at all. Entry was gained through a particularly confined and labyrinthian suite of rooms designed to disorient potential assailants.

garden by narrow open-air stairways in each corner of the south side.

Following Gleason, we should probably imagine the space not as a formal parterre with neatly bordered beds set in geometric patterns, but rather as zones of regimented rows of plantings divided by linear paths and punctuated but not dominated by shade trees. However, this space is architecturally unique among Herod's known gardens, and uniquely monumental. A preference for fairly low shrubs would have ensured that the theatrical south wall remained mostly visible from the palace. The central *exedra*, with its *cauea* countersunk into a straight terrace façade, may be of Italian inspiration. The immediate formal impression is that of a Hellenized hillside sanctuary such as those at Tibur, Praeneste, Pietrabbondante, and Gabii — the last of these furnished with a planted grove in the colonnaded temple precinct directly behind the theater¹⁶ — and that formal parentage is reinforced by the abundance of *opus reticulatum* employed in this part of the palace complex.¹⁷ A similarity is also visible in the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods at Delos, which may even have inspired the architecture of the Italian hillside sanctuaries (Fig. 4.4).¹⁸ Here a cultic theater similarly connects an oblong, rectilinear terrace to an adjoining terrace above. Herod probably never saw the Latin sanctuaries, but he was no stranger to Delos; both he and his son Antipas evidently were commemorated in inscriptions on the island, and Herod's inscription would seem to suggest that he sponsored a building project there.¹⁹

The long south wall, with its alternating curved and rectilinear niches divided by colonnettes, evokes a widely recognized

¹⁶ COARELLI 1993.

¹⁷ NIELSEN 2002, 180-189. Sensibly, Netzer sees in this architecture the hand of Agrippa.

¹⁸ La ROCCA 1986, 29; NIELSEN 2002, 250-254; WILL 1985. On the Italian connection, see COARELLI 1983, 192-195.

¹⁹ IG XII 5.713.6; OGIS 417; MANTZOULINOU-RICHARDS 1988; ROLLER 1998, 128; 225-226; 243.

type of *nymphaeum* façade (Fig. 4.5), even resembling the *pulpitum* of Herod's theater at Caesarea, which had a similar alternating pattern of niches, some of which were fitted with fountains.²⁰ In general inspiration, with engaged semicolumns of *opus reticulatum* embellishing the piers between the niches, it has cognates in Roman villas of the early Imperial era.²¹ At Jericho, however, the curved niches were significantly deeper than the rectilinear ones, leading Kelso and Baramki to postulate that they enclosed statues. Netzer, always insistent about Herod's fundamental aniconicity, imagined potted plants in the niches instead.²² Indeed, it seems absurd that Herod's palaces, where he held court for his largely Jewish constituency, would have flouted the Second Commandment prohibiting graven images of gods or the proscription of Jewish law against statues of human figures. Netzer, who was uniquely positioned to evaluate the totality of the evidence, remains my touchstone on this issue.²³ However, there is another detail to consider. In the small sector where the niches survive to their full height, Kelso and Baramki observed distinct markings in the centers of the curved niches about two thirds of the way up from floor to crown (Fig. 4.6). These seem to have been apertures in the masonry that were subsequently blocked up. No evidence of water lines was found at the time, but the conclusion seems inescapable that these niches originally contained fountain spouts.²⁴ In fact, the surviving outer niches of the *pulpitum* of Herod's theater at Caesarea were fitted with water pipes in a similar way, but the catch basin consisted of the floors of the

²⁰ FROVA *et al.* 1965, 88–92; Fig. 72.

²¹ E.g., the Villa Claudia at Anguillara, recently dated to the Augustan period; see THOMAS 2012. I am grateful to Annalisa Marzano for referring me to this article; see the discussion following this chapter.

²² NETZER 2006, 66.

²³ NETZER 2006, 66. ROZENBERG 2008 registers no figural material at all. For a discussion of how Herod reconciled his apparent sympathy for certain pagan cults with his Judaism, see JACOBSON 2001 and bibliography.

²⁴ I am grateful to Kathryn Gleason for bringing this detail to my attention.

niches themselves, which were connected by a narrow frontal channel.²⁵ At the Sunken Garden, the water probably fell into receptacles in the niches, from which it was discharged into basins standing before the niches at ground level;²⁶ from these in turn, it spouted into a long, narrow pool paralleling the façade. The pool is largely intact, but no traces of the basins or any other furnishings were recovered.

The longstanding notion that Herod permitted statues on his premises seems to rely on a common misinterpretation of Josephus' description of the king's palace in the Upper City of Jerusalem. More often than not, when this familiar passage is cited, the Loeb translation is transmitted without comment:

"All around were many circular cloisters, leading one into another, the columns in each being different, and their open courts all of greensward; there were groves of various trees intersected by long walks, which were bordered by deep canals, and ponds everywhere studded with bronze figures, through which the water was discharged."²⁷

The term "bronze figures" is misleading. More literally, the critical descriptive phrase is translated "deep channels (*euripoī*) and receptacles (*dexamenai*) everywhere full of works of bronze (*chalkourgēmata*), through which the water was discharged". The most natural reading of the text is to understand the *dexamenai* as basins fitted with many bronze spouts (the *chalkourgēmata* — there is nothing 'figural' about this) which in turn discharged into the channels lining the walks (*euripoī*) — in other words, roughly the configuration I envision in the Sunken Garden, except in the latter I reconstruct two tiers of bronze-spouted receptacles instead of one. That no evidence of these receptacles has been recovered is only to be expected,

²⁵ FROVA *et al.* 1965, 96; Fig. 114. In a later phase, the entire orchestra could be filled with water for spectacles (91-92; 97).

²⁶ For a close parallel at the Villa Claudia at Anguillara, see the ensuing discussion.

²⁷ BJ 5, 180-181, trans. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

for they would have been systematically removed when the pipes in the niches were taken away and their holes sealed.

The pool continued unbroken for almost the full length of the south side of the Sunken Garden, bending to follow the semicircular contour of the theaterlike *exedra*. As the only water feature yet identified in the garden, it is prone to receive more attention than perhaps it deserves, especially if we consider the likelihood that other waterworks lie undiscovered under the central expanse. But it merits attention nevertheless, if only because it has not been satisfactorily explained. First and foremost, as I have just suggested, the pool was designed as a catch basin for what was, in effect, a *nymphaeum* façade. Later Roman *nymphaea* often featured basins that ran the façade's full length, though they were not typically countersunk into the ground.²⁸ But even if we suppose that this basin's water was still, not roiled by cascading jets, it cannot have been very successful as a reflecting pool (Netzer's hypothesis), because it was not centered along an axial sightline and was too narrow to create a coherent reflection. It bears repeating that the façade was normally in the shade; even a partial reflection of it seen from the east or west stoa would not have created much of an effect.

I.1. Comparanda to the Sunken Garden

At roughly 1.6 m wide and 1.37 m deep on average, the pool was certainly substantial enough to create a physical barrier between the garden and the façade. Thus it recalls a feature that may have impressed Herod on his first visit to Italy in 40: the peripheral *euripus* of the Circus Maximus, recently remodeled by Caesar. Almost three meters wide and deep, this

²⁸ Well-known later examples include the *nymphaea* at Olympia, Sagalassos, Miletus, and Side, and the Domus Transitoria *nymphaeum* and Septizodium at Rome. See LUSNIA 2004, 525-534.

continuous water channel looped around the track to form an outer boundary insulating the audience from the dangers of the chariot races or wild beast hunts staged within.²⁹ A basin at the foot of a *cauea* would also have evoked another pastime that was gaining popularity in the West, water theater.³⁰ At least four examples of theaters fitted with water basins in the orchestra are known from the Bay of Naples, including two that may date to Herod's prime. Over several phases, the orchestra of the theater at Pompeii had no fewer than six water basins of various shapes and sizes, including one that seems too narrow for any kind of purpose other than pure decoration. At the great Neapolitan villa of Pausilypon a long axial pool divided the theater orchestra, which uniquely and remarkably had no permanent stage as a consequence.³¹ Modern stagings take place here on a temporary plywood structure spanning the pool (Fig. 4.7). This latter instance is especially intriguing because the villa was built by Vedius Pollio, a friend of Augustus who later fell afoul of the emperor. Herod is known to have entrusted two of his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, into the keeping of a certain Pollio in Rome, probably in 22 BCE.³² Scholars have long disagreed about whether this man was Vedius Pollio, owner of the villa, who was remembered more for his cruel and avaricious personality than for his accomplishments, or Asinius Pollio, a great cultural luminary of the Augustan period.³³ If it was the former, then Herod could very plausibly have visited this same villa when disembarking (at nearby Puteoli?) on his second visit to Rome, which he

²⁹ DION. HAL. *Ant. Rom.* 3, 68, 2; HUMPHREY 1986, 74. The peripheral *euripus* (as opposed to the one commonly running down the central barrier) seems to have been a feature unique to the Circus Maximus at Rome, though it was later copied at Constantinople.

³⁰ TRAVERSARI 1960; BERLAN-BAJARD 2006, 99-148; 217-73.

³¹ Pompeii: SPANO 1912; TRAVERSARI 1960, 68-72; RICHARDSON 1988, 79; BERLAN-BAJARD 2006, 228-231; 446-453. Pausilypon: BERLAN-BAJARD 2006, 229-231; 444-446.

³² JOSEPH. *AJ* 15, 343.

³³ SYME 1961; FELDMAN 1953; 1985; ROLLER 1998, 23-28.

undertook specifically to visit his sons, in 17 BCE.³⁴ This sojourn took place shortly before the Jericho palace was on the drawing board. The most interesting theater parallel, however, comes again from Herod's theater at Caesarea, to whose niched *hyposcaenium* I have already referred. Into the orchestra floor was cut a narrow hemicyclical *euripus* paralleling the podium of the lowest seating banks.³⁵ Lined with extremely fine hydraulic cement, this was certainly an ornamental feature; it also has the closest formal kinship to the Sunken Garden's pool among any extant examples of a Roman theater. The conclusion that they share a common inspiration seems inevitable.

The aesthetic of Herod's palaces was intentionally layered, nuanced, and allusive, in keeping with the ideology of cultured sophistication that dominated them. In one respect, at least, it even seems to have bordered on the international avant-garde. The façade's central 'theater' is *not* in fact a theater; its notional seating tiers were planting beds arrayed with *ollae perforatae* that were discovered in Kelso and Baramki's initial excavation.³⁶ As such, it occupies an interesting place in garden history, wavering between ancient tradition and precocious prefiguration. On the one hand, as Stephanie Dalley has observed, it recalls in miniature the famous Hanging Garden of Babylon, the appearance of which, in the eyes of Diodorus Siculus, "resembled that of a theater".³⁷ There can be no doubt that the Babylonian garden was tiered like a *cauea*, though its overall design was more complex and probably lacked the conic

³⁴ JOSEPH. *AJ* 16, 6.

³⁵ FROVA *et al.* 1965, 88; 91; Fig. 64; Fig. 72; PATRICH 2011, 30; Fig. 18. This zone was buried under the *ima cauea* of a later phase. The *euripus*, as the excavators call it, had been covered with stone slabs (one was found *in situ*: FROVA *et al.* 1965, 88), but these probably could be removed to display the *euripus* during performances. Various layers of floor decoration in the plaster were designed to terminate cleanly at the edge of this feature.

³⁶ KELSO & BARAMKI 1949-1951, 17; GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013, 335-337.

³⁷ DALLEY 2013, 176-177.

concavity of a Greek-style theater.³⁸ On the other hand, the garden-theater prefigures the later Roman fashion of designing garden features in the guise of venues for spectacle, especially circuses and hippodromes.

If, as seems plausible, there is an intentional reference here to Babylon, then we may suppose that the plantings, like those of their prototype, were of a suitably exotic and varied nature.³⁹ Claiming descent himself from a Jewish family of Babylon, Herod courted the Jewish community of Babylonia ostentatiously to consolidate his own lineage and legitimacy as well as his hold on Jewish favor in the Diaspora.⁴⁰ It is quite possible, then, that an ideology underpins his inventive hybrid here, giving symbolic expression to a personal interest in the most famous 'garden city' of antiquity. Herod's allusive garden trope belonged to a thoroughly Roman aristocratic tradition already widely practiced at this time: loosely modeling one's home and villa retreats on famous locales.⁴¹ Cicero's Tuscan villa had its 'Lyceum' and 'Academy', Brutus' garden had famous Spartan places; Augustus's Palatine residence had its 'Syracuse'.⁴² The trend continued for centuries thereafter. I hardly need mention the most famous example of all, Hadrian's villa at Tivoli; yet the fact often goes unappreciated that the *stagnum* at Nero's Domus Aurea resembled "a sea circled about by buildings in the guise of cities".⁴³ These *aedificia* must have been pavilions, each epitomizing in some symbolic or formal way particular

³⁸ DIOD. SIC. 2, 10. On the difficulties of locating and envisioning the Hanging Gardens, see WISEMAN 1983, 139–141; DALLEY 1994; 2013; READE 2000.

³⁹ JOSEPH. *Ap.* 1, 141; *AJ* 10, 226.

⁴⁰ JOSEPH. *AJ* 14, 8–9; NEUSNER 1969, 34–39.

⁴¹ CIC. *Att.* 1, 11; 15, 9, 1; *Diu.* 1, 8; *De or.* 1, 98; SUET. *Aug.* 62, 1; see VON STACKELBERG 2009b, 65; 80–81. The tradition may extend back as far as early Ptolemaic Alexandria. The royal palace there included a *maiandros*, i.e., a little Maeander River.

⁴² The allusions were "nicht geographisch, sondern historisierend, sentimental gemeint": GÖRLER 1990, 169. See also MARZANO, *infra*, 217.

⁴³ *stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem*, SUET. *Ner.* 31.

cities of the Mediterranean. Perhaps Herod's garden, which Netzer regarded as the *pièce de résistance* of the whole palace complex, was the king's 'Babylon', a place to which he claimed a cultural birthright.

Could this very feature, or comparable ones in Herod's repertory now lost, have therefore marked a moment of creative hybridity blending a revival of the Near Eastern hanging garden — a decidedly royal feature — together with the architectural idiom *par excellence* of the Helleno-Roman world, the theater? Could Herod have taken a leading role in laminating these two tropes onto the Roman consciousness? I have no certain answer; as with any novel idea caught up in a moment of creative international ferment, motive force is hard to establish. Herod's seems to be the earliest incontrovertible example of a garden-theater known to the world — and if we think of such a thing as a *hanging* garden in theatrical form, it remains the purest, and perhaps the only, example known from all of antiquity. It has been compared to the so-called Auditorium of Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill, a small, partially sunken hall with a theaterlike *cauea* at its apsidal end.⁴⁴ The Auditorium bears a distinct relationship to Herodian architecture, for it resembles the unusual type of *oecus* in Roman villa architecture with a T-shaped plan that Herod so favored in his own palace *triclinia*.⁴⁵ Yet its 'theater', which August Mau on no good authority took to be a terraced garden, lacks demonstrably gardenlike characteristics apart from the frescoes of garden scenes surmounting it; given its grotto-like surround, this is more likely to have been a *nymphaeum* in the shape of a water stair.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ LA ROCCA 1986, 27; GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013, 337.

⁴⁵ FÖRTSCH 1996, 80.

⁴⁶ DE VOS 1996 and bibliography. Outlets for water are still visible in the second tier from the top. Windowless, deeply countersunk into the ground, and confined within a high, delicately frescoed enclosure that probably carried a barrel-vaulted ceiling, this space is unsuited to the cultivation of plants. It seems to have been intended as a stylized summer grotto; see FÖRTSCH 1996, 83.

A closer analogy is found on the Pincian Hill, where Broise and Jolivet investigated traces of an *opus reticulatum* garden-theater near S. Trinità dei Monti in the 1980s and 1990s (Fig. 4.8).⁴⁷ The date suggested for the complex is Claudian, but that hypothesis relies mainly on the style of a capital found in the church and on a hunch that the complex was built by Valerius Asiaticus, from whom Messalina seized the property.⁴⁸ Thought to have belonged to the Horti Luculliani, this elaborated *cauea* in the terraced hillside was directly on axis with the Mausoleum of Augustus to its west.⁴⁹ This telling detail, to my mind, smells sharply of the mad scramble among the landed elite to pledge allegiance to Augustus in the first decade of his rule.⁵⁰ Situated in the gardens of the convent of S. Trinità dei Monti, the *cauea* faces away from the Mausoleum, but it was part of a system of terraced architecture, including a niched retaining wall and a grand hemicycle facing the Mausoleum, all of which had a commanding axial presence in the landscape that has led many scholars from Ligorio onward to compare it

⁴⁷ BROISE & JOLIVET 1996; 1998, 196-200 with bibliography. The monument had a long life with many remodelings, and in late antiquity — perhaps much earlier — it functioned as a *nymphaeum*. Broise and Jolivet's various reports are distressingly short of details and consistency, making the evidence very hard to evaluate. The extensive waterworks of the garden, investigated farther west, depended on cisterns rather than an aqueduct in the Augustan period. The Aqua Virgo was far too low to reach this hill; but it ran directly underneath the Horti Luculliani, and given Messalla's friendship with Agrippa and Augustus, we may conjecture that he had a special dispensation to haul up water directly from the channel, perhaps using a precursor of Camillo Agrippa's hydraulic device of the 1570s, designed to raise water from the very same aqueduct for the Villa Medici. It may not be entirely serendipitous that Messalla was later appointed Rome's first *curator aquarum*, effectively taking over, in public guise, Agrippa's private water commission after his death in 12 BCE (FRONTIN. *Aq.* 98-99).

⁴⁸ DIO CASS. 60, 27, 3; TAC. *Ann.* 11, 1, 32; 11, 1, 37; see VON STACKELBERG 2009a.

⁴⁹ COARELLI 1983, 200-206.

⁵⁰ While Herod would not have seen the Mausoleum personally until his visit to Rome in 17, he would have known it by reputation and may have had it in mind when he was contemplating the design of Herodeion; see MAGNESS 1998.

to the Praeneste sanctuary.⁵¹ The evidence is very fragmentary, and there was no opportunity for the excavators to investigate the *cauea* of this structure; nevertheless, it seems to be the best exemplar from imperial Rome of a theater in a garden context. But things get even more interesting. We know that by 25 BCE the Horti Luculliani belonged to none other than Messalla Corvinus — an Antonian who then had gone over to Octavian, but also a longstanding friend of Herod's and a key player in his rise to power.⁵² The prospect that Messalla commissioned this garden-theater, in its early outlines, seems to me irresistible. Agrippa, a great friend of Augustus, Messala, and Herod alike, built the Pantheon almost due south of the Mausoleum, and it too was directly on axis with it. He and Messalla, it seems, were in friendly rivalry⁵³ to build monuments declaring their fealty to the emperor by aligning their magnificent architecture, rather like satellite dishes, directly to the broadcasting center of empire. Visiting Rome in 17, not long before his new palace initiative at Jericho, Herod would surely have called on Messalla. There is every reason to believe that he set foot on this very site.

As for the disposition of Herod's villa relative to its gardens, it bears comparison to Agrippa's brand-new abode on the right bank of the Tiber, the so-called Villa Farnesina, which Herod

⁵¹ Direct evidence of the niched hemicycle remains elusive, but the striking resemblance between Ligorio's rendering of it and the hemicycle of the Villa Claudia at Anguillara, possibly even belonging to a successor of Messalla as *curator aquarum*, might suggest that both are Augustan; see THOMAS 2012, esp. 71-72 and 75-76. Numerous details of the argument fail to convince, but the Augustan connection is sound.

⁵² CIL VI 29789; ROLLER 1998, 13-15; 30-31.

⁵³ Their closeness is explicit in DIO CASS. 53, 27, 5, according to which Augustus gave them jointly a house formerly owned by Antony on the Palatine. The same passage may also reveal a rivalry, for Augustus compensated them differently after the house burned down. Messalla received money, but Agrippa got an invitation to live as Augustus' guest, a gesture he accepted with great pride. It seems that Agrippa, at least, was living at the house when it burned. The fire evidently happened before 20 BCE (the date of the next event in Dio's chronicle), and certainly before the Villa Farnesina was ready for occupation. Messalla, of course, could live at the Horti Luculliani.

would also have seen in 17 (Fig. 4.9). The Horti Agrippae, planned at about the same time, have been variously situated within the western Campus Martius. I favor Coarelli's original proposal that they occupied a vast zone directly across the river on the left bank, easily accessible from the villa by means of Agrippa's own private bridge, the Pons Agrippae. This zone extended northwest, following the riverbank from that bridge to the great riverbend at the extreme northwest of the Campus Martius.⁵⁴ To water his gardens and nearby *nemus*, as well as the enormous Stagnum and baths to their northeast, Agrippa had introduced the Aqua Virgo to the Campus Martius only two years before Herod's sojourn.⁵⁵ So it is entirely plausible that Agrippa's villa overlooked a pendent garden, with water features, directly across the river from it. If this reconstruction is correct, the parallels to the Third Palace at Jericho are both obvious and provocative.

Potentially, then, Herod lavished upon his two best friends in Rome the sincerest form of flattery when he returned to Jericho with vivid memories of their *horti* in his head. His singular innovation, perhaps, was to take Messalla's *caueanymphaeum* idea and plant it with shrubs. Such hanging

⁵⁴ COARELLI 1977, 815-837; GRIMAL ³1984, 182 and n. 1; TAYLOR 1995, 82-87; 2000, 146-149. See GRIMAL 1942-1943 on the original identification of this zone with Agrippa's bequest of his private property to the public. COARELLI (1997a, 548-554) has modified his original hypothesis and now situates the Horti Agrippae north of the Euripus; but this detaches the gardens from the *priuatum iter* of Agrippa, recorded on a *cippus* near the Pons Agrippae (*CIL VI* 29781). No *cippus*, he now contends, would have been needed if the private street had been within Agrippa's gardens; but if it lay along the eastern extreme of the gardens, as one would naturally conclude from his original hypothesis, then there is no difficulty. And if Agrippa had a private road either in the Campus Martius or the Transtiberim leading directly to a private bridge, then *in either case* the road and bridge must have given access to substantial private property directly across the river. Under those circumstances, it is hard to understand why either road or bridge needed to be private unless there was contiguity between Agrippa's two riparian properties. Indeed, a private street traversing public space seems implausible under most circumstances. On the ideological significance of these and other *horti* at Rome, see VON STACKELBERG 2009b, 74-86.

⁵⁵ GRIMAL ³1984, 181-184.

gardens never caught on in the Roman world,⁵⁶ but connotations of the theater persisted in garden and landscape design. Herod's Sunken Garden remains the best example — and quite possibly, a very early model — of an architectural elaboration of cultivated space as a venue for stately drama. The great rectangle of the Sunken Garden with its central, theater-like *exedra* is generally treated as a self-enclosed unit, but it communicated conspicuously with an upper terrace that has never been investigated. The connection was by way of an axial staircase dividing the *exedra*.⁵⁷ The only truly conspicuous means of ingress and egress visible today, it generated a dynamism shared by other multi-terraced structures in antiquity. But it also allowed for a dignified and theatrical entrance by the king; approaching from his first palace to the south, he could descend in pomp with his courtiers to meet or address the guests gathered below, looking not so different from the neo-Assyrian king preparing to descend the axial ramp of a hillside garden at Nineveh, as represented on a famous relief in the British Museum.⁵⁸ A small bridge probably crossed the *euripus* at the foot of the stairway.

The sheer scale and formality of this space contrast with the other enclosed gardens among Herod's palaces at Jericho; and among his other known palaces, they compare only to the Pool Complex at Greater Herodeion, which I will discuss below.⁵⁹ To accompany its difference in form and layout, we may conjecture variance of function as well. Though secure, this garden

⁵⁶ The Garden Stadium at Hadrian's villa shows no clear evidence of plantings in the *cauea*. The only other example with demonstrably tiered plantings is a late phase of the Herodian *praetorium* at Caesarea, dating probably to the Arab conquest in 649 (PATRICH 2011, 149–154). There was nothing ‘theatrical’ intended by this, but the nearby presence of Herod’s tightly tiered gardens, or later filiations of his style in the region, probably suggested this technique to the occupiers.

⁵⁷ KELSO & BARAMKI 1949–1951, 17.

⁵⁸ British Museum 124939b.

⁵⁹ For a complete reassessment and update of the gardens at Jericho see GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013.

was an occasional space, its aesthetic qualities quite distinct from the more intimate enclosures such as the peristyle gardens of the Third Palace or the *triclinium*-pool enclosure of the Second Palace known as the Eastern Court. In its Herodian phase this latter was an ample garden with plantings around its square pool and a tree-shaded, U-shaped open-air *triclinium*; there was plenty of waterplay nearby, including a three-meter cascade just to the north. This was a more intimate kind of venue, suited to conversation, contemplation, or play. Like most of the other garden enclosures so far investigated at the Jericho palaces, this was a space given to small nodes of inwardly directed activity of a spontaneous, unstaged kind. By contrast, the Sunken Garden draws attention southward to the façade wall by agency of its striking, articulated geometry. The focal hanging garden was made even more the center of attention by the polychrome mosaics on its walls; this decoration may have extended to the cornice crowning the façade as well. The *nymphaeum* façade was probably painted in the aniconic style known from the rest of the palace, and many fragments of molded stucco have been found in the vicinity too.⁶⁰ The rigid symmetry, its echoes of the theater and of terraced sanctuaries, bespoke tightly orchestrated, even staged ceremony and spectacle; and its visibility from the villa proper lent it a far more extroverted quality than the other gardens and groves at the Jericho palaces. This was Herod's principal venue at Jericho for royally sponsored religious festivals and courtly pomp.

II. Herodeion

My second case study is centered on the Summer Palace at Herodeion (Fig. 4.10). The great Mountain Palace-Fortress crowning a massive artificial tell, the huge residential and recreational complex below, and the recently discovered theater

⁶⁰ KELSO & BARAMKI 1949-1951, 17; ROZENBERG 2008, 227-232.

and tomb midway up the slopes underwent numerous phases of construction from about 28 BCE down to Herod's death in 4 BCE.⁶¹ I begin with Josephus' brief description:

"This fortress, which is some sixty stades distant from Jerusalem, is naturally strong and very suitable for such a structure, for reasonably nearby is a hill, raised to a (greater) height by the hand of man and rounded off in the shape of a breast. At intervals it has round towers, and it has a steep ascent formed of two hundred steps of hewn stone. Within it are costly royal apartments made for security and for ornament at the same time. At the base of the hill there are pleasure grounds built in such a way as to be worth seeing, among other things because of the way in which water, which is lacking in that place, is brought in from a distance and at great expense. The surrounding plain was built up as a city second to none, with the hill serving as an acropolis for the other dwellings."⁶²

Today Herodeion is a fairly barren place, but in Herod's day it was mantled in green, thanks to the introduction of a branch aqueduct from Solomon's Pools northwest of the site.⁶³ As Josephus implies, the water supply was intended for Greater Herodeion, not for the citadel, which being well above the level of the aqueduct relied exclusively on cisterns.⁶⁴ It is possible that the great cone of the tell was planted in some way, either for adornment or to deter erosion. The surface of its first phase had a paving of sorts consisting of limestone rubble, chips, and gravel,⁶⁵ but we should not discount the presence of plants. Gleason's work in the Ionic Peristyle of the Third Palace at Jericho has indicated that the plantings there were deposited in discrete pits cut through a layer of plaster that had been applied to a subsoil of pebbles and cobbles.⁶⁶ A Herodian

⁶¹ NETZER *et al.* 2010, 106-107.

⁶² *AJ* 15, 324-325, trans. R. MARCUS & A. WIKGREN.

⁶³ AMIT 1994.

⁶⁴ NETZER 1981, 53.

⁶⁵ NETZER *et al.* 2010, 86.

⁶⁶ GLEASON 1993, 157-158; GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013, 325-333. The Corinthian peristyle to its east, however, simply had a layer of soil over coarse

garden could, in effect, be paved to maximize water retention and drainage in the arid climate.

II.1. Herod's tomb and its gardens

Since the recent excavations on either side of the monumental entrance stairway on the northeast, it has become abundantly clear that the cone was far from a simple, unelaborated form (Fig. 4.11).⁶⁷ According to Josephus, Herod died at Jericho and his body was transported to Herodeion, where it was buried in pomp.⁶⁸ For decades, Netzer searched in vain for a structure he could identify as Herod's final resting place. Finally, in 2007, his team discovered it about halfway up the cone, just to the left of the grand entrance stairway. The monument was seated on one of a series of terraces, while on the right of the stairway was a small theater with an elaborately decorated imperial box — the site of Netzer's tragic death in 2010. Cisterns are clustered around and under the stairway at two elevations. Three near the bottom of the cone have a total capacity of about 2,500,000 liters; the easternmost one directly underlies Herod's tomb. Two more have prominent entrances just above the theater.⁶⁹ Any or all of them could have been used to assist hand-irrigation of gardens on the tell.

Herod chose a tomb design squarely rooted in the Helleno-Roman tradition, with a conventional *tholos*-on-cube and a tent-style roof. Its striking resemblance to the Tomb of Absalom at Jerusalem was noticed immediately upon excavation. It has been reconstructed, along with the sarcophagus that likely held the king's remains, for the lavish new exhibit on Herod at the Israel Museum. Around it, the king chose to

gravel, with no evidence of planting pots; see GLEASON 1987-1988, 33; GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013, 333.

⁶⁷ NETZER *et al.* 2010.

⁶⁸ BJ 1, 667-673; AJ 17, 195-199.

⁶⁹ NETZER 1981, 85; 141 nn. 29-30; 2006, 188.

reprise the idea of a hanging garden. A layer of dark brown soil on some of the terraces around the tomb and an irrigation pool just to its west led to the conclusion that the whole precinct was designed as a formal terraced garden.⁷⁰ The pool, I surmise, was filled with water drawn from the cisterns. Everything but the tomb and some of its terraces seems to have been demolished and buried under the fill of a second phase, a massive augmentation of the mound undertaken shortly before Herod's death. Parts of the augmented tell's new surface were sealed over with large stones (Fig. 4.12).⁷¹ The graphic that accompanies the preliminary report of the excavations presents a stark, treeless landscape, but we should imagine the terraces at least to be planted in some fashion, and perhaps parts of the tell around them.

To my knowledge no botanical finds or planting pots from the site have been reported; consequently little more can be said about the site's character as a garden. Of course, Roman tombs were habitually situated in gardens, and burial in an ancestral tomb at a country residence became increasingly popular among the aristocracy from the late Republic onward. For Jewish kings, however, this practice was evidently rare.⁷² In this case, as in so many others, Herod was going his own way, making grand rhetorical gestures in a solidly Romanophile idiom but always with an idiosyncratic vernacular twist: in this case, a marriage of the thoroughly Near Eastern topoi of the

⁷⁰ NETZER *et al.* 2010, 90.

⁷¹ NETZER *et al.* 2010, 104-105.

⁷² Manasseh and his son Amon, kings of Judah in the seventh century BCE, were buried in the gardens of their residence at Uzza, probably near Jerusalem. To suggest, as WISEMAN (1983, 143) does, that in ancient Israel the practice of situating tombs in gardens "was deplored, perhaps for its association with fertility rites and sacrifices", is at best an exaggeration. Although the Bible portrays Amon as a bad king, Manasseh was praised for renouncing his youthful idolatry and ruling righteously (II Kings 21-22; II Chron. 33). Josephus describes Manasseh as a reformed man who was righteous in his later life and worthy of emulation (*AJ* 10, 37-46). There is nothing in the sources to suggest that the burial of either king in a garden, even one attached to a residence, was in any sense blameworthy.

man-made tell and the hanging garden. The striking silhouette of this lone tower-tomb, nestled in a graded stack of planting beds against a bleached backdrop of the almost featureless mass of mountain, is truly singular. Babylon, it seems, returned to the stage in Herod's parting message to the world.

II.2. The Course and its pavilion

With the discovery of the mausoleum, Netzer put the finishing touches on his longstanding hypothesis that Herod had planned a monumentalized funerary route at Herodeion from an early phase of its development, at least the time when the lower palace was laid out.⁷³ This he envisioned hypothetically running through a garden arranged around the long, narrow Course, which consists of a shallow terrace between Herod's residential complex uphill and the huge Pool Complex downhill (see Fig. 4.10). Aligned at one end with a monumental vaulted hall controlling an open line of sight down its axis, the Course does seem suited to an occasional function;⁷⁴ and it is easy to envision it within a garden context. This basic plan — a niched, grotto-like *diaeta* aligned axially with a *grande allée* — has numerous echoes in Roman architecture, most famously the Canopus at Hadrian's Villa. While the Canopus is unique in its massive deployment of water features, the Monumental Building is not entirely without them; excavations in the 1990s uncovered a transverse rectangular pool, some 3 × 12 m, directly in front of its entrance, strengthening Netzer's original hypothesis that this was a dining or viewing

⁷³ NETZER 1981, 45; 2006, 196-199; NETZER *et al.* 2010, 107.

⁷⁴ NETZER 1981, 36-45; 2006, 196-197. HUMPHREY (1986, 531) observes that another viewing pavilion, this one projecting out from the residential complex about halfway along the south side of the Course, has some of the properties of the *puluinar* of a circus. This may have been yet another fashion-forward architectural quotation by Herod, since the *puluinar* as an exclusive box for the ruler seems to have been Augustus' invention at Rome (HUMPHREY 1986, 78-79).

pavilion.⁷⁵ The main point of this pavilion was evidently to provide a commanding prospect down the Course from a position of controlling stasis. Its easterly exposure ensured that the heavy, vaulted room would remain cool and shaded in the summer afternoons while the descending sun would bathe the view in light. Netzer may have been right that Herod envisioned the Course and its dependencies as a venue for his funeral ceremony, but I see no reason to believe that it was designed *principally* for this purpose. Like Hadrian's Canopus, it should be seen as a combined *triclinium-ambulatio*, a place where the king could dine before a magnificent, controlled view or stroll with his courtiers in the linear, reciprocal fashion that anticipated one well-known variety of Roman *ambulatio* — a long, narrow promenade (*ambulacrum, peripatos, xystus*), often of a prescribed length, where one could walk in laps while engaging in conversation with companions.⁷⁶

Along the northwest part of the Course, beginning at the Monumental Building and extending for 40 meters, are the remains of a 3-meter-wide colonnaded walkway (see Fig. 4.10).⁷⁷ Its existing remains extend slightly beyond the rectangular Pool Complex abutting the Course; thus it may have run the full length of the *ambulatio*. Whether a twin colonnade answered it on the south side remains to be seen; nor has any evidence of planting pots or trees emerged. In the Roman repertory, the closest parallel to the Course is probably the *ambulatio* of the Southern Sector at Baiae (Fig. 4.13).⁷⁸ This too is a long, narrow, architecturally defined zone toward the bottom of a terraced hillside with a vaulted pavilion at one end. In this case, it substituted as a kind of *palaestra* for the two bath structures

⁷⁵ NETZER 2006, 196.

⁷⁶ On the Roman *ambulatio*, see GRIMAL 1984, 256–259; CIMA 1986, 53–55; COARELLI 1997b. On the culture of walking in ancient Rome, see O'SULLIVAN 2011.

⁷⁷ NETZER 2006, 196.

⁷⁸ YEGÜL 1996, 142–144. Originally the apsidal room at the end of this *ambulatio* had eight small niches with fountains, leading Maiuri to regard it as a *nymphaeum* (MAIURI 1969, 76).

appended to it on the uphill side.⁷⁹ But it was too narrow to be a functional exercise ground, except maybe for foot races; Yegül suggests, attractively, that it was a planted space intended for leisurely walking and thus a sunnier alternative to the covered *ambulatio* farther up the hillside.

Just as Herod's Sunken Garden provides an early instance of a garden-theater defined literally — a centered space implying a stage, and therefore a certain degree of fixity both in action and in the audience's expectations⁸⁰ — the Course looks forward to the aleatory dynamism of the garden-stadium. Instinctually, they represent the two sides of spectacle: drama, with its scripted narratives; and sport, with its pleasing open-endedness, its stories born and lived out in real time. Leisurely walking might not literally qualify as sport, but in courtly environments it bespoke unpredictable contention and uncertain outcomes — the stuff of debate, counsel, or even Socratic discourse. In a classical context, at least, the garden-stadium seems a more natural trope than the garden-theater. A preference for elongated forms may have been predicated on something as simple as the Roman aristocratic enthusiasm for taking walks in a continuous loop; but additionally, from a historical perspective, the sporting theme carries a more powerful metonymic current through Greek garden history than the thespian or oratorical. Gardens had long coexisted with venues for games and entertainment. The concept of a gymnasium within a garden goes back at least as far as Plato's Academy, and may have applied to the palace at Alexandria.⁸¹ In 165 BCE, in the great sanctuary-grove of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne on

⁷⁹ The Course also communicated with a bath building on its uphill side near the Monumental Building, but it was not of the Roman type; it enclosed a Jewish ritual pool or *mikveh*. Roman-style baths were behind the Monumental Building at the southwest corner of the Pool Complex (NETZER 2006, 192-195; 196).

⁸⁰ On the performative aspects of gardens see VON STACKELBERG 2009a; 2009b, 80-86; 132-140.

⁸¹ LA ROCCA 1986, 29; NIELSEN 1994, 131; 2001, 167.

the Orontes, a town of high significance to Herod later,⁸² the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes had held extensive games accommodating both Greek- and Roman-style contests.⁸³ A gymnasium is specifically mentioned as well as gladiatorial contests and beast fights. Probably other Hellenistic palace complexes, such as those at Rhodes, Mytilene, the island complex at Antioch, Pergamon, and Alexandria, blended gardens with performance architecture.⁸⁴ Shortly after Herod's death, Augustus himself would surround his great *naumachia* with a huge memorial garden west of the Tiber, the Nemus Caesareum. I will return to that monument presently.

Yet the garden-stadium or garden-hippodrome motif had to wait until the Flavian period to enjoy its florescence.⁸⁵ Did it have anything at all to do with the Course at Herodeion? Hard to say; but we might inquire, with all necessary caution, whether it was the Jewish War of 66-70 CE, and the reacquaintance of Roman aristocrats with the startling creativity of Herodian architecture, that brought the idea back home. Nowadays scholars are quite comfortable asserting that Herod was not just a borrower of ideas circulating in the Helleno-Roman world, but also a source of them, both in his own time and in later generations.⁸⁶ His material accomplishments, and the sheer power and expressivity of his unique, hybrid architectural creations, would not have failed to impress the Roman commanders who occupied his redoubts, cities, and palaces during and after the war.

⁸² ROLLER 1998, 82-83; 214-216. Herod's first contact with Romans was at Antioch, and at nearby Daphne Messalla defended him before Antony against the recriminations of Jewish deputies in 42 BCE (JOSEPH. *BJ* 1, 243-244). This marked the beginning of Herod's political ascendancy and its inextricable connections to Rome. Strabo calls the sanctuary an *alsos* (STRAB. 16, 2, 6).

⁸³ POLYB. 30, 25-26; NIELSEN 1994, 115.

⁸⁴ GLEASON 1996, 212; NIELSEN 2001.

⁸⁵ GRIMAL 1984, 249-255.

⁸⁶ MACDONALD 1993, 399-401; GLEASON 1996, 208; ROLLER 1998, 254-262.

II.3. *The Pool Complex and its comparanda*

A stairway led directly from the Monumental Building down into the Pool Complex, a huge peristyle garden measuring 130 × 110 m built on a massive terrace thrown athwart the old wadi. Within it, on the west side, was the large rectangular pool, measuring 69 × 45 m (see Fig. 4.10).⁸⁷ Meant for swimming and perhaps punting, it was built in a style familiar from the Jericho and Caesarea palaces, fully 3 meters deep with stairs at each corner and a continuous bench around its inner periphery. The pool's capacity was about 9 million liters and, in Netzer's view, it doubled as a reservoir for irrigating orchards on the slopes of the now-blocked wadi to its east.⁸⁸

Except for its scale, there is nothing unfamiliar about the pool's schematic arrangement; if we disregard the buildings around its periphery, it resembles Herod's redesign of the old Hasmonean palace at Jericho.⁸⁹ After the earthquake of 31 BCE, he combined adjacent twin pools into one by partly removing the partition between them, and the paved area around the pools was converted into a garden. In rows paralleling the pool's long side, and set about 2.4 m apart, hollows were hacked into the plaster pavement to accommodate planting pots; then the whole area, pavement and all, was covered over with a thick layer of garden soil. In place of a former pavilion aligned with the pools to their south, a dovecote was constructed.⁹⁰

The garden plots of the Herodeion Pool Complex have not been excavated, but again there is no reason to suppose that their plantings differed appreciably from those at Jericho. The most striking feature of the architecture is the pool's circular

⁸⁷ NETZER 1981, 10-30; 2006, 190.

⁸⁸ NETZER 1981, 28; 2006, 191.

⁸⁹ NETZER 2004, 70-139; GLEASON & BAR-NATHAN 2013, 318; Figs. 16.9, 16.10.

⁹⁰ Dovecotes seem to have been popular fixtures of palaces at this time. Herod's palace in Jerusalem evidently had several (IOSEPH. *BJ* 5, 181).

island, which Netzer reconstructs as a colonnaded *tholos*.⁹¹ Its floor, which seems to have borne a mosaic, may have been set only slightly above water level; the foundations were completely submerged when the pool was full. Without a substantial crepidoma or podium to elevate the structure, its profile must have produced a slightly haunting effect, especially at times of day that created strong reflections. This top-heavy visual conceit provided a piquant affront to the Vitruvian dogma of *symmetria*.

Once again, Herod's precocity brings us up short. An island pavilion within a large pool within a garden *seems* like a familiar *topos*, given the Romans' love of miniaturizing and epitomizing famous places and geographic features in their villas; yet I know of only one conceivable precedent in the Greco-Roman world — the island palace of Qasr el-Abd in Jordan — and, as far as I can tell, the motif was never common at the height of the villa culture of imperial Rome.⁹² Only pharaonic Egypt, where large artificial palace pools and pavilions are widely encountered, seems to preserve evidence of artificial garden pools with islands.⁹³ But recently a closely comparable example has been investigated at Petra that might shed some light on Herod's pool complex. Excavations alongside the Great Temple have revealed a similar arrangement of garden, pool, and island pavilion, only on a smaller scale.⁹⁴ Leigh-Ann Bedal has dated this complex to the reign of the Nabataean king Aretas IV (ruled 9 BCE - 40 CE). The principal garden

⁹¹ NETZER 1981, 13-15; 2006, 190; LICHTENBERGER 1999, 108-109.

⁹² On the palace of Tyros (Araq el-Emir, Qasr el-Abd) see WILL & LARCHÉ 1991; NIELSEN 1994, 139-146; ROLLER 1998, 95; NETZER 2000; 2006, 289-290; ROSENBERG 2002. On large constructed pools in a variety of ancient Mediterranean contexts, see BEDAL 2004, 107-119.

⁹³ I am grateful to Christian Loeben for this information. On Egyptian gardens with pools (most without islands, but often with pavilions nearby), see WILKINSON 1998; NIELSEN 2001, 172; 180; BEDAL 2004, 110-111; 128-133; KAPPEL & LOEBEN 2011, 7-12; and LOEBEN, *supra*, 32.

⁹⁴ BEDAL 2004; BEDAL, GLEASON, & SCHRYVER 2007; 2011, Fig. 1; BEDAL et al. 2013; EVYASAF 2010, 33-35.

occupied the rectangular terrace north of the pool. It has yielded evidence of tree and shrub pits, root cavities, and planting pots as well as a gravel path dividing the terrace transversely. The path has a heavy stone border that suggested to Gleason a stylobate for the columns of a pergola. West of the central axis, the border broke into a small semicircular *exedra*, evidently a fountain. Another seems to have answered it on the north side, and a tree may have stood between them in the center of the path.⁹⁵ Preliminary soil analysis suggests that date palms were present, as well as grasses requiring heavy irrigation.⁹⁶ Several architectural features of uncertain function were set on the main axis of the garden, and the profusion of water conduits and tanks would suggest that the garden terrace was a veritable showplace of waterplay.

The upper terrace, designed on the same central axis, had the most interesting architectural feature: a large rectangular pool, 43 × 24 m in size, and, like Herod's pools, deep enough for swimming and diving at 2.5 m. It lies transverse to the main axis and occupies almost the entire surface of the terrace. In its center was a large rectangular pavilion connected to the north side of the pool by a short vaulted bridge.⁹⁷ It has been reconstructed as a Cyzicene *oecus* with a vernacular flat roof. Its principal view, and the entrance, were oriented to the garden below. Though smaller than the one at Herodeion, this pool nevertheless held about 3.1 million liters of water — a massive volume for any purely decorative or recreational purpose. Sitting on the higher of the two terraces, with a distribution tank on axis just to its north, it manifestly served as a reservoir for irrigating the garden below it⁹⁸ — just as Netzer imagines that

⁹⁵ BEDAL, GLEASON, & SCHRYVER 2011, 324-325; 327.

⁹⁶ BEDAL, GLEASON, & SCHRYVER 2011, 315.

⁹⁷ BEDAL 2004, 50-59; BEDAL, GLEASON, & SCHRYVER 2007, 159-160.

⁹⁸ A lead pipe found *in situ* seems to have drained water from the pool into this *castellum*, which in turn served water features around the garden and perhaps also irrigated it. The *castellum* had independent sources of water as well, and its precise function remains obscure. See BEDAL 2004, 61-63.

the Herodeion pool watered the wadi valley. Uphill from the pool terrace, a cave and a possible waterfall feature have only begun to be investigated; but Bedal suspects that this area too, intentionally left in a rustic state, contributed to the meaning and the aesthetic of the whole.⁹⁹

Situated in the city along a busy street, this garden at Petra seems to have had a strongly public character. But like the great temple next door, with which it shared a magnificent triple portico taking the form of a covered *ambulatio*, its columns crowned by the famous elephant-headed capitals,¹⁰⁰ this garden benefited from patronage at the highest level. Of course, the formal similarities between the two gardens have drawn some notice,¹⁰¹ but the likelihood of a more direct connection has to my knowledge not been explored. Aretas IV, under whose rule this garden was realized, had direct and intimate connections to Herod; he was possibly the king's cousin, and his daughter married Herod's son and successor, Antipas. For his own part, Herod would have known Petra; it was where he took refuge after his retreat from Jerusalem and the battle near Herodeion in 40.¹⁰² His mother Kypros was from a royal Nabataean line and Petra was probably her hometown. It is agreed that at least two other major commissions under Aretas in Petra — the Temple of the Winged Lions and the Large Theater — were inspired by Herodian architecture.¹⁰³

Now we return to the single built precedent in the Hellenistic world for an island pavilion in a grand garden setting: the

⁹⁹ BEDAL, GLEASON, & SCHRYVER 2011, 321–322.

¹⁰⁰ JOUKOWSKY 2007, 95–98; 356–363. The triple porticos flanking the temple precinct belong to the ‘grand design’ implemented in Phase IV of the temple, dated to around the turn of the first millennium — i.e., contemporaneous with the first phase of the garden. It seems probable that both projects were part of a single monumentalizing program under Aretas IV.

¹⁰¹ BEDAL 2004, 117.

¹⁰² JOSEPH. *AJ* 14, 362; *BJ* 1, 267.

¹⁰³ HAMMOND 1965, 62–65; MCKENZIE 1990, 51; 92; SEGAL 1995, 91–92; ROLLER 1998, 255.

palace of Tyros at Qasr el-Abd in Transjordan (Fig. 4.14).¹⁰⁴ This great rectangular structure, built by Hyrcanus the Tobiad around 180 BCE, stood on an island amid an artificial lake. Describing it with greater admiration than precision, Josephus remarks that it was surrounded by a wide and deep *euripos*: some moat indeed! In the cliffs nearby, he continues, Hyrcanus created caves for banqueting and living, complete with artificial waterworks; he also made "enclosures distinguished by their size, which he adorned with gigantic *paradeisoi*".¹⁰⁵ Since the lake was created by a dam, it probably was used to irrigate the immediately surrounding terrain, like the pools we have just investigated. Can it be mere coincidence that this, the closest parallel to the pool pavilions at Greater Herodeion and Petra in the entire ancient Mediterranean world, fell just on the eastern border of Herod's realm — and, in fact, was only some 35 Roman miles northeast of Herodeion as the crow flies? I would submit, with all due caution, that this palace, which remains a compelling presence even today, impressed Herod greatly as he sought Hellenistic models by which a ruler could construct his own image in the landscape. It hardly matters that Hyrcanus the Tobiad is strangely obscure in the annals of history; it is enough that his palace constitutes, in Netzer's words, "the most magnificent remains from the Hellenistic period known throughout the Land of Israel".¹⁰⁶ If Herod could create a 'little Babylon' at Jericho, could Greater Herodeion have harbored his 'little Tyros'? As often with this king, the direct quotation was avoided in favor of the paraphrase: the reference was meant to be thematic and suggestive, nothing more. Petra's Garden Pool Complex more resembles a direct theme-park miniaturization of Tyros, with its rectilinear island pavilion opening out onto each short side; even the cave in the

¹⁰⁴ WILL & LARCHE 1991; NIELSEN 1994, 139-146; NETZER 2000; 2006, 289-290.

¹⁰⁵ JOSEPH. *AJ* 12, 230-233 (quotation from 233).

¹⁰⁶ NETZER 2006, 289.

escarpment beyond the pool, adjacent to some kind of artificial waterplay, seems to mimic Hyrcanus' palace playground.¹⁰⁷

All too often Herod, purportedly the quintessential client king,¹⁰⁸ is by extension presumed to be a client builder, a consummate borrower of ideas emanating from Alexandria, Rome, the Bay of Naples, and anywhere else he had been. This is true, as far as it goes; but it is equally true for every patron of architecture, and thus every architect, in the Roman world. To be a master of one's craft was to invent by way of derivation. Herod's architecture was as inventive as any in Rome at the time, possibly even more so because of the multiplicity of its influences. "Ironically," says Duane Roller, "Herod's architectural legacy was stronger outside his kingdom than within it".¹⁰⁹ But this isn't really such an irony. Herod was a thoroughly international ruler; the geographic extent of his building program, which extended far beyond his realm, exceeded that of most Roman emperors, and fell short of only a few.¹¹⁰ He was a master of connections, gathering and radiating ideas.

I would like to end with one final hypothetical connection, this time taking Herod's influence back to Rome. In 2 BCE, two years after Herod's death, Augustus completed his great *naumachia* in the neighborhood west of the Tiber — at 1800 × 1200 Roman feet, one of the largest excavated bodies of water in antiquity (Fig. 4.15). Its everyday purpose, if we presume that it was customarily full, was ornamental; but its occasional purpose was to function as the venue for semi-staged naval battles.¹¹¹ It was not the first of its kind; Caesar had invented the genre of the *naumachia* for his triumphal games

¹⁰⁷ BEDAL, GLEASON, & SCHRYVER 2011, 321–322. Tyros also had a monumental gateway to the estate; it remains to be seen whether the Petra Garden Pool Complex also had one.

¹⁰⁸ For a challenge to this understanding, see GRUEN 2009.

¹⁰⁹ ROLLER 1998, 254.

¹¹⁰ ROLLER 1998, 259–260.

¹¹¹ COLEMAN 1993; TAYLOR 1997; 2000, 169–200; BERLAN-BAJARD 2006; CARIOU 2009.

in 46 BCE.¹¹² Augustus, however, introduced two innovations. The first was to situate the entire pool within a grove, which in later years became a memorial park known as the Nemus Caesarum in honor of his deceased heirs presumptive, Gaius and Lucius Caesar.¹¹³ The second was to furnish this pool with an island. Upon it a memorial (*mnēma*) was erected in a second phase of construction after the successive deaths of Lucius in 2 CE and Gaius two years later. Somewhere near the water, perhaps in the memorial itself, were also statues (*eikones*), presumably of the honorees.¹¹⁴ Dio's description of an amphibious battle staged here in 80 CE makes clear that there was open ground around or in front of the memorial, since a battle took place for the memorial's capture; in this respect, the island differed from its precedents in the East. Also unlike Herod's island, this one was off center, for we know it was close enough to the bank to be connected to it by a bridge. We can even estimate the distance, because Tiberius' replacement bridge had a deck that consisted of a single beam of larch 120 Roman feet long.¹¹⁵

Despite these innovations, the nexus of suggestivity is interesting. Apart from Julius Caesar's *naumachia*, which had serious practical shortcomings leading to its early demise,¹¹⁶ Augustus' other model in Rome was the Stagnum Agrippae (see Fig. 4.15). This was a great pool in the central Campus Martius completed around 19 BCE, the year that its water supply, the Aqua Virgo, was introduced. Herod would have beheld the Stagnum, with its mighty baths and prominent emissary — the Euripus — on his second trip to Rome in 17. Annexed to it in some fashion were the Horti Agrippae; Tacitus refers to

¹¹² Proving pestilential, the pool was backfilled in 43; Herod would not have seen it on his visit in 40.

¹¹³ RG 23; SUET. *Aug.* 43, 1; TAC. *Ann.* 14, 15; DIO CASS. 66, 25, 3; CIL VI 31566 = XI 3772A.

¹¹⁴ DIO CASS. 66, 25, 3.

¹¹⁵ PLIN. *HN* 16, 190; 200.

¹¹⁶ SUET. *Iul.* 44; DIO CASS. 45, 17.

an "adjoining grove" and Strabo to a "grove (*alsos*) between the pool and the Euripus".¹¹⁷ So the Stagnum was in some sense a garden pond; but, as far as we know, it had no island. Two years later, in 15, Agrippa visited Herod in Judaea just as the king's building program at home was reaching its culmination; during his visit, he was entertained at Herodeion.¹¹⁸ The brief sojourn cannot have failed to impress Agrippa, whose own prodigious proclivity for building was rivaled at every turn by Herod's. Yet the rivalry remained friendly.¹¹⁹ Over many months in 14, the two men were inseparable, traveling across Anatolia together to Samos; they met again in the spring of 13. In 12, probably right after Agrippa's death, Herod was back in Rome for the third and final time.

During these years the movement of building materials, techniques, ideas, and even construction teams between Italy and Judaea was frenetic.¹²⁰ Augustus probably began work on his *naumachia* and the aqueduct supplying it shortly thereafter. Prompted by Agrippa, who had seen the island at Herodeion, he may even have envisioned the *naumachia* initially as a kind of tribute to his departed adjutant, with an appropriately Herodian twist on the prototype, an island in his artificial garden lake — with or without a pavilion, we cannot know for sure. The island would soon become a proper memorial to his deceased heirs, and that too may carry echoes of the prototype, for Herodeion itself seems to have been a memorial — to Herod himself, of course, but also to the nearby battle early in his career that inspired him to build there in the first place. Josephus refers to the site as a "monument of the victory"

¹¹⁷ *quantum iuxta nemoris*, TAC. *Ann.* 15, 37, 7; STRAB. 13, 1, 19; COARELLI 1996; 1997a, 548-554.

¹¹⁸ JOSEPH. *AJ* 16, 13-14.

¹¹⁹ ROLLER 1998, 43-53.

¹²⁰ HOHLFELDER 1996; ROLLER 1998, 85-124; 138; NETZER 2006, 302-306.

(*mnēmē tou katorthōmatos*).¹²¹ It has even been proposed that the original prototype, Tyros, was itself a mausoleum.¹²²

With Herod's gardens, like his architecture, the pungent fermentation of ideas still lingers in the air; the yeasty proliferation of meanings seems inexhaustible. This paper has aimed to advance in a kindred spirit — that is, ripe with suggestion, but lacking in closure. It aims to open a conversation, not to seal an argument; the latter option is probably unavailable anyway, given the fragmentary information at our disposal. But if it offers any hope whatever for getting us closer to actual knowledge, rather than to mere opinion, I would suggest that the way forward, if the political situation in the West Bank permits, is to return to excavation. The zones on which I have lavished the most attention — the Sunken Garden, the Course, and the Pool Complex — have been only selectively excavated, and their planted areas hardly at all. Ehud Netzer demonstrated by his life work that the best way to find Herod is to dig for him. *Alav hashalom.*

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¹²¹ The battle occurred during Herod's desperate flight from Jerusalem in 40. His mother Kypros fell from a cart and nearly died, driving Herod to contemplate suicide (JOSEPH. *AJ* 14, 355-360; NETZER 1981, 102-105; 2006, 179-180). Shortly after the incident Herod reached Rome, where his legitimacy as ruler of Judaea would be reconfirmed — and where he would see Italian architecture, including Caesar's *naumachia*, for the first time.

¹²² ROSENBERG 2002.

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DISCUSSION

A. Marzano: You make a compelling argument about Herod's sources of architectural inspiration for his building projects. Particularly in the case of the sunken garden at Jericho it seems to me that the example of the so-called Villa dell'Acqua Claudia near Anguillara Sabazia, with its hemicycle and profusion of water features in garden space, offers a nice parallel from the environs of Rome.¹ It is laid out in a broad arc rather than a straight line, but with a similar alternating pattern of niches and semicolumns in a rough *opus reticulatum*. The niches contained not statues, but large terracotta pots.² Also, are you aware of Edmund Thomas' recent article on this villa?³ He argues that it should be dated to the Augustan period, rather than the late Republic; this would associate the villa's waterworks with the Aqua Alsietina, Augustus' aqueduct leading from the nearby Lacus Alsietinus to Rome. If Thomas is right, this villa and the Jericho garden can be taken as examples of the architectural ideas and fashions that circulated among the Mediterranean elite around the turn of the millennium. Although far apart, the two buildings share a common architectural language and looking at them together can actually help us understand each better.

R. Taylor: I am very grateful for this citation, especially since I was unaware of Thomas' recent redating of the hemicycle. Zarmakoupi, I recall, regards the vessels in the niches as flowerpots, but Vighi, the original excavator, took them to be catch

¹ VIGHI 1940; 1941.

² VIGHI 1940, 398.

³ THOMAS 2012.

basins like the ones I postulate for Herod's *nymphaeum*,⁴ and I gather that Thomas follows Vighi on this. Overall, the arrangement at Anguillara is more complex than at Jericho, since each niche had a window opening onto a continuous *cryptoporticus* behind. How this arrangement would accommodate the water supply system to the niches, or how the windows would interact with spouts, remains a mystery. But I could imagine various scenarios — none of them, as far as I know, closely paralleled in surviving Roman architecture. If this villa does actually date to about the time of the Aqua Alsietina or its late-Augustan expansion called the Forma Mentis, then it would postdate Herod's garden by 15 to 30 years. That might account for the greater intricacy and sophistication of its architecture, which is daring even by later standards. Incidentally, Vighi's justification for dating this villa to the Republican period rests on the seeming irregularity of the blocks of reticulate, which he regards as a transitional *opus quasi reticulatum*.⁵ To the contrary, my colleague Mike O'Neill points out that the irregularity is incidental, stemming from the use of *selce* rather than the ubiquitous tuff. This basaltic lava was sometimes preferred for local masonry, and even much later *selce* reticulate masonry in the Lago Bracciano area is similarly irregular simply because this stone, unlike tuff, is too hard to saw into blocks. Each *selce* block was shaped by fracturing, using a mason's hammer. There is another way that the hemicycle might fit into this picture: it resembles Ligorio's celebrated plan of a very similar façade set into the Pincian hillside, which he assigned to the Horti Luculliani.⁶ Broise and Jolivet found no definitive evidence of this feature in their excavations on the Pincian Hill, but the basic disposition of the slope at least admits of its plausibility. Ligorio put the hemicycle downhill from the *tholos* temple. As for the garden theater discovered by

⁴ ZARMAKOUI 2005; VIGHI 1940; 1941.

⁵ VIGHI 1941, 146.

⁶ VIGHI 1941, 155-156.

Brose and Jolivet, unknown to Ligorio, I can't say whether it lay between the hemicycle and the *tholos*, or downhill from them both.

B. Bergmann: The 'villa vocabulary' of Herod's gardens and its resonance with public complexes in Rome, as well as with spectacle architecture throughout the empire, is intriguing. Your comment that for this king "the direct quotation was avoided in favor of the paraphrase" could apply as well to evocations of monumental spaces elsewhere in Roman contexts and specifically in house and villa gardens. Can one say more about Herod's mode of appropriation and how it relates to that of sites like Hadrian's villa at Tivoli?

R. Taylor: The point I would emphasize is the radical hybridity and fluidity of Herod's architecture and landscapes. David Jacobson has even suggested that Herod envisioned Masada's northern palace as the prow of a Hellenistic pleasure ship fitted with tiers of colonnaded pavilions!⁷ If we concede this is possible, can we not then inquire whether it was inspired at some level by the Tiber Island in Rome, which also acquired a sculpted 'prow' at some uncertain ancient date? When talking about close-up details or even middle-distance views of Herod's palaces, as I mostly did, it is easy to underemphasize the most obvious quotations of all, such as the great mound of Herodeion. Though it was Herod's burial place, it did not in any way refer to tumulus tombs, which generally lack a radial surface staircase and are closed at the top; indeed, its dissociation from tumuli should be clearer than ever, now that we surmise Herod was buried not inside the mound itself but in a monument projecting from its surface.⁸ Instead, locals would

⁷ JACOBSON 2006.

⁸ On Herodeion's purported relationship to Nemrud Dagh in Kommagene or to the Mausoleum of Augustus at Rome, see MAGNESS 1998 and bibliography. She suggests alternatively that both the Mausoleum and Herodeion were derived from the tomb of Alexander at Alexandria. But the features that defeat

probably have read it as a place for the living; a tell crowned by a defensive circuit, with a 'suburban' villa adorning the slopes below. But the 'town' at its top, a deeply countersunk miniature villa appointed with Roman baths and a peristyle, was alien to vernacular tradition. The palace and Pool Complex at the tell's base was itself a hybrid, combining Helleno-Roman, Egyptian, and local traditions. So if we speak of a villa vocabulary in Herod's palaces, we must imagine it spoken in a babel of languages stretching from the Tigris to Rome. What distinguishes the overall effect from Hadrian's theme-park villa is that Herod had much more at stake in making his choices. He needed to please the Romans, but he lived among Jews, many of them bitterly opposed to Rome. His symbolism gave voice to more than an exotic travelogue; it was meant to appeal, at some level, to ethnic, religious, and national identities while simultaneously projecting the image of an urbane ruler with connections to the very top. The historical significance of Tyros, either locally or internationally, may remain elusive, but that doesn't mean it didn't exist. The Hanging Garden seems a little easier; its status as a World Wonder ensured its enduring fame. But why an image of Babylon — specifically, the most famous creation of the hated Nebuchadnezzar — would have appealed to Jews is a bit confounding. Here the unspoken language gets complex; while Herod's hanging garden at Jericho and Herodium symbolized the Captivity, they also by sheer metonymy might have conveyed the prestige of the Jews who endured the Captivity and returned to reclaim Judaea. But in the final analysis, Herod may have been playing more to the Romans, and their perceptions of the Jewish people and their history, than to Jews themselves.

S. Dalley: Whether or not you think that the Hanging Garden was in Babylon or Nineveh, do you suppose it still

all these analogies are the crater-like sunken villa at the top and the projecting tomb halfway up the slope.

flourished in the time of Herod? Do you think he may have visited it? Exactly which characteristics might he have imitated, and were the imitated features taken through intermediaries who also imitated them? It seems possible to me that Philip of Macedon at Vergina may previously have imitated features of this World Wonder.

R. Taylor: I can find no more definitive treatment of the elusive later life of the Hanging Garden than your own.⁹ As you are at pains to demonstrate — and yes, I happily accept your daring and completely persuasive relocation of the Gardens to Nineveh — there is plenty of reason to believe that any monument regarded as a World Wonder must have retained some degree of tangible existence into the Hellenistic period. But we can do even better than that. Q. Curtius Rufus declares that the Garden *inuiolata durat* in his own time, the second or third quarter of the first century CE.¹⁰ Such an unequivocal assertion is hard to dismiss. I doubt that Herod would ever have laid eyes on either Babylon or Nineveh, but it is abundantly clear from Josephus that significant populations of Jews still occupied Mesopotamia, and especially Babylonia, during Hasmonean and Herodian times; as you know, we now have evidence that many Jews were already assimilated into Babylonian society in exilic times.¹¹ Early in his reign Herod sought to press his legitimacy with the Jews of this region, as well as the Parthian king, Phraates IV.¹² If the Garden in Nineveh was still flourishing, Herod doubtless had good reports of it. I can only speculate about the role of intermediaries, but they must have existed. Possibly they numbered among client kings or their families brought up in Hellenistic courts or Roman households; embassies; war captives; or international intellectuals, architects, or engineers. The Parthians, who had more or

⁹ DALLEY 2013, 29–41; 152–208.

¹⁰ CURT. 5, 1.

¹¹ PEARCE 2011.

¹² JOSEPH. AJ 15, 14–22.

less continuous dealings with the Romans throughout this period, provided the channels of communication and travel that kept Mesopotamia on the cognitive map of the Helleno-Roman world. But in truth, Herod needed little of this; a sketchy evocation of 'Babylon' and its most famous monument was enough for his purposes, which were grounded more in regional politics than in cultural curiosity. Herod's chief advisor, the historian Nikolaos of Damascus, seems to have invented the Babylonian pedigree to please the king.¹³

K. von Stackelberg: Herod's garden tomb was found where no one expected it to be, midway along the monumental stair at Herodeion. Could you comment on how this placement illustrates the different aesthetic bases of the ancient world? It appears that the most important aspect of garden placement and design is its relationship to movement: lateral and vertical, ascending and descending.

R. Taylor: I confess that before preparing for this conference I rarely paused to reflect on these questions; I felt that too much of what constituted the aesthetics of ancient gardens was beyond recovery. I still hesitate to generalize for the simple reason that absent a framing peristyle, it is too easy to confuse a garden with something more functionally elastic and less easy to define. But from what I can tell, your supposition about movement is right — at least in villas and palaces, where gardens and groves spill out beyond the confines of peristyles. I'm sure that Herod's gardens — or the one at Stabiae, for that matter — would have been pleasing enough to view from a distance, but how different they must have seemed from a formal parterre garden of early modern Europe! The latter can function, in effect, like a framed picture, resolving at a distance into meaningful forms, patterns, and blocks of color. The Herodian garden, it seems, like the Roman garden, had less to

¹³ JOSEPH. *AJ* 14, 3.

convey from a height or a distance except perhaps the clarity of its paths and architecture. For the most part, Pliny presents his villa gardens at eye level, simulating their enjoyment in real time by emphasizing their sequential variety and capacity for surprise, not their static splendor.¹⁴ And from what I can discern in actual planting schemes, both Roman and Herodian gardens favored immediacy and immersion, not detached rationalism. All of this is predicated on movement and discovery. It may be too soon to process the significance of the design and placement of Herod's tomb and its terraced gardens. Obviously they constituted a secondary landmark visible from a great distance, like the monumental tombs nestled into the slopes of the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, but more looming and solitary.¹⁵ Herod's tomb garden must have invited visitors to ascend or descend to it by way of the staircase, which was rebuilt and realigned at the time, and then perhaps to wander laterally among the small, inviting terraces. But this was not only a hanging garden, it was an elevated one: a view from below, revealing mostly trees and mantles of greenery festooning the terrace walls, would only hint at the botanical riches set within each little terrace like jewels in a staggered row of bezels. I know of no comparable aesthetic among Roman gardens.

É. Prioux: Deux éléments de comparaison peuvent enrichir la liste des éventuels modèles romains. Strabon utilise la métaphore du décor de théâtre (*skēnographikēn opsin*) pour évoquer le paysage de la zone sud du Champ de Mars, avec ses collines "s'avancant en demi-cercle jusqu'au fleuve", avec son architecture formant un dense tissu de temples et de monuments et ses gazons.¹⁶ Par ailleurs, le complexe pompéien du Champ de

¹⁴ PLIN. *Ep.* 2, 17; 5, 6.

¹⁵ Remarkably, the theater opposite the tomb was obliterated and paved over at about the time the tomb terraces were built, and the entire tell was heightened; see NETZER *et al.* 2011, 104–105; 107. Perhaps it was thought to detract from the desired aesthetic of the tomb and its garden.

¹⁶ STRAB. 5, 3, 8.

Mars assemble de manière fameuse un jardin et un théâtre et les sources littéraires évoquent les baumes de Judée et palmiers qui furent exposés lors du triomphe de Pompée qui précéda la construction de ce complexe.

R. Taylor: I am struck, as was Nicholas Purcell, by Strabo's careful conflation of the language of gardens, the palaestra, the theater, and the heroön — i.e., the mausoleum and *ustrinum* of Augustus.¹⁷ To various degrees these elements, along with porticated architecture, constitute the proper setting for philosophy — specifically, of the Lyceum and the Academy in suburban Athens, perhaps even the garden of Epicurus. For all his capacity for bare-knuckle politics, Herod relished the Hellenistic ideal of intellectual cultivation and scholarship, to judge from the company he kept;¹⁸ and I have little doubt that, when planning his grandest garden settings, he was drawing on the same cultural wellspring as Strabo. As Strabo says, it was Pompey who above all others placed his personal stamp on the Campus Martius. We can at least speculate that those balsams and date palms were transplanted there in some fashion — perhaps not to the Porticus Pompei, which was dominated by plane trees (another import with ideological value), but to the nearby Horti Pompeiani or even the grounds of Pompey's house adjoining his theater complex. Whether these plants could survive the Roman winter is an open question.

R. Lane Fox: What part, if any, might Herod's wives, daughters, and dysfunctional family have played in his garden designs and their symbolism? After all, the Hanging Gardens were associated in his day with the wish of a king — Nebuchadnezzar — to please his wife. Later, Herodes Atticus built tombs and landscapes to commemorate Regilla, the wife whom (surely) he had killed; can we draw any parallels to Herod's situation?

¹⁷ PURCELL 1987.

¹⁸ ROLLER 1998, 54-65.

R. Taylor: Certainly some of Herod's architectural creations were meant as tributes to family members and friends, for they bear their names: at Jerusalem, the towers of Phasaël his brother and Mariamme I, a favorite wife,¹⁹ as well as the Antonia fortress, named for Mark Antony.²⁰ Herod, who was unusually uxorious toward Mariamme, reluctantly executed her in 29 on charges of adultery that may have been trumped up by his sister Salome.²¹ It is usually presumed that the tower was named before her downfall, but if we believe Josephus, Herod regretted killing her both before and after the fact. So he may have sought to memorialize her and appease their two mutual sons, Alexander and Aristoboulos, whom he spared and later packed off to Rome for the kind of first-rate education that was usually reserved for heirs. As to the personalities behind the gardens and palace landscapes, I have been unable to tease them out. Herod's family situation was blindingly complex and perpetually unstable. But precisely because of his tendency to name monuments commemoratively, and to be intensely devoted to certain people, such as his mother and Mariamme on the one hand, and Agrippa on the other, I think such a scenario deserves further consideration.

¹⁹ JOSEPH. *BJ* 5, 166-169; 172-175; *AJ* 16, 144; KOKKINOS 1998, 211-215.

²⁰ *BJ* 1, 401; TAC. *Hist.* 5, 11.

²¹ *AJ* 15, 81-87; 222-230; *BJ* 1, 431-445; KOKKINOS 1998, 178-179.

ANNALISA MARZANO

ROMAN GARDENS, MILITARY CONQUESTS, AND ELITE SELF-REPRESENTATION

During Rome's military expansion in the Mediterranean in the 2nd century BCE, the seizing of vast amounts of wealth on the part of the political elite in the form of booty and slaves caused many changes in Rome. Precious objects and works of art brought back from military campaigns changed the tastes and life style of the wealthy. These 'imperial encounters' also brought back to Rome new architectural styles, which changed the appearance of the Roman *domus* and shaped the development of luxury villas. This paper explores how Roman gardens reflected Rome's territorial expansion and new annexations of land: new plants or new varieties of known plants were often discovered during military campaigns and brought back to Italy by commanders to be planted in their gardens or on their villa estates. Were these imports just 'souvenirs', were they intentionally sought as symbols of military conquest, or did they simply reflect a practical interest in growing new plants and better varieties of fruits in the *fundi* of the upper class? This paper argues that they were all these things at the same time and that private gardens became an important part of elite self-representation in direct dialogue with the features and development of 'public gardens' and, to use Diana Spencer's words, with "Rome's new imperial status as cultural arbiter and collector".¹

¹ SPENCER 2010, 141.

I. The gardens of the elite and self-representation

The peristyle garden became a stable feature of urban houses and villas from the 2nd century BCE onwards. The Roman houses of the early mid-Republcan period had a small garden, in fact a kitchen garden, where vegetables, herbs, and flowers could be grown. This type of garden was chiefly utilitarian rather than decorative. It is this kind of garden that Pliny the Elder had in mind when referring to the morally superior life of earlier Romans.² The peristyle garden, however, was very different and with time it became a medium for the display of social status and culture.³ A large rectangular green space surrounded by colonnaded porticoes for leisurely strolling, the peristyle garden became the place for *otium*, the enjoyment of a cultured type of leisure, often intellectual and philosophical, in contrast to the *negotium* of public life.⁴

Intellectuals of the 1st century such as Pliny the Elder associated in their mind *heredium* (family estate, the original Roman garden space)⁵ and *hortus* (garden) as very early features of Rome.⁶ By Pliny's time, the garden had acquired a "mythic, historical and ethnographic dimension".⁷ The 'new' peristyle garden and associated porticoes were places to display works of art, sometimes according to precise themes that suggested the

² PLIN. *HN* 19, 52.

³ PURCELL 1995; BERGMANN 2002, 87-90; VON STACKELBERG 2009, 11; FARRAR 2011.

⁴ In modern scholarship a distinction is often made between *hortus*, meaning vegetable garden/orchard or pleasure garden (in the plural *horti* is applied to suburban parks equipped with luxury buildings), and *uir(i)darium*, used to refer to enclosed gardens in the context of domestic architecture. However, in Latin, *uir(i)darium* is a term that appears in the late Republic and early Augustan period in connection with topiary art and is best understood as referring to collections or displays of plants: LANDGREN 2004, cited in GLEASON 2010, 8.

⁵ The *heredium* measured two *iugera*, what one person could plough in a day; this was also the amount of land that Romulus assigned to citizens, according to VARRO *Rust.* 1, 10, 2.

⁶ PLIN. *HN* 19, 50; PURCELL 2007; VON STACKELBERG 2009, 10.

⁷ VON STACKELBERG 2009, 12.

intellectual activity of the owner. Cicero gave specific instructions to Atticus about the types of statuary he sought for the garden of his villa in Tusculum;⁸ the so-called Villa of Cassius in Tibur featured a large peristyle garden adorned with herms of poets and statesmen; outside Italy, the 2nd-century villa of the prominent Herodes Atticus featured, in the peristyle garden, unitary mosaic and sculptural decoration, linking the themes of the mosaics with the sculptures placed in front of the porticoes.⁹ Statuary, ideally original Greek works and not Roman copies, was fundamental in furnishing gardens of the wealthy. Domitius Tullus, a contemporary of Pliny the Younger, had storerooms filled with numerous ancient statues ready to be used to decorate the gardens of the new villas he bought.¹⁰ Much has been written about Roman gardens as part of the general architectural display of the *domus* or the villa; about gardens as symbols of Hellenized intellectual *otium* — often famous literary and philosophical works are set in villa gardens and porticoes; and about the plants and compositions to be found in such gardens and the relationship between real gardens and painted gardens.¹¹ The association culture—garden was strongly felt, as is indicated by Cicero's remark to Varro that *si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil!*¹² Cicero's example is often quoted to illustrate the use of the garden as a space for the re-creation of intellectual pursuits, since in his villas he

⁸ See *Att.* 1, 6, 2; 1, 8, 2; 1, 9, 2; cf. *Fam.* 7, 23, 2.

⁹ The villa at Eua in the Peloponnese; for example, in the N portico, in front of a mosaic depicting Menelaos holding the body of Patroclos, was a statuary group representing the same subject. The villa finds were in part published in SPYROPOULOS 2001; for information on this and other villas owned by Herodes Atticus, see PAPAIOANNOU, forthcoming. On the sculptural display in villas: BARTMAN 1991; NEUDECKER 1988 (especially 65–66, villa of Cassius); 1998.

¹⁰ PLIN. *Ep.* 8, 18, 11.

¹¹ JASHEMSKI 1979; 1993; GRIMAL 1984; MIELSCH 1987; CIARALLO 2001; 2004. On gardens (painted and real) as constructed multivalent compositions in Augustan Rome, see KELLUM 1994.

¹² "If you have a garden in your library, we shall have all we want", CIC. *Fam.* 9, 4 (written from Tusculum), trans. W.G. WILLIAMS.

had two gardens named after the most famous philosophical schools, the Platonic Academy and the Aristotelian Lyceum.¹³

The garden was a liminal space, on various levels, both physical and conceptual:¹⁴ in the context of the architecture of the house and its relation with the world outside the house; in terms of its mythical and evocative dimensions; and because its change in appearance during the passing of the seasons made this a space subject to a process of continuous deconstruction and reconstruction on the part of the garden's viewers and users.¹⁵ The garden could convey specific references through the plants chosen to grow in it and the works of art displayed in it, as in the case of the association made between garden space, plane trees, and philosophical pursuits (see below), and in the case of garden-tombs, the garden was an integral part of the monument.¹⁶ The funerary inscription of the freedman Hostius Pamphilus and his wife laconically stresses the relationship between tomb, estate, garden, and monument: . . . *haec est domus aeterna hic est / fundus hei sunt horti hoc / est monumentum nostrum . . .*¹⁷

The peristyle garden was also the place in which various flowering plants, evergreens, and trees were to be discovered while occupants and visitors were walking through the flower beds or taking in the views of the garden from one of the rooms opening directly onto it (typically *triclinia* and *diaetae*). Well-planned paths and attentively landscaped gardens were, according to Vitruvius, very important for the health: strolling through this type of garden was an advisable exercise.¹⁸ Peristyle gardens

¹³ CIC. *Tusc.* 2, 9; *Diu.* 1, 8.

¹⁴ From a legal point of view, the *hortus* was part of the villa: *Dig.* 7, 8, 12, 1; but it could also be a separate space: *Dig.* 47, 5, 3; 49, 4, 1, 9.

¹⁵ PURCELL 1996; VON STACKELBERG 2009.

¹⁶ E.g., CIC. *Fm.* 5, 1, 2; PURCELL 1996; BODEL 1997.

¹⁷ "This is our home, this is our farm, these are our gardens, this is our memorial", *CIL* I² 1319 = VI 9583 = *CLE* 247 = *ILLRP* 798 = *ILS* 8341. For the form *hei*, showing the s-nominative form for the pronoun (and *ei* for long *i*), see BAKKUM 2005, 28.

¹⁸ VITR. *De arch.* 5, 9, 5; 5, 11, 4; O'SULLIVAN 2011, 80-82.

belonged to the 'private' part of the Roman house, to be enjoyed by selected friends of the family: here the social standing and aspirations of the owner could be communicated to a more restricted group of people than those accessing the *fauces* and atrium.¹⁹ In Roman domestic architecture, as notably exemplified by the houses of Pompeii, there was a continuous interaction between real garden spaces and imaginary painted gardens.²⁰ The majority of the gardens studied by Wilhelmina Jashemski in Pompeii featured a wall with a painted garden view. Sometimes these frescoes were simply ingenious expedients in order to amplify limited garden space by means of an illusionistic painting; at other times they clearly referred to elements that in the collective imagination were recognized as fundamental features of 'proper' gardens and upper-class parks. The scenes of *uenationes* in natural environments — mostly between different kinds of animals and not involving humans — that are present even in very small Pompeian gardens recall the royal eastern *paradeisoi* and the Hellenistic royal parks. More sophisticated architectural examples, as in the case of the suburban villa at Oplontis, pushed the dialogue between real and painted gardens one step further and 'transformed' real garden vistas into paintings by artfully framing these vistas with windows.²¹

I.1. Gardens and the public persona of the owner

In the Republican period, when the *domus* had such an important symbolic and political value for upper-class Romans,²² we find that the garden, too, was seen as something

¹⁹ The atrium-peristyle order is reversed in the case of the *villa pseudo-urbana*: VITR. *De arch.* 6, 5, 3.

²⁰ CONAN 1986.

²¹ ZARMAKOUI, forthcoming.

²² WISEMAN 1987; e.g., Cn. Octavius' house on the Palatine conferred on him the *dignitas* commensurate with the consulate: CIC. *Off.* 1, 138.

that transmitted status and prestige and thereby needed to conform to the *dignitas* of the owner. Cicero's writings contain numerous references to the garden as a place for displaying refined taste and learning. Like other features of the house, the garden, too, became a place for elite competitive display and for the imitation of trends and behaviour on the part of the 'middle' classes, as can be seen in Pompeian houses,²³ and in an adversarial context it could conversely be criticized as a locus of immoral behaviour.²⁴ The most striking example of the plants in a garden (particularly the trees) being taken to symbolize the owner's persona comes from the fate of Cicero's own homes when he was exiled. Not only was his urban *domus* seized and knocked down in an attempt to obliterate his public memory, but also his other mansions were pillaged by his opponents.²⁵ At Tusculum, furnishings and other objects were taken away to adorn the villa of his neighbour and enemy, Gabinius (consul in 58 BCE), after the manner of trophies. According to what the orator himself states in the speech *De domo sua*, the trees from his garden were taken as well.²⁶ The remark about *arbores* seized together with *instrumentum aut ornamenta* is not just a rhetorical device to affect the audience a certain way. It also shows that the garden, with its chosen combination of plants and statues, had a strong symbolic value as a vehicle of social status and self-representation.²⁷ Cicero's enemies wanted to destroy all that belonged to him

²³ JASHEMSKI 1979; 1993; ZANKER 1998; VON STACKELBERG 2009.

²⁴ VON STACKELBERG 2009, 11. For gardens as places for improper behaviour in Cicero's oratory: CIC. *Cael.* 36; 38; 49. For the use of gardens to display statues: *Verr.* II 2, 87; 4, 121. The statues that Verres had taken from Samos were arranged between and in front of the columns of a peristyle garden, as well as among the plantings: *Verr.* II 1, 51.

²⁵ Famous precedents for the demolition of houses linked to the annihilation of a public figure concern M. Fulvius Flaccus and L. Saturninus: CIC. *Dom.* 102; VAL. MAX. 6, 3, 1c.

²⁶ *Dom.* 62.

²⁷ See also BEARD 1998 on Nero and the *horti Lamiani*; HILBOLD 2013 on Cicero's political and moral use, in the *Philippics*, of Antony's acquisition of *horti*.

and represented him as a public figure. This incident is not the first instance of trees and well-tended gardens destroyed in the attempt to demolish the image of their owners. According to Diodorus, when in 391 BCE the Phoenicians revolted against Persian rule, their first hostile action was to cut down the trees of the Persian royal park. Only after the park had been destroyed did they turn to more strategic actions, "burning . . . the fodder for the horses which had been stored up by the satraps for the war".²⁸

Well-established trees, of course, could be rather valuable, since it took time for a tree to grow, so there might also have been more practical considerations in removing trees from Cicero's villa. Whether these were fruit trees or ornamental trees, taking established older plants — if they could be transplanted successfully — was more convenient than planting young trees and waiting for them to reach the proper height or bear fruit.²⁹ Real estate could increase in value thanks to trees, as is illustrated by an anecdote about the house of L. Licinius Crassus, co-censor with Domitius Ahenobarbus, on the Palatine. The garden of this house had either six or ten *lotus* trees, depending on the source one follows.³⁰ This species, which produces small edible fruits, was prized as an ornamental plant, because of the shade that the branches provided in summer; it also had the advantage of shedding its leaves early, thus not impeding solar light in winter, and the bark of the trunk is said to have been very pleasing to the eye.³¹ Valerius Maximus reports that Domitius criticized Crassus for having in his house a portico with columns of expensive Hymettian marble. When asked by Crassus to estimate the value of the house, Domitius

²⁸ DIOD. 16, 41, 5, trans. C.L. SHERMAN.

²⁹ MARZANO 2007, 98-99.

³⁰ PLIN. *HN* 17, 1-5 (six trees); VAL. MAX. 9, 1, 4 (ten). The *lotus* is to be identified as *Celtis australis*, commonly known as the nettle tree or European hackberry.

³¹ PLIN. *HN* 16, 124.

gave the sum of six million sesterces. But when asked what the value of the house would be, minus ten small trees from the garden (*arbusculae*), he gave the sum of three million, allowing Crassus to give a witty reply: who was to be considered more extravagant, Crassus, for paying 100,000 for ten marble columns, or Domitius, who had valued the shade given by the trees at three million sesterces?³² Pliny recounts the same story, but his figures for the trees in question and the price offered for the house are different.³³

One of the most famous literary descriptions of an elite garden is to be found in Pliny the Younger's epistle about his villa *in Tuscis*.³⁴ After describing the spectacular natural landscape that surrounds the villa, Pliny describes the portico with its associated enclosed garden (*xystus*), which contains many box bushes skilfully shaped into unnatural forms by the art of topiary.³⁵ He then describes the nearby slope, also marked by trimmed trees (in the shape of animals), and an expanse of acanthus that gives the impression of a pool of water.³⁶ The next garden space described in the letter is the large hippodrome garden, encircled by plane trees.³⁷ Here ivy covers the trunks and branches of the trees, linking them together; in the centre is the lawn, marked by box hedges, also skilfully pruned into many shapes, including — the culminating point of the garden as self-representation — box shaped as letters to form Pliny's and the gardener's own names: this is art, and as a mosaic in a villa might have the artist's signature, so does

³² VAL. MAX. 9, 1, 4: *uter igitur luxuriosior est, egone, qui decem columnas centum milibus numnum emi, an tu, qui decem arbuscularum umbram tricies sestertia summa compensas?*

³³ According to PLIN. HN 17, 3-4, Domitius rebuked Crassus for living on such a lavish scale when holding the office of censor and offered to buy his house for one million sesterces; when Crassus agreed, but said he would keep six lotus trees, Domitius refused, giving Crassus the opportunity to make a witty comment on who was really setting the bad example about *luxuria*.

³⁴ PLIN. Ep. 5, 6.

³⁵ On *topiarii* as essential for the well-kept garden: PLIN. Ep. 3, 19, 3.

³⁶ PLIN. Ep. 5, 6, 16.

³⁷ PLIN. Ep. 5, 6, 32-36.

the garden. Most appropriately for a hippodrome garden, other box trees are pruned in the shape of obelisks (the *metae* in the real circus); these are interspersed with fruit trees. In the very centre, the plane trees appear again, this time shorter (*breuioribus platanis*, §35), together with acanthus. Then Pliny mentions "more figures and more names" (*plures figurae pluraque nomina*, §36), presumably shaped out of box trees or bushes. Pliny's own definition of this garden arrangement is of a most urbane work of art (topiary) with in the middle an *imitation* of natural landscape (*et in opere urbanissimo subita uelut inlati ruris imitatio*, §35). Next to the hippodrome garden is an architectural space offering a private retreat: a room with alcove and bed, which gives the impression of being in a grove (*non secus ibi quam in nemore iaceas*, §39), since a thick vine covers the whole structure and allows little light through the windows.³⁸ The play between 'real' and 'artificial', between nature and imitation of nature, is continuous: the central garden is openly artificial, whereas the private suite, though a built structure, gives the impression of a grove.³⁹ Pliny makes several suggestions about himself through the plants he has in his gardens:⁴⁰ the plane trees evoke philosophy and the Academy, acanthus and laurel suggest literary pursuits, ivy and vines recall Bacchus and viticulture and allude to Pliny the estate owner (vines were the cash crop he grew on this estate). There is no doubt that such a garden had been carefully planned to match the aesthetic ideals of the owner, but also to offer to guests a spectacle proportionate to the owner's social standing. Notwithstanding the different socio-political situations, both Cicero's and Pliny's villa gardens share a common denominator: they were a means of self-representation.

³⁸ PLIN. *Ep.* 5, 6, 38-39.

³⁹ PURCELL 1996; KUTTNER 1999b.

⁴⁰ SPENCER 2010, 133-134.

II. Military conquests, new plants, and the gardens of the elite

The connection between plants — trees in particular — and military conquest is, in Rome, a late Republican phenomenon, at least as far as we know. Such a connection is unambiguous in the case of the triumph celebrated in 61 BCE by Pompey the Great at the end of his campaigns against the Mediterranean pirates and Mithradates, King of Pontus. On this occasion, the magnificent triumphal procession that Pompey staged included the display of living trees, apparently for the first time in Rome's history. Our source for this detail is Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*; while discussing the *balsamum* plant from Judaea,⁴¹ Pliny wrote that Vespasian and Titus had displayed the plant in Rome (presumably in their triumph and then possibly in the *Templum Pacis*)⁴² and then concluded his sentence by remarking: *clarumque dictu, a Pompeio Magno in triumpho arbores quoque duximus.*⁴³ In an earlier passage, he had already remarked that Pompey displayed the Ethiopian ebony tree in his triumph.⁴⁴ According to Pliny, then, Pompey's

⁴¹ *Commiphora opobalsamum*, commonly known as balsam of Mecca. PLIN. HN 12, 111-113 firmly connects *balsamum* to Judaea only, stating that the plant used to grow there in just two royal gardens (the gardens at Jericho and Ein Gedi; cf. Song of Sol. 1, 14). THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 9, 6, 1 wrote that the plant grew in one valley in Syria, while according to DIOSCORIDES *Mat. med.* 1, 19 it was to be found only in Egypt and in one valley in India. The plant, in fact, grew in the south-west of the Arabian peninsula and in coastal Somalia.

⁴² POLLARD 2009 argues that the garden of the *Templum Pacis* contained botanical specimens representing the extent of Rome's empire and that Pliny's work (which he dedicated to Titus), with its keen interest in classification and description of foreign plants and animals, has to be understood in this context; at p. 328 she states: "The list of botanicals in Pliny's *Natural History* is a virtual triumph intended to celebrate the power of, and to offer panegyric to, the Flavian family and the peace they had won". On Pliny's encyclopedic project, see NAAS 2002.

⁴³ "And it is a remarkable fact that ever since the time of Pompey the Great even trees have figured among the captives in our triumphal processions", PLIN. HN 12, 111, trans. H. RACKHAM.

⁴⁴ PLIN. HN 12, 19-20.

triumph was the moment when for the first time plants — balsam and ebony — were taken as the symbol of the land from which they came.⁴⁵ These were not just any plants, of course, but, in suitable fashion for a triumphal display, they were precious plants, whose products (whether resins or wood) had high commercial value. If and when such plants were subsequently planted in gardens, they must have retained the symbolism attached to them.

It appears that the balsam trees of Judaea were a considerable source of revenue for the region in the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE. Mark Antony had given the balsam plantations as a gift to Cleopatra, from whom Herod leased them.⁴⁶ After the battle of Actium and the annexation of Egypt, these plantations probably passed to Herod, and when Judaea became a Roman province in 6 CE they may have been transferred to Roman ownership, although probably the Jews still leased the right to cultivate them.⁴⁷ During the first Jewish revolt, the Jews had tried to destroy these plantations, but the Romans had saved the precious trees, so that — according to Pliny — the trees, too, were turned into tribute-paying subjects, with the *fiscus* cultivating the balsam and, it seems, selling the product directly.⁴⁸ As Pliny explains, not only did the resin from

⁴⁵ ÖSTENBERG 2009, 185 believes that Pliny's remark about Pompey and the display of trees in the triumph when discussing the balsam tree refers to trees in general, and not to this plant in particular. MURPHY 2004, 162 incorrectly ascribes to PLIN. *HN* 15, 70 the claim that Pompey had shown in his triumph the variety of fig tree named after him.

⁴⁶ PLUT. *Ant.* 36, 2.

⁴⁷ ÖSTENBERG 2009, 187.

⁴⁸ *Saeuiere in eam Iudaei sicut in uitam quoque suam; contra defendere Romani, et dimicatum pro frutice est; seritque nunc eum fiscus, nec umquam fuit numerosior* ("The Jews vented their wrath upon this plant as they also did upon their own lives, but the Romans protected it against them, and there have been pitched battles in defence of a shrub. It is now cultivated by the treasury authorities, and was never before more plentiful"), PLIN. *HN* 12, 113, trans. H. RACKHAM. At 12, 123 Pliny refers to sales of balsam resin by the *fiscus*: *miliibus denarium sextarii, empti uendente fisco trecentis denariis, ueneunt* ("every pint bought at a sale held by the fiscus for 300 denarii when it is sold again makes 1000 denarii").

the balsam tree have commercial value, but so did cuttings and shoots (called *xylobalsamum* and commonly used in the manufacture of perfumes) and, for medicinal use, the bark, and because of the great monetary value of balsam, a range of adulterated products infiltrated the market.⁴⁹

The association between military conquest and plants (and animals) has a long-standing tradition in history. The temple of Deir el-Bahri in Egypt, for instance, shows on one of its walls a depiction of thirty small trees or shrubs with their roots in baskets, evidently transported from somewhere else, probably in connection with the exploration of other lands that took place in the reign of Hatshepsut in the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE; her son, Thutmose III, brought back to Egypt from the regions he had conquered in Asia plants and animals, as commemorated on the columns of the temple at Karnak, near Thebes.⁵⁰ In Assyria, Tiglat-Pileser I seemed to have created zoological parks and botanical gardens, where the various specimens of plants collected during military expeditions were acclimatized. The variety of plants grown here reflected the extension of the acquired territories.⁵¹ Sennacherib introduced new plants into Nineveh; he claimed to have made gardens in the city by using "plants from the mountains and the surrounding countries, spices from the land of the Hittites, plants of myrrh which grow better than in their country of origin, vines brought from the hills and fruit trees . . . all this I did for my subjects". Ashurbanipal did the same and proclaimed: "I took note of and collected the trees and the seeds in the lands through which I travelled and in between the hills which

⁴⁹ See PLIN. *HN* 12, 118-123; shortly after the victory over Judaea, cuttings of *xylobalsamum* gave a revenue of 800,000 sesterces. On balsam state monopoly and price, see COTTON & ECK 1997. ALPERS 1995, 291-304 takes *fiscus* in this context to refer to the *Ficus Iudaicus* and not the imperial *fiscus*.

⁵⁰ CIARALLO 2007, 157.

⁵¹ CIARALLO 2007, 158-159. Other examples of plants 'collected' by kings during military conquest include 41 species of trees and bushes collected by Assurnasipal II in the 9th century and planted near his capital city, Kahlu.

I passed'.⁵² Achaemenid and Hellenistic kings also embarked on the 'collection' of plants and animals from foreign lands and kept them in their royal parks. The symbolic dimension of these acts seems clear.⁵³ Alexander himself had used plants symbolically when he encouraged the planting of Greek species such as ivy in the gardens of Babylon.⁵⁴ Attempts at transplanting, however, particularly in the case of exotic spices, were not always successful: Seleucus Nikator tried in vain to introduce amomum and nard from India into Arabia.⁵⁵

The triumphal displays were a high dramatic point in stressing the geography of Rome's imperialism; the painted tableaux showed the cities or new lands conquered, and the landscapes of foreign battles;⁵⁶ the prisoners of war, with their foreign appearance, were a visible presence of the 'other'; even the various kinds of tableware, such as those that Plutarch lists in the triumph of Aemilius Paulus, had names that evoked victories over eastern cities and dynasties.⁵⁷ Republican generals often took inspiration for their behaviour from Hellenistic kings, including elements in triumphal celebrations,⁵⁸ and it is possible that displaying live trees in a celebratory context had occurred in the Hellenistic world.⁵⁹ Pompey, however, was not the first Roman general to come back from overseas campaigns bringing trees with him. The best-known case, just over a decade earlier than Pompey's display, is L. Licinius Lucullus and the cherry tree. The source of this information is again Pliny the Elder, who states that before the victory over Mithradates

⁵² CIARALLO 2007, 160. BOWE 2004, 43 compares the Roman interest in importing plants from the many countries they interacted with through conquest or trade to what the Egyptians and Assyrians had done.

⁵³ See SCHNEIDER 2012; on the royal garden at Pasargadae: STRONACH 1989.

⁵⁴ BRIANT 1996, 215; SCHNEIDER 2012, 285-286.

⁵⁵ PLIN. *HN* 16, 135.

⁵⁶ On triumphal displays: ÖSTENBERG 2009.

⁵⁷ BEARD 2007, 162; PLUT. *Aem.* 33, 4: bowls known as Antigonids and Seleucids.

⁵⁸ E.g., the case of the triumphal feast: MARZANO 2009.

⁵⁹ SCHNEIDER 2012, 290.

in 74 BCE there were no cherry trees in Italy.⁶⁰ Lucullus imported the tree from Pontus, and later the Romans introduced the cherry to Britain after the conquest of the island in 43 CE. Pliny presents this information as a matter-of-fact statement. We can, however, note that by informing the reader about the circumstances behind the introduction of the cherry and its subsequent diffusion to a new province, he presents the tree first as 'spoil' of Lucullus' military campaigning in Asia and, later, as a symbol of the Roman conquest of Britain. This new land is now under Roman control, nature can be altered, and new plants are introduced. The movement of plants was, obviously, not limited to military conquest, but occurred also in commercial exchange and in connection with the establishment of land holdings owned by individuals with properties in different geographic locations, as in the case discussed by Pliny concerning the so-called African figs.⁶¹ But it is in the context of military expansion and spoil-taking that the symbolic dimension of plants is most explicit.

Probably it was the sour cherry that Lucullus brought back with him, not the sweet cherry, which is believed to have already existed in Italy in the wild.⁶² The presence of wild sweet cherry might have helped the diffusion of the sour cherry and the creation of different varieties, since it was possible to graft the sour cherry onto wild cherries, as is clearly stated by Palladius.⁶³ But not only did Lucullus introduce the tree to Italy; he also gave to the new plant its Latin name, *cerasus*,

⁶⁰ PLIN. *HN* 15, 102. Various later authors repeat that Lucullus was the first to introduce the cherry from Pontus, e.g., TERT. *Apol.* 11, 8.

⁶¹ PLIN. *HN* 15, 69 states that this kind of fig had been introduced to Africa only very recently. For preliminary considerations on the plant trade: MACAULAY-LEWIS 2010; on commercial plant nurseries: KENAWI, MACAULAY-LEWIS, & MCKENZIE 2012.

⁶² BORGONGINO 2006, 29: there are references to cherries eaten in Italy before Lucullus' time, and cherry trees had been known in Greece since the time of Lysimachus and Theophrastus; DALBY 2003, 81.

⁶³ PALLADIUS, *Op. agric.* 11, 12, 4-7; DALBY 2003, 81.

from the town of Cerasus in Pontus.⁶⁴ This piece of information, found in Athenaeus, is remarkable when contextualized within the upper-class interest in scientific knowledge of plants, horticulture, and the creation of new varieties of fruit. This was a late Republican phenomenon that reached full 'maturity' in the Augustan period (see below). By giving a name to something previously unknown, the agent also expresses possession and some sort of claim over the object named. To be able to 'precisely' name a foreign novelty, in our case from its area of origin, is akin — albeit on a simpler level — to the ability of the conqueror to know the new lands, to produce accurate geographical maps, and to indicate not only the topographical characteristics, but also the fauna and flora of the conquered regions.⁶⁵

Lucullus did not display cherry trees in his triumph; perhaps this type of cherry was not so strongly associated with the king he had defeated, but it is also to be remembered that he had to wait a few years before he could celebrate his triumph, while Pompey took advantage of Lucullus' previous successes against Mithradates. Interestingly, since Lucullus as holder of *imperium* had to reside outside the *pomerium* while waiting to be granted a triumph, the task to which he devoted himself was the creation of the lavish *horti Luculliani* on the Pincian Hill, which attracted Plutarch's reproach for the wealth spent in

⁶⁴ Modern Giresun in north-east Turkey. Cerasus (or, in Greek, Kerasous) was a colony of Sinope: DALBY 2003, 81. On Lucullus as one of the candidates for having given the Latin name to the plant: ATH. 2, 51a-b.

⁶⁵ On geographic knowledge and maps as an expression of imperialism in antiquity: NICOLET 1988. On botanical imperialism in the modern period: DE VOS 2006; 2007. Nero sent an expedition to Aethiopia which gathered information on topography, flora, and fauna and produced a map which also showed the trees (or lack thereof): *cognita Aethiopiae forma — ut diximus, nuper allata Neroni principi — raram arborem Meroen usque a Syene fine imperii . . . docuit* ("The exploration of the geography of Ethiopia, which as we have said had lately been reported to the Emperor Nero, showed that . . . from Syene on the frontier of the empire to Meroe trees are rare"), PLIN. HN 12, 19, trans. H. RACKHAM.

creating them.⁶⁶ Did Lucullus plant the cherry in these gardens or possibly at one of his villas? We will never know, but it is plausible. It is also possible that his interest in the fruit tree might have given to Pompey the idea of parading live trees, symbolically representing some of the many regions over which he celebrated his own triumph.

Pompey's triumphal celebration, in terms of populations subjugated and geographic areas covered, was an unprecedented affair that made his deeds comparable to those of Alexander the Great and Hercules.⁶⁷ The triumph, celebrated on September 29 in 61 BCE, was for victories over Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, the Scythians, the Judaeans, the Albani, Hiberia, Crete, the Basterni, and the kings Mithradates and Tigranes.⁶⁸ The text commemorating his victories and dedications of booty in the temple of Minerva aimed at impressing the reader with its precise-looking use of large numerals:

Cn. Pompeius Magnus imperator bello XXX annorum confecto fusis fugatis occisis in deditioinem acceptis hominum centiens uiciens semel LXXXIII depressis aut captis nauibus DCC<C>XLVI oppidis castellis MDXXXVIII in fidem receptis terris a Maeotis ad Rubrum Mare subactis uotum merito Mineruae.⁶⁹

Considering the geographic coverage of Pompey's military activity and the number of populations involved, and hence the number of prisoners, precious metal objects, weapons and rostra, and illustrations of battles fought and places conquered,

⁶⁶ LTUR s.v. 'Horti Luculliani' (H. BROISE & V. JOLIVET). PLUT. *Luc.* 39, 2 remarks that even in his own time, when luxury had increased so much, the Horti Luculliani were still among the most costly of all imperial *horti*.

⁶⁷ PLIN. *HN* 7, 95.

⁶⁸ PLIN. *HN* 7, 98.

⁶⁹ "The general Cn. Pompeius Magnus, having concluded a 30-year long war, vanquished, dispersed, killed, and subjugated 12,183,000 individuals, sunk or captured 846 ships, received the submission of 1,538 towns and strongholds, and conquered the lands that span from the Maeotis [Sea of Azov] to the Red Sea, absolved his vow to Minerva in a proper manner", PLIN. *HN* 7, 97, trans. A. MARZANO.

it might seem superfluous to bring trees into the procession as well. These, however, were trees not only clearly associated with a specific region, but also bearing notable commercial value: as discussed, balsam resin was highly sought after for perfumes and medical treatments, and ebony was highly appreciated for the quality of its wood.⁷⁰ We are not told what happened to the trees after the triumph; it is unlikely that balsam and African ebony could be successfully planted in Rome or its surroundings, since these species normally grew in rather hot and dry climates.⁷¹

This triumphal vegetal display has an interesting response in the celebrated portico-garden that Pompey developed after his triumph, planning a garden that would symbolize his great military deeds and remain as a memento of them for the population of Rome. The great portico enclosure attached to the theatre-cum-temple complex that he built was a public park in which plants, statuary, and paintings on display had a highly symbolic meaning.⁷² The central garden space featured double rows of plane trees and fountains, and several thematic groups of (female) statues were to be found in the garden and porticos: personifications of conquered nations, groups of female authors, famous *hetairai*, friends of artists, writers, and statesmen, and also statues embodying portents.⁷³ Various scholars have commented on how this garden project alluded to

⁷⁰ Hebanus is probably the *Diospyros crassiflora*, *Diospyros mespiliformis*, and *Diospyros perrieri*. The *Diospyros* genus is part of the family of the Ebenaceae and comprises c. 500 species of trees and shrubs; not all of the species are appreciated for the wood.

⁷¹ ÖSTENBERG 2009, 188, in discussing the Flavian triumph and the balsam trees, says that they must have been planted after the triumph, but does not assess whether this was possible, considering the original habitat of the plants.

⁷² KUTTNER 1999a; VON STACKELBERG 2009, 80-83. On the paintings displayed in the portico, see PLIN. *HN* 35, 59; 114; 126; 132.

⁷³ Cf. VITR. *De arch.* 5, 9, 1; PROP. 2, 32, 11-16; OV. *Ars* 3, 387; MART. 5, 10, 5; KUTTNER 1999a. The complex is depicted in fr. 39a of the Severan marble plan of Rome: LLOYD 1982; Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project: <<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=1&field0=stanford&search0=39ac&op0=and&field1=all>>.

Pompey's military victories. Kathryn Gleason has suggested that also shrubs of laurel (the plant of victory, used for the wreath of the *triumphator*) and myrtle (the plant of Venus, to whom the temple towering over the theatre was dedicated, but also the plant used for the crown of the *ouatio*)⁷⁴ were planted in this garden, to emphasize Pompey's eastern victories.⁷⁵ According to Guy Sauron, the Theatre of Pompey, with its water features mentioned by Valerius Maximus, symbolically represented the *oikoumene*, while the garden portico, with its three sets of female statuary, was a symbol of a mythical act, Pompey's journey to the underworld (a feat that Dionysus and Heracles had performed).⁷⁶ If Ann Kuttner is right in thinking that the trees on display during the triumph included Asiatic plane trees,⁷⁷ we can speculate that some of the plane trees adorning Pompey's garden were the same trees that had been paraded in the triumph and that for those who had seen the triumphal procession they would be a reminder of the triumph itself.

Pompey's architectural complex possibly became the model to look to for the development of the peristyle garden in villas.⁷⁸ Also in the context of villas, the design, décor, and use of the peristyle garden and associated porticos made constant reference to each other.⁷⁹ The works of art acquired as military booty were displayed in porticoes, and the garden displayed the imported trees, both participating in a dialogue about triumphal imperialism. Large gardens in increasingly more complex relationships with the surrounding architecture were a prominent feature of villas of the late 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE, and reached their 'maturity' in the 2nd century.

⁷⁴ PLIN. *HN* 15, 125.

⁷⁵ GLEASON 1994a, 19.

⁷⁶ VAL. MAX. 2, 4, 6; SAURON 1987, 464; see also COARELLI 1971-1972.

⁷⁷ KUTTNER 1999a, 345.

⁷⁸ GLEASON 1994a. The project clearly gave the impetus to other public buildings with garden space, e.g., Porticus Vipsania and Porticus Liviae: STRAB. 5, 3, 8; PLIN. *HN* 14, 11; MART. 1, 108, 3.

⁷⁹ LEACH 2004, 123-155.

II.1. Transplanting in the early empire

The end of the celebration of triumphs on the part of upper-class generals, when this honour became a monopoly of the imperial family, did not mean an end to importing new plants or new varieties of fruit from the provinces into Italy. We know of several military officers and provincial governors so minded. According to Pliny, just before 14 CE, Sex. Papinius Allienus (consul in 36 CE) imported to Italy the *zizipha* from Africa and *tubures* from Syria.⁸⁰ These plants, which Pliny mentions in the context of discussing the many kinds of apples (*mala*) and describes as more akin to berries. (*bacae*) than apples, should probably be identified with *Zizyphus vulgaris* L. and *Crataegus azarolus* L. The former is the jujube-tree, *giuggiolo* in Italian; the latter is a species of hawthorn, commonly known in English as azerole and in Italian as *lazzeruolo*.⁸¹ Sex. Papinius — evidently on military duty in these regions, since Pliny says that he had these trees planted at first *in castris* — later brought the plants to Italy, where they were successfully acclimatized. Indeed they were propagated and were in common use in Pliny's time, since he states that they were very decorative when used on the terraces of urban houses.⁸² Some years later, L. Vitellius, father of the emperor Vitellius and governor of Syria 34-37 CE, brought back with him several new kinds of fig tree, which he planted on his estate near Alba: the *cotana*, *Caricae*, and *Cauneae*. Vitellius did not limit himself to

⁸⁰ PLIN. *HN* 15, 47.

⁸¹ The Jujube-tree, belonging to the Rhamnaceae, produces very small fruits with yellowish and very sweet flesh; it is consumed fresh or as a preserve. Its sweetness is proverbial in Italy: several regions have a popular saying to indicate a state of absolute delight: "essere in un brodo di giuggiole". The azerole belongs to the family of the Rosaceae-Pomoideae. The small fruits are similar to small apples and are either picked unripe, to make preserves, or, once ripe in September, eaten fresh.

⁸² Disapproval may be latent in Pliny's remark *aggeribus praecipue decora, quoniam et in tecta iam siluae scandunt* ("the trees make a particularly good decoration for terraces — as nowadays we have whole forests of vegetation growing even over the roofs of our houses"), PLIN. *HN* 15, 47, trans. H. RACKHAM.

figs; he also imported to Italy, for the first time, the pistachio tree, while his colleague, the *eques* Pompeius Flaccus, introduced the pistachio to Hispania.⁸³

In other instances we do not know who was responsible for introducing new plants to Italy and whether such transitions occurred in the context of military expeditions or trade networks, or a combination of both.⁸⁴ Several plants with a foreign origin at a certain point in history were already well established on Italian soil by the time Rome started her military expansion in the Mediterranean.⁸⁵ The pomegranate (*malum Punicum* in Latin), of which Pliny mentions nine species, might have been introduced to Italy and Gaul by the Phoenicians;⁸⁶ the apricot, commonly called *μῆλον Ἀρμενιακόν* in Greek⁸⁷ and *Armeniacum* in Latin, was associated with Armenia, but in fact was known in ancient Mesopotamia and spread to the west after Alexander's expedition;⁸⁸ the peach, as indicated by its Latin name, *malum persicum*, was recognized as having originated from Persia. The Greeks were familiar with

⁸³ PLIN. *HN* 15, 91. DALBY 2003, 262 notes that pistachio, native to central Asia, became known to the Greeks during Alexander's expedition. The earliest description of pistachio is in THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 4, 4, 7. It spread around the Mediterranean in Hellenistic times, grafted on terebinth rootstock.

⁸⁴ It is clear that there was a trade for live plants, both at a regional level (the Zenon archive contains orders for different plant shoots and suckers; some examples discussed in KENAWI, MACAULAY-LEWIS, & MCKENZIE 2012, 195-197) and even long-distance. Pliny mentions that lemon trees were transported in *ollae perforatae*.

⁸⁵ PLIN. *HN* 12, 14 states that cherries, peaches, and all the plants with Greek or foreign names originated from foreign lands.

⁸⁶ PLIN. *HN* 13, 112-113; 15, 39; DALBY 2003, 266.

⁸⁷ DIOSCORIDES *Mat. med.* 1, 115, 5.

⁸⁸ DALBY 2003, 20: the apricot originates from Tibet and western China. The ancient name should be seen as simply indicating that the tree was commonly cultivated in Armenia and it was from there that the Greeks first imported it. PLIN. *HN* 15, 41 cites the Armeniaca as a particular type of plum, but it is understood by modern scholars that this refers to the apricot; the fruit is mentioned again at 16, 103. For the name, cf. also the less common names for apricot in Italian: *armeniaco*, *armellino* (from *Armeniacum*). The common name *albicocca* ultimately derives from *praecoquum* (another name, used because the plant bloomed early) via the mediation of the Arabic *al-barquq*.

the peach by the 3rd century BCE, and it is mentioned by Columella as well.⁸⁹ A particular variety of early peach was, according to Pliny, introduced to Italy only about thirty years before his own time and was sold at the high price of one *denarius* apiece.⁹⁰ Spices, too, had been successfully transplanted, although when grown in different environmental conditions they did not have the same colour and taste, as was the case with the cassia, which Pliny claims to have seen being cultivated amidst apiaries along the Rhine.⁹¹

II.2. *The significance of the plane tree*

The choice of the plane tree for the Porticus Pompeiana deserves some discussion. Plane trees were not sought after for any fruit, but for the pleasant shade they provided, and were therefore often the choice for a large garden, planted in a row in front of a portico. The plane tree could grow tall and its branches had a wide span. Its most important quality was that it had thick foliage in summer, ideal as shelter from the scorching sun, but it lost it in autumn; thus adjacent walkways and rooms opening onto porticoes were not deprived of sunshine and light in the winter months. Plane trees also had a long-standing association with rulers. The Persian king Darius had received as a gift from the Lydian Pythius a golden plane tree, and Xerxes, while traveling from Phrygia to Lydia, had seen a plane tree so beautiful that he adorned it with gold.⁹²

⁸⁹ ATH. 3, 82e-83a cites Theophrastus as the first to mention peaches in Greek (although no such mention is present in the extant portion of Theophrastus' *History of Plants*): DALBY 2003, 252. Cf. COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 10, 20.

⁹⁰ There is often confusion in the ancient texts between peaches, plums, and apricots: BORGONGINO 2006, 20.

⁹¹ *Color abest ille torridus sole et ob id simul idem odor* ("there it has not the scorched colour produced by the sun, and for the same reason also it has not the same scent as the southern product"), PLIN. *HN* 12, 98, trans. H. RACKHAM.

⁹² HDT. 7, 27; 7, 31.

Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse planted plane trees in his residence at Rhegium.⁹³

Plane trees, which were commonly found in Greek gymnasia,⁹⁴ also evoked another immediate association, this time highly intellectual and philosophical: the Platonic Academy and the Aristotelian Lyceum in Athens. Often, most notably in Cicero's writings, we find that a garden with plane trees was understood as a symbol of the Academy, thus signifying that the intellectual pursuits that were conducted in its shade were worthy of Plato's school. Plane trees, therefore, both because of the welcome shade that they provided in summer and the philosophical connection that they evoked, became quite common in large private and public gardens. Pliny the Younger mentions plane trees in several gardens to which he refers. In a letter to his friend Caninius Rufus in Comum, the very opening of the epistle brings forth the image of the shady peristyle garden as the key feature of Rufus' suburban villa:

*Quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae? Quid suburbanum amoenissimum, quid illa porticus uerna semper, quid platanon opacissimus, quid euripus uiridis et gemmeus, quid subiectus et seruiens lacus, quid illa mollis et tamen solida gestatio?*⁹⁵

In this passage, Pliny makes several allusions that move between the Greek and the Roman world. The plane tree is the Academia, but it is also Cicero's philosophical dialogues; the *euripus* is the shallow canal or elongated pond that was a common feature of gardens, but it was a borrowed word from the Greek place-name Euripos, indicating the channel between Boeotia

⁹³ PLIN. *HN* 12, 7; the plane tree was introduced from Greece to the Tremiti islands and later to Rhegium; according to Pliny, in his own time the plant had spread up to the north-eastern border with Gaul.

⁹⁴ SAURON 1987, 458.

⁹⁵ "I wonder how our darling Comum is looking, and your lovely house outside the town, with its colonnade where it is always springtime, and the shady plane trees, the stream with its sparkling greenish water flowing into the lake below, and the drive over the smooth firm turf", PLIN. *Ep.* 1, 3, 1, trans. B. RADICE.

and Euboea. In the context of public architecture, there were known *euripi* in Rome herself: the *euripus* of Rome's Circus Maximus and the *euripus* in the Campus Martius.⁹⁶

By selecting particular plants and by using certain geographically-derived names for garden features (*cf.* Cicero's mention in *De legibus* of the common use of the names 'Niles' and 'Euripi' to indicate water channels, or Brutus naming parts of his villa garden after landmarks of Spartan topography⁹⁷), the owner of a garden could also symbolically express Rome's imperialism, whether a type of cultural imperialism signified by the appropriation of Greek culture or Egyptian cults and iconographic motifs, or actual territorial conquest and the annexation of new provinces. But not everyone associated the plane tree with positive concepts. Pliny uses it as yet another example of Rome's luxury and the corruption of the older moral values that had laid great importance on being a good farmer. He remarks that the only reason why the tree was introduced to Italy was not because it bore any fruit (implying that this is a good reason to engage in transplanting) but for its 'sterile' shade. Likewise, decorative gardens with no agriculturally productive components are presented in a negative light by Horace: the elm (normally used as a support for vines, a practice commonly referred to as the 'marriage' of the elm and the vine) is taken over by the unproductive 'bachelor' plane tree (*platanus caelebs*).⁹⁸ The anecdote about Q. Hortensius and the plane trees which he watered with wine also needs to be understood in this same context, as the ultimate negation of productivity that only the very rich can afford:⁹⁹ the 'unproductive' plane tree, which replaces the elm and the vine, not only does

⁹⁶ Historicizing and sentimental nomenclature: CIC. *Leg.* 2, 2: *ductus . . . aquarum, quos isti Nilos et Euripos uocant*; Görler 1990; TAYLOR, *supra*, 157-158. *Euripi* in Rome in private contexts: VITR. *De arch.* 7, 5, 2; in public contexts: SUET. *Iul.* 39, 2; S.H.A., *Heliogab.* 23, 1; SPENCER 2010, 121.

⁹⁷ CIC. *Leg.* 2, 2 (quoted in previous note); ATT. 15, 9, 1.

⁹⁸ HOR. *Carm.* 2, 15, 4.

⁹⁹ MACROB. *Sat.* 3, 13, 3.

not contribute to the wine production of the *hortus*, but on the contrary it drains the wine stock. Clearly, at least on a rhetorical and ideological level, agricultural productivity was important and considered worthy of pursuit also in the context of the villa-garden, keeping the villa closer to what it had been originally, i.e., a working farm. This offers the framework for understanding the constant elite interest in horticulture and the introduction of new (fruit-bearing) plants.

III. Botanical imperialism: a view from archaeology

Literary texts, particularly those dealing with horticulture, evoke images of *horti* that have a mixture of fruit trees, flowers, and bees.¹⁰⁰ Virgil in the *Georgics*, a text intentionally picked up and expanded by Columella in Book 10 of *De re rustica*, presents the semi-mythical plot of an old Corcyran man as having flowers alongside herbs and fruit trees.¹⁰¹ Rows of elms are mentioned and “the plane tree, providing drinkers with shade”¹⁰² We know a lot about the presence of gardens in Roman private architectural space, from texts and from the physical evidence of archaeology, but with the exception of Vesuvian gardens and a few other cases (e.g., the gardens at Petra),¹⁰³ the archaeological evidence normally reveals little of the range of plants grown in a garden and their arrangement.¹⁰⁴ Very often, particularly in the case of villas erected on a *basis* incorporating at least two artificial terraces, the garden area occupied the lower terrace. In most cases, the presence of the garden is simply inferred from the lack of any evidence for

¹⁰⁰ VARRO *Rust.* 3, 16, 15 mentions that some people placed an apiary in the portico of their villa.

¹⁰¹ VERG. *Georg.* 4, 130-146.

¹⁰² *ministrantem platanum potentibus umbras* (146).

¹⁰³ BEDAL *et al.* 2013.

¹⁰⁴ For an overview of gardens in Roman Italy and the western provinces, see FARRAR 1996.

structures in this lower terrace and from the location of a hydraulic infrastructure, best understood as providing water for irrigation in horticulture.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes, additional clues about garden space are offered by the recovery of planting pots (*ollae perforatae*)¹⁰⁶ and the presence of *nymphaea*. Wilhelmina Jashemski's work at Pompeii with root cavities allowed the identification of several plants in gardens. Because of their size, trees are easier to identify than smaller plants. Trees identified in the Roman Vesuvian gardens include:¹⁰⁷ laurel, oleander, fig, olive, chestnut, and plane trees. Trees in combination with vines have also been identified,¹⁰⁸ along with horticultural practices such as espaliered fruit trees.¹⁰⁹

Recently, however, yet more progress has been made: archaeological investigations carried out at the Villa Arianna in Castellammare di Stabia (ancient Stabiae), which was obliterated by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, have revealed information about the garden of the great peristyle. The discovery of planting beds and many root cavities offers the opportunity to compare the description of villa gardens found in literary texts with an example of a 'real' elite villa garden. Although the post-excavation studies are not yet concluded, initial reports on the finds are of great interest.¹¹⁰ In the middle of the 1st century CE Stabiae had become the seat for several wealthy villas of the Roman elite. Built on a high plateau towering over the seashore and offering stunning views of the Bay of Naples, several of these villas were explored by tunnelling in the Bourbon

¹⁰⁵ THOMAS & WILSON 1994; WILSON 2008.

¹⁰⁶ MESSINEO 1984; MACAULAY-LEWIS 2006. The use of planting pots was very common: GLEASON 1994b, 16.

¹⁰⁷ This list is not meant to be exhaustive; see JASHEMSKI 1979, 29; 245-261; CIARALLO 2001; BORGONGINO 2006.

¹⁰⁸ JASHEMSKI 1979, 32: the peristyle garden of the House of the Ship Europa (I.xv.3) had at the corners trees and nine smaller cavities, possibly indicating vines.

¹⁰⁹ JASHEMSKI 1979, 29: in the House of C. Iulius Polybius (IX.xiii.1/3) the recovery of a large number of nail holes in the west wall of the garden, above traces left by roots in the soil, may testify to espaliered trees.

¹¹⁰ GLEASON 2010; HOWE, GLEASON, & SUTHERLAND 2011.

era.¹¹¹ The Villa Arianna and the nearby Villa S. Marco were in large part brought to light in the 1950s. These two villas, together with the Villa del Pastore, featured very large peristyle gardens, thought to have been planted in a formal manner in antiquity.¹¹²

The archaeological investigations at Villa Arianna, however, have revealed that, on the contrary, part of this garden was planted in a rather informal manner,¹¹³ similar to the many painted gardens that depict young trees amid dense concentrations of flowers and evergreens. The garden (Fig. 4.3) featured four long beaten earth pathways, running east–west, and raised planting beds. Narrow raised beds with a single line of plantings separated the paths; each plant was 1.2 m apart and aligned with plants in the other rows.¹¹⁴ Gleason remarks that from the root cavities it is evident that the plants for these three narrow planting beds were not a matched group of trees of a single species, but rather a “linear arrangement of a great variety of small trees and shrubs, some with single trunks, others multi-stemmed, some staked — either young or trained as vines — and of a range of apparent ages”.¹¹⁵ Such an arrangement is similar to the later garden investigated in Rome in connection with the temple of Heliogabalus, which also featured walkways separated by narrow beds displaying a variety of plants.¹¹⁶ At the Villa Arianna, larger planting beds lay to the north and south of the paths. Only the two in the north-east corner of the peristyle have been fully exposed; they measure 11 x 35 m and are also separated by an earthen path. The

¹¹¹ FERRARA 2001; ROSSANO 2001.

¹¹² HOWE, forthcoming: investigations carried out more recently at Villa S. Marco have revealed that the upper peristyle (*c.* 108 m long) was much larger than the currently visible 35 m.

¹¹³ Only part of the garden was excavated, revealing hundreds of root cavities: GLEASON 2010.

¹¹⁴ GLEASON 2010, 12.

¹¹⁵ GLEASON 2010, 12.

¹¹⁶ VILLEDIEU 2001, 84–100; 2007, 346–372; GLEASON 2010, 12. In the Vigna Barberini excavations, the fact that the planting beds had different types of plants is suggested by the recovery of planting pots, reused amphorae, and planting pits of different sizes.

north side of the garden, which overlooked the sea, featured a semi-circular or circular pool. The hundreds of root cavities identified in these two beds range from very small herbaceous plants to shrubs and trees. Small post holes and, at each end of the beds, stake holes, in all likelihood indicating light fencing, have also been identified.¹¹⁷

As stressed by Gleason, this type of plant arrangement, with lush, varied vegetation, is reminiscent of the gardens depicted in wall paintings. The idea, therefore, that the painted gardens were idealized depictions not found in real life, where more formal and rigid arrangements were preferred, is to be reconsidered. Gleason suggests that these painted gardens were not evocations of nature, but thoughtfully laid out, man-made gardens, some with dwarf plants created by skillful pruning, such as the dwarf variety of the plane tree, called *chamaeplatanus*.¹¹⁸ The full results of the identification of the root casts and other ecofacts collected by the archaeologists at the Villa Arianna are awaited with anticipation. In the meantime it is very tempting to hypothesize that varied plant arrangements such as those discovered here were a sort of "botanical gazetteer of empire",¹¹⁹ a collection of plants pairing with domestic species imported from the regions controlled by Rome or those with which there were well-established trade links. A function as botanical gazetteer of empire has been indeed proposed for the garden of the Flavian *Templum Pacis*, with the nearby *horrea piperataria* being understood as a tangible indication that peace allowed trade with faraway lands to flourish.¹²⁰ A figurative reading of the garden as the microcosm of empire has also been seen in the case of Caligula and the *horti Lamiani*, where the emperor received the Jewish embassy headed by Philo. In this episode,

¹¹⁷ GLEASON 2010, 13.

¹¹⁸ GLEASON 2010, 13 n. 17; for instance such a dwarf tree can be seen in a fresco on the north wall of the House of the Wedding of Alexander (VI.xvii.42), also known as the House of the Golden Bracelet.

¹¹⁹ HOWE, forthcoming.

¹²⁰ POLLARD 2009.

the *horti* are seen as a “microcosm of the empire, subject to the autocratic will of the emperor”¹²¹

Members of the upper class might have created similarly symbolic gardens in their villas. Indeed, among the many root cavities recorded at the Villa Arianna, there are some that might have belonged to exotic plants: palm trees.¹²² These cavities were at the end of the line of trees in the narrow planting beds.¹²³ The possible presence of palm trees at the Villa Arianna, in the context of a densely planted informal garden, is interesting for two reasons. First, it brings to mind a now lost fresco from the east wall of the garden of the House of the Amazons in Pompeii (VI.ii.14), for which we have a water-colour.¹²⁴ The painting depicted in the foreground a marble fence with birds, including a peacock, perched on it and, behind the fence, a garden with four palm trees planted among tall bushes with dense foliage. In the middle of the garden is an *aedicula* containing statuettes of Isis, Osiris, and Harpocrates. The background shows maritime villas built at the water’s edge or, according to another interpretation, on islands.¹²⁵ The presence of the palms and the Egyptian deities of the *aedicula* has led some scholars to see this scene as the depiction of an Egyptian landscape, where the villas in the background are to be seen as a reference to the pleasure residences of Canopus. But the painting could also have depicted a more familiar type of garden and view: a villa garden on the Bay of Naples.

Palm trees appear in various painted gardens of Pompeii and it is possible that they were grown in gardens of the Vesuvian area. In the House of the Ephebe (I.vii.12), for instance, a fresco shows a pruned palm flanked by two slender young trees; Room 8 of the House of the Alcove at Herculaneum

¹²¹ VON STACKELBERG 2009, 138.

¹²² HOWE, GLEASON, & SUTHERLAND 2011; final identification is not yet completed: K. GLEASON, *pers. comm.*, June 6, 2013.

¹²³ HOWE, GLEASON, & SUTHERLAND 2011, 209 n. 10.

¹²⁴ Illustration in JASHEMSKI 1993, 340.

¹²⁵ GRIMAL 1984, 450 n. 11.

(IV.3-4) features a slender palm with two clusters of dates; the densely planted painted garden in Room 32 of the House of the Golden Bracelet (VI.xvii.42) features young palm trees next to herms. The date palm, which originated either in the Persian Gulf or in North Africa, grows well in all Mediterranean countries, but where average yearly temperatures fall below 18°C it does not bear edible fruit.¹²⁶ The many examples of dates discovered in the excavations at Pompeii refer to imported dates, but in two cases finds of dates resting directly on the level of field cultivation in the proximity of two *uillae rusticae* may indicate the presence of decorative palm trees.¹²⁷

The palm is highly symbolic. It was the symbol of victory in general, and in Roman imagery, particularly on coins, was associated with the military conquest of two regions specifically: Egypt and Judaea. A crocodile associated with a palm branch and chained to a palm tree, over which is a wreath signifying the conquest of Egypt, appears on the reverse of bronze coinage issued in the Augustan period in the colony of Nemausus (Nîmes), where veterans from Actium were settled.¹²⁸ A palm tree was the protagonist of a portent recounted by Suetonius in his life of Augustus: a palm grew spontaneously in between the paving stones in front of Augustus' house and, taking this as an important omen, Augustus had the plant transplanted to the inner courtyard, next to his household gods, and "lavished care on it to make it grow".¹²⁹ In the case of Judaea, the palm tree features prominently in the Flavian coin series issued to celebrate the conquest.¹³⁰ That the palm

¹²⁶ BORGONGINO 2006, 26: palms in Italy bloom and produce fruits, but the dates do not develop the endocarp, which is the edible part, as already noted by Pliny (*HN* 16, 135).

¹²⁷ BORGONGINO 2006, 26; 74, nos. 70, 71: a *uilla rustica* in Scafati and one in località Cangianni at Boscoreale.

¹²⁸ RIC, *Augustus*, 157, with Agrippa and Augustus on the obverse.

¹²⁹ *utque coalesceret magno opera curauit*, SUET. *Aug.* 92, 1.

¹³⁰ BMCRE, *Vespasian*, 43-44; 83-85, 388-391. PLIN. *HN* 13, 26 states that Judaea is famous particularly for palms. He devotes several paragraphs (26-50) to different types of palms that at 13, 27 he defines as *externae*.

was a commonly accepted symbol of Judaea is also shown by the Jewish coinage minted during the Bar Kochba revolt under Hadrian: one issue shows on one side a date palm and on the other a cluster of grapes.¹³¹

Palm trees appear also in public gardens of the 1st century CE. On-going excavations of the so-called South Agora at Aphrodisias in Turkey have revealed that the complex was in fact not a gymnasium or an agora, but a large park with a long central pool, in proximity to the theatre. It seems that the trees planted here were palm trees.¹³² On the basis of archaeological data, the construction of this garden-cum-portico complex seems to date to the reign of Tiberius, and the palm trees appear to have been part of the original project. This complex, therefore, offers additional evidence of the 'popularity' of the palm tree in the early Julio-Claudian period.¹³³ If it is right to interpret the garden of the Villa Arianna as an informal garden displaying a variety of plants, both domestic and foreign (most notably the palm tree), and thence as a sort of gazetteer of empire, it might not be by chance that this type of garden has not been identified among the (real) gardens of houses at Pompeii, but is instead present in such an elegant villa, which probably belonged to some senator, and in the garden built by Heliogabalus in Rome. Such gardens were making a precise statement about the owner's power and Rome's imperial might.

¹³¹ HENDIN 52010, nos. 1380, 1381; cf. also nos. 1378, 1382.

¹³² The excavation is directed by A.I. Wilson, who presented some of the preliminary results at the Reading Classics research seminar series on February 20, 2013. The excavations in summer 2012 identified rectangular planting trenches filled with organic matter, which provided some evidence for *Phoenix theophrasti*. Post-excavation analysis has not yet been completed. A late antique inscription mentions a "place of palms" and water features, which Wilson argues refer to this complex: *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* 38 = <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/inscription/eAla038.html>>.

¹³³ *I.Aph.* 12, 204, dated to c. 1st century CE, records dedications of statues by Artemidoros Pedisas, son of Dionysios: "as he also promised when the palm grove was being constructed in the period of his tenure of the office of strategos". This palm grove has been connected to the place of palms of the late antique inscriptions mentioned above.

IV. The glory of grafting and plant selection

To botanical displays in the context of upper-class houses we should also add the display of skillful horticulture (as in pruned trees and newly grafted varieties), which, for the most part, seems to have been the monopoly of the very wealthy and powerful.¹³⁴ Monuments, in the Latin etymology of the word, were a means to immortalise someone's memory: honorific statuary, grand tombs, and literary works all performed the same role. Someone's name could be immortalized also in the name of a new variety of fruit tree or grape, recalling the successful grafted who had developed them. It is indeed in these terms that Pliny mentions the cleverness required by the art of grafting, and the fact that the names given to the fruit propagated the eternal memory of their cultivators, just as if they had achieved something extraordinary in life. Nothing is so small — he continues — that it cannot give glory.¹³⁵

Famous individuals and noble *gentes* mentioned in relation to grafting or other plant-selection processes include: Gaius Matius, Augustus' friend, who developed the *mala Matiana* (and invented the 'barbered trees': see below);¹³⁶ an undefined member of the *gens Cestia* who developed the *mala Cestiana*;¹³⁷ an unidentified member of the *gens Mallia* (or *Manlia*) who gave his name to the *mala Malliana/Manliana* mentioned by Gargilius Martialis;¹³⁸ an unidentified member of the *gens*

¹³⁴ As suggested in passing by GLEASON 2010, 13 n. 17.

¹³⁵ *Reliqua cur pigeat nominatim indicare, cum conditoribus suis aeternam propagauerint memoriam, tamquam ob egregium aliquod in uita factum? Nisi fallor, apparebit ex eo ingenium inserendi nihilque tam paruum esse quod non gloriam parere possit* ("Why should I hesitate to indicate by name the remaining varieties of fruit, seeing that they have prolonged the memory of those who established them for all time, as though on account of some outstanding achievement in life? Unless I am mistaken, the recital will reveal the ingenuity exercised in grafting, and will show that nothing is so trifling as to be incapable of producing celebrity"), PLIN. *HN* 15, 49, trans. H. RACKHAM.

¹³⁶ COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 10, 19. PLIN. *HN* 15, 49; cf. *HN* 12, 13.

¹³⁷ COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 10, 19. PLIN. *HN* 15, 49.

¹³⁸ PLIN. *HN* 15, 49; GARG. MART. *Medicinae ex oleribus et pomis* 42.

Scaudia for the *mala Scaudiana*, which ripened late in the season;¹³⁹ and an unidentified Appius Claudius, member of the aristocratic *gens Claudia*, who developed the *Appiana mala* by grafting quince onto the *Scaudia*.¹⁴⁰ Pears, too, have their share of notable names:¹⁴¹ the *Decimiana*,¹⁴² which even had a *pseudodecimiana* variety derived from it; the *Dolabelliana*,¹⁴³ the *Pomponiana*; the *Seuiana*;¹⁴⁴ the *Turraniana*;¹⁴⁵ the *Anicana*; and the *Tiberiana*.¹⁴⁶

Grafting of other fruit trees can be mentioned as well. After stating that the cherry tree had been first brought to Italy by Lucullus, Pliny gives a list of varieties.¹⁴⁷ Some names indicate regions, presumably where the variety was first developed or where it was most cultivated (e.g., *Macedonica*), but several others derive from family names of famous Roman *gentes*. The list mentions the *cerasa Aproniana* (rich red), the *Lutatia* (very dark, almost black), the *Caeciliana* (nicely rounded), the *Iuni-ana* (agreeable in flavour, but to be consumed immediately after picking), and the *Pliniana* (this was the Campanian name of the *duracina* variety).¹⁴⁸ Moving from fruits to vegetables, we can recall in this context Columella and the two varieties of lettuce named after Caecilius Metellus.¹⁴⁹ Even upper-class women were interested in this aspect of their *fundi*: Livia

¹³⁹ VARRO *Rust.* 1, 59, 1; COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 10, 19; PLIN. *HN* 15, 49; 58.

¹⁴⁰ PLIN. *HN* 15, 49.

¹⁴¹ PLIN. *HN* 15, 53-55.

¹⁴² It is not known who the Decimianus that developed this variety was (mentioned also by COLUM. *Rust.* 12, 10, 4).

¹⁴³ Referring to some member of this branch of the *gens Cornelia*; cf. also COLUM. *Rust.* 12, 10, 4.

¹⁴⁴ The *Pomponiana* and *Seviana* are kinds listed only by Pliny; the names refer to the *gens Pomponia* and to an unidentified Sevius.

¹⁴⁵ This name refers to Turranius Niger, a famous farmer to whom Varro dedicates the second book of his *Res rusticae*.

¹⁴⁶ *Anicana* recalls an Anicus, whereas in the case of the *Tiberiana* Pliny explains that the name was due to the fact that this was Tiberius' favourite kind.

¹⁴⁷ PLIN. *HN* 15, 102-103.

¹⁴⁸ On the grafting of cherries see also VARRO *Rust.* 1, 39, 2; COLUM. *Rust.* 11, 2, 96.

¹⁴⁹ COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 182.

herself, the first lady of Rome, apparently developed a new kind of fig that was subsequently named after her, and Pompey did the same.¹⁵⁰ Pliny, in the middle of his excursus on apples, is conscious that names connected to famous *gentes* might be seen as a sort of 'advertising expedient' to give celebrity to a given variety of fruit, and to this end cites an example not connected to socially prominent individuals, the *mala Sceptiana*, whose 'inventor', a certain Sceptius, was of libertine status.¹⁵¹ Considering the interest that upper-class Romans had in viticulture — several literary works on viticulture were composed but have not come down to us — it is to be expected that much experimenting to improve varieties and develop new ones went on with vines as well. As happens today, wines could be named after the estate on which the grapes were grown and the wine made. An example is the *Faustinianum* (*uinum*), from the *fundus Faustinianus*, not far from Sinuessa, and the *Caucinum* (from the *nomen Caucius*), also produced in the same area, or the *Potulanum* wine, produced in Sicily and taking its name from its creator.¹⁵²

That Livia, Pompey, or other upper-class Romans took an interest in developing new varieties of fruit, most likely via the slave gardeners at their service, indicates the importance given to agricultural production and farming as traditional Roman occupations suitable for the elite and for defending the integrity of traditional *mores*. It also shows the interest of the elite in their wealth and resources, which included expert gardeners and good agricultural land.¹⁵³ The agricultural abilities and virtuous behaviour of Livia, who received an omen in her villa *ad gallinas albas* and planted and took care of the ominous laurel

¹⁵⁰ *Sunt et auctorum nomina iis, Liviae, Pompei*, PLIN. HN 15, 70. See also COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 10, 11; MACROB. *Sat.* 3, 20, 1 (quoting the lexicographer Cloatius Verus).

¹⁵¹ PLIN. HN 15, 50.

¹⁵² PLIN. HN 14, 62 (*Faustinianum*); 63 (*Caucinum*); 66 (*Potulanum?* — the text is uncertain).

¹⁵³ PURCELL 1995 on aristocrats, wealth, and agriculture.

grove, can be contrasted with Tacitus' disapproving reference to Domitia Lepida, Nero's aunt, who spent time in her villa "busying herself in augmenting the fishponds of her beloved Baiae".¹⁵⁴

The interest and pride of the upper classes in agriculture, horticulture, and arboriculture, ideologically appropriate activities for the elite, recur often. Not only were the rural villas the proper form of investment for elite wealth, but boasting about plant varieties seemed commensurate with a person's social standing. Pliny claims to have heard with his own ears a man of consular rank declare that he owned a kind of walnut tree that produced nuts twice a year.¹⁵⁵ The connection between wealthy and prominent families and horticultural knowledge recurs also in the case of the *ars topiaria*. Practitioners of this art, as attested in the small epigraphic corpus mentioning *topiarii*, belonged mostly to wealthy families and the imperial house.¹⁵⁶ The *topiarii* had considerable status in wealthy households and their skills were appreciated: we have seen that in Pliny's villa *in Tuscis* bushes were shaped to form not simply the owner's name, but also the gardener's. Topiary art appears to have been a Roman development;¹⁵⁷ it was yet another case of the Roman interest in taming nature, in controlling and ordering the landscape.¹⁵⁸ The 'inventor' of the art of pruning trees in such a way as to keep them small or give them artful shapes was a certain Gaius Matius, an *eques* and friend of Augustus who, in Pliny's words, *inuenit nemora tonsilia*

¹⁵⁴ *Baiarum suarum piscinas extollebat*, TAC. *Ann.* 13, 21, 6. Livia and the laurel grove *ad gallinas albas*: PLIN. *HN* 15, 136-137.

¹⁵⁵ PLIN. *HN* 15, 91.

¹⁵⁶ CIL VI 6369-6370: the Statilii Tauri; VI 7300: the Volusii Saturnini; VI 8639a, 11; 8738: the *familia Augusta*; VI 9949: the *Domus Tiberiana*; VI 9082: Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian; several other inscriptions from Rome name *topiarii*: CIL VI 4360-4361, 4423; 5353, 9943-9948; 33745.

¹⁵⁷ There is no reference in Greek to the occupation of a *topiarius* (i.e., landscape gardener): VON STACKELBERG 2009, 17.

¹⁵⁸ On the taming of nature as a sign of power: PURCELL 1987; MARZANO 2007, 21-33.

(“invented barbered groves”).¹⁵⁹ It is significant that the twenty known epigraphic attestations of *topiarii* come almost entirely from Rome and the *suburbium*, with one example from Comum and one from the area of the Lucrine Lake: all these regions were known for the villas of the senatorial elite.¹⁶⁰

What this analysis indicates is that we can see elite interest in new plants developing on two different levels in parallel. On the one hand there are examples of plants transplanted into gardens because of their symbolic and aesthetic value (e.g., plane and palm) and of plants brought back as booty from military campaigns (ebony and balsam). On the other, there is the interest in new varieties of fruit, clearly aimed at improving the agricultural production of *fundi*. This same interest in improving agricultural production (and having *fundi* that are better than those of others) explains the experimentations with grafting. When Vitellius brought back fig trees for his Alban estate or when Papinius Allienus introduced the jujube and azerole plants to Italy, they were probably thinking about adding to the agricultural production of their estates something that other proprietors did not have. Such elite behaviour focuses on fruit trees, which produce crops that can be consumed in the household or sold. It is therefore not subject to censure, because it conforms to the idealized occupation of the morally strong Romans of the olden days. The strict association between the idea of *fructus* (profit, gain) with cultivating plants bearing *fructus* (fruit) is beautifully encapsulated by one of the fables of Phaedrus, which is worth quoting in its entirety:

*Olim quas uellent esse in tutela sua
diui legerunt arbores. Quercus Ioui,
at myrtus Veneri placuit, Phoebo laurea,
pinus Cybebae, populus celsa Herculii.
Minerua admirans quare steriles sumerent*

5

¹⁵⁹ PLIN. *HN* 12, 13.

¹⁶⁰ CIL V 5316; X 1744; VON STACKELBERG 2009, 17. At *Dig.* 32, 60, 3 the *topiarius* is not included in the *instrumentum* inherited or sold as part of an estate, because he is not needed to cultivate the *fundus*.

interrogauit. Causam dixit Iuppiter:
"Honorem fructu ne uideamur uendere".
"At mehercules narrabit quod quis uoluerit,
oliua nobis propter fructum est gratior."
Tum sic deorum genitor atque hominum sator: 10
"O nata, merito sapiens dicere omnibus.
Nisi utile est quod facimus, stulta est gloria."
Nihil agere quod non prosit fabella admonet.¹⁶¹

The play on the double meaning of *fructus*, profit/fruit, is evident: Minerva chooses the olive tree because of its fruit and because of the profit it brings. Jupiter's comment that unless something is useful the glory that derives from it is foolish brings to mind Pliny the Elder's remark, in talking about grafting, that even something small (but *utilis!*) can bring *gloria*, and recalls his disapproval at the introduction of the sterile plane tree.

V. Conclusions

Private gardens, just like any other part of the house or villa, were a means for displaying the social status and ideological aspirations of the owner; whether in elite properties of the late Republic or those of the imperial period, garden spaces were often so constructed as to offer yet another level of self-representation in the private sphere. Columella devoted Book 10 of his treatise on agriculture to *cultus hortorum* (cultivation of

¹⁶¹ "Once long ago the gods chose trees which they would have each under his own patronage. Jupiter decided for the oak, Venus for the myrtle, Phoebus for the laurel, Cybebe for the pine tree, and Hercules for the lofty poplar. Minerva wondered why they chose trees that bore no fruit, and asked them about it. Jupiter gave the reason as follows: 'Lest we seem to be selling the honour at the price of the fruit.' Now, on my oath,' said she, 'let anyone say what he will, my olive suits me better just because of its fruit.' Then the father of the gods and creator of men thus spoke: 'My daughter, it is for good cause that you are called wise by all alike. Unless what we do is useful, it is foolish to take pride in it.' The fable admonishes us to do nothing that is not beneficial", PHAEDR. 3, 17, trans. B.E. PERRY.

gardens), which he states was at the peak of fashion in his own day.¹⁶² In this book (which — significantly — is in verse and not prose), Columella presents the garden, separated from the wider landscape, as well-defined, something that needs careful design.¹⁶³ Columella's *hortus* is an emblem of the regional variety of Italy and its autonomous landscape,¹⁶⁴ but it contains also specimens from across the Mediterranean and is a "small parcel that represents a terrestrial totality".¹⁶⁵ The reader is guided from the confined garden into a garden of empire via the mention of seeds and bulbs brought to Italy from various faraway regions.¹⁶⁶ Columella makes Italy a "synecdoche for the whole world".¹⁶⁷ He then gives a sort of tour of Italy by focussing on the cabbage (a re-working of Cato).¹⁶⁸ The territorial stretch of Rome's empire comes into focus again shortly afterwards, where the mention of types of lettuce brings the reader from the Pillars of Hercules (Gades) to Cyprus, via Capadocia; the naming of two kinds of this relatively humble vegetable after Caecilius Metellus, a general active during the First Punic War (Rome's first large-scale military engagement in the Mediterranean), brings into sharp focus the close association felt between military campaigns, generals, and plants.¹⁶⁹

Pompey was the first to parade trees from exotic countries in his triumph, but he was not the last. There were probably other cases of vegetal display in the triumphal context before Vespasian and Titus displayed balsam trees in Rome while celebrating their victory over Judaea. The interest in new plants encountered during military campaigns had a twofold nature. Plants with special characteristics and associated with a

¹⁶² *Superest ergo cultus hortorum segnis ac neglectus quondam ueteribus agricolis, nunc uel celeberrimus*, COLUM. *Rust.* 10, praef. 1.

¹⁶³ COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 6-34; SPENCER 2010, 95.

¹⁶⁴ SPENCER 2010, 96.

¹⁶⁵ PAGÁN 2006, 30.

¹⁶⁶ SPENCER 2010, 96-97.

¹⁶⁷ SPENCER 2010, 97.

¹⁶⁸ COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 127-139.

¹⁶⁹ COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 179-188.

particular region could be seen as a symbol of the newly conquered territories and were displayed in triumphs or in gardens, either public or private, that were meant to be a synecdoche of empire, just as Columella's literary *hortus* was. The garden of the Villa Arianna, with its series of narrow planting beds displaying different trees placed in a single orderly row and probably flanked at both ends by palms, appears to have been a real example of the type of *hortus* that Columella describes: a garden symbolizing Rome's territorial expansion and long-distance trade links. This type of garden needs to be seen within the context of interest in geographical knowledge and the public display of maps.

In the case of fruit trees, however, new plants and new varieties of species that were already known attracted the interest of the elite in improving the agricultural production of their *fundī*. The primacy given to agriculture in elite culture and self-presentation helps to explain why we hear of so many upper-class individuals interested in grafting trees and in developing new varieties of fruit on their estates. This practical aspect was coupled with an ideological dimension, in that the appropriation and display of horticultural knowledge was linked to imperialism. It was not only riches that Pompey brought back to Rome after defeating Mithradates, but also new botanical knowledge: the king of Pontus was famous for his research on the medicinal properties of plants. A chest that came into the hands of Pompey contained the king's reports on his research, including details of the herbal prescriptions and their effects, and Pompey ordered his freedman, the grammarian Pompeius Lenaeus, to translate it all into Latin: *uitaeque ita profuit non minus quam rei publicae uictoria illa*.¹⁷⁰ In the panorama of treatises devoted to agriculture, specific works on horticulture and viticulture are a phenomenon of the late Republican and Augustan periods: Sabinus Tiro's *Cepurica*

¹⁷⁰ "This great victory therefore was as beneficent to life as it was to the State", PLIN. *HN* 25, 7, trans. W.H.S. JONES.

("Garden Stuff"), which he dedicated to Maecenas,¹⁷¹ or works by Julius Graecinus and Julius Atticus on viticulture; even Celsus, the famous contemporary doctor, wrote on farming.

Horticultural knowledge was often seen as an important element of civilization. In drawing the distinction between the barbarian other (often nomadic and hence pastoral populations) and the civilized Greek and Roman world (consisting of sedentary agricultural populations), an intermediate level of marginalizing the other was offered by the level of sophistication reached in the agricultural sciences. Thus, Tacitus in the *Germania* stresses that while the Germani know agriculture and the basic measuring of time (the calendar in its origins is normally related to agricultural chores), they do not know arboriculture and horticulture, nor do they have an advanced definition of the seasons.¹⁷² For the elite, therefore, garden display and horticultural knowledge were symbols not only of territorial expansion, but also of civilization and the taming of nature. The race for supremacy among the generals of the late Republic was played out, in part, in their gardens at home.

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¹⁷¹ PLIN. *HN* 19, 177.

¹⁷² TAC. *Germ.* 26, 2-3; VON STACKELBERG 2009, 12-13. Compare Pliny's Chauci, who live in a treeless land and are presented as being even below those who do not know agriculture: MURPHY 2004, 168-169.

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DISCUSSION

K. Coleman: You have shown very clearly how generals introduced exotic species into Rome at the end of the Republic for their self-aggrandizement (and perhaps, in some cases, out of scientific interest as well). But I wonder whether we can see some resistance to this in contemporary texts, such as the opening of Varro's *Res rusticae*, where the assembled speakers looking at a map in the temple of Tellus praise the fertility of Italy, or indeed the *laudes Italiae* in the *Georgics*?¹

A. Marzano: Thank you for raising this interesting point. I do not think that these praises of the agricultural fertility of Italy indicate resistance to the introduction of new varieties of plants, but certainly they wanted to emphasize the superiority of Italy over other regions in this respect. This superiority, as implied in particular by Varro's passage, rested on three elements: quality of the climate, quality of the land, and quality of the crops. The last element depends entirely on the agricultural knowledge and practices of men, and by implication Varro in this passage is suggesting that farmers of Italy knew better and had developed the selection of seeds, plant propagation, grafting, and so forth to a higher level. Regardless of the long list of Greek authors to be consulted in agricultural matters that he gives to his wife in the previous section, the praises and examples prompted by the image of the map of Italy are an explicit statement that only in Italy has such *ars* or — to use the Greek word — *technē* been best put into practice. It is, ultimately, a statement about the superiority of the farmers. In my view, such superiority, in Varro's opinion, rested also on

¹ VARRO *Rust.* 1, 2, 1-8; VERG. *Georg.* 2, 136-176.

the fact that generals were ready to collect and bring back new plants or new varieties from abroad, *but only* if these were useful varieties of fruit-bearing plants. As Varro's ideal villa is the place of production, and villas that displayed only works of art were to be considered sterile and useless, so also were the plants that were transplanted exclusively for decorative purposes. The case of the parade of precious exotic plants that could not be transplanted to Italy, such as the balsam and ebony trees of Pompey's triumph, is a different issue. In this case it is possible that the economic value of these plants, along with the fact that they were linked to geographic regions other than Italy, encouraged authors like Varro and Virgil to praise what Italy had to offer agriculturally and to stress that the centre of the empire had primacy also in this field. And, of course, the Italian crops listed in Varro's passage — cereals, grape, olive, and fruit trees — were not simple luxuries like the balsam tree, but staples in people's diet, so in terms of *utilitas* they were much more important!

B. Bergmann: The Judaean coins raise the question of context and purpose in representations of trees. There is no doubt that the palm on the coins symbolizes specific victories, but would this symbolism have translated to domestic paintings and to the gardens themselves (such as that at Aphrodisias)?

A. Marzano: I certainly do not think that every case of a palm tree, whether planted in a real garden or depicted in a painted one, would have necessarily alluded to specific victories, such as the association between the palm tree and Egypt that we find on the Augustan coins or between the palm and Judaea on the Flavian *Iudaea capta* coins. But I do believe that, as in other cases in Roman art, so also for trees different levels of symbolism were possible, and that what the viewers made of the palm tree in a fresco or in a garden ultimately depended on their own system of reference. That the palm suggested to the ancient viewer the idea of victory in general is, I think,

undeniable, considering how often the palm branch was used to this end in various contexts, from the military sphere to the world of gladiatorial combat and chariot races. Likewise, it is clear that in figurative art the palm tree could be used to give a specific geographic connotation, to indicate Egypt — the famous Nilotic scenes with pygmies and lotus plants often feature palms — or North Africa in general, or the Levant, all areas where date palms were cultivated. In some cases, a domestic painting with palms was probably not intended to have any symbolic meaning at all, but just picked up what was fashionable at the time in wall paintings, although it is possible that a visitor to the house, seeing a painting with a palm tree, would have made a symbolic association in his or her mind. In the Augustan and early Julio-Claudian period, certain stories, such as the one reported by Suetonius about the omen of the palm tree growing in front of Augustus' house, circulated widely, at least among the elite, and often the upper classes imitated the actions of the emperor. Suetonius says that Augustus had the palm planted in his garden and 'lavished' care on it. I can imagine some members of the upper class following his lead and wanting palm trees in their gardens. That not only the elite of Rome was attuned to the trend and ideologies emanating from the centre of power is indicated by well-known cases, such as the *porticus* that Eumachia built in Pompeii and dedicated to Concordia Augusta, clearly following the example of Livia and her portico in Rome, or the inscription of Annobal Rufus from faraway Lepcis Magna, commemorating his work at the theatre, in which a nod towards Augustan ideology can be seen in the qualifier 'lover of concord' that Annobal attributes to himself, even though this is the Latin translation of a Neo-Punic traditional qualifier.² I cannot be sure that the garden at Villa Arianna and the place of palms at Aphrodisias were planted with a symbolic meaning in mind. However, the fact that in the former case we are dealing with a rich villa

² *amator concordiae*, IRT 321.

which probably belonged to some member of the senatorial class strongly suggests that the owner was someone who was very familiar with certain concepts and symbols. If scientific analysis can confirm that the plants here were a combination of domestic and imported species, we need to remember that this garden, destroyed by Vesuvius in 79 CE, was contemporary with the *Templum Pacis*, finished in 75. The *Templum Pacis* featured planting beds in its enclosure, and even if one does not agree with the idea that it was a display of 'botanical imperialism', it featured different plants, encapsulating trends and ideologies of the time. As for Aphrodisias, what is interesting is the Tiberian date for the project and the choice of palm trees. The complex, being next to the theatre (albeit at a lower level), was clearly meant to offer a portico-garden with a water feature as an amenity for theatregoers, just like Pompey's complex. To offer shade from the scorching sun of the Aphrodisian summers, however, other plants would have been more suitable, as palm trees do not really offer great shade. It was not a choice dictated by climate and dry soil conditions, because even nowadays the area is extremely rich in ground water, so other trees could have been chosen. To me, the dating to the Tiberian period suggests familiarity with the importance given to the palm during the reign of Augustus, such as in the story reported by Suetonius or as a symbol of conquered Egypt.

R. Lane Fox: As you hint, the importing of foreign fruits and flowers from conquered lands is prominent in the Macedonian age. Greek *apoikoi* brought with them plants from their homelands: surely there were excellent saffron crocuses at Cyrene precisely because settlers brought them from their home, Thera, where even now saffron crocuses are famous. Do you think that the Roman generations between, say, Pompey and 54 CE were particularly keen on acquiring, growing and displaying (to friends and clients) new varieties of plant? Unlike Alexander, they never conquered Persia, Bactria, and part of India, so they never controlled truly exotic, non-Mediterranean

plants. Or is it all an accident of our evidence and, say, Severan Rome's upper class was no different?

A. Marzano: I think that the chronological period that you identify — I would even push the chronological limit to include the emperors Vespasian and Titus — was indeed characterized by a keen interest in plants and their display, and in the development of new varieties. As I discussed in my paper, it is in the late Republic and the Augustan period that the term *uiridarium*, meaning a display or a collection of plants, appears in Latin. Topiary art is 'invented' in the Augustan period, and likewise this is the age when several works of literature on horticulture, viticulture, and arboriculture are composed. I do not, however, think that after the Flavians such interest simply faded away, but I think it had less political significance compared to the previous ages. In the late Republic, the heritage of the Hellenistic kings was strong and the prominent men in Rome engaged with Hellenistic ideas, behaviours, and tastes, and used them to enhance their standing. In the early imperial period, we still have client kings in the Mediterranean and particular dynamics in the language of power. In addition, the definition, on the ideological level, of the role of the emperor and the senatorial class, and how the two interacted, was still *in fieri*, and I think that displays, whether of exotic plants or of new varieties of familiar plants, offered to members of the elite various opportunities on the ideological level: displaying plants could be a way of emphasising engagement in specific military campaigns or expeditions; grafting new varieties of fruit trees could emphasize the engagement with agricultural practices just like a Roman of old, *ergo* stressing the moral integrity of the practitioner. How and if these ideological opportunities were used must, of course, have varied greatly. Furthermore, the colonial impetus of the early first century CE meant also attention to developing cash crop agriculture, mostly cultivation of the vine and olive, in areas that did not have a tradition in these cultivations, hence interest in the best varieties to be

planted abroad, what kind of yield they could give, and so forth. These phenomena, which soon transformed the Gauls and Hispania into exporters of wine and oil, must in part have been connected with the appearance of treatises on horticulture and viticulture in the early first century CE.

The garden in the enclosure of the temple built by Helio-gabalus on the Palatine does, however, show that the interest in gardens as displays of different plants had not disappeared. The four rectangular unpaved spaces each had three planting beds, and the combination of planting pots and cut amphorae of different types clearly shows the presence of different kinds of plants. These planting beds do not seem to have been densely planted, however, and it has been suggested that the amphorae were used to constrain the roots of bushes and small trees and thereby control their growth, resulting in dwarf varieties. The plants might have had symbolic and cultic significance, but this is impossible to determine in this context. It is interesting, though, that we have this kind of controlled plant display in the context of a temple, as in the Greek and Hellenistic periods temples and sanctuaries were often where new plants were displayed, since they were offered as gifts to the gods.

VI

BETTINA BERGMANN

THE CONCEPT OF BOUNDARY
IN THE ROMAN GARDEN*

"The first man who, having fenced in a piece of land, said 'This is mine,' and found people naïve enough to believe him, that man was the true founder of civil society."

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality* (1754)

Roman gardens, like all gardens past, are notoriously difficult to recover. On the Bay of Naples, an exceptional natural disaster and modern advances in landscape archaeology have yielded rare evidence of planting patterns, which, together with surviving wall frescoes, have inspired recreations of gardens both in their original contexts and, more remotely, in museum exhibitions. In recent years, sections of the spectacular murals from the *nymphaeum-triclinium* complex of the House of the Golden Bracelet in Pompeii (VI.xvii.42), detached between 1979 and 1983, have traveled far and wide and become renowned for their breathtaking realism and precise botanical and ornithological detail, not to mention the virtuoso skills of the anonymous 1st-century painters. The exhibition "Pompeii and the Roman Villa" at the National Gallery in Washington,

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DC in 2009 displayed one section of the garden mural near potted bushes and garden statuary; to invoke the atmosphere of a living garden yet further, songs of the birds pictured in the frescoes were piped into the gallery, even though only a supernatural aviary could have produced such a symphony.¹ The Roman garden, it seems, is perpetually fertile ground for the modern imagination.

It is worth noting that the exhibited fresco, cropped and displayed like a separate picture, originally formed the central part of one of four walls in a high vaulted room, where the surrounding visual framework would have altered its impact entirely (Fig. 6.1). Ancient viewers would not have missed the intricately detailed borders above and below. What is more, this room was just part of a complex that extended into a living garden right outside.² The installation of a similar exhibition in the British Museum in 2013 included more sections, placed on three walls to recreate an interior space, but the central illusionistic garden scenes continue to draw maximum attention, despite the bold borders that deny access to the inviting park. The tendency of humans as upright beings to focus first on what appears at eye level has led us to overlook the primary role played by the boundary in Roman gardens and their representations.

I. Miniature gardens

This essay considers a neglected yet key aspect of gardens, namely the man-made features that enclosed and defined them. Our focus is an unusual group of images painted in porticoes

¹ MATTUSCH 2008, 172-173, No. 65.

² Since their discovery in 1978, the frescoes from this complex have been extensively published: CONTICELLO 1991a; JASHEMSKI 1993, 348-358 ("House of the Wedding of Alexander"); SAMPAOLO 1996 (pre-restoration); MASTRO-ROBERTO 2003, 398-401; STEFANI & BORGONGINO 2006; CIARDIELLO 2006, 71-77; 162-255; DI PASQUALE & PAOLUCCI 2007, 323-327.

and interior rooms in 1st-century CE Italy: miniature, self-contained, and perfectly ordered garden precincts, seen from above in an axonometric plan. One fine example has gone unnoticed among all the spectacular details of mosaics and frescoes from the House of the Golden Bracelet, namely fragments of a black dado showing an aerial view of a symmetrical garden with wicker enclosures, a trellis with purple grapes, and, in the center, a marble statue of Dionysus and his panther standing under a roofed *tholos* on the edge of a pool (Fig. 6.2).³

Because of their small size and secondary location within decorative wall schemes, many such garden views were left to fade when the larger and more glamorous figural scenes were cut from the walls and taken to museums. At least sixty examples survive, some of them only in photographs or drawings, and these must be just a fraction of what once decorated Roman walls.⁴ No two are identical and, while some were quickly sketched, others present remarkably precise renderings of whimsical structures made of wood and reed. As we shall see, these imaginative forms offer a glimpse of a lost art of Roman landscape design and communicate some of the meanings that gardens held in the late Republic and early Empire.⁵

³ 49 × 68 cm: SAMPAOLO 1996, 144, No. 186; DI PASQUALE & PAOLUCCI 2007, 315. The broken fresco fragments were discovered in a channel in the garden in 1983, evidently debris from damage caused by the earthquake of 62 CE, perhaps to a room in the upper story overlooking the garden.

⁴ On the schematic garden paintings: WARSCHER, 1942; WARD-PERKINS & CLARIDGE 1978, Nos. 79–80, 91; BASTET & DE VOS 1979, 133; BRAGANTINI *et al.* 1992, 423–426 *s.v.* Giardino; DE VOS 1983, 244; GRIMAL ³1984, 267–269; DE CAROLIS 1992, 105–106, Nos. 3–5; JASHEMSKI 1993, 380–404; MOORMANN 1995, 396–397; LANDGREN, 2004, 120–122; SETTIS 2002, 35; BERGMANN, forthcoming; BLANC, forthcoming.

⁵ On the status of garden paintings as providing limited direct evidence for actual gardens but, nevertheless, valuable indirect evidence for cultural attitudes, see HALPERN 1992. New methodological approaches to historical gardens received a boost in the late 1980s from the Landscape Architecture program at Dumbarton Oaks under the directorship of John Dixon Hunt. Involved in that pioneering work was Nicholas Purcell. Wilhelmina Jashemski's treasure trove of findings could now begin to be assessed within a rigorous theoretical framework.

A well-preserved fragment from the Villa Imperiale in Pompeii gives a clear example of the basic scheme (Fig. 6.3).⁶ A rectangular enclosure appears to float, unframed, on an ambiguous black ground. A yellow lattice fence, shown from the front, has two symmetrical square arbors and a large opening that reveals a square pool with a fountain statue on a pedestal. The sides of the fence recede upward and inward toward an optically shorter back fence with three gates or arbors. On each end of the fence stands a pillar with a vase, echoing the symmetrical placement of trees at each corner of the pool. Inside the fence grow regularly planted trees and pink flowers (roses?), while on the lower, outside edge there are uniform clusters of plants with white blossoms.

The same basic elements — a lattice fence or stone wall, pergolas and gates, marble pools and fountains, statues and vases, orderly trees and bushes — recur in myriad variations. A larger fragment from Pompeii, now in the Naples Museum, presents a more complex plan (Fig. 6.4).⁷ We see the plot from above, but from a lower viewpoint, and the fence curves into multiple semicircular niches and *pergulae*, all shown from different viewpoints. Just behind the fence grow bushes with white blossoms, perhaps oleanders. The area in front is painted green (for grass?) and alternating blue and white flowers dot the outer edge of the fence (Fig. 6.5). A large white water bird loiters in front of each niche, while a fourth perches on the lattice roof of a bower. Even the vessels atop the fences are created with the same basketry technique. Two marble fountains spurt tall jets of water that reflect the sunlight. The precinct terminates at each end in a square pergola, where green vines and clusters of purple grapes hang from a gridded roof.

⁶ Antiquarium di Boscoreale 21630, 12 × 35 cm.; CONTICELLO 1991b, No. 3; JASHEMSKI 1993, 401-403, Nos. 195-197.

⁷ Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples 9964, 33 × 137 cm (SAMPAOLO 2006, 67 gives the dimensions as 28.05 × 134 cm); WARD-PERKINS & CLARIDGE 1978, 145-146, No. 80; BUDETTA 2006, 90, No. 5; ASSKAMP *et al.* 2007, 235, No. 5.8.

A less well-preserved fragment suggests the many possible variations on a basic combination of wicker fencing and water features (Fig. 6.6). Two large square pools are surrounded by low fences and shady *pergulae*; fresh garlands swing between wicker posts supporting vessels.⁸ In this example the painter went to great lengths to reproduce, in miniature, the detailed latticework of the enclosure. Note especially the intricate patterns of the central apse. Indeed, this garden designer (*topiaricus?*) has woven reeds to emulate architectural features in stone: pillars with capitals, a triangular pediment, and the semi-dome as a conch shell, a veritable facsimile of a mosaic *nymphaeum*, even adding a pool of blue water at its base.

Although most of the schematic garden views survive in Pompeian houses, examples have been found elsewhere in Italy and also in the western provinces — in Gaul, Belgium, and Holland. Not all embellished domestic spaces.⁹ An uncommonly large fragment from a public context was found in 1760 in a room off the portico of the 1st-century CE forum at Veleia (Fig. 6.7).¹⁰ In this case, the garden precinct is projected onto a black zone that rises above a simulated, projecting podium and continues *behind* an illusionistic column standing on that fictive podium. Despite its greater horizontal extent, the design resembles the smaller images in Campania. A rectangular enclosure of wicker fences is punctuated by semicircular niches and prominent gates; covered walks (now faded) lead the eye

⁸ Antiquarium di Boscoreale 41675, 58 × 117 cm; CONTICELLO 1992, Fig. 5; DI PASQUALE & PAOLUCCI 2007, 315.

⁹ Although the phenomenon primarily seems to be Italian, about a dozen miniature precincts dating from the 1st century have been found in Gaul: BARBET 2008, 295–304. Fresco fragments of what must have been a stunning representation now in the Gorga Collection at the Palazzo Altemps in Rome resemble the example from the House of the Golden Bracelet, showing a rectangular water pool with marble columns, a wicker fence, and a delicate *pergula* or *tholos* containing a marble statue: CIARROCCHI 2013, 84–87.

¹⁰ The only indication of its origin is in an 18th-century plan. Thankfully, a watercolor made soon after discovery gives an idea of the multitude of marble sculpture. SPINAZZOLA 1953, 657–658; CALVANI 1975, 156–157, Fig. 47; RICCOMINI 2005, 13–19.

up toward a back fence. The center is taken up by a large square pool filled with blue water; pillars supporting *oscilla* stand at each corner. An unusual number of white marble cratera adorn the top of the fence, and statues of dancing figures, much like the satyrs found in Campanian peristyles, materialize in open archways. Every entrance is blocked. As usual, vegetation is subordinate and there are no human figures.

The remarkable aspect of the schematic garden scenes is their minimalism and abstraction. Seen from above, the enclosed area stands alone, detached from any larger architectural unit, quite in contrast to the actual green spaces contained in peristyles at the center of Pompeian townhouses. These images present a separate realm that lacks any of the air or atmosphere conjured up in the illusionistic garden rooms. Indeed, the viewing experience of the miniature plans is quite the opposite of that in the other main mode of garden painting, the lifesize inhabitable illusion, the most famous of which is from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (Fig. 6.8). For most spectators standing in the spacious reconstructed room in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo in Rome, the first impression is one of being immersed in a dense grove of flowering and fruiting trees, gently swaying in the breeze under warm sunlight, an impression that is enhanced by the continuity of the painted garden around the room, uninterrupted by corners or any weight-bearing vertical supports.¹¹ Gradually, however, the sense of absorption in an unbounded nature is arrested as one notices the series of man-made horizontal borders below eye level — a cane fence, a manicured lawn, and a marble balustrade — all of which firmly place us in a zone ‘outside’ (Fig. 6.9). With their pictorial illusions, the muralists negated the actual built walls, only to replace them with the very same fences and stone walls seen in the schematic garden views.

¹¹ On the optical experience promoted by the room: SETTIS 2002. On the identification and meaning of the plants: GABRIEL 1955; KELLUM 1994; CANEVA 1999.

What a contrast to the initial glance at a miniature precinct! The first thing one sees is the man-made geometrical space, produced *ad hoc*, like a colony (see Figs. 6.3-6.7). The illusionistic views that stimulate so many senses simultaneously are here reduced to a linear diagram that at once encompasses a vast area, yet lacks any relation to compass points or a horizon, presenting instead a reified and uncontaminated island of stillness, arrested in time.¹² The observer hovers over this pristine world as if over an architect's sketch. Yet these were not hand-held drawings, and their locations present a paradox. Many appear on the lower part of a wall, where their elevated perspective playfully undermines the solid support asserted by the simulation of the painted socle. Others are either at eye level or overhead in the upper zone of wall decoration, so that the aerial view contradicts the natural perspective of a spectator standing below.

Where did these diminutive elevated views come from, and what might they have communicated to 1st-century viewers? The axonometric plans are, to my knowledge, unique in Roman art. Elevated views of formal gardens do, however, survive from other cultures and periods, and these can illuminate what the ancient examples do and do not share. *Hortus conclusus*, the term often used by modern scholars to categorize the Roman images, connotes a cloistered garden that is entirely walled off and divided into four sections with a fountain of life in its center, an image that became emblematic of the Virgin Mary in medieval poetry and painting. On walls of Egyptian tombs, painted millennia before the Roman frescoes, composite views of geometrically aligned trees and pools, frequently confined within defining walls, promise pleasure in the after-life.¹³ Portraits of Italian Renaissance villa gardens, too, appear

¹² On the miniature: STEWART 1984, 37-69; BACHELARD 1994, 148-182.

¹³ LOEBEN, *supra, passim*. A few Egyptian tomb paintings represent professional gardeners at work: TIETZE 2011, 90-100.

from elevated viewpoints painted on interior walls of the villas themselves, they offer visitors breathtaking prospects of the cultivated grounds immediately outside, testifying to the owner's wealth and taste.¹⁴

Common to all these examples is an aerial, comprehensive view of linear, horticultural arrangements seen from above. But there are differences. Unlike the impenetrable barriers of *horti conclusi*, the fences and balustrades of Roman precincts are fragile and porous; furthermore, there is no hint of a symbolic or sacred milieu. Nor are the precincts intended for the after-life; even the tantalizing Roman pictorial and epigraphic evidence for planted tomb plots, including inscribed groundplans, reveal the very same design and decor as the frescoes, because graveyards were, after all, gardens of remembrance for the living.¹⁵ And although there seem to have existed portraits of villas — Cicero mentions a visual aid in a courtroom case about private property¹⁶ — the skeletal schemes on walls hardly document specific plots. That said, the images of garden precincts often *were* located near living green spaces and thus, in a sense, reflected back upon specific gardens, as did the frescoes in Renaissance villas.

It is clear that where and how the painted precincts were seen can tell much about their significance. After considering the physical contexts of a few critical examples, we will look more closely at their constituent parts to see which aspects of actual gardens wall-painters selected and accentuated. Finally, these enigmatic schemes are considered as expressions of the larger spatial and cultural environment of Italy in the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE.

¹⁴ LAZZARO 1990; MOSSER & TEYSSOT 1991.

¹⁵ PURCELL 1996; BODEL, forthcoming.

¹⁶ CIC. *Sest.* 93: Gabinius, tribune in 67 BCE, displayed a painting of Lucullus' villa to prove its excessive luxury.

II. Embedded reflections

The well-preserved fragment from the Villa Imperiale was just one of a series decorating the lower wall of the eighty-meter-long portico facing the Bay of Naples on the west (see Fig. 6.3). Recent investigations have shown that when the portico was erected over the old city wall of Pompeii in about 15 BCE, soil was brought in from the banks of the Sarno River to cover the ancient road and create a sunken garden.¹⁷ The long hall thus offered shade and opened onto a formally planted green space, and its location at the edge of the city allowed a panoramic view beyond that garden to the Bay of Naples.

Almost all of the miniature schemes, like this example, occur in multiples, and often in porticos. Vitruvius advises just such series, *uarietates topiorum*, for the decoration of colonnades, claiming that sequential images create a rhythmic cadence for ambulation.¹⁸ Individually, each garden scheme allowed the viewer to take in its salient features at a glance, but the successive variations also invited discrimination among their ever-unique designs. Above all, such repetition yet variety must have informed the viewer's perceptions of the living garden, which appeared intermittently between columns on the other side.

Roman homeowners, as is well known, appreciated clever juxtapositions of actual views and painted simulations. But the desire for combinations of varying modes of garden representations within a single space has not been acknowledged. Once

¹⁷ PAPPALARDO, CIARDIELLO, & GRIMALDI 2008, 302-305 for a reconstruction of the porticus and sunken garden, which seem to have resembled the *ambulationes* at villas on Capri and at Baiae and Misenum.

¹⁸ Though not specifically gardens: "in covered promenades, because of the length of the walls, they used for ornament the varieties of landscape gardening, finding subjects in the characteristics of particular places; for they paint harbours, headlands, shores, rivers, springs, straits, temples, groves, hills, cattle, shepherds", *ambulationibus uero propter spatia longitudinis uarietatibus topiorum ornarent a certis locorum proprietatibus imagines exprimentes; pinguntur enim portus, promunturia, litora, flumina, fontes, euripi, fana, luci, montes, pecora, pastores*, VITR. *De arch.* 7, 5, 2, trans. F. GRANGER; BERGMANN 2002b, 100.

one looks, however, such juxtapositions become everywhere apparent. Consider the House of the Golden Cupids in Pompeii (VI.xvi.7), famous for its imposing Rhodian peristyle and extensive sculptural installation, recovered *in situ* (Fig. 6.10).¹⁹ Forgotten, so far, are the small axonometric plans painted on the lower walls of the exedra (G) overlooking the open green space on the east. Six elaborate enclosures, each measuring about 50 × 150 cm, appear on black dadoes below the figural panels. Now faded but recorded in drawings, they demonstrate the care with which painters distinguished each precinct and its amenities.²⁰ The enclosure on the rear wall to the east, for example, breaks the simple rectangular form by extending the fencing at the rear beyond an enclosed square into protruding lateral wings (Fig. 6.11). The eye moves from the entrance gate upward to a wide hemicycle enclosing a square fountain basin. On either side, symmetrical arcuated *pergulae* provide shade for paths and connect to rear entrances. Statues once stood in the gateways, and waterbirds with red beaks and talons enlivened the formally bedded foreground. In a still further inventive adaptation on the north wall, the painter inscribed a semicircle of low fences (or an arbored passageway) within a square perimeter.

The location of six miniature garden schemes in a room facing directly onto a richly embellished open-air peristyle can hardly be a coincidence. To a person reclining within the shady exedra, the vignettes would have been clearly visible and must have seemed to refract the green area outside. In fact, the original contexts of all the miniature garden scenes consistently reveal complex systems of visual cross-referencing, whether among different pictorial modes, actual views, or the immediate architectural framework of the viewer. Even the Villa at Prima Porta offered visitors alternative experiences of planted

¹⁹ SEILER 1992.

²⁰ SPINAZZOLA 1953, 657, Fig. 650; SEILER 1992, 33-35; JASHEMSKI 1993, 398, Nos. 175-180, Figs. 489-490.

spaces. On the terraces of the upper level, a 'hanging garden' created in the Augustan period featured a two-meter-wide *euryalus*, a series of apses, and planting pots for small trees, while a second green area, a peristyle with a concrete fountain in its center, offered distant views of the Tiber river, the city of Rome, and the Alban hills. The cool subterranean room below must have presented a stimulating painted counterpoint to the live prospects enjoyed upstairs.²¹

The artistic dialogue among garden images can also be seen in a monumental complex within Rome, the semi-underground Auditorium of Maecenas, whose enormous apse was painted in the Tiberian period with illusionistic niches imitating windows, thereby suggesting such sights in the extensive gardens immediately outside (Fig. 6.12).²² Each 'window' presents a highly contrived view of a specimen tree and a bubbling fountain enclosed by a marble niche. The shapes of the fountains vary from one 'window' to the next: a tall narrow crater follows a wide-brimmed shallow bowl, and so on. Less visible to a viewer from afar — and less well-known — are the miniature enclosures, alternating with frolicking Bacchic figures, that appear on a black frieze directly below the illusionistic niches (Fig. 6.13). Each depicts a spacious precinct fitted out with wicker trellises, splashing waterworks, and marble statuary, settings that could well be understood as diagrams of the exterior parkland containing the horticultural arrangements seen in close-ups above.

The context of the garden vignettes, here and elsewhere, thus possesses a recursive quality, like a *mise en abyme*, whereby an image contains a smaller copy of itself. In this case, the miniature precinct could contain the sights in the 'windows', which may simulate the living garden outside the Auditorium. Indeed, the optical shifts between the precincts, seen in miniature as if from afar, and the framed lifesize prospects are not unlike the

²¹ KLYNNE & LILJENSTOLPE 2000.

²² DE VOS 1983; SALVADORI 2002, 35-37.

ever-changing vistas experienced by a person moving along a colonnade. It is no surprise that the closest literary parallels to the ensembles of garden views should be descriptions by the proud owners of gardens themselves. Pliny the Younger's ekphrastic villa letters are routinely brought into service, for although written a century later, the passages capture the pleasures of moving through formal gardens and observing their coveted features (*ea uarietate, ea descriptione, quocumque inciderint oculi, reficiuntur*).²³ However, Pliny's descriptions have not been discussed in relation to the miniature schemes, and yet his proprietary rhetoric and shifting perspectives are quite like the multiple viewing modes seen in the larger settings of the diminutive garden plans.

For instance, in a letter about his Tuscan villa, Pliny leads his reader from one vantage point to another, usually through or along a portico, presenting a kaleidoscopic array, from elevated prospects of vast terrain to minute details of gurgling marble fountains and flowering plants. Everything that is seen has been shaped to perfection through human skill, and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether Pliny means a painted simulation or a real view. One oft-quoted passage offers a particularly close verbal parallel for the 'windows' in painting and mosaic:

"There is also another room, green and shady from the nearest plane tree, which has walls decorated with marble up to the ceiling and a fresco (which is no less attractive) of birds perched on the branches of trees. Here is a small fountain with a bowl surrounded by tiny jets which together make a lovely murmuring sound."²⁴

²³ "[T]he harmony to be found in this variety refreshes the eye wherever it is turned", PLIN. *Ep.* 5, 6, 13, trans. B. RADICE. See FÖRTSCH 1993; DU PREY 1994; BERGMANN 1995; MYERS 2005.

²⁴ *Est et aliud cubiculum a proxima platano uiride et umbrosum, marmore excutum podio tenuis, nec cedit gratiae marmoris ramos insidentesque ramis aues imitata pictura. Fonticulus in hoc, in fonte crater; circa sipunculi plures miscent iucundissimum murmur*, PLIN. *Ep.* 5, 6, 22-23, trans. B. RADICE. The image is preceded by a similar description of an actual fountain: "Almost opposite the

The elements are familiar: verdant shade, birds, a jet fountain. Of special interest, here and elsewhere, is the attention drawn by Pliny to the man-made border, in this case a marble socle as beautiful as the living elements of the garden.

The rivalry between art and nature, of course, constitutes the very essence of all garden paintings, but the miniature schemes express that rivalry in a unique way. Their idiosyncratic nature becomes clear when they are compared with the cultivated green spaces represented in another popular mode on Roman walls, the so-called 'villascape'. Both modes appear in the *tablinum* of the House of Lucretius Fronto in Pompeii (V.iv.a/V.iv.11) (Fig. 6.14). In contrast to the abstract plans hovering in ambiguous space, the illusionistic framed pictures (*pinakes*) contain polychromatic views. On the two facing walls of the *tablinum*, four *pinakes*, seen at eye level as if supported on elaborate stands, present vibrant scenes (Fig. 6.15): against a blue sky, sunlight hits the columns of porticoes; the yellow, red, and white façades glitter with metallic decorations; figures move across a clipped lawn; paths are painted yellow to represent beaten earth. Notably, these green areas are not enclosed by ephemeral wicker latticework, as in the miniature views. Instead, manicured lawns and shrubs are planted on solid concrete terraces and subdivided by marble balustrades and dirt paths that extend the lines of the architecture, while regularly spaced trees are confined behind the buildings.²⁵

middle of the colonnade is a suite of rooms set slightly back and round a small court shaded by four plane trees. In the centre a fountain plays in a marble basin, watering the plane trees round it and the ground beneath them with its light spray", *Contra medium fere porticum diaeta paulum recedit, cingit areolam, quae quatuor platanis inumbratur. Inter has marmoreo labro aqua exundat circumiectasque platanos et subiecta platanis leni aspergine fouet*, PLIN. Ep. 5, 6, 20, trans. B. RADICE.

²⁵ On average, the 'villascapes' measure about 76 × 30 cm. Of more than 25 examples of the third and fourth styles, only a few have been found in a public context, namely the Suburban Baths and the Temple of Isis. ROSTOVZEFF 1904; BERGMANN 1991; THAGAARD LOFT 2003, 7-28.

The naturalistic views in the *pinakes* present an entirely different kind of space from the schematic gardens that decorate the bottom of each wall (Fig. 6.16; see also Fig. 6.14).²⁶ At first glance, the enclosures on the two facing walls appear to be mirror images: in each, *scholae* flank a central fountain; birds perch on a marble balustrade; white and purple flowers grow just inside it, and a garland lies along its base. Yet, as is typical, the pairing unveils variations. Thus, on the north wall, a fountain splashing in a circular bowl stands inside a semicircular niche, while on the south wall the fountain is a tall crater inside a rectilinear niche.²⁷ Each viewpoint, however, represents only half of a garden enclosure, so that, hypothetically, the observer stands at the very center of a playfully asymmetrical arrangement. It is impossible to reconcile the two kinds of gardens in this room. The aerial views on the black dadoes essentially negate the surface of the wall that displays, above, portable pictures on their stands. The resulting conflict unsettles our own position in space.

The multiple perspectives within one small room of a modest Pompeian house exemplify the efforts of builders and painters to enhance the interplay of inside and outside. There was more, for this was a transitional space that opened through a wide door onto a back garden, extending the views from the painted walls to a living green zone and beyond to more painted scenes in the garden portico. There animals prance about in a different kind of cultivated landscape that had also become fashionable in Italy from the first century BCE: the wild animal preserve. Again, it is descriptions of landowners' views that best correlate with the panorama of beasts in the garden. Columella tells estate owners to make sure to watch the hunting of hares, goats, and boars from the house so as to whet the appetite, "so that their being hunted within range of

²⁶ JASHEMSKI 1979, 78; JASHEMSKI 1993, 396-397; PETERS 1993; *PPM* 3, 1006-1017.

²⁷ PETERS 1993, 211-213, Figs. 225-227.

his sight might delight the eyes of the proprietor and that when the custom of giving feasts called for game, it might be produced as it were out of the pantry".²⁸ Representations of such preserves capture the optimal vantage point over a sturdy barrier and into an enclosed arena. A fine example on a marble relief brings attention to the opulent boundary with its detailed fence-work, statues on bases, and portrait herms; as with the Campanian murals, the viewer remains safely outside the frame and observes a wild kingdom now preserved on private land.²⁹ Pliny alludes to the potential spectacle lurking within view of his Tuscan villa:

"Picture to yourself a vast amphitheatre such as only could be a work of nature; the great spreading plain is ringed about by mountains, their summits crowned by ancient woods of tall trees, where there is a good deal of mixed hunting to be had."³⁰

The overview of a landscape and its creatures, all contained within an architectural frame, conveys a calm sense of mastery.

Boundaries ostensibly define, protect, and enshrine, but in pictorial representations, walls and fences function as much more than physical barriers. In lifesize illusions, they form the threshold beyond which we cannot move but can see, sometimes into an impossible distance or a surreal realm.³¹ The axonometric garden view, however, offers something far more complex, namely not just the boundary between us and the glimpse of a desirable world beyond, but the entire circumference of that world. The geometric outline gives the selected

²⁸ . . . ut et conspectu sui clausa uenatio possidentis oblectaret oculos, et cum exegisset usus epularum, uelut e cella promeretur, COLUM. Rust. 9 praef. 1, trans. E.S. FORSTER & E.H. HEFFNER (adapted).

²⁹ Musei Vaticani 1409: DI PASQUALE & PAOLUCCI 2007, 252-253.

³⁰ *Imaginare amphitheatrum aliquod immensum, et quale sola rerum natura possit effingere. Lata et diffusa planities montibus cingitur, montes summa sui parte proceru nemora et antiqua habent. Frequens ibi et uaria uenatio,* PLIN. Ep. 5, 6, 7, trans. B. RADICE.

³¹ LAUTER-BUFE 1975; TESSARO PINAMONTI 1984.

realm a clarity of shape, proportion, and extent. Miniature gardens are themselves painted on walls that are within buildings and, within ever more structured spaces beyond, the enclosure is just one set of boundaries nesting inside others; it is a frame-within-a-frame that both embodies and reconciles inner-outer tensions and, seen isolated and from above, offers itself for our possession. The role of the boundary in living gardens deserves closer attention. We now turn to the stuff of which it is made.

III. Raw materials

The types of enclosure seen in garden paintings correspond to those recommended by agricultural writers in the 1st centuries BCE and CE. The first advice that they give landowners is to mark the outer limits of private property very clearly.³² Columella states: "Before you set the plants I advise you to surround the bounds of your orchard with walls or a fence or a ditch and to deny a passage not only to cattle but also to man".³³ A garden designer, too, needed to begin with the ground surface, measuring and demarcating the area, then placing vertical elements upon it to articulate the limits and functions of internal zones. The miniature precincts lay bare the ways in which these vertical elements subdivide spaces, direct movement, and determine lines of sight.

³² VARRO *Rust.* 1, 14. Although of much later date (5th century CE), Palladius gives detailed advice about the many varieties of enclosure, divisions of the garden, and planting beds: PALLADIUS *Op. agric.* 1, 34, 4-7, HENDERSON 2004, 104.

³³ *Modum pomarii, priusquam semina seras, circumuenire maceris uel saepe uel fossa praecipio nec solum pecori sed et homini transitum negare*, COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 10, 1, trans. E.S. FORSTER & E.H. HEFFNER (adapted). Compare Columella's poetic line at 10, 27-28, trans. E.S. FORSTER & E.H. HEFFNER: "This plot let walls or thick-set hedge enclose" (*Talis humus uel parietibus uel saepibus hirtis / claudatur*). So, too, VERG. *Georg.* 1, 125-126.

Varro and Columella distinguish different kinds of enclosures, both for the whole estate and for its divisions, including gardens. Varro's expert, Scrofa, names four types: the natural, the rustic, the military, and the masonry. The materials required — stone, wood, and reed — are all attested in the frescoes, as they are in the excavations of actual gardens.³⁴ Furthermore, Scrofa says that in lieu of a built enclosure, landowners can plant trees along property edges, specifically pines, cypresses, and elms; one wonders whether the rows of regularly spaced trees seen behind the complexes in the 'villascapes' might represent such a boundary (see Fig. 6.15).

The material of the barrier is significant. Stone was the most costly and added permanence to the transient milieu of a living space. Columella quotes Democritus' *Georgics* to the effect that the cost might not be worth it:

"Democritus . . . thinks that people who build garden walls are being shortsighted, since a wall made of brick can't last forever, as it normally gets attacked by rain or storm, and on the other hand the outlay rules out stone, way over the top in terms of relative importance."³⁵

But inscriptions, texts, and images convey the high value of *maceria*, a term used for the built circumference of a garden or grove from at least the early second century BCE.³⁶ The visible age of *maceriae* could reveal the antiquity of a plot whose legal boundaries had been established long ago, and in reliefs and

³⁴ MUGIONE, GIORDANO, & CIARALLO 2012, 214 tabulate the types of barriers depicted in 90 garden paintings: 40 wicker fences, 11 stone walls, and 6 wooden gates. On the architectural and decorative elements of gardens: CIARALLO 2012, 149–159. BLANC, forthcoming, offers detailed analyses of the barriers depicted in paintings.

³⁵ Democritus . . . *parum prudenter censet eos facere qui hortis extruant munita, quod neque latere fabricata macerieris perennare possit pluviis ac tempestatibus plerumque infestata et lapidea supra rei dignitatem poscat impensam*, COLUM. *Rust.* 11, 3, 2, ed. R.H. RODGERS, trans. J. HENDERSON (adapted).

³⁶ BODEL, forthcoming, has collected references to Greek and Latin terms associated with tomb gardens. *Maceriae* and gardens: PLAUT. *Truc.* 303; TER. *Ad.* 908; CIC. *Fam.* 16, 18, 2. On *saepe*: WHITE 1975, 25–26.

paintings it is stone walls, usually of sacred precincts, that crumble as the spreading branches of a powerful tree win the battle of time.³⁷

Obviously, the boundaries of pleasure gardens would have been more decorative than those of a working farm. While some paintings depict simple wooden fences made by tying branches to supports, others exhibit a sculptor's handiwork.³⁸ An early example, the mid-1st-century BCE *cubiculum* from Boscoreale, shows an ornamental marble balustrade above the edge of a grotto, below a stone and wooden arbor laden with ripe purple grapes. In the garden room from Prima Porta, the continuous white and pink marble barrier is composed of separate panels with alternating designs — elongated diamonds, overlapping fish scales, and horizontal rectangles bisected by paired diagonals — the latter, intriguingly, imitations of cheaper, less permanent wooden fences (see Fig. 6.9).³⁹ It is worth noting that in contrast to the many marble walls in large garden paintings, in the miniature precincts stone borders are few and far between. An exception is the marble balustrades in the *tablinum* of the House of Lucretius Fronto, where the precincts are somewhat larger than the norm (see Figs. 6.14; 6.16).

Scrofa's second type of boundary, the rustic, made of wood, could take any number of forms, and there is ample archaeological evidence in Campanian gardens, vineyards, and orchards for post holes and nails from fences, gates, and arbors. Most common would have been a makeshift criss-cross design, assembled by simply tying or nailing stakes together. In a vivid fresco fragment from Pompeii, just such a modest wooden

³⁷ Relief from Horti Tauriani on the Esquiline, Musei Capitolini 960; CIMA & TALAMO 2008, 95-96 (with Fig. 30).

³⁸ CIARALLO 2012, 152-153; 305-309 on *plutei*; BLANC, forthcoming, on the evidence of the garden paintings for materials employed for walls and fences.

³⁹ A significant contemporary parallel is the rustic wooden enclosure that is reproduced in marble on the interior walls of the Ara Pacis: SETTIS 1988, 406-410.

recess frames — and forms a marked contrast to — an elaborately carved and fluted marble basin with a high jet of spouting water (Fig. 6.17).⁴⁰ The juxtaposition of diverse natural materials in varying states of human manipulation recurs everywhere in garden paintings, large and small, and seems to have been as evocative as the pairing of actual and simulated views. But as is the case with stone walls, few wooden fences appear in the miniature garden schemes.⁴¹

By far the majority of paintings depict a fence made of cane or bamboo reeds, plants that may well have grown within the garden itself. Agricultural writers place the highest value on this most inexpensive and also indestructible boundary, especially the 'living hedge' of thorn, *saepe sepe*, whose roots are alive and cannot be destroyed by fire. Columella advises planting a thicket in the trenches: "I shall point out a method which lets us wall off a garden, from trespass by people or livestock, without major input".⁴² A living fence is difficult to identify in pictorial representations, but in some lifesize garden paintings the yellow in the wicker latticework, which seems to imply dried twigs, is deliberately interwoven with green strands, suggesting a screen of live plants. Again, it is notable that the living hedges that form geometrical borders in gardens appear in the 'villascapes', but not in the small axonometric plans. And nowhere does one find images of Pliny's famous *opera topiaria*, the ornamental hedges cut into novel shapes, despite the fact

⁴⁰ Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples 9705, 80 × 80 cm; JASHEMSKI 1993, 380, Fig. 453, No. 124; WARD-PERKINS & CLARIDGE 1978, No. 93; ASSKAMP *et al.* 2007, 235, No. 5.7.

⁴¹ An unusual, now faded, polychromatic picture that once formed the central image in a room in a corner of the garden of the House of Successus (I.ix.3) presents a blue sky, green plants, and a large apse-shaped enclosure that is painted brown and is thus apparently of wood, encircling a round basin in which the requisite high jet of gushing water tumbles downward in dual streams. Seen by Jashemski in 1959 and published only once: JASHEMSKI 1993, 395, No. 155, Fig. 482, 115 × 107 cm.

⁴² *Ipse igitur ostendam rationem qua non magna opera hortum ab incursu hominum pecudumque muniamus*, COLUM. *Rust.* 11, 3, 2, ed. R.H. RODGERS, trans. J. HENDERSON.

that the inventor of *ars topiaria*, Matius, is said to have lived during the Augustan period, just when the craze for garden representations began.⁴³

In the garden room from Prima Porta, a wicker fence forms the outer border, perhaps skirting a pathway, and lies below — and thus in front of — the clipped lawn and ornamental marble balustrade (see Fig. 6.9). Its modest criss-cross design is ubiquitous in all modes of garden painting, including the miniature views (see Figs. 6.3-6.7). A semicircular niche in a fragment from Pompeii again combines fragile wicker with a fashionable marble feature, in this case a pillar entwined with ivy and topped with a painted *pinax* containing a tragic mask; a peacock, a desirable exotic pet, encounters a dove perched on the *pinax* (Fig. 6.18).⁴⁴ The image could be a close-up of a miniature fence with a series of such niches and marble garden furniture frequented by birds (see Figs. 6.4-6.7).

Some representations display more complicated two-dimensional latticework patterns in precise detail. The murals of the small *uiridarium* (L) in the Villa della Farnesina, onto which faced the famous suite of twin *cubicula* and a large black *triclinium*, imitate a tightly-woven reed fence with regularly spaced niches, flowering plants, carved fountains, and in the center an inviting marble bench.⁴⁵ Once more, the arrangement is nearly identical to those seen in miniature schemes. Even more elaborate wicker configurations embellished the vaulted Room 32 of the House of the Golden Bracelet (see Fig. 6.1). As at Prima Porta, multiple borders include an outer reed fence and an inner marble balustrade. The lattice fence immediately above the black dado, on which grow regularly

⁴³ *Opera topiaria*, PLIN. HN 35, 116. Matius, member of the Equestrian order and friend of Augustus, invented *opus topiarium*, *nemora tonsilia*, *uiridaria tonsa*: PLIN. HN 12, 6.

⁴⁴ Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples 8760; ASSKAMP *et al.* 2007, 233, No. 5.1; MATTUSCH 2008, 175, No. 67.

⁴⁵ Museo Nazionale Romano 1090, 1091, 59626; JASHEMSKI 1993, 386; BRAGANTINI & DE VOS 1992, 123-127; MOLS & MOORMANN 2008, 44-46.

spaced green plants, is perforated with large apertures of different geometric shapes — square, diamond, circular, and fish-scale — to admit breezes and invite glimpses of blossoming plants behind (Fig. 6.19).⁴⁶

That such decorative fences existed was firmly established by the discovery in the 1980s of a complex on the Via dell'Abbondanza, often called the House of the Chaste Lovers, but in fact an amalgam of rooms with different functions (IX.xii.1).⁴⁷ Archaeologists found traces of an interior 'hanging' garden raised two meters over the street, where imprints left by roots and palynological (i.e., pollen-based) and dendrological analyses allowed the species of plants, flowers, and shrubs to be identified. The garden, subsequently replanted and rebuilt, is an excellent example of a meticulously executed geometric precinct. The parallel box-hedges, irrigation channels, earth forms of flowerbeds, and interior paths were aligned with rooms around the three-sided portico. In the center grew roses and either cypress or juniper trees in symmetrical arrangements; ferns lined the edges of gutters. Here was even found a marble fountain statue, still displaying traces of paint, that depicted a boy with yellow hair seated on a dolphin, adding the compulsory marble and water features seen in garden representations. What is more, postholes and carbonized remains of a cane trellis revealed fences outlining the planting beds. These were composed of two different kinds of reed: *Arundo donax* L. in the upper parts and the thinner *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud., which was inserted into the ground at different angles, so that when it was rebuilt, a diamond pattern with lozenge shapes automatically materialized, providing a direct parallel for the design — if not for the intricacy of its weaving — of the fence depicted in the House of the Golden Bracelet.

⁴⁶ SAMPAOLO 1996, 117-118; 134-138.

⁴⁷ On the garden of the House of the Chaste Lovers: VARONE, 1993; CIARALLO & MARIOTTI LIPPI 1993, 110-116; MUGIONE, GIORDANO, & CIARALLO 2012, 213-216.

Clearly there must have been an endless variety of patterns for wicker garden fences. Two types have been found in the grand peristyle currently being excavated at the Villa Arianna at Stabia. The layout of this complex is much like the miniature precincts, with a central pool, regularly spaced plants beside parallel walkways, and large shrubs punctuating their end-points. Traces of diagonal reed fencing have been found inserted into the curbing, while post and reed constructions have emerged at the ends of wide planting beds.⁴⁸ It is thanks to the recovery of such planting beds, here and elsewhere in Italy and the provinces, that one can establish the outlines of lost fences and walls and thus the original geometric configuration of gardens.⁴⁹ The open green space of the House of the Golden Bracelet, for instance, seems to have been articulated as a rectangle, bisected down the long axis by a path, with an oval bed in the middle and a trapezoidal bed in each corner, each outlined by low hedges (Fig. 6.20).⁵⁰ It is difficult to imagine that such designs were devised without a graphic plan.

The ubiquity of reed fences in garden representations seems to be consistent with the advice given by agricultural writers to use the most readily accessible and economical materials at hand, and this surely would have been standard practice in farms and productive gardens. The paintings, however, demonstrate something else, namely how old-fashioned techniques of hand-made basketry were refined to manufacture extremely elaborate contrivances that communicate a significant investment of time and

⁴⁸ GLEASON 2010.

⁴⁹ Excavations in the gardens of the House of the Greek Epigrams (V.i.18) and a house in Regio VI (VI.xvi.27) have revealed flower pots, the position of trees and shrubs, and, most significant, a rectangular grid pattern of beds of herbaceous plants; alluvial soil on the roots suggests that the plants were raised in a nursery on the Sarno floodplain. The research program has been developed by the British School at Rome, the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, the Swedish Institute in Rome, the Herculaneum Conservation Project, the University of Reading, and the University of Stockholm: <<http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/EAPH.html>>.

⁵⁰ JASHEMSKI 1979; 1993. The most famous remains of green architecture have been found at Fishbourne in Britain: CUNLIFFE 1998.

expertise (see Figs. 6.1, 6.2-6.9, 6.11, 6.13, 6.18-6.20).⁵¹ It takes years for hedges to grow to full height; trelliswork could instantly introduce impressive scale and formality, and create sightlines and focal points, and zones for movement, rest, and privacy. The extensive spaces of miniature views exhibit the continuous play within a single garden enclosure of alternating curvilinear and square niches, arches, arbors, and *pergulae*, designs that recall the *scaenae frons* backdrops of contemporary wall-paintings. In short, the miniature precincts on Roman walls, long neglected by scholars, offer interesting glimpses into a sophisticated practice of landscape architecture long before Le Notre's treillage whimsies at Versailles. Even decorative attachments of pillars and vessels, woven of the same woody filigree, integrate the forms of hard basketry with architecture (see Figs. 6.4-6.6).⁵²

In effect, the garden structures represent an art of metamorphosis, whereby the natural plants growing in the garden become its container. Nowhere is the creative interplay of living and refashioned plants more apparent than in the overhead latticework structures.⁵³ Kinetic grapevines (*Vitis*

⁵¹ CIARALLO 2012, 151-152; 300-305. Inscriptions often mention reed beds in conjunction with vineyards; an inscription of 301 CE from the town of Hypaipa in southern Lydia advises that reed beds be planted between two vineyards, demarcating the boundary and supplying reeds for use as props: IK 17.2-Ephesus, 3803 D; VAN NIJF 1997, 67.

⁵² On fencing see WHITE 1975, 24-28; rigid wicker baskets and boxes: 56-76; hard basketry used for protective frames of nursery beds: 76-79. Movable fencing called *critis* (a wickerwork hurdle) was mounted on forked sticks and covered with interwoven reeds. VARRO *Rust.* 1, 23, 5 recommends planting thickets for making such heavy hurdles in order to enclose sheep and lighter ones for drying fruit. The vertical screens could be quite tall; PLIN. *HN* 17, 71 advises erecting *crates* the height of a man to block the sun and thatching them with straw to ward off cold. VERG. *Georg.* 1, 166: *arbuteae crates* on a farm; COLUM. *Rust.* 12, 15, 1: *crates pastorales*, a basketry architecture woven of straw, rushes, or bracken with an arched roof used for drying figs. Another term for such structures, *teges*, refers to matting and outdoor buildings made of reeds, palm fronds, and rushes: WHITE 1975, 82-84. For images and techniques of basketry depicted on reliefs, see BLANC & GURY 1989.

⁵³ For detailed instructions on how to bend vines within a trellis frame, see COLUM. *Rust.* 4, 24, 14; 4, 26, 3; PLIN. *HN* 17, 164.

uinifera), roses (*Rosa* sp.), and gourds (*Cucurbita* sp.) were trained to climb the lattice of vertical screens and reed roofs, providing dappled shade for people dining or strolling in the garden. Ephemeral outdoor pavilions are simulated in two small rooms of the House of the Fruit Orchard in Pompeii (I.ix.5). In Cubiculum C, the upper ledge of the black dado is covered with yellow earth, upon which are scattered green branches; from there finely wrought trellises project and recede in three dimensions, with the sections in shadow painted reddish-brown. Above the trellises rise slender white pillars that support a thin architrave, on which stand marble vases, *pinakes*, and live birds. Garlands and ornaments 'hang' from the vault directly overhead, painted as an arbor covered with vine leaves, bunches of ripe grapes, and Bacchic masks.⁵⁴ Just such a wicker pavilion for *al fresco* dining appears in the much earlier Palestina Mosaic from the late 2nd century BCE, where, under clusters of purple grapes, revelers on couches engage in animated *conuiuum*. For first-century CE Pompeians, such a scenario was close at hand. Just a few minutes away from this painted room, they could recline on masonry *triclinia* shaded by lattice roofs in actual orchards, and thus consume the environment through all the senses: taste, sight, smell, sound, and touch.⁵⁵ What is fascinating about the miniature views is that the pavilions form just part of a single extensive precinct built entirely of wood and reed. And curiously, although the arbors are heavy with grapes, the spaces below remain empty, unfurnished with couches, not to mention people basking in the cool shade and absorbing the sweet scents of ripened fruit (see Figs. 6.4-6.6).

⁵⁴ FRAZER 1992, 55 points to the origin of *stibadium* in a rustic couch strewn with rushes and branches.

⁵⁵ Masonry couches and holes for posts to support vines and trellises have been found in vineyards, the so-called Garden of Hercules (II.viii.6), the Villa of Diomedes, the Villa of Mosaic Columns, and the House of Sallust (VI.ii.4): JASHEMSKI 1979, 286-287; 315-317; 151-153; 168-169; 1993, 94-96; 281; 277-278; 121.

The simple reed must have seemed like a miraculous plant. Eminently malleable, it served a variety of uses in a garden.⁵⁶ A common sight on painted walls is the solitary reed used for training plants and vines. In the lively detail on the south wall of Room 32 in the House of the Golden Bracelet, a warbler balances on the hollow stake (*Arundo donax*) supporting a rose bush, a sign of the gardener's skill and attention.⁵⁷ It is no surprise that reeds were attributes of the River Sarno, along whose banks we now know were the nurseries and supply stores for town gardens. Honored with images throughout Pompeii, the reclining river god appears in a fresco from the House of the Vestals (VI.i.7), wearing a crown of reeds and holding more reeds in his right hand, while water pours from an overturned urn in his left. The two nymphs standing at either side extend large overflowing basins with both hands, possibly personifying the sources of the Sarno river at Santa Maria della Foce.⁵⁸ Blessed with abundant water, rich alluvial soil, and hardy reeds, the Sarno generated the fertile flowers and vines for which the region was known.

By its very nature, garden architecture, without any weight-bearing function and erected in the open air, invites experimentation. It is thus fascinating to observe that in rendering the ephemeral edifices of gardens in the axonometric views, muralists did not take the liberties that they did in the larger wall schemes, as seen in the *tablinum* of the House of

⁵⁶ *canna, ae, f.*, = κάννα, a reed, cane (less frequent than *harundo*): the hollow, jointed stem of a tall grass, especially bamboo, or the stem of a slender palm such as rattan: COLUM. *Rust.* 4, 32, 3; 7, 9, 7; CATO *Agr.* 6, 3-4; 48, 2; ULRICH 2011. On the common Egyptian practice of using reeds as vine props as cost-saving: BANNON 2009, 161. Willows used for vine trellises and weaving into basketry: PLIN. *HN* 17, 174-175. An 'osier bed' as the third most important crop on a farm: CATO *Agr.* I, 7. On the uses of natural plants: WHITE 1975, 233-240.

⁵⁷ JASHEMSKI 1993, 355.

⁵⁸ TRAN TAM TINH 1974, 35-36, No. 10, 92 × 178 cm. The fragment was found during excavations of the House of the Vestals in 1785. In 1825, Francis I, king of Naples, presented it to Louis XVIII of France, after which it went to the Louvre.

Lucretius Fronto, where columns and pediments are liberated from any structural function (see Figs. 6.14; 6.16).⁵⁹ Instead, the miniature precincts remain logical and coherent. For the viewer, the thrill comes in discovering how precisely the painter has reproduced, in minuscule detail, the textures of natural materials and how elegantly those materials mimic the convoluted shapes of concrete and stone architecture.

To get an idea of the role played by wicker boundaries within a costly multimedia complex, we return to the House of the Golden Bracelet, which, as we have seen, artfully paired painted and living gardens (see Fig. 6.20). The illusionistic murals of both rooms presented a veritable collage of trellis-work. Unlike the functional fences appearing to guard the precinct below, in the upper zones of Room 32 wicker screens frame the garlands, masks, *oscilla*, and *pinakes* that swing back and forth in black air, all cues for outdoor garden spaces (see Fig. 6.1).⁶⁰ The decor of the central *triclinium* next door to it was especially fantastic (Fig. 6.20). A reclining person could enjoy the fresh water splashing from the ornate mosaic apse, while the murals on the three surrounding walls simulated a lattice fence bordering a planted garden, thereby creating the illusion that the person actually lay *inside* one of the wicker structures shown in the miniature views. From within this pretend temporary enclosure, the vista opened onto lush vegetation painted on the side walls and, looking out of the *triclinium*, onto the actual planted garden, where a rectangular pool with a semicircular extension offered a display of water springing from 29 separate jets. So overwhelming must have been the visual, auditory, and tactile stimuli in this space that distinctions between living and man-made evaporated. And somewhere in this complex, perhaps in the room directly above the *triclinium*, a viewer would have seen a floating miniature garden precinct, complete with fencing, a pool, and a marble

⁵⁹ BERGMANN 2002a.

⁶⁰ CONTICELLO 1991a.

statue of Bacchus (see Fig. 6.2). An exaggerated space contained within a tiny image, the entire complex, with its spatial contradictions, became abstracted and compressed. As the French philosopher, Gaston Bachelard, realized, one must go beyond logic to experience what is large in what is small.⁶¹

Garden structures made of raw materials introduced a new dimension of flexibility in building.⁶² While reed boundaries create emphatic divisions, their fragile substance makes them more like the living plants that they contain than the buildings that people inhabit. Such insubstantial architecture presents an antidote to the heavy concrete structures celebrated in the 'villascapes' and seen everywhere in Italy in the 1st century BCE, especially on the Bay of Naples, renowned source of pozzolana. At the same time, the delicate wicker apses, *pergulae*, and arbors emulate more monumental forms, such as the enormous concrete *nymphaeum* complex at Massalubrense, with its series of mosaic apses,⁶³ or the pergola-covered walks, *ambulationes tectae*, along the *euripus* of the House of Octavius Quartio (II.ii.2), which, similar to the arbors over masonry *triclinia*, were built of wood.⁶⁴ In contrast to the crumbling old walls in reliefs, where vegetation gains the upper hand, in the schematic garden views the perishable edifices hold strong, as if they are brand new.

How plausible are such constructions? It is highly unlikely that screens of pliable reeds could have supported the heavy

⁶¹ BACHELARD 1994, 150.

⁶² PURCELL 1996, 143-149.

⁶³ BUDETTA 2006, 64; 93 no. 8; CIARALLO 2012, 152-154; 309-313.

⁶⁴ On Massalubrense: BUDETTA 2006; on the wooden *pergulae* of the House of Octavius Quartio: SPINAZZOLA 1953, 407-418. NONAKA 2012 notes that the Italian term *pergola*, a popular image of trelliswork with climbing plants, birds, and small animals in Renaissance villas and palaces, derives from the Latin *pergula*, which denoted a modest appendage to a building with a utilitarian function; however, *pergula* and *trichila* seem to have become freestanding structures in the first century CE, at the same time that authors first relate them to viticulture and gardens and specifically to trelliswork over an outdoor dining area. The archaeological evidence corresponds to this development, in that the majority of such structures found in Campanian gardens provided shade for *triclinia*.

marble vessels depicted in some of the paintings (see Fig. 6.7). Could wicker fences have withstood strong winds? Were they erected for special events, enhancing their value yet more? And if they were temporary, how should one explain the presence of fountains fed by underground pipes? The paradoxical combination of such delicate edifices with permanent marble features anchored into the ground challenges comprehension.

Without a doubt, the miniature schemes represent extravagant layouts: maintained grounds, imported marble, state-of-the-art waterworks, and man-made arbors, apses, and *pergulae*.⁶⁵ The 'accessories' of gardens had potent signal value.⁶⁶ Nurturing grape vines required enormous attention over time. Fountains needed a water source and underground pipes, which form the main concern of many legal documents and personal accounts of estate owners.⁶⁷ The immense investment in the impermanent and finely braided latticework architecture erected outside in the elements must have constituted its very appeal. A contemporary viewer might have appreciated the cost of obtaining and keeping exotic species of plants and pets, or the many hours of slave labor needed to supply and feed water up into the marble fountains to produce such high jets, a spectacle probably only witnessed on special occasions. To modern eyes, these novel creations may convey an unapologetic conspicuous consumption, but in Italy in the 1st century BCE they became the sites and objects of contemplation and philosophical conversation. It is then that the forms of pleasure gardens were given names.

⁶⁵ Pliny's villas are filled with such amenities, specifically white marble seats, elaborate waterworks playing in marble fountains, and vine-covered structures for reposing in the shade — the very elements that constitute the miniature precincts: cf. PLIN. *Ep.* 5, 6, 36-40.

⁶⁶ HIGGINBOTHAM 1997, 32 notes that *pergulae* served as 'eye-catchers', signaling the location of *piscinae* within gardens.

⁶⁷ BANNON 2009, 2013.

IV. New cultures, new vocabularies

Viridarium, ars topiaria, opera topiaria, calybae, triclia, ambulationes: so new were the terms and the things that they identified, that today scholars are at a loss to match the verbal with the visual, although, paradoxically, the literary terms have in themselves generated a rich history of visual recreations.⁶⁸ The terms appear in diverse sources. Inscriptions in tomb gardens mention *diaetae* (pavilions), *tricliae* (pergolas of reeds and climbing plants), and water sources (cisterns, wells, and fountains).⁶⁹ Similar features appear in Latin poetry, for example the anonymous 1st-century elegiac poem in which an innkeeper (*copa*) boasts about her garden, with its *topia* and *calybae* (leafy bowers), wine ladles, roses, flutes, lyres, and *triclia umbrosis frigida harundinibus* (pergolas cool with shady reeds).⁷⁰ Although the appearance of such confections remains vague, the *calybae*, *triclia*, *xystus*, *gestatio*, and *ambulatio* all served leisure activities, specifically reclining and strolling within a garden.

Again, it is the villa owners who offer the most detailed information about decorative gardens. Cicero, in particular, makes the earliest surviving references to *ars topiaria* and *uiridarium*. In a letter of 54 BCE he remarks on an expert gardener (*topiarius*) who trained ivy to envelop architecture and statuary so artfully as to confuse nature with artifice:

“I praised your landscape gardener: he has so covered everything with ivy, both the foundation-wall of the villa and the spaces between the columns of the walk, that, upon my word, those

⁶⁸ DU PREY 1994. The difficulties are exemplified by efforts to match Pliny's terms with archaeological remains: FÖRTSCH 1993; BERGMANN 1995.

⁶⁹ On architectural features, pools, and fountains in gardens, see FÖRTSCH 1993; FARRAR 2000, 27–96; CIARALLO 2012, 150–159. On pools in Campanian gardens: HIGGINBOTHAM 1997, 185–218. On *pergulae* (vine arbors) over pools: HIGGINBOTHAM 1997, 27–29; 32–33.

⁷⁰ APP. VERG. *Copa* 7–8: *Sunt topia et calybae, cyathi, rosa, tibia, chordae, / et triclia umbrosis frigida harundinibus.* BODEL, forthcoming, discusses the terms used in tomb inscriptions.

Greek statues appear to be engaged in fancy gardening, and to be shewing off the ivy".⁷¹

In an earlier letter to Atticus written in late 60 or early 59, Cicero stresses *inter alia* the aesthetics of orderly arrangement in the garden, when relating the famous encounter between Lysander and Cyrus in Sardis in 409 BCE. Cicero relates how after Cyrus paraded Lysander in front of the quincunx rows of the king's ornamental garden (*derectos in quincuncem ordines*), Lysander claimed that the man who really should be admired is he who created the park, namely the gardener. "But it was I," Cyrus replied, "who planned it all; mine are the rows and mine the arrangement, and many of those trees I set out with my own hands".⁷² In this and other anecdotes, the *uiridarium* brings glory to the patron and geometry is its guiding principle; as later legal sources make clear, *uiridaria* were designed for *otium*.⁷³

The vocabulary of gardens was a product of new cultures, specifically agriculture, horticulture, arboriculture, and architecture.⁷⁴ In his books on architecture dedicated to Augustus, Vitruvius articulates much of what we see in gardens, addressing design theory, landscape architecture, engineering, water supply, and public parks. He explains how to construct sand-covered walks with drains and how to use a *modulus* in the spacing of columns and niches; the luxury parts of villas, he

⁷¹ *Topiarium laudauui. Ita omnia conuestiuit hedera, qua basim uillae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiarium facere uideantur et hederam uendere.* CIC. QFr. 3, 1, 5, trans. E.S. SCHUCKBURGH. *Topiarius:* PLIN. HN 16, 140; PLIN. Ep. 5, 6, 35. On Cicero's gardens: BANNON 2009, 172-178.

⁷² *Et Cyrum respondisse: "atqui ego ita sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae"*, CIC. Sen. 59, trans. W.A. FALCONER; KELLUM 1994, 217.

⁷³ Two hundred years later, the jurist Ulpian compares the pleasure gardens (*uiridiaria*) of a luxury estate (*praedium uoluptuarium*), complete with drives and shady walkways beneath non-fruit-bearing trees, with productive gardens for profit (*horti olitorii*): *Dig.* 7, 1, 13, 4.

⁷⁴ DE CAROLIS 1992, 29-38; SALVADORI 2002; BUDETTO 2006.

says, can be constructed according to rules for urban buildings.⁷⁵ Above all, Vitruvius believed that all architecture had its origins in natural materials.

The first named professional horticulturists come onto the stage at about the same time. Columella, writing in the mid-1st century CE, says that earlier agricultural writers had ignored gardening (*cultus hortorum*), but by his day it had become *uel celeberrimus*.⁷⁶ Pliny the Elder in citing his sources for Book 19 on gardening mentions treatises by five specialists, all Roman, two of them from the Augustan period: Valerius Messala Potitus, a vintner and a suffect consul in 29 BCE, and Sabinus Tiro, who — notably — dedicated his treatise to Maecenas.⁷⁷ The new genre of horticultural writing must have included technical diagrams, possibly even three-dimensional projections of garden plans.⁷⁸ Indeed, the architectural drawings attested for villas and baths must have extended to the grounds of such complexes. Cicero tells his brother that an architect's plan for his villa gave him only partial information, which he needed to fill out by discussing the design directly on site with the contractor.⁷⁹ Aulus Gellius says that Fronto's builders presented rival 'specimens' for a bath building in the form of paintings on parchment: *depictas in membranulis uarias species balnearum*.⁸⁰ Our best evidence for architectural drawings, however, is Vitruvius, who distinguishes three types, or *ideae*, all born, he claims, from reflection and invention: first is the ground plan (*ichnographia*), which uses a compass

⁷⁵ VITR. *De arch.* 6, 6, 5; use of the *modulus*, 5, 9, 3.

⁷⁶ COLUM. *Rust.* 10 *praef.* 1; THIBODEAU 2011, 220-221.

⁷⁷ Valerius Messala Potitus, suffect consul in 29 BCE: PLIN. *HN* 1, 19b. Sabinus Tiro: PLIN. *HN* 1, 19b; 19, 177.

⁷⁸ On the possibility that the garden views reproduce architectural drawings: MICHEL 1980, 390-391, "Der Garten als 'Zitat'"; DE VOS 1983, 244; SETTIS 2002, 35-37.

⁷⁹ CIC. *QFr.* 2, 6(5), 3.

⁸⁰ GELL. *NA* 19, 10, 2; TAYLOR 2003, 27-36 (on drawings for clients, 31-32); CUOMO 2007, 134. The scanty evidence for architects working for private patrons derives from the letters of Cicero and Pliny, which indicate that they could be citizens, freedmen, or slaves: DONDERER 1996, 55-57.

and rule to draw outlines on the soil of the building site; second, the elevation (*orthographia*), an upright image of the façade; and third, a perspective view (*scaenographia*), which includes the "representation of the facade with the sides receding and converging toward the fixed point of the compass."⁸¹ *Scaenographia*, then, shows multiple angles of a building in perspective from above. How better to envision *scaenographia* than as an axonometric view? Equally important in this context is Vitruvius' insistence that wall painting is an essential concern of the architect. Wall-painters, in turn, must have used something resembling architectural drawings in designing walls.

The creative connections among architectural drawing, wall painting, garden design, and horticultural diagrams occurred in the Augustan period. At this time, the new spatial vocabularies introduced by professionalized specialists were eagerly embraced by a prosperous class of patrons keen to demonstrate their intellectual and artistic cultivation. Yet, still another discipline became significant at this time that I believe links the parallel expressions within an inclusive world-view. To this we shall now turn.

V. Aesthetics of the boundary

After the granting of Roman citizenship in 90-89 BCE, colonization and centuriation fundamentally reshaped the landscape of Italy. Private property now belonged to an inclusive, gridded space. Especially after Augustus' empire-wide census, which involved a system of land registration, boundary disputes increased. Surveyors assumed new authority in the official process of taxation and in conflict resolution between

⁸¹ *Frontis et laterum abscedentium adumbratio ad circinique centrum omnium linearum responsus*, VITR. *De arch.* 1, 2, 2: 7 *praef.* 11; WILSON JONES 2000, 49-56; SMITH 2003, 67.

private citizens, which required the *demonstratio finium*, with each party proving, through signs in the landscape, the limits of their property.⁸² The visible signs of walls, fences, boundary stones, trees, and rivers all gained significance as proof of ownership. The surveyors' *formae* and the inscriptions on rural landmarks express the immense value placed upon both man-made and natural boundaries.⁸³

The vocabulary and techniques of mensuration (*limitatio*), with their *fines* and *limites* marked by boundary stones (*termini*), made an expanding world more intelligible, and from the late 1st century BCE, the terminology of surveying appears in Roman literature with increasing frequency. The gridded landscape became a metaphor for modernity, order, and culture — for better or for worse.⁸⁴ Ovid sees boundary-making as a necessity of the iron age, when land became privately owned: "The land, which had previously been common to all, like the sunlight and the breezes, was now divided up far and wide by boundaries, set by cautious surveyors", and he claims that the golden age was distinguished precisely by the absence of *mensores*: "No one furrowed the earth, in those good days, with the ploughshare, no surveyor marked off the properties

⁸² CAMPBELL 2000; CUOMO 2007, 103-130. L. Decidius Saxa, who had been made a tribune of the plebs by Caesar, had been a military surveyor (lit. 'measurer of military camps', *castrorum metator*) and now is ambitious to measure out Rome itself with a measuring rod (*decempeda*): CIC. *Phil.* 14, 10.

⁸³ The sanctity of boundaries was clear from the altars and statues that stood between communities, providing a definite *limes* and representing symbols of trust in rural areas. On Terminus as the incarnation of the boundary and recipient of offerings from adjacent landholders: OV. *Fast.* 2, 639-684. In tomb gardens, border *cippi* on the corners of walls mark the consecrated area, while funerary inscriptions noting plot sizes indicate the importance of the perimeter: CAMPBELL 2000, 324-325; BODEL, forthcoming.

⁸⁴ As early as 200 BCE, Plautus assumed that his audience knew the terms: demarcated areas (*regiones*), boundaries (*limites*), confines (*confinia*), surveyor (*finitior*), PLAUT. *Poen.* prologue 47-49. On surveying as a sign of modernity: VERG. *Georg.* 1, 125-128; *Aen.* 5, 755-756; OV. *Fast.* 4, 825; SEN. *Phaed.* 525-529. Into late antiquity, the *disciplina mirabilis* was lauded for imposing logic onto boundless fields: CASSIOD. *Var.* 2, 52.

bounded with lines".⁸⁵ The boundary signified the collective recognition of private property.

The slopes of Vesuvius and the surrounding territory were gridded more than once in the 1st century BCE.⁸⁶ The gardens, orchards, and vineyards of suburban villas at Oplontis, Boscoreale, Boscorecase, and the Villa of the Mysteries, to name just a few, align with each other and with major arteries into outer towns through centuriation.⁸⁷ The rigidly organized field was not just evidence of human control; to contemporaries, such planting patterns yielded optimal results from nature.⁸⁸ Varro explains that trees planted in rows are warmed by the sun and the moon equally on all sides, with the result that more grapes and olives grow and can ripen earlier; the ordered vineyards, he claims, make a more attractive landscape, for which a man will pay.⁸⁹ Vergil lays emphasis on the lanes and rows of the vineyard and their equal measurements (*omnia sint paribus numeris dimensa uiarum*), and states that well-ordered vines serve not just visual pleasure, but also maximum fertility.⁹⁰ Surely for this reason Varro's narrator, Cn. Scrofa, a surveyor himself who actually played a role in allocating the territory of Campania, was considered the person most skilled in agriculture and also possessed the most beautiful landscapes: "His estates, because of their high cultivation, are a more pleasing sight to

⁸⁵ *Communemque prius ceu lumina solis et auras / cautus humum longo signauit limite mensor*, Ov. *Met.* 1, 135-136; *Nec ualido quisquam terram scindebat aratro, / signabat nullo limite mensor humum*, Ov. *Am.* 3, 8, 41-42, trans. R. HUMPHRIES.

⁸⁶ On the 'allotted world of the Roman citizen': NICOLET 1991; WHITTAKER 1994; PURCELL 1996, 123; HORDEN & PURCELL 2000, 220-224; on the division and maintenance of property and the ideology of allotment, 279-280.

⁸⁷ The alignment of certain types of trees and bushes was determined by plaster casts of roots and soil analyses: JASHEMSKI 1987, 71-76; 1993, 293-301; BERGMANN 2002b, 93.

⁸⁸ On the precise measurement of land for planting vines: COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 1-4; WHITE 1970, 229-246; JASHEMSKI 1979, 210-215.

⁸⁹ VARRO *Rust.* 1, 4, 2; 1, 7, 2-4; BANNON 2009, 189.

⁹⁰ VERG. *Georg.* 2, 284. Stress on orderly planting: VERG. *Ecl.* 1, 73; VARRO *Rust.* 1, 7, 2; PLIN. *HN* 17, 78; BANNON 2009, 189-190.

many than the country seats of others, furnished in a princely style".⁹¹

Images of plots subdivided by right angles, vineyards perfectly aligned in parallel rows, trees planted before columns as green architecture, all attest to an aesthetic that prized a rational, linear ordering of nature. Indeed, the very ditches that sliced the ground formed pleasing right angles, and the planting beds with their different colors of earth molded into various geometric shapes were sights of beauty.⁹² Columella remarks on the joy of making grids in the soil:

"Grab a hoe. Hoes gleam through wear on the soil. Engineer small-gauge channels. One end straight to the other. Then go back, make a grid. Wee paths set at a right angle. Attention: now the earth has been combed, and the 'partings' are clear. She stripped off soiled clothes, and she shines. Demands seed of her own".⁹³

The connection between surveying and garden planning is obvious. According to Scrofa, the four main issues to be observed by the farmer are the topography of the land, the

⁹¹ *Fundi enim eius propter culturam iucundiora spectaculo sunt multis, quam regie polita aedificia aliorum*, VARRO *Rust.* 1, 2, 10, trans. W.D. HOOPER; Varro's own monumental aviary at Casinum featured marble columns and trees in alignment: *Rust.* 3, 5, 11-12.

⁹² Again and again, Pliny the Younger points out walled sections of his estates as discrete zones within the larger landscape, as if sketching a plan from above: "It is a great pleasure to look down on the countryside from the mountain, for the view seems to be a painted scene of unusual beauty rather than a real landscape", *Magnam capies uoluptatem, si hunc regionis situm ex monte prospexeris. Neque enim terras tibi sed formam aliquam ad extimiam pulchritudinem pictam uideberis cernere*, PLIN. *Ep.* 5, 6, 13, trans. B. RADICE; "The whole garden is enclosed by a dry-stone wall which is hidden from sight by a box hedge planted in tiers; outside is a meadow, as well worth seeing for its natural beauty as the formal garden I have described; then fields and many more meadows and woods", *Omnia maceria muniuntur: hanc gradata buxus operit et subtrahit. Pratum inde non minus natura quam superiora illa arte uisendum; campi deinde porro multaque alia prata et arbusta*, PLIN. *Ep.* 5, 6, 17-19, trans. B. RADICE.

⁹³ *Tunc quoque trita solo splendentia sarcula sumat / angustosque foros aduerso limite ducens, / rursus in obliquum distinguat tramite paruo. / Verum ubi iam puro discrimine pectita tellus / deposito squalore nitens sua semina poscat*, COLUM. *Rust.* 10, 91-95, trans. J. HENDERSON; PLIN. *HN* 19, 60.

nature of the soil, and the size of the plot and the protection of its limits.⁹⁴ Access to good soil and a water source were crucial. So, too, the garden designer must have examined, measured, dug foundation trenches, demarcated the edges, and leveled the plot. Columella connects surveying with architecture and with agricultural practice, but also bemoans the over-specialization of the professions:

"I replied that this was the duty not of a farmer but of a surveyor (*mensor*), especially as even architects, who must necessarily be acquainted with the methods of measurement, do not deign to reckon the dimensions of buildings which they have themselves planned, but think that there is a function which befits their profession and another function which belongs to those who measure structures after they have been built and reckon up the cost of the finished work by applying a method of calculation . . . [I]nstructions about measurements . . . is really the business of geometers rather than of countrymen."⁹⁵

In a word, surveying constituted a sophisticated technique of observation and a true art of reading landscape, and this skill was intimately allied with the evolving practices of agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, and the visual arts. It is no coincidence that the elevated and inclusive perspective became a popular mode in Roman art at a time when techniques for shaping the land began to inform architectural planning and landscape design — and, by extension, artistic compositions.⁹⁶ Although assembled and illustrated at a later date, the handbooks of Roman surveyors repeat much of what Varro and Columella advise, as in just one example, that trees form the natural

⁹⁴ VARRO *Rust.* 1, 14, 1-4, trans. W.D. HOOPER.

⁹⁵ *Quod ego non agricolae sed mensoris officium esse dicebam, cum praecepsit ne architecti quidem, quibus necesse est mensurarum nosse rationem, dignentur consummatorum aedificiorum, quae ipsi disposuerunt, modum comprehendere sed aliud existiment professioni suae conuenire, aliud eorum qui iam extructa metiuntur et imposito calculo perfecti operis rationem computant . . . praecepta mensurarum . . . id opus geometrarum magis esse quam rusticorum,* COLUM. *Rust.* 5, 1, 3-4, trans. E.S. FORSTER & E.H. HEFFNER.

⁹⁶ For bibliography on the bird's-eye view: BERGMANN 2008.

boundaries of land, planted at regular intervals like a natural fence.⁹⁷ The maps and plans of the *Corpus Agrimensorum*, not the original *formae* of surveyors but instructional images, make clear that the *ars* of surveying was based in geometry, the language of architects and painters.⁹⁸ Surveyors required knowledge, sensitivity, and a quasi-religious mode of seeing.⁹⁹

The boundaries and divisions of the miniature enclosure, like colonial foundations, were created by a grid of rhumb lines (lines crossing all meridians at the same angle). Such gardens present a paradox: the man-made perimeter surrounds nature, reversing the natural order whereby countryside surrounds the city. The miniatures encapsulate the aesthetic purity of the Roman grid in a bird's-eye view, which Bachelard saw as a utopian image of organized control that correlates macrocosm and microcosm in a "dream of high solitude".¹⁰⁰

For those who observe closely and patiently, however, sustained looking at garden paintings brings revelations beyond the immediate impression of the regular grid. In nature a garden wall stands outside in the elements, it weathers and erodes, it becomes a place for weeds and creepers. The agricultural writers and poets insist that landowners constantly rid their garden of weeds.¹⁰¹ Let us return to the comparison between

⁹⁷ On marking the boundaries of private property: CAMPBELL 2000, 372-373 n. 24; 468-471. On trees as boundaries in miniature of manuscript Palatinus 1564, Vatican Library (9th century): BUSSI 1983, 266 Fig. 256; CAMPBELL 2000, 319 Ill. 201.

⁹⁸ Limited territory with a colonial house in miniature of Acerianus A (6th century CE), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Frontinus *De Controversiis 3, 7 ager Arcifinus with subsecuum*, Codex Guelf.Arc.f.18r: BUSSI 1983, 113, Fig. 73; CAMPBELL 2000, 279 Ill. 6. Diagram documenting a controversy about territory in miniature of Acerianus A (6th century CE), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: BUSSI 1983, 111, Fig. 69; CAMPBELL 2000, 284 Ill. 35; 344 n. 44.

⁹⁹ GARGOLA 1995, 25-50; CAMPBELL 2000; 2005; CUOMO 2007, 113-114; 127-128.

¹⁰⁰ BACHELARD 1994, 173; in general: 150-173.

¹⁰¹ "Therefore, unless your hoe is ever ready to assail the weeds, your voice to terrify the birds, your knife to check the shade over the darkened land, and your prayers to invoke the rain, in vain, poor man, you will gaze on your

the different viewing experiences of the lifesize illusion and the miniature plan. In the immersive room, boundaries only gradually come to one's attention, until the dominant geometry of the entire room prevails, only to unravel again as the eye focuses on vivid natural details. Weeds grow in front of a wicker fence; foliage peeps through walls and crawls over them (see Figs. 6.9, 6.17, 6.18).¹⁰² The miniature garden, in contrast, initially appears to be a linear perimeter existing outside of space and essentially devoid of space. Sustained looking, however, exposes a playful undermining at the edges of order. While meticulously spaced blossoms obediently follow their prescribed course alongside the fence, vines protrude through lattice and weeds creep up from underneath. These artful violations of the boundary, like the birds that perch upon it or fly over it, underscore its tenuous hold over nature.

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neighbour's large store of grain, and you will be shaking oaks in the woods to assuage your hunger", *Quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris / et sonitu terrebris auis et ruris opaci / falce premes umbram uotisque uocaueris imbrem, / heu magnum alterius frustra spectabis aceruum / concussaque famem in siluis solabere queru,* VERG. Georg. 1, 155-159, trans. G.P. GOOLD.

¹⁰² GURY, forthcoming (a); (b).

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DISCUSSION

C. Loeben: Bei den kleinen Gartendarstellungen, meist in den unteren Wandzonen und vor schwarzem Grund, frage ich mich, ob sowohl der Blick von oben in diese Gärten als auch die Wahl eines durchblickbaren Maschenzaunes um sie herum nicht vielleicht ganz spezifisch deshalb gewählt worden sind, um verstärkt genau diese Leere des Gartens zu illustrieren. Wenn man z. B. in dem zum Garten offenen Raum des Auditorium des Maecenas vor den Wänden, in deren unteren Bereichen diese Darstellungen angebracht sind, sitzt oder liegt und in den realen, üppig mit vielen Pflanzen und Blumen ausgestatteten Garten blickt, wäre es dann möglich, dass die kleinen Darstellungen der leeren Gärten im Rücken der Personen eine Art Vanitas-Darstellung (eine Art *memento mori* oder *carpe diem*) sein sollen, mit der Aussage: "Genieße jetzt noch den schönen lebendigen Garten, denn eines Tages werden auch die Gärten leer (und somit tot und uninteressant) sein und nur noch ihre Umfriedung wird an den einst lieblichen Inhalt erinnern!".

B. Bergmann: Emptiness and lack of any location in space are indeed the major characteristics of the floating garden precincts. The juxtaposition of the two pictorial modes in the Auditorium of Maecenas is rare, but most of the miniature views do appear near an actual garden. Because of their pristine condition, I had not considered that they depict a moment after the florescence of a garden, and thus *vanitas*. But such an interpretation could well be applied to the illusionistic, lifesize garden paintings, where flowers and fruit are depicted as if at the height of fruition.

R. Taylor: It does appear that the presence of the plants themselves within these miniature garden contexts is minimized. However, you should be mindful that similar miniaturizing genres that use this chiaroscuro effect sometimes applied the lighter paint *al secco*, with the consequence that much of the paint has flaked off the background. One well-known example of this is the fresco in House IX.i.7 at Pompeii representing Thetis and the shield of Achilles in the forge of Vulcan. Today the shield seems to bear little more than a blank, dark field, but originally it carried intricate monochromatic renderings of battle scenes, of which only small fragments remain. So it is important to verify that the appearance of emptiness within the garden fences is not deceptive.

B. Bergmann: It certainly is the case that many details added *al secco* have flaked off the frescoes, especially on black walls such as those of Triclinium C from the Villa Farnesina. However, the better-preserved fragments in the Naples Museum do show tiny blue, red, and white flowers, combined with leaves in different shades of green. The attention to detail in plants like these is astounding; only upon very close looking and magnification do they come to light. This was a true art of the miniature. But these plants were in fact secondary within the larger precincts, whose focus was the linear enclosure and empty space within and without.

C. Loeben: Es fällt mir schwer, mich des Eindrucks zu erwehren, dass in den kleinen Garten-Darstellungen nicht ganz viel mit Innen und Außen gespielt worden ist. Zuerst einmal kann man dank des Blicks von oben und des Flechtzaunes gut in sie hineinblicken. Dann gibt es stets die ins Garteninnere hineinragenden zum Teil Apsis-artigen oder auch überdachten Einbuchtungen, die einem ein nach 'Innen' gelangen erlauben, ohne sich jedoch wirklich innerhalb der Umfriedung zu befinden, und zuletzt sind häufig Vögel präsent, für die kein Zaun

über Innen- oder Außensein entscheidend ist . . . Kann dahinter eine Bedeutung stecken?

B. Bergmann: This is an important point. In several cases, it is not clear if we are looking at the outside 'façade' of such a garden precinct or are positioned in the middle of a far more extensive one. The apses present such a contradiction: one would expect to stroll past burbling fountains set in niches while *inside* a garden, not outside. The birds only undermine the fact that such walls and barriers may be erected by humans to keep other creatures in or out, but nature does not obey them.

K. von Stackelberg: So many of these scenes include blocked entrances, blind alleys and tight walkways, playing on a tension between what is accessible to the eye and what is accessible to the body. I think a very useful theoretical approach to understanding this aspect of Roman spatial sense would be Merleau-Ponty's work on phenomenology.¹

B. Bergmann: Yes, the physical experience suggested by the garden precincts is quite ambiguous, as Christian Loeben observes about what is 'in' and what is 'out'. Our instant access to both the exterior and the interior through the bird's-eye view is contradicted on the ground by blocked entries and lack of clarity about what is where.

K. Coleman: The absence of human and animal figures in the miniature garden paintings is very striking, especially as boundaries delineate a space from which undesirable elements are meant to be kept away. We know that there were porters in the *fauces* of townhouses, and herms, which had an apotropaic function, appear in garden paintings and (obviously) in the gardens of the *Priapea*. The Greek epigrammatist Lucilius,

¹ MERLEAU-PONTY 2012.

writing under Nero, comments on the punishment of a certain 'Meniscus' for stealing three apples from the garden of Zeus;² this may or may not have been staged as a 'fatal charade,' but at the very least it shows a concern with keeping thieves out of gardens. Do any of the Roman garden-paintings show gardens locked or policed in any way?

B. Bergmann: No, and this lack is thought-provoking. Both the miniature and lifesize paintings at first seem to present accessible garden spaces, but movement was through limited access points and these are visually blocked by a pool or a statue. The Pan and Priapus statues seen protecting sacred precincts in paintings are not present in gardens. In fact, there does not seem to be any protection beyond the walls, but in a few illusionistic garden paintings (Boscoreale, Oplontis) the walls appear to have grates and metal spikes.

É. Prioux: La juxtaposition que vous avez mise en évidence entre la riche polychromie de représentations illusionnistes du jardin et les vues axonométriques de jardins miniatures et vides sur fond noir est un exemple frappant de la tension (fréquente dans les fresques romaines) entre construction et déconstruction de l'illusion. Cette juxtaposition n'attire-t-elle pas aussi l'attention du spectateur sur l'habileté des peintres qui sont capables de maîtriser et de mettre en œuvre des manières très différentes de peindre, avec des usages très différents du coloris, qui reposent notamment sur le choix de mettre en valeur, ou non, la structure géométrique du jardin et de jouer, ou non, sur un traitement très graphique de l'image qui repose sur l'entrecroisement de très nombreuses lignes d'une finesse extrême? Dans les miniatures qui limitent l'usage des couleurs à un jeu de contrastes marqués sur le clair et le sombre, n'y a-t-il pas une attention particulière portée à la notion même d'ombre, essentielle à la fois pour la peinture et pour le jardin? Dans la

² *Anth. Pal.* 11, 184.

mesure où le nom grec des pergolas n'est autre que σκιάδες il est intéressant de les trouver, traitées avec un tel jeu de clair-obscur, dans la skiagraphie.

B. Bergmann: Your description of the tension between the construction and deconstruction of pictorial illusion, and thus the display of the painter's virtuosity, is very incisive. Your further point about the artist's emphasis on line, light, and shadow and a possible connection between *skiagraphia* and the actual light effects produced by a pergola (*skiades*) reminds me that we miss the associations of colors in Roman art. Much would come, I believe, from closer study of descriptions of physical sensations experienced within a natural environment and the representations of such environments.

N. Nonaka: What does the representation of boundaries (wickerwork fence, stone wall, grotto, pergola, etc.) in painted views of Roman gardens suggest about the notion of liminality in the Roman mind?

B. Bergmann: It is just this question that initially drew me to this unusual group of images. Others have written about Roman notions of space (Florence Dupont, for example)³ and I resist venturing an assessment of the 'Roman mind'. But a more concrete answer might be found in the material remains of the Roman period. The wall or fence separates two realms but belongs to neither, in this case either inside or outside, and the garden itself is an in-between space, neither indoors nor outdoors. Markers defining sacred space are common in earlier Greek art; sacred enclosures and guardian statues multiply in Hellenistic representations (as they do in poetry). What appears to be new is the all-encompassing view of boundaries within their larger landscape. It is tempting to see a connection with conquest and colonization.

³ DUPONT 1989.

R. Taylor: I am struck by the potential symbolism of the imagery attached to the borders. Do you think there is any significance to their residual symbols? The Dionysiac theme always seems to dominate, but underlying the forms there are other, perhaps related ideas. A wine vessel or a similar kind of form atop a column or pillar, for example, evokes a popular kind of funerary monument, modeled perhaps on the Greek *heroon*, in which the vessel functions as a cinerary urn. Countless examples are represented on south Italian vases, and even at Pompeii we see the motif, both in real space (for example, the tomb of Aesquillia Polla outside the Nola Gate) and in representations (for example on the Seven Sages mosaic from the Villa of Siminius Stephanus). Could such symbols represented in trelliswork perhaps evoke the kind of philosophic contemplation that we associate with some Greek memorial gardens, such as the Academy? And are there other layers of meaning there as well?

B. Bergmann: The presence of these common forms in philosophical and funerary gardens may be due to their ubiquity in the Roman landscape. The growth of private villas in the later Republic and early Empire led to the incorporation of shrines and tombs into private property, so that these features became part of villa gardens. This makes it difficult to differentiate among the functions of open-air spaces.

A. Marzano: Thank you for bringing to our attention such delightful and interesting representations. When I saw these axonometric enclosed garden views, I also thought of land surveyors and centuriation, and the *forma* that recorded the boundaries and land plots, not because they were the same thing, of course, but because of the idea inherent in both about measuring, defining, marking boundaries physically, and creating geometric forms. I wonder whether the fact that usually these depictions are located on the dado, below the lush painted gardens, might be seen as an allusion to the first phase of laying

out a garden, that is the plan and definition of its boundaries, and then the larger scenes above show the actual result of such planning.

B. Bergmann: If the depictions do relate to groundplans drawn by landscape architects (real or fantastical), as I believe they do, your explanation of their placement would make a lot of sense. The fact that so many examples are seen from above, and lie on black fields below painted architecture and vegetation, hints at a kind of spatial logic (from solid earth to air in the uppermost zone).

S. Dalley: It occurred to me that the wicker surround to the miniature garden was not related to the evidence for wicker surrounds for individual beds. The former is there instead of stone; the latter has no equivalent in stone. Could that type of garden represent a structure that could be dismantled and transported for occasions outside the owner's property? Might this possibility be linked to the placement below the main garden picture, and to the black background (if I remember correctly), as if it were usually in storage?

B. Bergmann: You are correct that the wickerwork that we see in the miniature views is quite distinct from the looser examples reconstructed in actual Campanian gardens. The material and designs may be similar, but the enclosures of the spacious precincts are far more architectural and elaborate. In fact, the series of apses more closely resembles concrete and stone structures such as the massive *nymphaeum* at Massalubrense.⁴ The idea of transitory structures set up for special occasions is intriguing. One wonders then about the more permanent fixtures of marble waterbasins and statues on bases. Perhaps they could have stood in the open, planted garden and then become focal features for such ephemeral structures.

⁴ BUDETTA 2006, 64; 93, No. 8; BUDETTA & VON HASE 2013.

I doubt that the placement of so many of the miniature views at the bottom of the wall related to storage, however.

A. Marzano: The precision of the representations, their small size, the black background, and the intricate weaving work achieved with the reeds all suggest to me the idea of preciousness. Actually, the reedwork is almost like a piece of jewellery in filigree technique. These elaborate yet ephemeral boundaries might mark out an important, special part of the grounds of the garden or estate. Furthermore, there is evidence, besides what is mentioned in the agronomists, of the importance given to reed beds as part of estates. There are inscriptions and papyri that talk of reed beds, normally in relation to vineyards, and of the importance of keeping or replanting them so that reeds are always available when needed. Some of the inscriptions are funerary and refer to legacies left to professional associations and garden tombs. To my knowledge, the reed beds are not explicitly mentioned in relation to the creation of this intricate fencing. Mention of leases of reed beds in conjunction with vine cultivation occurs also in papyri.⁵ Lastly, there is a funerary inscription about a garden tomb that mentions among the various features also a reed bed (*harundinetum*).⁶

K. von Stackelberg: Your paper illustrates how intensely garden scenes demonstrated the Roman ludic pleasure of viewing. Do you think they may also have served as prompts to activate visual literacy, so that they were teaching people how to look or reminding them to look more closely at what was before their eyes? After years of encountering the image of the bird on the reed, I've only just realised that the image is also a visual pun: the warbler on the syrinx synaesthetically transposes sight and sound.

⁵ E.g., *P. Oxy.* XIV 1631, contract for labor in a vineyard.

⁶ *CIL* VI 29847.

B. Bergmann: I definitely think that the combination of different ways of depicting gardens invites alternative ways of viewing them. This is most apparent in the porticoes bordering on living garden spaces. Another question is whether the illusionistic garden paintings might have prompted viewers' visual literacy of botany and ornithology. The plants and birds are so specific that they may be drawn from illustrated treatises. Your observation about the pun on the reed poses the question whether more can be read into these lifelike realms. It has been suggested that the trees in the Garden Room of Livia represent specific Olympian deities. Whether or not the garden paintings do embody a sophisticated, coded language, as do Dutch still lifes (for example), remains an open question.

D. Nelis: Vergil's first *Eclogue* talks about land division and hedges and evokes the whole question of landscape, describing both rough land full of marsh and rocks and a much more garden-like *locus amoenus* with a stream, bee-hives, shade, etc. A reference to land measurement in relation to the loss of land by the family of Propertius in the confiscations is exactly parallel to *Eclogue 1*.⁷

B. Bergmann: The poetic references to divisions caused by the newly structured landscape of Italy tend to be poignant. As has been shown, this mood finds parallels in the dreamy 'sacro-idyllic' landscape paintings, which offer a striking alternative to the cool, geometric garden plans. The illusionistic garden paintings, on the other hand, with their grafted fruit trees and tamed vines, would seem to celebrate the bounty that results from agricultural and horticultural control. In other words, the range and variety of verbal and visual responses to the recent, radical changes in the natural environment, and the potential tension among these responses, deserve more attention.

⁷ PROP. 4, 1, 130.

K. Coleman: Are vegetable gardens ever depicted? And, if not, why not?

B. Bergmann: This is an excellent question and one more example of the asymmetry between the paintings and Latin poetry, where vegetable gardens play a role. Nicholas Purcell has shown how the 'landscape of production' became an aesthetic in villa culture from the first century BCE, but while fruit trees grow in the lifesize garden paintings, vegetables do not.⁸ These instead appear in still lifes (*xenia*). Perhaps gourds, cabbages, and asparagus were not considered among the visually pleasing *ornamenta* of a garden.

R. Lane Fox: Your excellent paper reminds us of an often forgotten garden-aesthetic, the aesthetics of garden structures. You show us a Roman world of big, green horti-parks and fenced trellis and pergola gardens. We have learned to look, now, beyond big 'landscape-gardens' in 18th-century England and to consider the smaller gardens in 'country boxes' and suburban gardens. The crucial sources are the paintings by Thomas Robins, first catalogued by John Harris.⁹ They also show structures and ornamental fences. The aesthetics of the screen, the 'balustrade', and the boundary can be studied and compared very well in Japanese and Chinese poems and paintings. A contrast, or a similarity between cultures? It would be good to know.

⁸ PURCELL 2003.

⁹ HARRIS 1978.

GIULIA CANEVA

IL GIARDINO COME ESPRESSIONE DEL DIVINO NELLE RAPPRESENTAZIONI DELL'ANTICA ROMA

La natura entra con frequenza nella rappresentazione pittorica e scultorea dell'antica Roma inserendosi all'interno di paesaggi, apparentemente come semplice sfondo allo svolgersi delle vicende umane, ma ancor più all'interno di veri e propri giardini, cioè come natura 'costruita' a formare luoghi ideali. Un gran numero di dettagli naturalistici si può rilevare inoltre nelle combinazioni fantastiche delle grottesche e nei 'giardini di pietra' di decorazioni parietali, frontalì di pietra e sarcofagi, in forma di rappresentazione criptica e metamorfica della natura.

Questo contributo vuole definire le diverse piante presenti nelle rappresentazioni di giardino e mostrare come nell'antichità classica esistesse una grande conoscenza della natura che era anche espressione di valenze spirituali e religiose. A tal fine riassume quindi le informazioni riguardanti gli elementi floristici rilevati nelle pitture di domus romane o pompeiane, analizzandone sotto il profilo della valenza simbolica alcuni esempi emblematici. Analogamente pone attenzione alle rappresentazioni della natura in elementi scultorei di epoca augustea (vedi Ara Pacis), dove gli elementi fantastici e 'irreali' derivano dalla composizione simultanea ed 'impossibile' di elementi reali, seguendo un continuum che sottolinea l'interconnessione esistente in natura.

La biodiversità floristica nell'iconografia romana assomma a circa duecento specie caratteristiche di diversi habitat

Mediterranei, scelte primariamente per una valenza simbolica condivisa e potente, e tale numero si riduce a una cinquantina di specie nel caso di pitture di giardino in senso stretto. Alcune di queste appaiono ricorrenti, essendo espressione fisica di valenze simboliche e divine, come palme (*Phoenix dactylifera*), oleandri (*Nerium oleander*), rose (*Rosa gallica*, *R. centifolia*), mirti (*Myrtus communis*), allori (*Laurus nobilis*), edere (*Hedera helix*), viburni (*Viburnum tinus*), melograni (*Punica granatum*) e cipressi (*Cupressus sempervirens*). A esse se ne associano altre, quali querce (*Quercus robur* s.l.), pini (*Pinus pinea*), melocotogni (*Cydonia oblonga*) e naturalmente l'acanto (*Acanthus mollis*), selezionate in funzione dell'intento specifico della rappresentazione.

La comprensione del messaggio iconografico appare collegata sia agli elementi compositivi scelti, ovvero alla selezione delle specie, sia alla loro disposizione e al loro ruolo gerarchico nell'immagine. Pur con varianti diverse, nei casi selezionati viene rappresentato un giardino ideale cui è affidato un messaggio filosofico-religioso che esprime una visione della vita umana come transitoria, ma eternamente capace di rinnovarsi e rigenerarsi, come nel ciclo cosmico della natura.

I. Premessa

Diverse fonti scritte danno testimonianza della conoscenza della natura nel mondo antico, anche se non provano fino in fondo, e in tutti i variegati aspetti, quale essa realmente fosse. Soprattutto per quanto riguarda le piante medicinali, ci sono pervenute le opere di Teofrasto (IV secolo a.C., *De historia plantarum* e *De causis plantarum*) e di Dioscoride (I secolo d.C., *De materia medica*), a cui sono anche collegate le illustrazioni di alcuni codici antichi.¹ Così la *Historia naturalis* di

¹ ALIOTTA et al. 2003. Tra questi codici va considerato il "Codice Aniciae Julianae", una versione bizantina parziale del *De materia medica* datata intorno al

Plinio il Vecchio (I secolo d.C.) rappresenta una fonte estremamente importante anche se, pure essendo una vera enciclopedia del sapere nel mondo antico, non sempre consente una facile identificazione delle piante citate.

Oltre alle fonti scritte, esistono però fonti iconografiche che non dovrebbero essere trascurate, relative non solo alle illustrazioni di codici, ma anche a espressioni artistiche che non avevano diretta connessione con l'illustrazione della scienza. Infatti, come si osserverà più avanti, le fonti iconografiche hanno mostrato una grande valenza nel testimoniare la profonda conoscenza che l'uomo antico aveva della natura.²

Sul piano dell'interpretazione delle relazioni fra uomo e natura e delle loro manifestazioni, va inoltre osservato che nelle antiche culture del mondo ellenistico-romano, seguendo l'eredità storica e iconografica delle antiche civiltà del Mediterraneo, da quella Minoica ed Etrusca a quella del vicino mondo Mesopotamico e Faraonico, la rappresentazione delle vicende umane era in stretta connessione con quella dei fenomeni della natura. Il profondo rapporto fra natura e divino è espresso ancor più nell'idea di giardino, il cui termine prende origine dalla parola ebraica *gan*, che corrisponde nella sua forma più perfetta al paradiso, il cui nome deriva a sua volta ai *pairidaiza* persiani, chiamati nella Genesi *gan Eden*.³

Se dunque l'uomo antico conosceva profondamente la natura e sapeva distinguere un gran numero di diverse piante, e se la natura, tanto più quella riferita al giardino, aveva connessione con il divino, è legittima la tesi che le pitture di giardino non andrebbero interpretate semplicemente come sfondo ai fatti umani o come elemento ideale di un mondo dell'aldilà, come ci appare nelle pitture di contesti funerari,⁴ ma piuttosto

512 d.C., e il *Codex ex Vindobonensis Graecus 1*, di cui sono disponibili delle edizioni fac-simile, MAZAL 1998-1999; BERTELLI, LILLA, & OROFINO 1992.

² CANEVA 2010; KUMBARIC & CANEVA 2014.

³ "Or il Signore Dio piantò un giardino in Eden, dall'Oriente, e pose qui vi l'uomo ch'egli avea formato", Gen. 2, 8.

⁴ GRIMAL 1990, 66; 80-81; SETTIS 2008, 28-31.

che esse rappresentino, almeno nella maggior parte dei casi e sia pur con varianti diverse, una rappresentazione che ha connessioni col mondo divino.

Rispetto al problema della comprensione di tale valenza, ovvero al quesito che pone il problema se l'uomo antico avrebbe capito il messaggio sotteso a certe scelte, va osservato che mentre la conoscenza della lingua scritta era limitata a una ristretta fascia della popolazione, le immagini rappresentavano invece elementi di rappresentazione simbolica più potenti di qualsiasi parola, in virtù della loro forma criptica, misteriosa e spesso polivalente. Esse costituivano così un potente strumento di comunicazione e di conseguenza nel mondo romano, e tanto più in quello augusto, fortemente ispirato alla rappresentazione della natura, non esisteva sostanzialmente immagine che non avesse la finalità di dare un messaggio.⁵

Quindi, anche nell'architettura, la scelta di un certo soggetto non era casuale o aveva una funzione semplicemente decorativa, ma era piuttosto funzionale a dare un monito o un augurio a chi l'avrebbe osservata. Questo concetto è esplicitamente espresso da Vitruvio che, nel ricordare l'origine delle cariatidi, osserva come queste non fossero semplicemente delle belle figure muliebri, ma piuttosto la rappresentazione delle donne di Caria ridotte in schiavitù e costrette a portare pesi come monito delle conseguenze del tradimento della loro città; di conseguenza egli dimostra come la storia delle vicende umane rappresenti un elemento conduttore anche di certe scelte iconografiche.⁶

⁵ ZANKER 1989, 6. Descrivendo nell'introduzione il "potere delle immagini" e l'intenso mondo figurativo dell'epoca augustea, l'autore osserva che "determinati valori, come il programma di rinnovamento religioso, acquistarono realtà solo attraverso la vastissima cassa di risonanza del linguaggio figurativo".

⁶ *Historias autem plures nouisse oportet, quod multa ornamenta saepe in operibus architecti designant, de quibus argumentis rationem, cur fecerint, quaerentibus reddere debent . . . ut etiam posteris nota poena peccati Cariatium memoriae tradetur* ("L'architetto deve possedere una buona conoscenza storica che gli permetta di spiegare agli eventuali interlocutori il significato simbolico con cui egli spesso abbellisce i suoi edifici . . . affinchè rimanesse vivo ai posteri il ricordo della

A dare ulteriore sostegno al legame fra la natura e il divino, va osservato che essa, nelle sue molteplici forme di manifestazione, era considerata l'espressione delle volontà divine e che la divinità della Natura nella cultura romana è esplicitamente menzionata da diversi filosofi e scienziati dell'antica Roma, come Seneca⁷ o anche Plinio il Vecchio, che la definisce "Madre di ogni cosa".⁸ Nello stesso tempo "La Natura ama nascondersi", che è l'enigmatica sentenza che Eraclito, nel V secolo a.C., lascia negli scritti conservati nel tempio di Artemide a Efeso e che secondo alcuni, può essere ricondotta "allo stupore di fronte al mistero della metamorfosi e dell'identità profonda fra la vita e la morte" oppure in senso ancor più ampio, ad un'idea di potenza della natura, che cela significati potenti e divini che vanno anch'essi interpretati.⁹ Le forme e i fenomeni naturali rappresentavano simboli potentissimi e manifestazioni della volontà divina¹⁰ e mi pare quindi lecito supporre che esse fossero interpretate come uno strumento di comunicazione delle divinità con gli uomini che certamente i popoli antichi sapevano 'leggere'.¹¹

famosa pena inflitta agli abitanti di Caria"), VITR. *De arch.* 1, 1, 5, trad. L. MIGOTTO.

⁷ Seneca osserva esplicitamente, *Quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et diuina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta?* ("Che cos'è la Natura se non Dio stesso e la ragione divina immanente al mondo nella sua totalità e in ogni sua parte?"), SEN. *Ben.* 4, 7, 1, trad. G. PICONE.

⁸ *parens rerum omnium Natura*, PLIN. *HN* 37, 205. "Il mondo, questo insieme che ci si è compiacuti di chiamare anche in modo diverso 'il cielo', la cui volta copre la vita di tutto l'universo, va considerato una divinità, eterna, senza inizio e senza fine . . .", HADOT 2006, 24.

⁹ "Come può essere, infatti, che all'interno di ogni cosa il processo di produzione sia indissolubilmente intrecciato con il processo di distruzione . . .?", HADOT 2006, 9-10.

¹⁰ FRAZER 1890. In più passi l'autore cita la potenza della natura e la sua connessione con il divino nelle diverse civiltà, fra cui quelle dell'Europa e del Mediterraneo; dedica ai rituali e ai miti collegati ai fenomeni e alle entità naturali diversi capitoli a cominciare dal primo, riguardante Diana e Virbio, fino a quelli dedicati alla quercia e ai boschi sacri.

¹¹ CANEVA 2010.

Nella mentalità e nelle credenze dell'uomo antico nulla era dunque casuale e la logica associativa, cioè quella che stabiliva connessioni fra fatti e significati a essi congrui, veniva costantemente utilizzata per capire il perché profondo dei fenomeni. Come ci tramandano i miti di fondazione di Roma, con la disputa dei gemelli Romolo e Remo per la scelta del luogo su cui tracciare il primo solco, l'affacciarsi di uno stormo di uccelli da una certa direttrice, il loro numero, il loro volteggiare nel cielo e posarsi sulla terra, erano l'espressione di una volontà divina.¹² Analogamente, il disporsi delle stelle nel cielo nelle varie costellazioni era intrepretato come un segno evidente dell'influenza delle diverse divinità in una disposizione ciclica; l'apparire dell'arcobaleno era il segno di un messaggio che gli dei recapitavano agli uomini tramite Iris; il tuonare e lo svilupparsi dei fulmini nel cielo in occasione di un temporale erano l'espressione della potenza di Zeus, il muoversi del vento e del mare erano l'espressione dell'ira di Eolo e di Poseidone; così il fiorire o fruttificare di una pianta, come la sua peculiare forma, colore e profumo, avevano un significato e il potere di influire sulla vita umana.¹³

Le modalità con cui il divino si poteva manifestare erano quindi molteplici e tutte erano una sorta di messaggio che

¹² *Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis uerecundia discrimen facere posset, ut di quorum tutelae ea loca essent auguriis legerent qui nomen nouae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Auentinum ad inaugurandum tempa capiunt. Priori Remo augurium uenisse fertur, sex uoltures; iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consulutauerat* ("Siccome erano gemelli e il rispetto della primogenitura non poteva funzionare come criterio elettivo, toccava agli dei che proteggevano quei luoghi indicare, interrogati mediante aruspici, chi avrebbe dato il nome alla città e chi vi avrebbe regnato. Per interpretare i segni augurali, Romolo scelse il Palatino e Remo l'Aventino. Il primo presagio, sei avvoltori, si dice toccò a Remo. Dal momento che a Romolo ne erano apparsi dodici quando ormai il presagio era stato annunciato, i rispettivi gruppi avevano proclamato re entrambi"), LIV. 1, 6, 4-1, 7, 1, trad. G. REVERDITO.

¹³ In tutta l'opera de *Le Metamorfosi* di Ovidio si può cogliere l'attenzione al mondo vegetale come elemento di trasformazione e di interconnessione alle vicende umane. Le diverse proprietà e forme delle piante spiegano in maniera più o meno evidente al lettore moderno le logiche associative.

l'uomo avrebbe facilmente saputo decodificare e rispettare, o nelle forme più criptiche grazie alla sapienza di aruspici, di sibille, o sacerdoti. Le regole di base per interpretare il senso delle cose, che era sempre collegato a un messaggio divino, erano riconducibili a forme, colori, posizioni, geometrie, movimenti e ritmi e somiglianze percepite, in una logica analogica che è alla base del pensiero cognitivo. L'aspetto simbolico delle rappresentazioni era connesso alla valenza unificatrice fra l'oggetto fisico della realtà e il messaggio 'collegato', che è sottolineata anche dall'etimologia del nome stesso (dal greco σύν [syn] = "insieme" e βάλλω [ballô] = "metto"). Ciò era contrapposto all'elemento diabolico, che ne è l'esatto contrario, in quanto elemento separatore (dal greco διά (dia) = "attraverso" e βάλλω (ballô) = "metto"). Con tali premesse anche la lettura della rappresentazione di un giardino, di un paesaggio, di uno sfondo architettonico, di un festone e di un tralcio vegetale assumeva un significato che trascendeva l'oggetto in se, ma risultava l'immagine emblematica e solo apparentemente criptica di realtà superiori.

Gli antichi erano però abituati a leggere nella natura i segni del divino e, coerentemente con tale impostazione filosofico-religiosa, ritengo opportuno gettare uno sguardo sulle pitture di paesaggio o di giardino di domus romane così da evidenziare il loro significato profondo. Sceglierò a tal fine alcuni casi emblematici, presentandone una lettura volta non solo all'analisi della diversa realtà biologica rappresentata, ma soprattutto del significato che essa poteva avere nella società contemporanea.

Ai fini dell'interpretazione del senso iconografico delle pitture romane di giardino, non si può trascurare che le finalità di un giardino potessero essere ulteriori, quali quelle legate ai suoi aspetti estetici, o produttivi, considerando il gran rilievo che le piante da frutto, le aromatiche e le medicinali avevano nel giardino romano. È infatti utile inoltre ricordare che nella Roma arcaica esistevano spazi verdi destinati soltanto a scopi pratici, che costituivano l'*hortus*, ovvero un terreno agricolo in cui

coltivare le specie utili al fabbisogno giornaliero. A seguito dell'annessione alla Grecia agli inizi del I secolo a.C., e quindi delle influenze ellenistiche che ne derivarono, il concetto di *hortus* cominciò a trasformarsi e la coltivazione dei fiori a scopi decorativi proveniente dall'Oriente si diffonde nel mondo romano influenzando anche la struttura e la fisionomia del giardino stesso.

Fra i diversi casi che saranno qui esaminati, sono stati scelti quelli di maggior rilievo dell'epoca augustea, quali in particolare la Villa di Livia a Prima Porta e l'Auditorium di Meenate, in quanto costituiscono le rappresentazioni più estese di pittura romana di giardino a noi pervenute. Analogamente non sarà trascurato il caso estremamente potente nella sua logica espressiva del 'giardino di pietra' della Ara Pacis. Per quanto riguarda le pitture di giardino pompeiane, pur considerando la gran mole di dati catalogati sull'argomento,¹⁴ che saranno utilizzati nello stilare un inventario della biodiversità, si selezioneranno alcuni esempi di spicco del ricco repertorio di domus pompeiane, quali in particolare la Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI.xvii.42) e la Casa del Frutteto (I.i.5/7, noto anche come Casa dei Cubicoli Floreali), dove il giardino entra come elemento dominante.

II. Aspetti di metodo

Per l'interpretazione del significato delle piante nelle rappresentazioni della classicità è naturalmente necessario procedere al riconoscimento delle singole identità e quindi all'attribuzione del ruolo iconografico che esse avevano nella cultura antica.

¹⁴ Vedasi il contributo della JASHEMSKI 1979, con il successivo approfondimento di JASHEMSKI 1993, in cui vengono elencati oltre 202 casi, e dei lavori più circoscritti a carattere botanico della CIARALLO 1992a; 1992b; 2000; 2004; 2006.

II.1. Riconoscimento delle identità

Generalmente, le chiavi analitiche dicotomiche che i tassonomi hanno proposto per arrivare al preciso riconoscimento scientifico di una specie vegetale richiedono l'osservazione di molti caratteri della forma, colore, numero, posizione, concrescimento delle varie parti che costituiscono i fiori (calice, corolla, pistilli, elementi staminali), i frutti (nelle loro numerose varianti tipologiche) o le foglie, oltre naturalmente la struttura e il portamento generale della pianta. Ciò naturalmente non è possibile nel caso di elementi iconografici ed esistono quindi oggettive difficoltà nel riconoscimento di elementi dipinti e scolpiti, per la generale mancanza in questi ultimi del colore, ed esse sono ancor più rilevanti nel caso di rappresentazioni limitate a 'dettagli' di singoli elementi.¹⁵

Tuttavia in molti casi tali intrinseche difficoltà non precludono la possibilità di formulare ipotesi plausibili sotto il profilo scientifico, poiché alcuni elementi formali sono estremamente peculiari e caratteristici. In questi casi l'individuazione delle 'varie porzioni elementari' riconducibili a realtà biologiche, seguita dalla comparazione con flore e atlanti botanici di riferimento, ed oggi anche con immagini di piante provenienti da archivi on line di orti botanici, permette un riconoscimento che segue un percorso mentale assimilabile a quello di un 'identikit' basati sulla comparazione di immagini di pochi dettagli messi a confronto in una grande 'banca dati', valutandone la congruità mediante sovrapposizione delle forme. In altri casi, invece dove più specie possono apparire di forme simili, è corretto fare solo delle supposizioni, senza poter arrivare ad una più precisa definizione della specie rappresentata.

L'interpretazione sistematica degli elementi rappresentati trova inoltre supporto in elementi di carattere storico, fitogeografico o ecologico, ovvero si può avvalere di altre tipologie di informazioni, quali quelle relative alle provenienze geografiche,

¹⁵ CANEVA *et al.* 2005.

alle epoche di introduzione delle diverse specie in altre aree geografiche, alla valenza culturale e simbolica di certe specie nel contesto in esame, oltre che dell'habitat dove una specie cresce e questi elementi costituiscono una sorta di 'filtrî' che ne riducono l'ambiguità. In altre parole si tratta di un'operazione di astrazione in cui da un insieme di partenza si applicano altre informazioni che permettono una progressiva riduzione, fino ad arrivare a un sottoinsieme finale che in alcuni casi è univoco, ed in altri è più ampio per cui si può parlare solo di un 'genere' o di una 'famiglia'. Considerando però che nella rappresentazione naturalistica del mondo antico sono presenti numerose evidenze dell'attenzione anche a piccoli dettagli, molto spesso, almeno per le opere più importanti commissionate alle maestranze più abili del tempo, è legittimo attribuire un valore diagnostico anche a piccole differenze morfologiche senza considerarle 'frutto della fantasia', o 'capriccio' di un pittore o di uno scalpellino. Così la carenza di tutti i dati morfologici normalmente richiesti spesso non annulla la possibilità di un riconoscimento sistematico delle diverse piante rappresentate.

II.2. Riconoscimento delle valenze

Il riconoscimento della valenza iconografica di una specie è questione talvolta più complessa, perché la sua prova certa dovrebbe essere fondata da un'adeguata documentazione storica basata su fonti scritte. Certamente, l'entrare nel merito del simbolismo e in particolare in quello delle piante è una questione complessa e ancora non totalmente indagata, ma diversi scienziati ci danno prova della correttezza di questa chiave di lettura, quali in particolare Teofrasto, Plinio, Dioscoride, oltre a storici o poeti, quali Virgilio, Lucrezio, Ovidio, o ancor prima, Omero, Erodoto, che ci danno prova della correttezza del principio e ci documentano alcuni casi specifici.¹⁶

¹⁶ Come esempi di tale metodo, *cfr.* DIERBACH 1833; FOLKARD 1892; BROSSE 1991; BAUMANN 1993; DE CLEEN & LEJEUNE 2002; DUCOURTHIAL 2003.

Nel caso però in cui non siano pervenute prove di riferimenti simbolici, esiste poi il metodo associativo che, se adeguatamente condotto, può giustificare attribuzioni non esplicitamente dichiarate. In altre parole, se si comprende la modalità con cui nel mondo antico si creavano associazioni fra forme ed idee, che è alla base del linguaggio simbolico, ritengo sia corretto estendere il plausibile significato di elementi dei quali non esista oggi traccia scritta della loro valenza.¹⁷ Ad esempio, l'interpretazione iconografica di rappresentazioni vegetali dotate di elementi acuminati e spinescenti e privi di frutti utili all'uomo (es. Cardueae) può alludere sia all'idea della sterilità della terra che alla sua asperità, e come tale legittima un legame con divinità che esprimono la durezza e le asperità conseguenti alla guerra, quali elementi marziali, collegati appunto a Marte. Naturalmente anche altre ipotesi sono possibili, ma devono sempre basarsi su una realtà biologica osservata. Nello stesso modo abbiamo prova che la valenza antisettica di certe specie e la loro presunta attività curativa contro i morsi di serpenti (come nel caso dell'aglio, *Allium sativum*), o la forma serpentina-forme delle volute (come nel caso del ciclamino, *Cyclamen* sp.) o della scolopendria (*Phyllitis scolopendrium*), fossero l'elemento guida che ne spiegava la valenza scaramantica ad esse attribuita fin dall'antichità. La forma tondeggiante, come il colore aureo e il profumo intenso dei frutti del melocotogno (*Cydonia oblonga*), spiegava invece il loro potere di allontanare dalle cattive influenze, oltre che il legame con Era e Afrodite e di conseguenza il ruolo centrale nei riti matrimoniali, come emblema dell'amore e della fertilità. Così è molto probabile che il colore bianco dei fiori del giglio (*Lilium candidum*) sia stato l'elemento guida che ha fatto nascere l'associazione con il latte di Era, rendendo tale pianta emblema di purezza, bellezza e fertilità.

¹⁷ CANEVA & KUMBARIC 2010; CANEVA 2010, 53-54; 142-143.

III. Il mondo vegetale e la sua biodiversità nelle pitture di giardino dell'epoca romana

La conoscenza botanica e zoologica dei popoli antichi era sicuramente più profonda di quanto possiamo oggi immaginare, sia per le valenze pratiche in ambito alimentare, medicinale e domestico-artigianale che per quelle religioso-rituali, e quindi mitologiche, che esse potevano assumere.¹⁸ Quali e quante fossero le piante conosciute nell'antichità classica non è un dato sufficientemente noto, ma va ricordato che André, basandosi soprattutto su fonti letterarie, riporta oltre 4000 nomi usati dagli antichi per individuare le specie vegetali, corrispondenti a circa 1100 taxa attuali.¹⁹ Se ci riferiamo alla *Flora Mitologica*, Dierbach indica solo 220 specie fra quelle con esplicativi riferimenti scritti, mentre Fabre cita 93 specie vegetali fra quelle comuni nell'ambito mitologico ed medicinale.²⁰

Le specie identificate nelle pitture murali dell'antica Pompei sono invece 63, come si ricava dalla descrizione dei cataloghi, e a queste se ne sommano numerose altre ritrovate come reperti vegetali nella terra di scavo, fino a raggiungere un totale di 184 diverse entità.²¹ La biodiversità degli elementi naturalistici nell'iconografia romana è comunque molto più elevata di

¹⁸ HARSHBERGER 1896.

¹⁹ ANDRÉ 1985.

²⁰ DIERBACH 1833; FABRE 2003. Si noti che da un punto di vista botanico non è sempre corretto parlare di specie, perché a volte gli autori citano specie in senso stretto, altre volte distinguono al loro interno anche sottospecie e a volte citano genericamente generi, o addirittura interi regni, come nel caso dei funghi che sono trattati come entità nel loro complesso. Per questo motivo, considerando anche la difficoltà oggettiva di arrivare alla precisa individuazione tassonomica, ho preferito parlare di taxa, ovvero di categorie tassonomiche.

²¹ JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002 permettono di ricavare tale numero grazie alla descrizione degli elementi dipinti nelle pitture murali. Dalla lista floristica di 184 taxa sono stati, infatti, esclusi sia i reperti paleobotanici, sia le rappresentazioni non inquadrabili in pitture di giardino. Nel caso di CIARALLO (2000; 2004; 2006) la descrizione floristica delle pitture non sempre permette di operare tale distinzione.

quanto finora rilevato ed è stata recentemente stimata nell'ordine di 203 diversi taxa, appartenenti a 78 famiglie e 160 generi.²² Si tratta di elementi provenienti da diversi habitat del mondo Mediterraneo (in ordine decrescente: garighe, pratelli aridi e umidi, ambienti ruderali, rupi, macchie, foreste, ambienti fluviali, spiagge, etc.) e solo raramente di areale più ampio, tendenzialmente orientale (es. *Phoenix dactylifera*, *Punica granatum*, *Nymphaea* sp. pl., *Nelumbo nucifera*).

Se però consideriamo che non tutte le specie conosciute dagli antichi, comprese quelle con significato simbolico fortemente condiviso, sarebbero state utilizzate in un giardino in senso stretto e tanto più in un giardino dipinto, è comprensibile il fatto che nei giardini dipinti a noi pervenuti questo numero si riduca a circa cinquanta specie (vedi Tabella 1),²³ di cui quaranta sono riferibili a quelle rinvenute nell'area pompeiana²⁴ e poco meno di trenta a quelle dell'area romana, e solo una decina siano le specie ricorrenti.

²² KUMBARIC & CANEVA 2014.

²³ La definizione dell'esatto numero delle specie è resa ulteriormente difficile dal fatto che a volte lo stesso autore, in particolare Ciarallo, in opere successive riporta identificazioni diverse o liste di diversa completezza per la stessa opera, senza che sia possibile far riferimento a un'opera finale che sia il frutto di una revisione completa del tema in questione, come nel caso dell'opera di JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, che invece riassume precedenti contributi di Jashemski. Per questo motivo ho ritenuto utile adottare sia la scelta di elencare insieme taxa che potrebbero essere riferiti alla stessa specie, anche se citata con nomi diversi, sia la scelta di elencare separatamente le opere di Ciarallo e di riportare per Jashemski solo il suo contributo finale.

²⁴ Delle 63 specie citate da JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002 come rappresentate in pitture murali, solo quaranta sono state incluse nelle rappresentazioni di giardino, dal momento che sono state escluse le specie orticole rappresentate solo per i loro frutti o per altre parti commestibili o di uso medicinale e rappresentate in contesti isolati o in nature morte (es. *Allium cepa* L., *Aloe vera* [L.] Burm. F., *Asparagus acutifolius* L., *Brassica rapa* L. ssp. *rapa*, *Castanea sativa* Miller, *Ceratonia siliqua* L., *Corylus avellana* L., *Fragaria vesca* L., *Juglans regia* L., *Lagenaria siceraria* [Molina] Standley, *Olea europaea* L., *Panicum miliaceum* L., *Prunus dulcis* [Mill.] D.A. Webb., *Prunus persica* [L.] Batsch, *Raphanus sativus* L., *Setaria italica* [L.] Beauv., *Sorbus domestica* L., *Tragopogon porrifolius* L., *Triticum dicoccum* Schrank, *Vitis vinifera* L.), o anche rilevate all'interno di paesaggi (*Arundo donax* L., *Castanea sativa* Miller, *Iris pseudacorus* L., *Nymphaea*

Sul piano della biodiversità, tale numero, che è stato derivato per buona parte dall'analisi della letteratura sull'argomento,²⁵ non si può considerare definitivo. Ciò non solo in quanto esso è riferito a un numero di pitture che non può considerarsi veramente completo,²⁶ ma anche in quanto una più attenta analisi potrebbe suggerire altre specie non ancora riconosciute.²⁷ Infine alcune specie identificate in maniera diversa dai vari autori potrebbero in realtà essere la stessa entità, ma anche più attente analisi potrebbero non sciogliere completamente il dubbio e la loro plausibilità risulta motivata soprattutto da ragioni ecologiche e distributive.²⁸

Da osservare inoltre che alcune specie sono state riconosciute solo da un determinato autore, ma non trovano riscontro in altri per le stesse pitture (*Tuberaria guttata* [L.] Grosser²⁹ o

sp.). A queste gli autori aggiungono anche la categoria 'mushrooms' (funghi), al cui interno danno delle possibili proposte identificative di generi commestibili.

²⁵ Elementi inediti sono quelli relativi all'Auditorium di Mecenate, di cui esistevano solo generiche citazioni floristiche. Le citazioni sulla Villa di Livia derivano da un lavoro di revisione dell'autrice (CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003) rispetto a precedenti descrizioni floristiche.

²⁶ La lista deriva infatti dalla analisi delle domus romane e pompeiane esplicitamente citate nella letteratura citata ed è riconducibile, per Pompei e l'area Vesuviana, escluse le citazioni ottocentesche, ai lavori di CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991; CIARALLO 2000; 2004; 2006; e di JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, che fanno riferimento esplicito a un numero molto più basso di pitture da giardino rispetto a quelle effettivamente trovate nell'area (trenta rispetto alle 62 citate da DE CAROLIS 1992).

²⁷ Ad esempio, nella Casa del Bracciale d'Oro mi sembra sia possibile distinguere altre due specie non citate né da CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991; CIARALLO 2000; 2004; 2006, né da JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI, 2002, per quest'opera o per pitture pompeiane di giardino in senso stretto, quali: *Buxus sempervirens* L. (vicino alla fontana) e *Phyllirea* sp. (in un angolo della parete destra). Tali specie non sono state però inserite a riferimento dell'opera, così come nel lavoro di revisione della biodiversità floristica dell'iconografia romana (KUMBARIC & CANEVA, 2014), in quanto non mi è stato ancora possibile avere un'osservazione ravvicinata delle pitture originali.

²⁸ Es. *Anthemis arvensis* L. vs *Anthemis* sp. & *Matricaria* sp. & *Aster amellus*; *Calystegia sepium* (L.) R. Br. vs *C. silvatica* (Kit. in Schrad.) Griseb.; *Chrysanthemum coronarium* L. vs *C. segetum* L. & *Anacyclus radiatus* Loisel; *Viola reichenbachiana* Jordan vs *V. calcarata* L.

²⁹ Nella Casa del Bracciale d'Oro: CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30.

Aster amellus L.³⁰) e pertanto non si è ritenuto opportuno citarle in tabella. Alcune specie, inoltre, pur essendo rilevate in pitture murali qui citate, soprattutto come tralci e candelabri nell'intorno di pitture di giardino (es. *Vigna unguiculata* [Auditorium di Mecenate], o *Vitis vinifera*³¹), non sono state incluse nell'elenco, in quanto si è qui adottato un criterio più restrittivo che escludesse cornici, fregi, festoni e bordature,³² a meno che non direttamente collegati all'immagine centrale del giardino.³³ Così non sono state inserite nella lista canne (*Arundo donax* L.) o cannucce (*Phragmites australis* L.), in quanto esse appaiono rappresentate come elementi di supporto e tutori di altre piante,³⁴ o nelle delimitazione del giardino e non come specie inserite nell'immagine per una valenza propria, come invece talvolta può avvenire in paesaggi. Infine, alcune specie citate dalla letteratura di fine '800³⁵ non sono state citate in quanto non sono state più riconosciute, probabilmente per il peggioramento delle condizioni conservative, come nel caso dell'olivo (*Olea europaea* L.), che rappresenta come la vite una specie di grande significato simbolico e comune nel paesaggio Mediterraneo antico come in quello contemporaneo.

³⁰ Nella Casa del Balcone Pensile (VII.xii.28) e VII.vii.10 e 'Casa n° 6, scavi nuovi' (secondo COMES 1879, 17), o anche Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (CIARALLO 2006, Tav. II).

³¹ La *Vitis vinifera*, seppur presente in diverse pitture pompeiane, non è stata rilevata all'interno dei 'quadri di giardino' qui descritti, e ciò può meravigliare se consideriamo che essa era un elemento fondamentale in quello che possiamo considerare il giardino antico romano.

³² Per questo motivo non si sono considerate altre pitture, quali quelle della villa romana della Farnesina, o della Casa di Livia e di Augusto al Palatino, dove gli elementi botanici appaiono in immagini di festoni, candelabri o cornici senza formare una rappresentazione di giardino in senso stretto.

³³ Un'immagine 'piena' di giardino è quella che si rileva nella Villa di Livia a Prima Porta o nella Casa del Bracciale d'Oro a Pompei, mentre più spesso le immagini di giardino sono 'inquadrate' in contesti parietali più ampi. Naturalmente la scelta dei limiti dell'immagine da considerare, ovvero di dove 'segnare' la porzione di pittura parietale da considerare, enucleando dei 'quadri', presenta dei margini di arbitrietà che forse sarebbe il caso di valutare con molto senso critico.

³⁴ Vedasi Casa del Bracciale d'Oro.

³⁵ COMES 1879.

Tabella 1. Elementi floristici riconosciuti nelle pitture romane
di giardino a Roma e nell'area Pompeiana³⁶

Nota: Le case di Pompei sono identificate per *regio*, *insula* e entrata alla loro prima ricorrenza.

* come rappresentazioni di alberi e non solo dei rispettivi frutti

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Acacia nilotica</i> subsp. <i>nilotica</i> (L.) Delile (sin. <i>Acacia vera</i> Willd.)	Acacia	Fabaceae	Pompei: Casa di Adone (VI.vii.18)	COMES 1879, 7-8
<i>Acacia</i> sp.				JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 85
<i>Acanthus mollis</i> L.	Acanto comune	Acanthaceae	Pompei: Casa di Adone; Casa del Frutteto/dei Cubiculi Floreali (I. ix.5/7); Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V.ii.1) Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 85-86 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153

³⁶ La nomenclatura delle specie segue PIGNATTI 1982, ma è stata aggiornata seguendo l'International Plant Names Index (IPNI) (www.theplantlist.org).

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Anthemis arvensis</i> L. cfr. <i>Matricaria</i> sp. cfr. <i>Aster amellus</i>	Camomilla bastarda	Asteraceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI. xvii.42); Casa di Apollo (VI.vii.23)	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 29; CIARALLO 2006, 11; Tav. III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 89
<i>Anthemis</i> sp.			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153
<i>Arbutus unedo</i> L.	Corbezzolo	Ericaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Casa del Frutteto	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 4; 2006, 11; Tav. I, III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 89-91
			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153
<i>Buxus sempervirens</i> L.	Bosso comune	Buxaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152
<i>Calystegia sepium</i> (L.) R. Br.	Vilucchio bianco	Convolvulaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CIARALLO 2000, 71; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 96
cfr. <i>Calystegia silvatica</i> (Kit. in Schrad.) Griseb. syn. <i>C. silvestris</i> L.			Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 31; CIARALLO 2006, 11; Tav. II

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Centaurea cyanus</i> L.	Fiordaliso	Asteraceae	Pompei: Casa dei Quadretti Teatrali (I. vi.11)	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 98
			Roma: Auditorium di Mecenate	Inedito
<i>Chrysanthemum segetum</i> L. (cfr. <i>Anacyclus radiatus</i> Loisel.)	Crisantemo campestre	Asteraceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, 72; 2006, 12; Tav. II, III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 100
<i>Chrysanthemum coronarium</i> L. (= <i>Glebionis coronaria</i> (L.) Cass. ex Spach)	Crisantemo giallo		Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153
			Auditorium di Mecenate	Inedito
<i>Citrus limon</i> (L.) Burm. f.	Limone	Rutaceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto	CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 17; 2006, 12; Tav. VII; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 101-103
<i>Cornus mas</i> L.	Corniolo	Cornaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i> L.	Cipresso comune	Cupressaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Casa di M. Lucrezio Frontone (V.iv.a/11); Casa di Stallius Eros (I.vi.13)	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 104-106; CIARALLO 2006, 12-13
			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152
			Auditorium di Mecenate	Inedito
<i>Cydonia oblonga</i> Miller*	Cotogno	Rosaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152
			Casa del Bracciale d'Oro ³⁷	CIARALLO 2006, 13; Tav. IX
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Garofano comune	Caryophyllaceae	Pompei: Villa di Diomede	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 108-109
<i>Ficus carica</i> L.*	Fico comune	Moraceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto	CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 23; 2006, 13; Tav. V; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 109-111

³⁷ Questa immagine è attribuita da CIARALLO 2006, Tav. IX, alla Casa di Fabio Rufo (VII.xvi.17-22), situate al di sopra della Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI.xvii.42), ma visto che è stata reperita nel giardino della casa inferiore, in una discarica di frammenti scartati dopo lavori di restauro a seguito del terremoto del 62 d.C., sembra più sicuro attribuirla alla zona di reperimento, piuttosto che supporre che appartenesse all'edificio superiore.

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Hedera helix</i> L.	Edera	Araliaceae	Pompei: Casa del Centenario (IX.viii.3/6); Casa del Frutteto; Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II.iii.3); Casa del Bracciale d'Oro Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 13; 2006, 13; Tav. I; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 113-114 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153
<i>Iris</i> sp. (cfr. <i>Iris x germanica</i> L.; <i>I. foetidissima</i> L.)	Giaggiolo	Iridaceae	Pompei: Casa di Pasquius Proculus (I.vii.I); Oplontis: Villa di Poppea Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 116-117 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153
<i>Laurus nobilis</i> L.	Alloro	Lauraceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Casa del Frutteto Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta Auditorium di Mecenate	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 5; 2006, 14; Tav. III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 119-120 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152 inedito

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Lilium candidum</i> L.	Giglio di S. Antonio	Liliaceae	Pompei: Casa di Adone; Casa del Frutteto; Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, 45; 2006, 14; Tav. II; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 121-122
<i>Malus</i> sp.* (syn. <i>Pyrus malus</i> L.)	Melo	Rosaceae	Pompei: Casa della Venere in Conchiglia	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 124-125; CIARALLO 2006, 18
<i>Matthiola incana</i> (L.) R.Br. (syn. <i>Cheiranthus Erysimum p.p.</i>)	Violacciocca	Brassicaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Villa di Diomede	CIARALLO 2000, 45; 2006, 12; Tav. II; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 125-126
			Roma: Auditorium di Mecenate	inedito
<i>Morus nigra</i> L.*	Gelso nero	Moraceae	Pompei: Casa della Venere in Conchiglia	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 126-127
<i>Myrtus communis</i> L.	Mirto	Myrtaceae	Pompei: Casa di Ceius Secundus (I.vi.15); Casa del Centenario; Casa del Frutteto; Officina del Garum (I.xii.8); Casa della Venere in Conchiglia	CIARALLO, 2000, 71; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 129-130
			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Narcissus</i> sp.	Narciso	Amaryllidaceae	Pompei: Villa di Diomede	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 130-131
<i>Nelumbo nucifera</i> Gaertn.	Fior di loto	Nelumbonaceae	Pompei: Casa dei Pigmei (IX.v.9); Casa del Centenario; Casa dei Vettii (VI.xv.1/27)	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 131-132
<i>Nerium oleander</i> L.	Oleandro	Apocynaceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto; Casa di Romolo e Remo (VII.vii.10); Casa della Venere in Conchiglia; Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Casa dei Gladiatori (V.v.3); Ercolano: Casa del Tramezzo di Legno (III.11) Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta Auditorium di Mecenate	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 29; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 11; 2006, 15; Tav. I, II, V; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 132-133 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153 inedito
<i>Nymphaea alba</i> L.	Ninfea comune	Nymphaeaceae	Pompei: Casa di M. Obellius Firmus (IX.xiv.2/4)	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 133-134

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Papaver rhoeas</i> L.	Papavero comune	Papaveraceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto Ercolano: Area Sacra, Sacellum A	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 138
<i>Papaver somniferum</i> L.	Papavero domestico	Papaveraceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 3; 2006, 15-16; Tav. II, III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 139 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152
<i>Phoenix dactylifera</i> L.	Palma da datteri	Arecaceae	Pompei: Anfiteatro; Casa delle Amazzoni (VI.ii.xiv); Casa del Frutteto; Casa di Cerere (I.ix.13/14); Casa del Bracciale d'Oro Ercolano: Area Sacra, Sacellum A Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta Auditorium di Mecenate	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 29-30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 7; 2006, 15; Tav. I; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 140-141 JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 140-141 CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153 Inedito

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Phyllitis scolopendrium</i> (L.) Newman	Scolopendria comune	Aspleniaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Casa di M. Epidi Sabini (IX.1.22)	CIARALLO 2006, 16; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 142-143
			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 151
<i>Picea abies</i> (L.) H. Karst.	Abete rosso	Pinaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 151
<i>Pinus pinea</i> L.*	Pino domestico	Pinaceae	Auditorium di Mecenate	inedito
			Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2006, 16
			Pompei: Casa di Romolo e Remo	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 143-144
			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 151
			Auditorium di Mecenate	inedito

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Platanus orientalis</i> L.	Platano orientale	Platanaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 10; 2004, 199; 2006, 16; Tav. I; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 145-146
<i>Polygonatum multiflorum</i> (L.) All. <i>Polygonatum</i> sp.	Sigillo di Salomone maggiore	Convallariaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 2; 2006, 16; Tav. III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 146
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.*	Ciliegio	Rosaceae	Pompei: Casa dell'Efebo (I.vii.10-12); Casa del Frutteto	CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 22; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 147
<i>Prunus cerasus</i> L.*	Amarena	Rosaceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto; Casa della Caccia Nuova (VII.x.3/14)	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 147-148; CIARALLO 2006, 17; Tav. VI
<i>Prunus domestica</i> L.*	Pruno	Rosaceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto	CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 28; 2006, 17; Tav. IV; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 148-149

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Punica granatum</i> L.*	Melograno	Punicaceae	Pompei: Casa di Adone; Casa del Frutteto; Domus di L. & M. Volusii Fausti (I.i.10); Casa della Caccia Nuova; Casa della Venere in Conchiglia Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	Ciarallo 2006, 17-18; Jashemski, Meyer, & Ricciardi 2002, 152-154 Caneva & Bohuny 2003, 152
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L. *	Pero comune	Rosaceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto	Ciarallo 2000, Fig. 25; 2006, 18; Tav. VIII; Jashemski, Meyer, & Ricciardi 2002, 154-155
<i>Quercus ilex</i> L.	Leccio	Fagaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	Caneva & Bohuny 2003, 152
<i>Quercus robur</i> L. (<i>Q. cerris</i>)	(Farnia s.l.)	Fagaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta Auditorium di Mecenate	Jashemski, Meyer, & Ricciardi 2002, 156-157; Ciarallo 2006, 18 Caneva & Bohuny 2003, 152 inedito

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
<i>Rosa centifolia</i> L.	Rosa centifolia	Rosaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152
			Auditorium di Mecenate	inedito
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L. <i>v. versicolor</i>	Rosa serpeggiante	Rosaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152
			Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2006, 18; Tav. I, II, III
<i>Rosa</i> sp.	Rosa	Rosaceae	Pompei: Casa del Frutteto; Casa della Venere in Conchiglia; Ercolano: Area Sacra, Sacellum A	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 158-160
<i>Viburnum tinus</i> L.	Viburno	Caprifoliaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro; Casa del Frutteto	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 29; CIARALLO 2000, Fig. 6; 2006, 19; Tav. I, III; JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 167-168
			Oplontis: Villa di Poppea	JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 167-168

Nome scientifico	Nome volgare	Famiglia	Sito di ritrovamento	Fonti
			Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 153
<i>Vinca</i> sp. <i>Vinca major</i> , <i>V. minor</i>	Pervinca	Apocynaceae	Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2000, 7; 2006, 19; Tav. I
<i>Viola reichenbachiana</i> Jord. ex Boreau	Viola silvestre Viola con sperone	Violaceae	Roma: Villa di Livia, Prima Porta Pompei: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003, 152 CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30; CIARALLO 2006, 19; Tav. I, II, III
<i>Viola calcarata</i> L.				

A queste specie si associano, nel caso delle rappresentazioni scultoree, quali in particolare l'Ara Pacis,³⁸ decine e decine

³⁸ Specie vegetali rilevate nei giardini di pietra di epoca augustea, come quelli dell'Ara Pacis e di altri monumenti marmorei (da KUMBARIC & CANEVA 2014). Le specie sono citate qui di seguito in ordine alfabetico indicando in sequenza: il binomio latino, la famiglia (in parentesi) e la frequenza secondo la seguente legenda: RR = specie molto rare, rappresentate solo una volta; R = specie rare, rappresentate solo su un monumento ma più di una volta, oppure 2–3 volte sui monumenti diversi; N = specie normali, con 4–10 rappresentazioni; C = specie comuni, con 11–50 rappresentazioni; CC = specie molto comuni, con più di 50 rappresentazioni). Il termine cfr. significa confronta ed esprime un termine dubitativo: *Alcea* sp./*Alcea rosea* L. (Malvaceae); *Alchemilla* cfr. *vulgaris* L. (Rosaceae); *Allium sativum* L. (Alliaceae), C; *Allium* cfr. *triquetrum* L. (Alliaceae), RR; *Allium* cfr. *ursinum* L. (Alliaceae), RR; *Anemone* sp. (Ranunculaceae), R; *Arisarum vulgare* Targ.-Tozz. (Araceae), RR; *Arum* cfr. *italicum* (Araceae), N; *Asphodelus* cfr. *albus* Mill. (Asphodelaceae), N; *Asparagus* sp. (Asparagaceae), R; *Asperula* cfr. *aristata* (Rubiaceae), RR; *Asphodeline lutea* (L.) Rchb. (Asphodelaceae), RR; *Asplenium ruta-muraria* L. (Aspleniaceae), RR; *Biarum* cfr. *tenuifolium* (L.) Schott (Araceae), RR; *Bryonia* sp. (Cucurbitaceae), RR; *Bulbocodium* sp. cfr. (Iridaceae), RR; *Calla palustris* L. (Araceae), RR; *Calystegia soldanella* (L.) Choisy (Convolvulaceae), RR; *Campanula* sp. (Campanulaceae), RR; *Cephalanthera* sp. (Orchidaceae), RR; *Cardueae* R; *Carlina* cfr. *utzka* Hacq. / *C. acaulis* L. (Asteraceae), RR; *Carthamus tinctorius* L. (Asteraceae), RR; *Colchicum* sp./*C. autumnale* L. (Colchicaceae), R; *Convolvulus* cfr. *arvensis* (Convolvulaceae), RR; *Crocus sativus* L. (Iridaceae), RR; *Cyclamen* sp. (Primulaceae), R; *Cynara cardunculus* L. (Asteraceae), R; *Cynara scolymus* L. (Asteraceae), RR; *Dianthus* sp. (Caryophyllaceae), RR; *Dipsacus fullonum* L. (Dipsacaceae), R; *Dracunculus vulgaris* Schott (Araceae), R; *Ecballium* cfr. *elaterium* (L.) A. Rich (Cucurbitaceae), R; *Foeniculum vulgare* Mill. (Apiaceae), RR; *Gagea* sp. (Liliaceae), RR; *Helianthemum* cfr. *nummularium* Mill. (Cistaceae), RR; *Hemerocallis* sp. vedi *Paradisea*; *Hibiscus* sp. cfr. (Malvaceae), R; *Humulus lupulus* L. (Cannabaceae), RR; *Hyacinthus* cfr. *orientalis* L. (Hyacinthaceae), R; *Juglans regia* L. (Juglandaceae), N; *Lavatera* sp. (Malvaceae), RR; *Lycopodium* sp. cfr. (Lycopodiaceae), RR; *Malva* sp./*Malval Lavatera* (Malvaceae), C; *Mandragora* sp. (Solanaceae), R; *Ophioglossum* cfr. *lusitanicum* L. (Ophioglossaceae), RR; (*Orchis* sp. (Orchidaceae), N; *Orchis tridentata* Scop. (Orchidaceae), R; *Pancratium maritimum* L. (Amaryllidaceae), RR; *Paradisea* cfr. *Hemerocallis* (Anthericaceae cfr. Hemerocallidaceae), RR; *Petasites* sp. (Asteraceae), RR; *Plantago* sp. cfr. (Plantaginaceae), RR; *Poa bulbosa* var. *vivipara* Koch (Poaceae), RR; *Potamogeton* cfr. *natans* L. (Potamogetonaceae), RR; *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn (Dennstaedtiaceae), R; (*Romulea* sp. (Iridaceae), RR; *Salix* sp. (Salicaceae), RR; *Scabiosa* sp. (Dipsacaceae), RR; *Sedum* sp. (Crassulaceae), N; *Silene* cfr. *conica* L. (Caryophyllaceae), RR; *Smilax aspera* L. (Smilacaceae), C; *Sonchus* sp. (Asteraceae), RR; *Sorghum* sp. cfr. *Panicum milaceum* L. (Poaceae), RR; *Sparganium erectum* L. (Typhaceae), RR; *Spiranthes spiralis* (L.) Chevall. (Orchidaceae), RR; *Sternbergia* sp. (Amaryllidaceae), RR;

di altre specie, selezionate come le precedenti in funzione dell'intento specifico della rappresentazione, che ci testimoniano la profonda conoscenza che l'uomo antico aveva della natura. È interessante osservare inoltre come alcuni elementi appaiono ricorrenti, mentre altri assumono una frequenza più limitata e questo in parte indipendentemente dalla potenza della loro valenza simbolica. In altre parole non bisogna confondere la frequenza, ovvero la ricorrenza, con l'importanza, e, come si noterà più avanti, specie di grande rilievo simbolico-iconografico presentano anzi una rappresentazione sporadica, ma di gran rilievo nel piano della gerarchia di lettura dell'immagine e quindi del messaggio.

Limitandoci qui alla frequenza della rappresentazione (Fig. 7.1), le specie che in generale appaiono riprodotte con la maggiore frequenza nelle pitture romane di giardino sono l'oleandro (*Nerium oleander*) e la palma da datteri (*Phoenix dactylifera*). Da notare che l'oleandro è una specie tipica degli ambienti mediterranei, dove si trova soprattutto sui greti degli alvei a carattere torrentizio delle zone più calde e aride, ed esso viene citato più volte dalle fonti antiche, come specie tipica dell'*ars topiaria*, ma anche come elemento ctonio, in virtù della sua tossicità, ricorrente nelle pitture di giardino.³⁹

La palma da datteri è invece una specie tipica degli ambienti desertici dell'Africa del Nord e del Medio Oriente, introdotta in Italia attraverso le campagne espansionistiche romane. Da notare che nelle case pompeiane sono stati ritrovati numerosi datteri carbonizzati, ma la pianta era certamente coltivata nella piana vesuviana non tanto per i suoi frutti, che non potevano giungere a maturazione a causa del clima meno caldo,⁴⁰ quanto molto probabilmente, come ancora in tutto il Meridione

Tragopogon sp. (Asteraceae), RR; *Tulipa* cfr. *sylvestris* L. (Liliaceae), RR; *Urginea maritima* Baker (Hyacinthaceae), R; (*Verbascum* sp. (Scrophulariaceae), RR; *Vicia faba* L. (Leguminosae), RR; *Viscum album* L. (Viscaceae), RR.

³⁹ COMES, 1879, 48; CIARALLO 1992a, 92-93; 2000, 12-13.

⁴⁰ CIARALLO 2000, 8.

d'Italia, per abbellire con intento augurale di "fecondità miracolosa ed inesauribile" derivato dalla tradizione orientale.⁴¹

Frequenti poi nelle pitture diversi arbusti tipici della macchia mediterranea, come il mirto (*Myrtus communis*), dedicato ad Afrodite, e il viburno (*Viburnum tinus*), consacrato ai trionfi, seguiti con una minor frequenza dal corbezzolo (*Arbutus unedo*), consacrato a Giano, dall'alloro (*Laurus nobilis*), consacrato ad Apollo e citato assieme al bosso (*Buxus sempervirens*) nell'*ars topiaria*. Spicca con una certa frequenza anche la rappresentazione del melograno (*Punica granatum*), importato dall'Oriente e coltivato a scopo alimentare e medicinale dalla Grecia dai coloni che occupavano il sud dell'Italia,⁴² la cui frequente presenza nei dipinti trova spiegazione nella potente valenza simbolica.⁴³ Tra le specie arboree compare con una discreta frequenza anche il cipresso (*Cupressus sempervirens*), probabilmente introdotto dalla Grecia, nei cui territori nasceva spontaneo.

Compaiono poi con un certo rilievo alcune specie coltivate che secondo le fonti antiche erano molto comuni nei giardini, come in particolare le rose (*Rosa* sp., di cui merita attenzione la *R. gallica* var. *versicolor*, poiché si supponeva fosse stata selezionata solo nel XII secolo)⁴⁴ e i gigli (*Lilium candidum*). A esse si associano specie spontanee dei prati o delle zone ruderali aride, e talvolta infestanti delle colture, come i crisantemi (*Chrysanthemum coronarium*, *C. segetum*, *Anthemis* sp.), i papaveri (*Papaver rhoeas*, ma anche *P. somniferum*, invece coltivato), o di aree prative nitrofile e più sciafile, quali l'acanto (*Acanthus mollis*) ed i vilucchioni (*Calystegia sepium*, *C. silvatica*). Dagli ambienti nemorali ombreggiati e più umidi, provenivano le

⁴¹ BROSSE 1991, 138.

⁴² CIARALLO 2000, 19.

⁴³ CATTABIANI 1996, 331; CANEVA 1999. Si pensi che il termine *balaustio* (dal greco βαλαύστιον) rappresenta il frutto del melograno e che l'imitazione delle forme di un frutto in formazione si ritrova in quelle che ancor oggi chiamiamo balaustre a memoria della loro derivazione e che erano così concepite per l'augurio di fertilità di cui questi elementi erano simbolicamente portatori.

⁴⁴ CIARALLO 2000, 14.

scolopendrie (*Phyllitis scolopendrium*), le pervinche (*Vinca major*, *V. minor*), le viole (*Viola calcarata*, *V. reichenbachiana*) e soprattutto l'edera (*Hedera helix*), che costituiva un ben noto elemento dionisiaco. Così fra gli elementi arborei o arbustivi vanno rilevati, per l'importante ruolo iconografico, non associato però alla loro frequenza, le querce (*Quercus robur* s.l.), consacrate a Giove, i pini (in particolare *Pinus pinea*, consacrati al culto della grande Madre Cibele), il platano (*Platanus orientalis*), dedicato ad Elena,⁴⁵ e alberi dedicati alle divinità ctonie, quali il leccio (*Quercus ilex*) e l'abete (*Picea abies* = *P. excelsa*).

IV. Giardini simbolici nell'antica Roma

Sulla base del filo conduttore già evidenziato, che vede nell'elemento simbolico la chiave di lettura principale anche per la rappresentazione dei giardini, inizierò la descrizione dei diversi casi di studio evidenziando il significato principale che appare a essi collegato.

IV.1. Il giardino come espressione del senso esistenziale della vita: la sala ipogea della villa di Livia a Prima Porta

La Villa di Livia Drusilla a Prima Porta era edificata su un'altura tufacea dominante la piana del Tevere all'incrocio tra le vie Flaminia e Tiberina, ed è famosa per la leggenda, tramandata da Plinio il Vecchio e Suetonio, secondo cui un'aquila fece cadere direttamente sul grembo di Livia, prossima alle nozze con Augusto, una gallina bianca che recava nel becco un ramo di alloro.⁴⁶ Essendo stato interpretato questo evento

⁴⁵ FOLKARD 1892, 497-498.

⁴⁶ PLIN. *HN* 15, 136-137; SUET. *Galba* 1. Da allora, interpretando l'evento come un segno divino e di buon auspicio, sia la gallina che la sua prole vennero allevate e vennero piantate le bacche di alloro intorno alla villa, dove ben presto sviluppò in un boschetto rigoglioso, ritenuto sacro. L'evento viene inoltre ricordato dal toponimo *ad gallinas albas* ("galline bianche").

come il presagio della futura grandezza di Roma, l'alloro, già dedicato ad Apollo, divenne anche simbolo di vittoria e di gloria, e così iniziò la tradizione di utilizzarlo per fare corone atte a ornare il capo degli imperatori romani.

Sappiamo che l'area all'intorno della villa venne abbandonata intorno al V secolo d.C. e i resti archeologici furono riscoperti grazie agli scavi condotti dal 1863, quando venne riportata alla luce anche la famosissima statua dell'Augusto loricato (ora conservata presso i Musei Vaticani). L'analisi delle diverse tipologie murarie e delle tecniche edilizie, evidenziate durante gli scavi e gli interventi di restauro, ha permesso di ricostruire le diverse fasi costruttive della villa, con le sue modificazioni dell'assetto originario condotte già in tarda epoca giulio-claudia, quindi durante l'età degli Antonini, e infine nel IV secolo d.C., sotto l'imperatore Teodorico.

L'elemento più famoso della villa è però costituito dalla grande sala ipogea, delle dimensioni di $5,90 \times 11,70$ m, che appariva completamente affrescata con pitture di giardino e coronata da un sistema di stalattiti, che le conferiva l'aspetto della grotta e a cui si accedeva attraverso una scala che conduceva a un'unica apertura su un lato lungo. Essa era arieggiata e illuminata probabilmente solo attraverso due finestre a bocca di lupo sovrastanti i lati corti e non vi sono state trovate tracce di strutture di canalizzazioni idriche, o tracce di altari o sepolture, che ne indicassero con chiarezza la funzione originaria, ed essa è stata quindi intrepretata come un semplice *triclinium*.

Le pitture di giardino (Figg. 6.8-6.9) sono state rimosse dal sito originario già nei primi del '900 per il deperimento dovuto alle efflorescenze saline e all'attacco microbiologico che rapidamente era seguito al nuovo assetto microclimatico conseguente agli scavi e ricollocate, dopo un attento restauro, nel Museo di Palazzo Massimo. La struttura iconografica presenta un'ampia fascia costituita dalla vegetazione che si staglia da un brillante azzurro del cielo, seguendo un continuum spaziale in senso verticale. Essa è formata in prevalenza da elementi arborei e arborescenti contornati da numerosi uccelli ed è scandita invece in

senso orizzontale da una doppia recinzione formata da una staccionata di canne e da una balaustra marmorea in cui si intervallano ritmicamente nicchie che ospitano alberi isolati, con uno spazio per la *deambulatio*.

L'interpretazione prevalente delle pitture di giardino è quella di una sorta di *trompe l'œil* con una mera funzione decorativa, utile ad ingannare l'osservatore rispetto alla natura di luogo ipogeo e concluso, quindi fresco e funzionale ad un ricovero contro la calura estiva.⁴⁷ Come già osservato però, esse mostrano invece a un'attenta analisi un chiaro intento sacrale e simbolico.⁴⁸ La struttura del giardino appare, infatti, architettata con un ben preciso pensiero ordinatore, che non ha analogie con un giardino classico o con un ambiente naturale. Fra le anomalie rispetto all'immagine classica del giardino va considerata la collocazione in un luogo emblematico, che allude ad una caverna e che piuttosto evoca il passaggio fra il mondo degli uomini e il cielo.

Osservando poi le disposizioni degli elementi nello schema iconografico si può notare una ben precisa gerarchia, con alcuni elementi dominanti e altri con ruolo subordinato (Fig. 7.2). Fra i primi è evidente la contrapposizione e la dualità del binomio *Pinus pinea/Quercus robur* (cioè Cibele/Giove-Zeus), in quanto unici elementi rappresentati una volta sola ed in posizione centrale nelle nicchie dei lati corti. A essi si affianca un terzo elemento principale (*Picea abies*) che compone una tetrade nei lati contrapposti e che presenta, per il significato che assumeva a quel tempo nella cultura romana, una chiara valenza funeraria (Fig. 7.3).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ SETTIS 2008.

⁴⁸ FÖRTSCH 1989; KELLUM 1994; CANEVA 1999. Numerosi autori (vedi MÖLLER 1890; GABRIEL 1955; PENSO 1986) hanno trattato il tema delle piante raffigurate nel giardino della Villa di Livia, ma si fa riferimento all'ultimo contributo di CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003 per una lista floristica aggiornata e completa, che assomma a 25 specie diverse.

⁴⁹ *picea . . . feralis arbor et funebri indicio ad fores posita* ("la picea . . . albero che simboleggia la morte, viene collocata sulla porta in segno di lutto e cresce

È altrettanto evidente l'alternanza continua e quindi non casuale fra il melograno (*Punica granatum*) e il melo cotogno (*Cydonia oblonga*). Il primo è associato non solo al culto della Grande Madre, ma anche alle dee lunari Core-Persefone, oltre che di Dioniso e di Afrodite. Il melograno era infatti l'albero che Afrodite aveva piantato nell'isola di Cipro e questo rafforza, insieme al collegamento con Demetra, il simbolismo della fertilità, ma anche di rigenerazione. Il melo cotogno, e soprattutto i suoi frutti, avevano nella tradizione greca una valenza beneaugurale e protettiva contro le cattive influenze. Essi erano dedicati ad Afrodite ed Era e venivano considerati emblema dell'amore e della felicità, ma rappresentavano anche i *mala aurea* del giardino delle Esperidi, luogo emblematicamente collocato lì dove finisce il mondo, dove i frutti d'oro rappresentano la speranza d'immortalità e di superamento dei propri limiti.

Nello sfondo si mescolano gli elementi con allusione alla morte (crisantemi, oleandri, papaveri da oppio, cipressi, lecci, viole, scolopendrie) e quelli di rigenerazione e di immortalità ad essa legati (palme, allori, meli cotogni).

Il giardino dipinto non vuole essere quindi la rappresentazione di un giardino reale e vi sono svariati elementi che lo dimostrano: la totale assenza dell'uomo e/o di elementi ad esso legati (fatta eccezione per la staccionata, la balaustra e la gabbia per uccelli), la contemporanea fioritura di specie che nella realtà fioriscono in periodi diversi⁵⁰ e la presenza nello stesso luogo, di piante e numerosi uccelli, appartenenti ad habitat e contesti biogeografici differenti.⁵¹ Tutto lo schema iconografico sembrerebbe quindi la rappresentazione di un giardino ideale

rigogliosa per essere destinata alle esequie funebri”), PLIN. *HN* 16, 40, trad. F. LECHI.

⁵⁰ DE CAROLIS 1992; CANEVA 1999; SETTIS 2008; CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003.

⁵¹ SPARKES 1997, 353; CANEVA 1999, 65-66. Possiamo annoverare: colombe, merli, cardellini, passeri, coturnici, quaglie, rondini, garzette, tordi, usignoli, cutrettole, capinere, ghiandaie e pernici e anche un uccello raffigurato in una gabbia dorata (LING 1991). Le specie di uccelli sono numerose e anche sul

in cui domina nettamente l'elemento spirituale e religioso che porta alla visione della vita umana come transitoria, ma eternamente capace di rinnovarsi e rigenerarsi, come nel ciclo cosmico della natura. In definitiva esso mostra una visione del mondo in cui la morte non è funesta, ma solo un momento di passaggio in attesa di una nuova nascita e sembra anche chiaro un riferimento con l'Eraclio mistico, simbolo della lotta sostenuta dall'uomo per raggiungere la spiritualizzazione che gli assicurerà l'immortalità.⁵²

Gli elementi centrali dell'iconografia, e in particolare gli alberi contrapposti, sottolineano il ruolo delle forze divine principali, negli archetipi di Madre e Padre degli Dei, ma anche della coppia imperiale Livia/Augusto, alludendo ad una triade concettuale di: elemento naturale/elemento divino/elemento del potere imperiale. Come l'elemento naturale allude al divino, così l'elemento divino può essere associato al potere imperiale, creando un collegamento e una giustificazione della divinizzazione di chi impersonava il nascente impero.

IV.2. Il giardino non solo come hortus, ma come luogo ameno e divino: L'Auditorium di Mecenate

Il cosiddetto Auditorium di Mecenate, datato intorno al 40 a.C., è situato lungo l'attuale via Merulana a Roma, e faceva parte degli *horti Maecenatiani*, che rappresentano i primi esempi di giardini romani, allestiti in seguito alla bonifica di una vasta area dell'Esquilino, fino ad allora utilizzata come necropoli popolare.⁵³ Alla morte di Mecenate (8 a.C.), l'intera proprietà venne ereditata da Augusto, e successivamente assieme ad altri giardini adiacenti, andò a costituire un unico complesso residenziale, destinato al soggiorno degli imperatori.

significato della loro presenza andrebbero condotte ulteriori analisi di approfondimento.

⁵² CANEVA 1999; CANEVA & BOHUNY 2003.

⁵³ LA ROCCA 1986.

Il cosiddetto Auditorium, la cui funzione è stata diversamente interpretata dagli archeologi dopo la sua scoperta nel 1873, ovvero dapprima come luogo di riunione di cerchie di intellettuali, e poi come quella di un triclinio estivo, o ninfeo,⁵⁴ si presenta oggi come un edificio seminterrato, di dimensioni relativamente ampie ($24,10 \times 10,60$ m, quasi esattamente doppie in ampiezza rispetto alla sala ipogea della Villa di Livia). Esso è costituito al suo interno da un'ampia sala rettangolare, coronata lungo il lato corto settentrionale da una grande esedra che si sviluppa in una struttura a gradoni, da cui dovevano sgorgare rivoli d'acqua, riproducendo l'effetto di una cascata. Sia le pareti lunghe dell'aula rettangolare, sia la parete semicircolare dell'esedra, sono scandite da due serie di nicchie, di cui cinque alla sommità dell'esedra (quindi un centrale apicale e due laterali a destra e sinistra) e altre dodici in posizione laterale a coppie di sei a destra e a sinistra delle scalinate, e tutte affrescate con pitture di giardino.

Le pitture, che sono ricondotte a una fase di ristrutturazione dell'edificio operata da Tiberio nel I decennio del I secolo d.C.,⁵⁵ presentano un'impostazione che ricorda nella sua sostanza quella della Villa di Livia a Prima Porta. Purtroppo gli affreschi si trovano per buona parte in cattivo stato di conservazione nonostante i ripetuti interventi conservativi effettuati negli anni e molti dettagli sono ricostruibili solo grazie ai disegni pubblicati dopo lo scavo del 1874 (Figg. 6.12-6.13). Il riconoscimento della maggior parte delle specie presenta quindi molti margini di dubbio, mentre solo alcuni elementi figurativi hanno conservato la loro riconoscibilità. Nel loro insieme le pareti della sala mostrano ancora un'ampia coloritura rosso cinabro acceso che sovrasta uno zoccolo nero e che risalta rispetto al colore ceruleo delle nicchie, accentuate non solo dalle partiture architettoniche, ma anche dagli effetti cromatici

⁵⁴ DE VOS 1980; 1983.

⁵⁵ DE VOS 1983, 238.

e visivi che le fanno apparire come vere finestre che si affacciano su un giardino al di là delle pareti.

Sulle pareti sono anche rappresentate scenette agresti della vita quotidiana della campagna in cui compaiono centauri, fauni e figure chimeriche e dove si stagliano esili partiture 'vegetalizzate' e candelabri vegetali. Da osservare che ciascuna nicchia era decorata secondo uno schema ripetuto, che vedeva in posizione centrale e alle spalle di una balaustra marmorea un albero ben riconoscibile per gerarchia iconografica, anche se talvolta affiancato da altri elementi arborei. Nelle nicchie della quinta superiore era inoltre evidenziata una riquadratura della partitura in cui era collocato un vaso o una coppa (v. Fig. 6.12). Come nel caso della Villa di Livia, non è a mio avviso plausibile che tali rappresentazioni fossero delle semplici simulazioni visive di un affaccio su un giardino reale, come una sorta di bow-window aperto sugli *horti* che circondavano l'Auditorium.⁵⁶ La comprensione globale dello schema iconografico non è però più possibile, in quanto le ampie lacune presenti non permettono di capire fino in fondo i singoli elementi e l'ordine che voleva essere comunicato, pur essendo rimasta una traccia molto chiara dell'impalcatura della struttura.

Fra i pochi 'protagonisti arborei delle nicchie' di cui sia rimasta traccia d'intonaco e adeguata nitidezza cromatica, possiamo identificare ancora nel livello superiore in posizione laterale un pino (*Pinus pinea*), un giovane esemplare di palma da datteri (*Phoenix dactylifera*), mentre purtroppo la specie che si trovava al centro dell'asse visivo, scandendone la simmetria bilaterale, non è più ricostruibile, essendo l'intonaco completamente caduto. Sulle nicchie del livello inferiore è ancora riconoscibile un alberello di abete (*Picea abies*), che, se dobbiamo dar fede ai disegni riproduttivi del secolo scorso, era riprodotto più volte. Date però le lacune sopra evidenziate, non è possibile capire se ci fosse una precisa simmetria bilaterale oppure se lo schema fosse variabile, ma sicuramente il ruolo dei singoli

⁵⁶ SETTIS 2008, 9.

elementi arborei centrali delle nicchie, tutti dal forte significato simbolico, doveva avere una valenza ben riconoscibile, sottolineata da una precisa gerarchia iconografica.

Fra gli alberi o arbusti di contorno ancora in qualche modo riconoscibili, citiamo cipressi (*Cupressus sempervirens*), oleandri (*Nerium oleander*) e allori (*Laurus nobilis*), spesso mossi dal vento e popolati da un vasto numero di uccelli in volo o appollaiati. Ben visibili ancora diversi fiori che si stagliano dalla volta cerulea delle nicchie a formare un'abbondante pioggia di fiori, quali prevalentemente rose (*Rosa centifolia*, *Rosa* sp.), ma anche crisantemi (*Chrysanthemum*, *Anthemis*) e fiordalisi (*Centaurea cyanus*). Altri fiori sono sparsi nell'intorno dei vasi, quali probabilmente violaccioche (*Matthiola incana*) e altre. Ciò che è rimasto ci mostra quindi la presenza di elementi associati alla morte nel livello inferiore, sia pure contornati da elementi di significato più ampio e articolato, unitamente a elementi legati alla fertilità e alla vittoria nel livello superiore.

A sottolineare il legame delle pitture di giardino con la struttura ancora agricola dell'area è probabilmente la pianta che forma la struttura centrale dei sinuosi candelabri vegetali sormontati da pavoni, e che sembrerebbe da interpretare come una pianta orticola assai comune nella Roma antica, ovvero è quella che gli antichi chiamavano *Phaseolus* (*Vigna unguiculata*).⁵⁷ L'associazione di questa pianta umile e non particolarmente apprezzata, considerata un alimento di base del popolo cui forniva, come altre leguminose, una fonte proteica di non trascurabile importanza, con i pavoni, che rappresentano invece un elemento regale e nobile e che rientrano nella sfera sia di Dioniso che di Era, crea una certa sorpresa.

Questa antinomia non sembra casuale e potrebbe avere un significato, forse di richiamo allo storico contrasto 'patrizi-plebei'. Questa dualità degli opposti, come quelle 'naturale-divino', 'vita-morte', crea un'associazione di elementi contrapposti che appare ricorrenti in tutto lo schema dell'Auditorium,

⁵⁷ PIGNATTI 1982, I, 670.

e se si fossero conservati tutti i tasselli di questo sistema probabilmente avremmo elementi più chiari per capire con maggiore profondità il messaggio che si voleva trasmettere, al di là dell'effetto visivo ed illusionistico.

IV.3. Il giardino come espressione della rinascita grazie alla pace: il recinto botanico dell'Ara Pacis

Il recinto vegetale dell'Ara Pacis che si articola nel basamento dei sei pannelli marmorei del monumento rappresenta un esempio di particolare spicco utile a mostrare la valenza simbolica degli elementi vegetali nell'iconografia romana.⁵⁸ Considerando l'uso di centinaia di specie vegetali combinate in maniera fantastica, sia pur conservando una realtà biologica ben precisa, possiamo considerare tali pannelli come una sorta di 'grande giardino simbolico di pietra', capace di mandare al popolo un ben preciso messaggio. Tale composizione 'fantastica' e apparentemente 'irreale' deriva infatti dalla composizione simultanea ed 'impossibile' di elementi veri e reali, riconoscibili grazie alla scomposizione nei pezzi elementari. Tale struttura continuamente metamorfica mostra la continua generazione di un elemento da un altro, fino alla spirale terminale, che in realtà produce sempre nuovi elementi, indicando così l'assenza della fine, cioè la negazione di un termine ultimo (Fig. 7.4). La sincrona fusione di elementi diversi potrebbe idealmente sottolineare il rapporto di continuità esistente in natura fra un elemento e l'altro, suggerendo in quest'ipotesi un'architettura filosofica della rappresentazione incentrata nel rapporto complesso fra molteplicità ed unità, in cui tutto appare interconnesso e non sempre realmente separabile.

Come si può osservare per molte iconografie legate al mondo ellenistico-romano e poi cristiano, l'elemento centrale è costituito da un grande cespo di acanto da cui si sviluppano ramificazioni a volute sinuose. Questa pianta, che assume un ruolo

⁵⁸ CASTRIOTA 1995; CANEVA 2010.

centrale anche sul piano della gerarchia del messaggio, non va vista come una semplice pianta ornamentale dal bel fogliame, ma nella sua valenza simbolica di elemento che esprime la rinascita e quindi anche l'immortalità. Frequentemente, infatti, nell'epoca greco-romana essa costituisce l'elemento generatore per eccellenza, che allude alla presenza di una morte solo apparente.⁵⁹ Alla radice del meccanismo associativo che ha dato origine alla sua valenza, va osservato che nel clima mediterraneo essa sembra morire nell'estate, quando la secchezza del clima inaridisce i prati e le piante erbacee, ma tale morte è solo apparente e dalle gemme ipogee vitali sotto la terra essa rinasce con le prime piogge autunnali. Da osservare che nel progetto iconografico del monumento l'acanto sembra alludere a Roma stessa, e ciò in relazione alla sua precisa collocazione centrale, sotto l'immagine di Roma nei pannelli corti (a partire dalla fase della sua fondazione, fino alla prosperità raggiunta), oltre che per la sua rappresentazione nel ruolo di elemento generatore che si espande e replica in ogni porzione dello spazio. Nello stesso tempo l'acanto sembra anche collegato all'elemento divino, come si osserva dalla connessione visiva fra i cespi di acanto dei pannelli lunghi e le figure sacerdotali sovrastanti.

Per la stessa logica transitiva, collegata ai meccanismi mentali dell'uomo antico, si determina questa associazione: acanto = rinascita; acanto = elemento generatore; Roma in collegamento ad acanto = Roma elemento generatore e di rinascita; Roma in collegamento all'elemento divino = Roma divina. Quindi: Roma divina rinacerà o anche rinasce la nuova Roma in quanto divina. Nello stesso tempo la nuova Roma si ricollega all'antica Troia e la rinascita farà riemergere i valori del passato. La rinascita si propagherà nel mondo e sarà quindi il preludio di un'era felice.

⁵⁹ VANDI 2002, 258 nelle sue conclusioni parla di "cinque forme di simbolismo che riuscirono a dare nuovo corso a tradizioni ornamentali già piuttosto notevoli, situazioni in cui un solo motivo — l'acanto — fu causa di molti effetti: la continuità della vita dopo la morte collegata ai cicli della natura, nell'arte greca; la ricchezza e varietà dei prodotti della terra come esaltazione del potere imperiale, nell'arte romana . . .".

La rinascita, con il passaggio da ambienti aridi e inospitali, dove prevalgono cardi e piante spinose, a prati fioriti, si esprime infatti in tutta la sua prospettiva di era felice attraverso quello che potremmo definire 'un'esplosione di fiori' e soprattutto di quei fiori collegati alle piante preesistenti rimaste protette nella terra. In stretta analogia con l'auspicio augusto di un'*aurea aetas*, questa enorme fioritura rappresenta chiaramente l'augurio di un'epoca felice, cioè il preludio di un periodo di prosperità, che qui viene preannunciato, e che nell'interno dell'Ara, grazie ai festoni augurali ricchi di frutti carnosì e dai molti semi, verrà ulteriormente sottolineato.

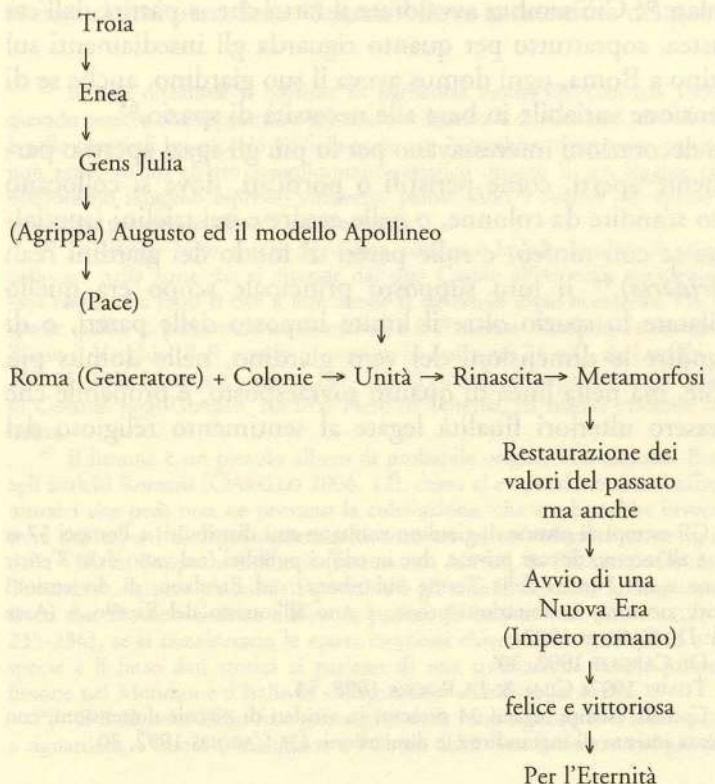
Nell'augurio di un'era felice non ci dobbiamo stupire che prevalgano i fiori e non i frutti. Il fiore rappresenta l'elemento vegetale che classicamente è usato in senso propiziatorio (si pensi al mazzo di fiori, alle ghirlande, che da sempre sono utilizzati come auspicio di felicità). Il fiore esprime la primavera, cioè un processo di risveglio della natura che rinasce, mentre il frutto è già una struttura compiuta, che esprime un processo maturo. Il periodo storico in cui il monumento viene edificato è un momento che vede l'avvio di un impero e non la sua celebrazione in una fase consolidata. È dunque giusto aspettarsi dei fiori, germogli, gemme e in maniera subordinata i frutti che sono invece scolpiti, seguendo la tradizione antica, nei festoni dell'interno dell'Ara.

Nello stesso tempo si tratta di un processo che sottolinea la divinità della Natura e le sue regole, ovvero nella sua realtà nello stesso unitaria e molteplice, e in uno sviluppo che segue una metamorfosi continua. Non si può trascurare il ruolo delle teorie platoniche con riferimento all'idea dell'Anima universale o *Anima mundi* — quale sostanza divina — del mondo, secondo cui il mondo nella sua totalità sarebbe un grande organismo vivente, costituito da un corpo e da un'anima che lo plasmerebbe secondo leggi ben precise.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ PLAT. *Ti.* 34b-37d.

Dallo spazio inizialmente indeterminato inizierebbe la differenziazione ordinata dell'iniziale massa informe, e i rapporti matematici recherebbero simmetria e proporzione, così come sostenuto dai pitagorici. Mentre il mondo delle idee mostrebbe una rigida fissità, il mondo sensibile, quello della natura, sarebbe sottoposto ad un continuo divenire e mutare. L'essenza delle cose presenti nel mondo reale deriverebbe dalla mescolanza, risultato di una terza natura intermedia, fra il principio ideale identico a se stesso e quello reale potenzialmente sempre diverso.

Volendo esprimere in maniera estremamente sintetica l'intero messaggio dei pannelli fitomorfici, esso potrebbe essere così riassunto:



V. Il giardino come rappresentazione dionisiaca dai giardini pompeiani

La quasi totalità delle pitture di giardino proviene dall'area vesuviana, in particolar modo da Pompei, in cui si diffondono i modelli stilistici imposti dalla casa imperiale e dall'aristocrazia di Roma.

La maggior parte di esse si riscontra soprattutto all'interno di case private, dalle dimore più lussuose del territorio flegreo (Oplontis, Stabia), alle abitazioni più modeste e agli esercizi commerciali.⁶¹ Si può inoltre notare che la loro massima concentrazione ricade a Pompei nell'area residenziale, abitata dall'agiata borghesia (Regio VI e VII), e nella Regio I, a edilizia popolare.⁶² Ciò sembra avvalorare il fatto che, a partire dall'età augustea, soprattutto per quanto riguarda gli insediamenti sul Palatino a Roma, ogni domus aveva il suo giardino, anche se di dimensione variabile in base alle necessità di spazio.⁶³

Le decorazioni interessavano per lo più gli spazi aperti o parzialmente aperti, come peristili o porticati, dove si collocano spesso scandite da colonne, o nelle esedre e nei triclini (specialmente se con ninfeo) e sulle pareti di fondo dei giardini reali (i *uiridaria*).⁶⁴ Il loro supposto principale scopo era quello di dilatare lo spazio oltre il limite imposto dalle pareti, o di ingrandire le dimensioni del vero giardino, nelle domus più piccole, ma nella linea di quanto sovraesposto, è probabile che esistessero ulteriori finalità legate al sentimento religioso del

⁶¹ Gli esempi di pitture di giardino risultano così distribuiti: a Pompei 57 si trovano all'interno di case private, due in edifici pubblici (nel vano delle Terme Stabiane e nel Ninfeo delle Terme Suburbane); ad Ercolano, di dimensioni inferiori, tre sono in abitazioni private e uno all'interno del Sacello A (Area Sacra): DE CAROLIS 1992.

⁶² DE CAROLIS 1992, 30.

⁶³ TOMEI 1992; CIMA & LA ROCCA 1998, 53.

⁶⁴ Con 51 esempi, di cui 34 presenti in viridari di piccole dimensioni, con l'evidente intento di ingrandirne le dimensioni: DE CAROLIS 1992, 30.

mondo antico.⁶⁵ In particolare gli elementi divini e dionisiaci entrano con evidente importanza in diversi esempi di giardini pompeiani, quali ad esempio nella Casa del Frutteto (I.ix.5/7), dove singoli elementi arborei, sostanzialmente alberi da frutto (*Ficus carica*, *Prunus domestica*, *Prunus cerasus*, *Prunus avium*, *Pyrus communis*, *Citrus limon*), diventano veri protagonisti della scena pittorica. Forse non è casuale, per il rilievo a essi dato, il fatto che a specie ben note e coltivate fin dall'antichità classica si assocassero elementi ancora esotici, quali le ciliegie⁶⁶ e il limone, quest'ultimo sicuramente già apprezzato, ma probabilmente solo eccezionalmente coltivato.⁶⁷

Questa struttura di giardino, pur di evidente impronta dionisiaca e con elementi egittizzanti, ricorda anche straordinariamente alcuni passi della Genesi,⁶⁸ dove la metafora del giardino

⁶⁵ In tale direzione si esprime in particolar modo DE CAROLIS 1992, 31, quando osserva che soprattutto nel caso del Sacello A di Ercolano, dove l'affresco è sulle pareti di un piccolo edificio sacro ciò "potrebbe trovare una spiegazione non tanto in un effetto semplicemente estetico quanto in un legame con un simbolismo religioso espresso attraverso piante, fiori e volatili che spesso viene ipotizzato per questo tipo di composizione".

⁶⁶ Le ciliegie sono specie di origine asiatica e la loro località di origine va collocata nella zona che si estende dal mar Caspio all'Anatolia occidentale. La loro coltura ha fatto sì che il loro areale si sia esteso verso occidente. Fra le due specie quella di più antica introduzione è il *P. avium*. Secondo l'attestazione di Plinio il Vecchio, il *P. cerasus* fu portato in Italia nel 74 a.C. da Lucullo: PLIN. *HN* 15, 102; MARZANO, *supra*, 207-210. Il ricordo della provenienza dalla città di Cerasus, oggi Giresun, sul Mar Nero in Turchia, ha traccia evidente nel suo nome.

⁶⁷ Il limone è un piccolo albero di probabile origine Himalayana. Era noto agli antichi Romani (CIARALLO 2006, 12), come ci evidenziano alcuni affreschi e mosaici che però non ne provano la coltivazione, che sembrerebbe invece attestata dai reperti di legni carbonizzati ritrovati in un'anfora rotta nel giardino della Villa di Poppea a Oplontis (JASHEMSKI, MEYER, & RICCIARDI 2002, 102). Tuttavia mi appare plausibile l'ipotesi che gli antichi Romani ne importassero i frutti ma che non si fosse diffusa la pratica di coltivazione (COGGIATTI 1986, 235-236), se si considerano le scarse citazioni chiaramente attribuibili a questa specie e il fatto dati storici ci parlano di una coltivazione vera e propria del limone nel Meridione d'Italia in collegamento all'influenza Araba.

⁶⁸ "E il Signore Iddio fece germogliar dalla terra ogni sorte d'alberi piacevoli a riguardare, e buoni a mangiare; e l'albero della vita, in mezzo del giardino; e

ha un significato che trascende la rappresentazione reale di luogo di delizie, dispensatore di profumi e colori dei fiori, di frutti dagli alberi 'pomiferi', di suoni armonici, quali il canto degli uccelli e delle fontane, capaci di appagare i diversi sensi dell'uomo, ma dove assume anche altre valenze religiose che ci riconducono all'essenza della vita stessa.

Nella cultura greco-romana, con un pantheon complesso di divinità associate al mondo vegetale, Dioniso assume un ruolo di rilievo e sotto diversi aspetti è il nume che appare nel suo complesso più strettamente legato alla vegetazione e ai suoi cicli, e quindi anche al giardino. Nei suoi culti più arcaici, Dioniso era, infatti, una divinità della linfa, il 'sangue delle piante',⁶⁹ che a ogni primavera saliva dalla terra e resuscitava gli alberi e ciò in quanto il vino era la linfa per eccellenza, che continua a fermentare e ribollire anche d'inverno nelle botti.

Da non trascurare poi il fatto che nei riti greci la festa del vino era anche quella dei defunti e che tale cerimonia aveva il significato di assicurare la germinazione delle sementi offerte ai morti, rinnovando l'unione fra il dio figlio e la Terra Madre, nel naturale risveglio ciclico primaverile, spiegandone il collegamento nelle feste eleusine con Persefone. Se nel mondo vegetale Dioniso era un dio della linfa, che simboleggia la fecondità e le forze segrete della natura,⁷⁰ ma anche del polline fecondatore e del nettare dei fiori, nel mondo animale regnava sui fluidi equivalenti, cioè sul sangue e sullo sperma. Dioniso, come Osiride nel contesto egizio, era una divinità fatta a pezzi e gettata in terra, che si sacrifica per tutti, morendo per poi rinascere.

l'albero della conoscenza del bene e del male. Ed un fiume usciva d'Eden, per adacquare il giardino; e di là si spartiva in quattro capi", Gen. 2, 9-10.

⁶⁹ "Come potevano gli antichi, più di noi sensibili al carattere divino dei fenomeni naturali, non essere colpiti dal misterioso processo della fermentazione e maturazione del vino . . . Se Dioniso è potuto divenire un dio del vino, ciò si deve al fatto che, verosimilmente, fin dall'origine era una divinità della linfa, del sangue delle piante": BROSSE 1991, 111-112.

⁷⁰ GRIMAL 1990, 325.

V.1. *Il giardino come rappresentazione dell'amore nel ciclo della vita: la Casa del Bracciale d'Oro*

Quando tra il 1958 e gli anni '70, a Pompei furono riportati alla luce e restaurati gli edifici lungo il settore esterno dell'Isula 17, venne rinvenuta anche la Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI. xvii.42), con i suoi meravigliosi affreschi. Di essa è oggi possibile riconoscere solo l'ambiente dell'atrio, con alcuni cubicoli e un ambiente forse triclinare, mentre la parte della casa affacciata sul golfo non è più leggibile. Nel giugno del 1974, furono trovati quattro corpi, tra cui una donna e due bambini, e il nome della domus deriva dal fatto che al braccio del corpo femminile fu rinvenuta una vistosa *armilla* (bracciale) in oro.

La struttura dell'abitazione era articolata in due rampe di scale che conducevano ai due piani sottostanti. Il primo era caratterizzato da una terrazza (forse un *solarium*); nel secondo invece vi erano solo due ambienti, affacciati su un piccolo spazio verde: l'ambiente 31 (il così detto 'triclinio estivo') e l'ambiente 32 (la sala presa qui in esame), entrambe decorate con pitture di giardino.

Gran parte delle decorazioni della casa sono riferibili al IV stile, databile tra il 50 e il 79 d.C., mentre gli ambienti 31 e 32 sono in III stile, eseguiti in epoca giulio-claudia (ciò presuppone che la casa ha subito diversi interventi di ristrutturazione) e che vi è stata una precisa volontà del proprietario di conservare nello stato originale determinati settori, forse per la loro particolare funzione.⁷¹

Sulle tre pareti conservate, la decorazione è ripartita orizzontalmente in tre settori: uno zoccolo, una zona mediana e una zona superiore. La pittura del giardino è collocata nella zona mediana, che ricopre con gli altri settori, in modo ininterrotto, i tre lati della stanza, costituendo un tutto omogeneo a 360° dal momento che il quarto lato si affacciava su un giardino

⁷¹ DE CAROLIS 2007, 50. Per una dettagliata illustrazione della Domus, vedasi il contributo di CIARDIELLO 2006.

vero (Fig. 6.1). Come nei precedenti casi, è presente anche qui una sostanziale simmetria bilaterale evidenziata dall'ordinata disposizione non solo degli elementi vegetali, ma anche di opere, strutture architettoniche ed effigi, quali le due fontane centrali a forma di conchiglia, simmetricamente disposte, come i due pilastrini laterali con erme e, in alto, i due *oscilla*.⁷² Da notare che le erme, tutte caratterizzate da una riccia capigliatura rossastra (sia le figure adulte che quella infantile), sembrano dei ritratti di persone reali, e che il volto infantile ancora leggibile presenta tratti molto simili a quelli dell'erma femminile, fatto questo forse da interpretare come segno di un rapporto parentale, o della rappresentazione della stessa persona in momenti distinti della vita.⁷³ La vegetazione nel suo insieme forma una densa struttura, con elementi identificativi precisamente delineati, anche se i ritmi stagionali delle diverse fasi fenologiche non sono rispettati. Esistono anche qui delle simmetrie (come ad esempio fra palma, oleandro e corbezzolo nella parete di fondo) ed alternanze significative in cui alcuni elementi, per la loro rarità e posizione, assumono un ruolo gerarchico dominante (Fig. 7.5).

L'elemento principale sarebbe in questo caso il platano, che in entrambe le pareti occupa un ruolo centrale a sfondo delle due fontane, e che rappresenta un elemento molto importante nel giardino romano, anche se non frequente nelle rappresentazioni di giardino che ci sono pervenute. Il significato simbolico del platano (*Platanus orientalis*), albero associato anche in

⁷² Nella parete sinistra vi sono due pilastrini, sormontati da un'arma femminile e da un'arma maschile dalle orecchie ferine. Fra esse è collocato un bacino zampillante a forma di conchiglia e due *oscilla* a forma di maschere teatrali femminili sono sospese nella parte alta del dipinto. Sopra le due erme vi è un quadretto raffigurante Arianna e una Menade. Stessa cosa per la parete destra, dove si è conservato solo il pilastro di sinistra con erma di bambina, con al di sopra un quadretto con Menade, mentre manca la porzione terminata che doveva ospitare un omologo pilastro con erma. Infine nella parete centrale, è disposta una nicchia o pannello centrale vuoto e due *oscilla*, che inquadrono nel centro una colomba.

⁷³ DE CAROLIS 2007, 57.

natura alle fonti e agli ambienti fluviali, appare da coniugare a divinità femminili arcaiche, mentre non sembra plausibile la tesi che lo interpreta come emblema di resistenza alle traversie della vita.⁷⁴ Questo maestoso albero era, infatti, l'albero sacro della Lidia, che per la forma palmata delle sue foglie (da *platus* che in greco significa "largo", "piatto"), analoga al palmo di una mano, era legato nella mitologia arcaica alla Grande Madre,⁷⁵ e quindi a Elena, ovvero la figlia di Zeus e Leda, che probabilmente simboleggiava la 'ninfà originaria' ed in quanto tale rappresentava una vera e propria divinità femminile. A conferma della sacralità di questo albero, Pausania ci riferisce anche che Menelao avrebbe piantato un platano in un bosco sacro prima di partire per la guerra di Troia e Omero stesso nell'*Iliade* ci conferma la sua funzione oracolare, ricordandoci del raduno degli Achei in Aulide presso una fonte ombreggiata da un platano.⁷⁶ L'associazione fisica e simbolica del platano alla fontana appare potente ed espressiva; essa è anche collegata all'acqua come realtà naturale e concettuale che sottolinea l'idea della vita stessa, e che è resa ancor più evidente dalla forma dell'invaso a conchiglia e dalla perla centrale da cui essa ha origine.

Ulteriore importante rilievo assumono poi la palma da datteri (*Phoenix dactylifera*) e l'oleandro (*Nerium oleander*). Entrambe le

⁷⁴ COLEMAN, *supra*, 6-7; 12; MARZANO, *supra*, 215-218. FOLKARD² 1892, 497-498 cita che il platano era molto apprezzato nella Grecia antica e che i filosofi della scuola di Platone camminavano e conversavano all'ombra di questi alberi, e ricorda la grande ammirazione che Serse aveva per quest'albero e che esso era consacrato a Elena, moglie di Menelao. Non ritengo invece sufficientemente supportata l'idea che esso rappresenti "simbolicamente il superamento delle difficoltà" (CIARALLO 1992a, 92; cfr. anche CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 30), in quanto non sono evidenti citazioni in tal senso nel mondo antico e non risulta facile trovare collegamenti ideali in tal senso sulla base della biologia della specie.

⁷⁵ Tale associazione sembra attestata dal ritrovamento di statuette votive trovate a Creta che la rappresentano con la mano aperta nell'atto di benedire: CATTABIANI 1996, 369.

⁷⁶ L'attacco della serpe al nido di passeri e alla loro madre, descritto da HOM. *Il.* 2.305-329, fu interpretato dal profeta Calcante come un segno del lungo assedio e della caduta, infine, della città.

piante sono ricorrenti nelle diverse pareti e si è già ricordata la loro valenza contrapposta di simbolo di vita e di morte: nella loro scansione alterna esse sottolineano probabilmente l'indissolubilità delle due dimensioni. Sono rappresentate quindi con assoluto rilievo, anche funzione della loro ritmica ricorrenza, altre tre piante arborescenti, tutte dal significato positivo e augurale, quali il corbezzolo (*Arbutus unedo*), il viburno (*Viburnum tinus*) e l'alloro (*Laurus nobilis*). Segue infine il lungo corteccio di specie, prevalentemente erbacee, che costituisce la fascia inferiore di tutta la cornice pittorica, da cui emerge soprattutto la valenza funerea, anche se non lugubre (*Papaver somniferum*, *Chrysanthemum segetum*, *Anthemis arvensis*, *Polygonatum multiflorum*, *Matthiola incana*, *Viola calcarata*, *Rosa gallica* var. *versicolor*), o quella che richiama il mondo dionisiaco (*Hedera helix*, *Calystegia sepium*) e che rafforza il collegamento espresso anche dalle raffigurazioni delle Menadi dormienti e dalla testa con orecchie ferine della figura maschile. Presenti infine, sullo sfondo della parete sinistra le sagome di *Cupressus sempervirens* e in un frammento distaccato le fronde di *Quercus robur*, che evidentemente si dove collocare in quella parete. In accordo a Conticello ritengo che tale raffigurazione di giardino non possa essere considerata "puntuali riproduzioni di aspetti reali di giardini del tempo", ma "una costruzione fantastica, ideale di giardini sognati e desiderati",⁷⁷ che credo esprima anche un valore simbolico e spirituale.

È anche condivisibile l'osservazione che evidenzia la peculiarità di questa rappresentazione di giardino suggerendo che uno schema così articolato sia il risultato di una specifica richiesta del committente per un ambiente che l'autore definisce 'studiolo'.⁷⁸ Ritengo però che le motivazioni di questo progetto iconografico non siano tanto quelle di creare un rifugio tranquillo, in

⁷⁷ CONTICELLO 1991, 24.

⁷⁸ DE CAROLIS 2007, 59 nota che seppure il termine studiolo sia stato introdotto nel XIV sec. per indicare "piccole stanze dedicate allo studio e alla meditazione", esso è in un certo senso applicabile anche in contesti precedenti, quando ne si colga una finalità simile.

cui dedicarsi agli interessi culturali, con l'illusione di essere circondati dalla natura,⁷⁹ quanto quello di 'architettare' un luogo di meditazione e di ispirazione grazie proprio alla rappresentazione di personaggi, strutture, e soprattutto di elementi naturali che alludono alle forze vitali che muovono il ciclo della vita.

Le diverse specie, se ne consideriamo la posizione e il significato simbolico,⁸⁰ ci conducono ad un chiaro significato allegorico. Appare condivisibile anche l'idea che esista una celebrazione dell'amore, sottolineata negli affreschi della parete di sinistra dalla sua espressione nella vita coniugale, e nel caso delle pareti di destra, dell'amore nella forma parentale. Tale osservazione sarebbe inoltre confermata, secondo gli autori, anche dalla simbologia degli animali presenti, associati in modi diversi all'amore, alla fedeltà e alla pietà.⁸¹ È da capire però se l'idea di questo sentimento non sia da ricondurre soprattutto alla forza vitale che esso esprime, fatto questo perfettamente in linea con la rappresentazione degli elementi dionisiaci, e rimane il dubbio se la dualità delle figure adulte rispetto alla figura infantile non esprima invece un'idea del tempo anziché del rapporto parentale.

Da interpretare attentamente il significato intero della parete centrale: secondo i sovraccitati autori la pittura rappresenterebbe

⁷⁹ DE CAROLIS 2007, 59 parla in particolare di "spazio riservato" che predisponga allo studio, caratterizzato da una "morbida e soffusa luce" e a contatto con la natura.

⁸⁰ CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991, 25-26 parlano del valore simbolico delle piante e degli animali rappresentati: "le Fonti antiche hanno fornito indicazioni sul valore simbolico attribuito alle singole specie . . . il corbezzolo sempreverde è come tale simbolo di eternità . . . la palma da datteri . . . simbolo di vittoria e immortalità . . . l'oleandro . . . simbolo di morte".

⁸¹ CIARALLO 2004, 27 riprende la descrizione e l'interpretazione simbolica delle pitture precedentemente condotta (CAPALDO & CIARALLO 1991), descrivendo la valenza, nella parete sinistra, della colomba, come "simbolo di amore e fedeltà" e dell'airone bianco (nella parete opposta e precedentemente non citato), come "simbolo di pietà filiale", e quindi dell'usignolo poggiato su di una rosa, che celebrerebbe "l'incontro tra l'amore fisico e quello spirituale"; poi ancora, nella parete centrale, osserva che torna la colomba, tra i due *oscilla*, con le ali spiegate, assieme alla coturnice, che rappresenterebbe un "simbolo dell'amore ardente secondo Aristotele".

un'allegoria della vita e della morte, ma il suo reale significato appare ancora criptico per la presenza di alcune importanti lacune e per la necessità di comprendere fino in fondo anche la scansione degli elementi naturalistici della lunetta (ovvero colombe e pomi, scanditi in modo non casuale).

Che nel progetto originario vi fossero riferimenti ancor più specifici e contestualizzati all'ambito familiare del committente è assai probabile, ma la questione rimane ancora da approfondire e probabilmente le lacune del pannello di fondo e della parte terminale della parete di destra lasciano questo mosaico solo parzialmente definito. Nella sua estrema sintesi è però possibile cogliere gli elementi cardine del sistema, in cui l'amore esprime nelle sue forme le forze principali che sono il motore della vita, nella sua trasformazione nel tempo fino alla morte, che non è mai definitiva ma ciclica, come la vita stessa.

VI. Conclusioni

La struttura ordinata del giardino nelle sue rappresentazioni iconografiche, dove non ha ragion d'essere l'aspetto funzionale, legato ai frutti che può offrire, agli odori soavi che si diffondono dai fiori, o anche alla semplice ombra degli alberi, appare legata a ulteriori valenze oltre quelle estetiche ed illusionistiche di dilatazione degli spazi. Infatti, sia le singole entità, che le loro precise geometrie, gerarchie iconografiche e regole di alternanze e simmetria sembrano esprimere il messaggio dell'ordine del cosmo (da *κοσμέω* [*kosmeō*], cioè "metto in ordine", "faccio bello"), che si realizza nella contrapposizione al vuoto caos, imprimendo ad esso la *species* (cioè la bellezza).

Pur con varianti diverse, queste rappresentazioni, non semplicemente decorative nell'imitazione della bellezza della natura, sembrano rappresentare giardini ideali cui è affidato un messaggio filosofico-religioso che esprime una visione della vita umana come transitoria, ma eternamente capace di rinnovarsi e rigenerarsi, come nel ciclo cosmico della natura.

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DISCUSSION

K. von Stackelberg: I understand that the combination of flower and fruit in the garden scenes from Prima Porta and the House of the Golden Bracelet are idealized to convey a message of fertility, prosperity, and good fortune. Given the evidence for similar beds of dense planting that have been discovered at the Villa Arianna, do you think that these scenes might represent both an ideal and a reality?

G. Caneva: La rappresentazione di fiori e frutti ha in genere un significato augurale, ma credo che a questo significato generico ed ampio di volta in volta se ne debba aggiungere uno più specifico, che si può interpretare solo vedendo aggregazioni, disposizioni e frequenze. Credo anche che sia necessario distinguere fra la struttura di un *uiridarium* reale e uno dipinto, in quanto in quest'ultimo l'aspetto funzionale è in secondo piano, mentre non lo è nel primo (come nel caso di Villa Arianna).

K. von Stackelberg: In your identification of the plants on the Ara Pacis and analysis of their symbolic meaning you note that barbed and spiny plants allude to the sterility of the earth and the hardships of war. Might they not be more likely to fulfill the same apotropaic function as other spiky symbols in ancient art in warding off the evil eye?

G. Caneva: L'ipotesi che la rappresentazione di piante spinose avesse un significato apotropaico è del tutto plausibile e trova conforto anche in alcune credenze etnobotaniche tuttora presenti in alcune località dell'Italia Meridionale, in cui si crede a una sorta di 'magia delle punte', per cui le piante spinose assumono anche la valenza di scacciare gli spiriti maligni.

Credo che entrambe le ipotesi abbiano una loro valenza e che le due possibilità si sommino anziché escludersi l'un l'altra.

K. von Stackelberg: You mention that the lily flower was associated with the milk of Hera. Could you include a reference for this from ancient literature?

G. Caneva: Il giglio è fra i simboli floreali più antichi nel mondo occidentale e rappresenta un elemento sacro anche presso gli Ebrei, per i quali costituiva un emblema di bellezza e fertilità, esempio della fioritura più nobile. Secondo la mitologia greca riferita da numerosi autori questo fiore, così come la via lattea, si sarebbe originato da uno schizzo del latte di Era mentre, impietosita ed inconsapevole della paternità del piccolo Ercole (frutto di un 'scappatella' di Zeus con una ninfa), tentava di nutrire il fanciullo abbandonato. Le fonti mitologiche del mondo classico sono diverse e si possono ricordare in particolare Eratostene, Manilio, Diodoro Siculo e molte altre citate ampliamente nella letteratura che descrive l'origine dei simboli dell'antico mondo greco-romano.¹

¹ ERATOSTENE (III sec. a.C.), nella sua opera *Catasterismi*, 44, a proposito della Via Lattea così dice: "Si dice che il circolo di stelle visibile sia denominato Via Lattea. Infatti non è possibile dare onori divini ai figli di Giove, se non a colui fra questi che succhiò la mammella di Era; perciò si narra che Ermes avesse condotto Eracle appena nato sull'Olimpo e lo avesse avvicinato al seno (di Hera) affinché lo allattasse. Quando Hera se ne rese conto lo buttò giù, e in questo modo (il latte) versandosi in abbondanza formò la Via Lattea"; MANILIO (I sec. a.C.), nell'*Astronomicon* 1, 750-761: "Né debbo io celare l'antica diffusione d'una leggenda tenera, che rivoli di denso latte siano fluiti dal nivo seno dalla regina degli Dei e abbiano tinto il firmamento del loro colore; e per questo Via lattea viene detta e appunto ne deriva il nome dall'origine sua. O un più grande ammasso di stelle in denso intreccio ha intessuto i suoi fuochi ed è incandescente per quantità di luce, e più chiaro risplende quel circolo celeste per somma di fulgori? O le anime dei forti e le personalità rese degne del cielo svincolate dai loro corpi e restituite dalla terra quassù migrano dal globo terreno e abitando un cielo tutto loro vivono anni eterei e godono delle cosmiche sedi?". Ulteriori citazioni si hanno in DIODORO SICULO *Biblioteca Storica* 4, 9. Un'ampia rassegna di tutte le fonti si può trovare sul sito della Cattedra di Iconografia e Iconologia de La Sapienza, Università di Roma (www.iconos.it). Si cita anche l'interessante capitolo di CATTABIANI 1996, 135-170, dal titolo "I fiori di latte e di sangue".

R. Taylor: I am intrigued by the huge bronze pinecone in the Cortile della Pigna at the Vatican, which you identify as the *Pinus pinaster*. The pinecone doesn't enter our historical record until sometime in the fourth century CE, when it appears as the centrepiece of a cantharus fountain in the atrium of the Church of St. Peter.² It is sometimes claimed that it had belonged to the Phrygianum, a major cult site of the Magna Mater. If that is true, then it must have carried a strongly religious symbolism to many who viewed it. Perhaps its new prominence in a Christian context reflects an attempt to reappropriate that symbolism as quickly as possible for Christianity — the reason being that the Phrygianum, which was situated somewhere nearby, must have been appalling to Christians. It had a rebirth festival, culminating in a bloody sacrifice that roughly coincided with Easter. It seems plausible to me that the pinecone was originally displayed almost like an enemy object in a triumph; after viewing it, pilgrims would enter the church and pass under its 'triumphal arch', as the apsidal wall was called, to view the tomb of St. Peter. These were the two most striking elements on the church's central axis, east and west; and each was soon set under a baldacchino, as if to emphasize their rivalry. I think, then, that the religious connotations of this prominent botanical specimen, reminiscent of resurrection (the dead Attis reborn as the pine tree), were at the forefront of its symbolism. As such, it is a potent iconographic example to support your hypothesis.

G. Caneva: Il simbolismo della pigna è rimasto fortissimo in Italia per secoli e la pigna, "il frutto più voluminoso e sospeso più in alto",³ ha sempre rappresentato per i Greci e i Romani un simbolo di riproduzione e di fecondità: "Nessun altro albero è così inesauribilmente generoso: nel mese stesso in cui si

² VAN DEN HOEK & HERRMANN 2000.

³ *Grandissimus pineis nucibus altissimeque suspensus*, PLIN. *HN* 15, 35, trad. A. ARAGOSTI.

raccoglie una pigna, un'altra viene maturando".⁴ L'ipotesi che i Cristiani abbiano recuperato tale simbolo come emblema di fertilità, ma che abbiano utilizzato l'enorme pigna del belvedere come una sorta di trionfo su elementi della tradizione pagana, come suggerito, è del tutto plausibile.

R. Taylor: Also, I was struck by the cross-on-acanthus at S. Clemente, because this motif became very common on column capitals of late-antique churches, especially in the form of a Christogram.

G. Caneva: L'acanto è un simbolo di immortalità, in quanto esprime soprattutto l'idea di rinascita derivata dal suo habitus vitale, e la sua rappresentazione è fra le più diffuse in epoca greco-romana.⁵ Tale significato, espresso in forma critica da Vitruvio, presenta un'evidenza chiarissima nel fregio dell'Ara Pacis, che sicuramente ha influenzato le chiese cristiane.⁶

⁴ *Nec ulla arborum audius se promittit; quo mense ex ea nux decerpitur, eodem maturescit alia,* PLIN. *HN* 16, 107, trad. A. CATTABIANI.

⁵ VANDI 2002; CANEVA 2010.

⁶ Vitruvio parla dello sviluppo di una pianta di acanto intorno ad un cestello deposto amorevolmente dalla nutrice sulla tomba di una giovane fanciulla di Corinto, e tale immagine, anche se non spiegata esplicitamente, rispecchia a pieno il simbolismo di rinascita e di immortalità: *Post sepulturam eius, quibus ea virgo uiva poculis delectabatur, nutrix collecta et composita in calatho pertulit ad monumentum et in summo conlocauit et, uti ea permanerent diutius subdiu, tegula texit. Is calathus fortuito supra acanthi radicem fuerit conlocatus. Interim pondere pressa radix acanthi media folia et caulinulos circum uernum tempus profudit, cuius caulinuli secundum calathi latera crescentes et ab angulis tegulæ ponderis necessitate expressi flexuras in extremas partes uolutarum facere sunt coacti* ("Dopo le esequie la sua nutrice raccolse e mise dentro un cestello gli oggetti che in vita la fanciulla aveva avuti più sacri e portatili sulla tomba li dispose là in cima proteggendoli con una tegola perché potessero durare più a lungo all'aperto. Casualmente questo cesto era stato deposto sopra una radice di acanto che, premuta al centro dal peso del cestello, fece sbocciare in primavera foglie e teneri steli; questi crescendo ai lati del canestro furono costretti a ripiegarsi in varie volute una volta raggiunta la sommità, perché gli angoli sporgenti del tetto ne impedivano la crescita"), VITR. *De arch.* 4, 1, 9, trad. L. MIGOTTO.

B. Bergmann: You make the important point that public monuments like the Ara Pacis would have had a wide range of viewers and that for much of the population visual literacy was as significant as verbal literacy, if not more so. My question concerns the painted interiors of (apparently) wealthy private complexes, specifically the garden rooms from the Villa at Prima Porta and the House of the Golden Bracelet and the House of the Fruit Orchard at Pompeii. How did the wall painters achieve such accuracy in their depictions of specific plants? Do you think that their models derived from botanical illustrations?

G. Caneva: L'accuratezza botanica che traspare dalle pitture di giardino non è omologa e mentre in alcuni casi è possibile cogliere dettagli che sottintendono forse modelli preparatori, in altri casi deriva da una conoscenza diffusa ed empirica non particolarmente raffinata. Nella società dell'epoca il rapporto con la natura era molto profondo e credo fosse un bagaglio diffuso conoscere, distinguere, e anche rappresentare, molte piante diverse.

In the Roman world, where there were no botanical treatises, gardeners confronted the same difficulties with a far from pure range of ideas and associations. Poets and senators had made gardens the setting for social and political life. We need only think of Horace's *Prima et Secunda* and his book of roses or the rose gardens in which Horatius Censorius points to the brilliantly evocative use of roses by Apuleius' beloved young Flora, or by Apuleius' best friend Aelius Aristides, or in the *Agamemnon* and the *Medea* of Euripides, where roses are frequently brought in a more symbolic

¹ I am grateful to Dr. John Rutherford for his help with this paper. I also thank Dr. Alan Studdert, Dr. John Gaskin, Dr. Michael Kondoleon and Dr. Michael Lafferty for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. This research was supported by a grant of the Leverhulme Trust and by the Wellcome Trust.

² *Proc. Cambr.* 1, 1-6, 1-16, 1973, pp. 24-25; *Arch. Ant. Rom.* 1972, 1-12, for fragment evidence.

VIII

ROBIN LANE FOX

EARLY CHRISTIANS AND THE GARDEN

IMAGE AND REALITY*

"God almighty first planted a garden", wrote Francis Bacon in his much-cited essay *On Gardens*, "and indeed it is the purest of human pleasures". For the early Christians, the purity, I wish to argue, was less straightforward.

I. The 'pagan' garden

In the textual world about them, gardens confronted literate early Christians with a far from pure range of uses and associations. Poets and novelists had made gardens the settings for sex and romance. We need only think of Horace's Pyrrha and her bed of roses or the rose garlands at other Horatian dinner-parties or the brilliantly erotic use of roses by Apuleius' fictional young Photis.¹ In Apuleius' rose-filled novel of sex, crimes, mimes, and conversion, roses are specified as the Ass's means of liberation and are eventually found in a rose-garland

* I wish to thank two of my fellow-guests at the Fondation back in August 2001: Mme Isabelle Bruneti re (now, CNRS, Sources Chr tiennes) has pointed out to me the evidence in Gregory's *Dialogues* and Prof. Sigrid Mratschek (now, at Rostow) has deepened my sense of Paulinus through her fine book, MRATSCHEK 2002.

¹ HOR. *Carm.* 1, 5, 1-3; 1, 36, 15; 3, 19, 22; 3, 29, 3; APUL. *Met.* 2, 16, 1; BARBER 1992, 1-19, for Byzantine evidence.

held by a priest of Isis (Apuleius' significant alteration to its context in his Greek source).² These literary precedents were not ones which good Christians could cheerfully annex for their own use.

Pagan art was no better. Gardens sometimes contained erotic paintings and statues of the sexually aroused Priapus. Paintings with garden themes might even show half-naked ladies, as we see particularly well in the wall-paintings, found in 1979, at Pompeii's House of the Golden Bracelet.³ Their painted pillars uphold marbled plaques which display reclining ladies, perhaps maenads, topless among exactly-depicted flowers (see Fig. 6.19). These pillars carry individualized portrait-heads, surely showing features of the garden's owners, who are linked, therefore, to the fantasy supported above them. Temples of erotic Aphrodite had gardens round them too. Her Hierokepis on western Cyprus speaks for itself. The association between pagan temples and gardens struck Christians wherever they looked. In Egypt, temple-gardens often lay behind big walls. Tombs, also, had gardens where spirits of the dead were ever-present. They were demons in the early Christian world-view.⁴

Flowers were a prescribed part of so many pagan cults. The annual *Floralia* at Rome was a flower-festival very different from those held to enliven modern Anglican parish-churches. Prostitutes and the demi-monde were integral to the occasion. At the Vinalia on the kalends of May, prostitutes, according to Ovid, would bring reeds intertwined with roses to honour the goddess Venus.⁵ Roses were particularly prominent in pagan cult. *Rosalia*, or rose-rites, are attested in a wide range of inscriptions outside Rome and have been much discussed. In many cases they are the marker of a Roman citizen, buried

² APUL. *Met.* 3, 25; 3, 27; 3, 29; 4, 2; 10, 29; 11, 3; LUCIAN. *Asin.* 54.

³ JASHEMSKI 1993, 348-358.

⁴ STRAB. 14, 6, 3; HUGONOT 1989, 21-85; BAGNALL 1996, 145-152; GREGORI 1987-1988, 175-188; SEG 1988, 1004.

⁵ OV. *Fast.* 5, 331-354; 4, 863-868.

abroad.⁶ However, the cultic use of roses and rose-garlands in a specified *rhodismos* was by no means confined to this one Italian ceremony. In Egypt, several papyri attest a *rhodophoria* in the 2nd century CE, which scholars are unwise to identify with the Italian *Rosalia*. In Ptolemaic Egypt, as in pharaonic Egypt, a crown of roses (the "Crown of Justification") was still offered formally in Egyptian temples to Osiris.⁷ In the Greek world roses were also offered and burned in private funerary cults without any Italian connections.

At a simpler level, many people's lives were brightened by flowers, a 'luxury' in the moralists' opinion. The trade in cut flowers was vast, whether in Rome's suburbs or in fertile spaces in Egypt. It brought beauty into ancient life in a way better caught for us in modern films about antiquity than in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. To a Christian perfectionist's eye, cut flowers involved luxury, love and pleasure in a most unascetic way. High-class fruits for the table and flowers for the garlanded room were forced with ever-increasing ingenuity. Violets were brought on early in cold frames. The emperor Tiberius even patronized a type of movable frame to keep cucumbers growing in sun.⁸

This ubiquitous flower-culture provoked a pagan moralizing literature, as the poems of Horace and Martial exemplify.⁹ Early Christian moralists simply borrowed and adapted this literature's themes. It expressed so well what Christian moralists believed for austere reasons of their own. Garlands, it said, were a superfluous extravagance, full of sensual danger. Seneca, when moralizing, even deplored roof-gardens.¹⁰ The forcing of flowers was an artificiality, contrary, Christians added, to God's well-ordered Creation. Forcing, however, has proved useful for modern Christians. In Italian art, but not Byzantine art, the

⁶ PERDRIZET 1900, 299-323; KOKKINIA 1999, 204-221; SEG 1999, 2508.

⁷ DERCHAIN 1955, 225-287; GWYN GRIFFITHS 1975, 159-161.

⁸ VARRO *Rust.* 1, 16, 3; PLIN. *HN* 19, 64, 1.

⁹ HOR. *Carm.* 1, 38, 4; 3, 15, 15; FABBRINI 2007.

¹⁰ TERT. *Coron.* 5; SEN. *Ep.* 122, 8.

angel Gabriel is shown holding a white lily, *Lilium candidum*, at the Annunciation. This iconography goes back to Cavallini in the late 13th century. However, this lily, the Madonna lily as it is now known, does not flower naturally in the Holy Land until May-June. Strictly, the Jesus whom these lily-scenes announce would have been premature if born on December 25. Recently, botanists in Israel have discovered how to force Madonna lilies so that they produce flowers for Easter and even for the Annunciation, whose date was ordered, in the year 560, to be fixed everywhere as March 25. 'Unnatural' forcing and breeding in Israel have brought Christian iconography into line with Christianity's own calendar.¹¹

II. Christian attitudes

Everyday Christians, who did not read their own moralists, surely continued to look on the flowers around them and see beauty, not temptation. Were not flowers and gardens fine gifts of God? In their scriptures they inherited a positive imagery of them. There was Eden, of course, but there was also the enclosed garden in the story of Susannah and those dirty old voyeurs and the enclosed garden of the Song of Songs. Christians' sermons and texts developed this Jewish legacy in many directions. The Beloved in the Song was sometimes interpreted as Christ, just as Christ was understood to be the flower born on the "shoot" from the rod of Jesse, praised in proto-Isaiah. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus praised the "lilies of the field", probably the bright red-flowered *Lilium chalcedonicum*. It had already impressed the ancient Phoenicians, whose craftsmen in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE had used it as their model for fine bronze candlesticks on which scented incense was burned. Jesus' point was that these lilies

¹¹ <www.madonna-lily.blogspot.com/2006/05/unsealed-room.html>; VAN ESBROECK 1969, 442-444.

were wild flowers, lovely but uncultivated.¹² They are still visible in wild beauty around Gennesaret in Galilee near where he may have preached.

Gardening was quite another matter. Jesus and his disciples met often in the garden of Gethsemane before his 'agony' there, but this garden was probably only an olive grove and they never did anything practical in it. Previously Jesus had simply blasted a fig tree which was without fruit. In the late 4th century Paulinus of Nola claimed that Jesus cursed the barrenness in the tree, not the tree itself, but then recalls that the tree was not in the fruiting season. He tries to save Jesus' credit by a complex allegory about the need for our souls to bear fruit at all times.¹³ By a misplaced simile, Paul shows that he had no idea how to graft an olive tree and I doubt if Peter, a fisherman, was more adept. In a parable Jesus was also said to have claimed that a man who sowed a "mustard-seed" in his garden saw it grow into a tree, fit for birds.¹⁴ That image would not readily occur to an alert field-botanist. Yet, it was as a gardener that Jesus was mistaken by Mary Magdalen beside the site of his tomb, which was imagined, therefore, in a garden-setting. When expounding these verses, Augustine does not comment on Christ's horticultural disguise and its suitability. He is concerned only to explain why Mary Magdalen had called a mere gardener 'Sir' and then, when Jesus spoke her name, why she recognized him and called him 'Lord' or 'Master'. She called him 'Sir', Augustine explains implausibly, "whose servant she was not, so that she might come to the Lord, whose servant she was".¹⁵

For the early Christians, Paradise still had two locations, one earthly, one heavenly. Many early Christian writers assumed that the Garden of Eden still existed in their world. Conveniently, it was located in the east. At the opposite end of

¹² Song of Sol. 2, 8 - 6, 3; Isa. 11, 1-2; Matt. 6, 28; CULICAN 1986.

¹³ John 18, 1-2; Mark 11, 12-14; 20-22; PAULIN. NOL. *Ep.* 43, 4-8.

¹⁴ Rom. 11, 17; Luke 13, 19.

¹⁵ John 20, 15-16; AUGUST. *Tract. in Ioh.* 121; MOREAU 2012, 403-420.

the world, pagan Greek poets and mythographers had located the western Garden of their Hesperides and its wondrous fruits. The god Zeus, some said, had had sex there with Hera.¹⁶ The word ‘eden’ derived from the Aramaic word-root for ‘abundance’. In the Greek *Septuagint* it was still translated as “garden of luxury”, or “delights”, although God never made love in it. Only later did Eden become a place-name in its own right.¹⁷ In the 6th century Cosmas Indicopleustes still accepted that an earthly Eden existed out east, from which the four Biblical rivers continued to flow into the known world. Eden’s river Gihon was taken to be the source of the Nile. Epiphanius insisted against wild allegorists of the Book of Genesis (none wilder than the admired Augustine) that he had drunk personally from one of these four rivers’ actual waters. He surely meant that he had drunk from the Nile, not the Euphrates.¹⁸

In the 180s, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, made the subtlest use of garden-imagery to explain our human predicament. He accepts that Eden is out east. First, God acted as a discriminating gardener should. He created man from the dust, or soil, but not from any old dust. He used the finest and softest, sifted like fine seed-compost. He then placed little Adam and Eve in a specially-prepared place, “better than this world”. It was a garden. It was the necessary safe haven in which the two little children could grow up. They ran around, with no clothes on. The garden was also a school, as God’s Word taught them in it, telling them how to behave in the world outside. As yet, there was no death, no sex, but God surely intended both to begin when his little children grew and aged.¹⁹ They fell, surely as God foresaw, and entered a world of hard gardening and labour. In it, however, God has provided a second garden, the

¹⁶ EUR. *Hipp.* 742-751; BARRETT 1964, 303.

¹⁷ DALLEY 2013, 158; PHILO *De cherub.* 12; CLEM. AL. *Strom.* 2, 51, 5; BREMMER 1999, 1-20.

¹⁸ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES *Top. Christ.* 2, 82, ed. WOLSKI; HIERON. *Ep.* 51, 5; EPIPHANIUS, *PG* 43, 386; MAGUIRE 1987, 8; 22-25.

¹⁹ IREN. *Epideixis* 11-12; 15-17.

Church. He also improved man, not by genetic modification, but by grafting him with the Holy Spirit. Developing Paul's image to the Romans, Irenaeus presents this grafting as the improvement of man's wild olive-like nature. Then, in the millennium, improved man will grow on so as to be able to partake of Paradise. This Paradise is, again, a burgeoning garden. As God had promised to Jacob in Genesis 27, He will give an abundance of produce from the earth. In Paradise restored, He will realize His promise. Irenaeus then gives a fascinating view of Paradise as a garden teeming with vines of amazing fertility, tens of thousands of shoots, each with tens of thousands of bunches and tens of thousands of grapes, each one of which will give 25 jugs of wine. Remarkably, he states that this view of Paradise has come to him by direct oral tradition from Papias, who got it from the beloved disciple John, who got it directly from Jesus himself. Paradise as a teeming vineyard is a promise ascribed to Jesus himself.²⁰

From one garden, Eden, to another, the Church, to yet another, Paradise, Irenaeus' thinking is very neat. The world and the flesh are not evil, he is arguing, contrary to his Gnostic contemporaries. God has planned each step for us, from seed-compost to garden play-school to the oasis of the Church and then the prolific vineyard, Château Paradis. No pagan could ever have used the garden as a symbol in this way, lacking the ideas of Paradise and God's Creation and the accompanying scripture for this metascriptural reading.

Is gardening thereby sanctified for Christians? As Augustine observed, Adam had an easy life as a gardener. God had done all the planting and Adam engaged only in a little maintenance in the most benign conditions without any pests.²¹ As for Paradise, it has no seasons. Everything flowers and fruits all the time. In Homer, Alcinous' garden wondrously bears fruits and

²⁰ IREN. *Adu. haer.* 5, 20; 5, 10; 5, 31-32; 5, 33, 3-4 (citing Papias).

²¹ AUGUST. *Gen. ad litt.* 8, 8, 15; 8, 10, 22.

grapes throughout the year.²² In Roman poetry about a Golden Age, spring is eternal. For Virgil, memorably, continual spring is a feature of Italy, his heaven on earth. For Ovid, it was even a feature of the fair field at Enna where the fairer flower, Proserpina, was gathered.²³ From quite a separate tradition, the Christians' paradise was imagined as non-seasonal too. In his Revelation, John (following Ezekiel) saw the "tree of life", bearing "twelve crops of fruits, one for each month of the year".²⁴ These crops were not different crops from one month to the next. When Christians recognized the coincidental parallel with Homer's Alcinous, their rhetors exploited it too.

Wild flowers in nature, not flowers in flowerbeds, were the flowers most extolled by Christian preachers. There were two main contexts for their rhetorical praises. One was their eulogies of springtime, never more romantic than in orations by Gregory of Nazianzen, not a man to get his hands dirty. A practised recycler, he took his praises of flowery spring mainly from pagan Libanius' rhetorical exercise on spring.²⁵ The other context was the *Hexaemeron*, the series of sermons which celebrate the Six Days of Creation. In it, wild flowers could be eulogized as part of the Third Day. This new genre had a greater impact than the texts of pagan moralizers, because congregations had to listen to sermons, in so far as they ever stayed quiet in church. Ambrose's and above all Basil's *Hexaemeron*s are forerunners of a long tradition which runs importantly into Byzantine prose.²⁶ In these sermons almost anything could be cited to explain the significance of flowers. Direct associations, therefore, are perilous between these textual ecphraseis of spring or newly created nature and the flowers

²² HOM. *Od.* 7, 115-128.

²³ VERG. *Georg.* 2, 149; OV. *Met.* 1, 107; 5, 391.

²⁴ APOC. 22, 2; EZEK. 47, 12.

²⁵ GREG. NAZ. *Or. 44 In Nouam Dominicam*, PG 36, 617C-620B; LIB. *Progymn.* VIII, 479-482, ed. R. FOERSTER; MAGUIRE 1981, 42-44.

²⁶ BASIL. *Hom.* I-IX, ed. S. GIET, with BERNARDI 1961, 165-169; AMBR. CSEL 32, 1, 3-261, ed. C. SCHENKL; MAGUIRE 1987, 18-72.

which are shown in Christian art. Rhetors could be so idiosyncratic when trying to hold an audience's attention. They were not enunciating agreed typologies as if from a pattern-book for artists. There was no 'intermediality' here between spoken sermons and visual artists.²⁷

Down at ground level, flower gardens always involve pretence, even when they claim to be natural. Like pagan moralists, Christian moralists were quick to denounce artificiality. Texts by Clement of Alexandria are the most eloquent. He presents his *Stromateis*, a miscellany, as being variously adorned "like a meadow". Even in Paradise the plants, he remarks, are not segregated into families. Just as pagan authors have compiled works called "Meadows", so his miscellany has been constructed in a free and easy manner. In his *Paedagogus*, he is equally favourable to natural meadows, "soft and damp in spring, burgeoning with fresh flowers of many kinds", among which it is "fine to spend time like a honey-bee". Clement is the first Christian apostle of meadow-gardening.²⁸

Cut flowers and garlands are quite another matter. Here Clement draws on earlier pagan moralists, shared by his Latin contemporary Tertullian, especially in his glittering work *On the Crown*.²⁹ Clement's erudition is dazzling on anything from the medical properties of flowers to the properties of scents and perfumes, but he also observes that a garland is the "symbol of a tranquil absence of anxiety" and that is why not only the dead are garlanded but also 'dead' idols too.³⁰ Christians, rather, must wait for their immortal, amaranthine garland, the "crown of glory that fadeth not away", as the First Petrine Epistle had stated, the one which will be bestowed by the Good Shepherd when He returns. Clement understands it as a garland of the flowers of an amaranth.³¹ In this context Clement

²⁷ MAGUIRE 1981, 6-7.

²⁸ CLEM. AL. *Strom.* 6, 1, 1, 4 - 6, 1, 2, 2.

²⁹ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 70, 1 - 2, 8, 73, 2; TERT. *Coron.* 5-10; BAUS 1940.

³⁰ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 73.

³¹ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 73, 2; I Pet. 5, 4.

usefully cites pagan sources which claim that particular deities love particular flowers: Hera loves the lily, Artemis the myrtle, and so forth. Christians, therefore, should avoid them all the more, "for reasons of conscience", a phrase from Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians.³²

This moralizing attacked garlands for the living, but it left a little space for bringing flowers to the Christian dead. In the 4th century, in his poem for martyred Eulalia, Prudentius urges Christians to bring violets, dark crocuses and lilies to her tomb at Merida. No doubt flowers and fruit had always been among the offerings which Christians brought to the little 'tables' by tombs and burials of their martyrs and their dead.³³ We do not hear of dutiful Christians 'doing the flowers' in Church, but flowers were surely also brought to the altar with fruit as offerings of first-fruits. By the 12th century, Byzantines were adorning images of the dead Christ with fresh flowers at their Epitaphios ceremony.³⁴

Though excluding so much, Clement is the first Christian author to weave a Christian typology of flowers as a counter-weight to the pagans' imagery. He emphasizes the grim example of Christ's crown of thorns and digresses on the thorny bush which was revealed when on fire to Moses.³⁵ In a notable flourish, he presents man as the true crown of woman, marriage as the true crown of man, and children as the "flowers of marriage". Admirably he quotes the words of Proverbs on grandchildren as the "garland of the old". Whereas all other types of crown are luxurious or demonic, he concedes that floral scents and ointments are admissible for Christians in small quantities. Neatly, he cites Ben Sira in support: "Bud forth as a rose growing by a river . . . put forth flowers as a lily . . .

³² CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 72, 4; I Cor. 10, 20.

³³ PRUDENT. *Perist.* 3, 201-206; FRAZER 1929, 434 on violets; AUGUST. *Ciu.* 22, 8.

³⁴ MAGUIRE 1981, 141 n. 119.

³⁵ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 75.

spread abroad a sweet smell . . . bless ye the Lord for his works". Scents are God's blessings, he accepts, and are to be used and enjoyed, but not to excess.³⁶

Clement presents the *bon usage* of flowers in a way which exemplifies the 'liberal puritanism' which Henry Chadwick has well detected in other sides of him. Restraint and an absence of showiness and artificiality are his keynotes.³⁷ Did anyone pay much attention? By Clement's time, rich-living, educated Christian readers were to be found in his Alexandria and elsewhere and, if they read him, they at least found some ground-rules which they might consider seriously. However, they and their fellow-Christians could not reject the eternal seduction of the flowers and flower-gardens around them. Instead, they transposed it to their future Garden in heaven.

The most graphic early sources for this transposition are the most personal and touching. They occur in the recorded visions of martyrs-to-be, waiting in the hideous heat and gloom of north African prisons. In February 203 the deacon Saturus described how he had been transported with Perpetua to a "great space" which resembled a green garden-park. In it were "trees" of roses and every type of flower. The rose-trees were as tall as cypresses, indeed a wondrous sight, and were constantly shedding their leaves, indeed a miracle without any earthly mildew or black-spot disease to cause it. In this garden was a place enclosed by four walls, built as if of light, where an aged (but also childlike) man was seated on a throne, surrounded by elders and attended by angels. The visiting Christians kissed him and then the elders told them, "Go and play", referring, I assume, to that same child-like simplicity which Irenaeus ascribed to Christians in Paradise. Outside the gates, Perpetua then met a bishop and a deacon, who begged her to resolve

³⁶ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 71, 1-2; *Prov.* 17, 6; BEN SIRACH 39, 13-14; CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 8, 76; HARVEY 2006, on Christians and scents.

³⁷ CHADWICK 1966, 31-65.

their quarrels. They fell at her feet, a mere woman's, and she took them aside under one of the trees of roses and had words with them in Greek.³⁸

III. Paradise

This sense of Paradise as a *locus amoenus* is stronger, even, in the remarkable prison-visions of another north African martyr, James. In 259 he dreamed that he was seated before the heavenly tribunal of an executing judge, from whom the great martyr-bishop Cyprian rescued him. He watched the "others" being judged and then he and Cyprian escorted the judge to his palace, through a heavenly landscape "pleasant with meadows and clothed with the joyous leaves of green groves, shaded with cypress-trees rising on high and pine-trees beating their heads against heaven". In the centre was a pure fountain, from which he drank. Later, the very night before his execution, James dreamed that he had seen fellow-martyrs from the prison at Cirta celebrating another banquet in heaven, like the 'last supper' which they had recently enjoyed on earth. A boy, one of a pair of just-martyred twins, ran to meet him. "Why are you hurrying?", the boy seemed to say, "rejoice and exult, for tomorrow you too will dine with us." The boy was wearing a garland of roses round his neck, surely as a happy diner in heaven, and was carrying a "very green palm indeed" in his right hand. It is the transposed symbol of an earthly victor, triumphant in the games.³⁹

Why does this memorable imagery occur at this date in two Latin north African texts? The detail of a *locus amoenus* had also been exploited in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, where earthly roses burst from jewelled meadows in spring or "virgin roses flourish beside pleasing little plants in a decidedly pleasing little

³⁸ *Mart. Perp. et Fel.* 11, 5-6.

³⁹ *Mart. Mar. et Jac.* 6, 10-11; 11, 5-6.

garden". However, the martyrs are not drawing on Apuleius. Both the martyrs and Apuleius draw independently on the literary imagery of the *locus amoenus*, which was mediated to Christians by earlier texts on the nature of Paradise, apocryphal to us, but not to them. This imagery is present, too, in the account of the heavenly park in another African text, Pseudo-Cyprian's *Praise of Martyrdom*.⁴⁰

Early apocryphal texts say much about Heaven's landscape, though some of them say even more about Hell. The *Apocalypse of Peter*, partly a work of the 2nd century, refers to Moses and Elijah in heaven wearing garlands of fair scented flowers and to Paradise as full of "blessed" fruits and scents, a "great, open garden", at least in the Ethiopic and Coptic versions, which are the only ones to survive.⁴¹ In the *Acts of Paul*, partly a mid- to late-3rd-century text, Paul sees cypress trees bowing their heads, then straightening themselves, just outside the gate into Paradise. He learns that they stand for those who have fasted day and night but are too proud of their own achievements. Only when Christ comes with his saints will these saints' prayers allow the cypresses to enter Paradise itself.⁴² The floweriest of all heavens, however, is the one described by Mani and his followers, "true Christians" in their own opinion. In Mani's dualist universe, the Father of Greatness rules in a Kingdom of Light which is teeming with flowers. He is attended there by "powers" who sing, but do not dance, in his presence and throw flowers at Him in heavenly joy. As in Heaven, so on earth, flowers were celebrated in the vivid psalms which Mani and his followers sang together. When the followers met each spring for their festival, the Bema, which commemorated Mani's death, the scent of roses was part of the occasion, at least according to the fine Bema Psalms which survive in Coptic. A crown of roses is said to be woven by the

⁴⁰ APUL. *Met.* 3, 29; PS.-CYPR. *Laud. mart.* 21; BREMMER 2004, 159-173.

⁴¹ *Apoc. Petri* 5, 15-16; DANIÉLOU 1953, on paradise in the early Fathers.

⁴² *Acta Pauli* 24.

Spirit from the "roses" brought by each of the faithful, and perhaps actual roses were part of the festival.⁴³

The richest elaboration of this heavenly imagery involves two new, but immensely influential, elements: virtue and female virginity. Before his martyrdom in 314 the Lycian bishop Methodius composed a remarkable reworking of Plato's famous *Symposium*. Its participants were all virgin females. Methodius describes how the girls were transported into an allegorical garden, plainly a foretaste of Paradise. We learn about their journey from the virginal Theopatra, who had told it to virginal Gregorion, who narrates it in the text.⁴⁴ She and her female companions had followed a hazardous route through the "meadow of Incorruptibility", a Christian perfectionist's riposte to the pagan Elysian Fields, until they were met by an imposing female. She was Virtue, the daughter of Philosophy. She ushered them into a garden which lay, significantly, "towards the East", like Eden. It was gated, also significantly, like post-lapsarian Paradise. It was wondrously beautiful, containing a marvellous fountain whose river-like streams, like the rivers of Paradise, radiated outwards, while its own water was as smooth as olive oil.

Every kind of fruit was ripening on this garden's trees. It had an ever-flourishing meadow, set with all sorts of flowers which were wafting a fine fragrance. In this meadow-garden, significantly a non-seasonal garden, three virgins were preparing to dine, like martyrs transposed into heaven. Theopatra and her six virginal companions joined them, making ten in all, and they began to talk one after another beneath the trees.⁴⁵ The trees were symbolically appropriate. Some were willows, like those on which the psalmist in exile had hung his harp in Babylon, and, above all, there was the apt *agnus castus*. By pagans too, *agnus castus* was considered an antaphrodisiac

⁴³ AUGUST. *C. Faust.* 15, 5-6; RIES 2011, 187.

⁴⁴ METHOD. *Sypos.* Prologue 5; BROWN 1988, 184-189.

⁴⁵ METHOD. *Sypos.* Prologue 6-10.

because its branches, when soaked in water, gave off an infusion which combatted passion. At their Thesmophoria, Athenian women had sat chastely on branches of the plant. Now, ten virgins sat beneath an appropriate *agnus castus* 'tree', though in nature it is only a large shrub.⁴⁶

The ninth and, above all, the tenth speaker, Domina, are the most arboreally explicit. Domina gives the most complex interpretation of the symbolisms of fig tree, vine, olive, and *agnus castus* to be found in early Christian literature. There are two types of such trees, she explains, one good, one bad, as revealed in scriptural citations. Mani's "true Christians" made the same point, but used it to a very different effect. Above all, the fig tree, by its sweet fruits, signifies the sweet delights of Paradise, a garden of delight. The Greek *rhamnos*, our *Vitex agnus castus*, is the same bush, she claims, as the Biblical thorn-bush which was implicit in Christ's thorny crown. This crown, merely touched on by Clement, now symbolises virginity's role in salvation history.⁴⁷

Pagan authors had already exploited an association between fresh uncut flowers and virginity, whether in the "unshorn meadow" of Euripides' proudly virginal Hippolytus, closed to vulgar outsiders, or the "virgin-roses" of Apuleius or the uncut flowers to which Catullus compares the modest bride in his fine *Wedding Song*.⁴⁸ There were also stories of the origin of Flora herself. They are best known to us in a superb passage of Ovid, *Fasti* Book 5.⁴⁹ Here we learn that fair Flora was first called Chloris, a recession-proof green shoot. She had a figure so gorgeous that she blushes to describe it and, as a result, she was once taken off and raped by Zephyr, the west wind. As a dowry and a reward, Zephyr gave her a land of perpetual spring, centred on a garden, and told her, "Be the queen of flowers". Until then, the world had been monochrome, but by

⁴⁶ METHOD. *Sympos.* Prologue 8; AEL. NA 9, 26; DAUMAS 1961, 61-66.

⁴⁷ METHOD. *Sympos.* 10, 260-265; COYLE 2009, 65-88.

⁴⁸ EUR. *Hipp.* 73-76; APUL. *Met.* 3, 29, 1; CATULL. 62, 39-47.

⁴⁹ OV. *Fast.* 5, 195-275.

scattering seeds from her post-coital garden Flora has caused multi-coloured flowers to spread everywhere. Once, she even helped the jealous Juno to rival Jupiter and have a child without having sex. She touched Juno with a potent flower in her garden "from the fields of Olenus". As a result, Juno conceived little Mars and gave Flora a place of honour at Rome. We are still looking for Juno's fertilizing flower.

Flora's story tells of an enclosed garden and a virginal conception among the gods. Christians tell of them too, but behind most of Methodius' girl-speakers lies a very different source, the Biblical Song of Songs, as recently allegorized by Origen. The seventh virginal speaker, Procilla, presents a betrothed girl as "intact and immaculate, like a garden of God in which grow all the plants embalmed with delicious heavenly scents, so that only Christ can penetrate it to gather the flowers". Here the garden is the setting for virginity, not an Ovidian reward for heavenly rape. This sort of interpretation had been supported by Origen and was to have an immensely rich future.⁵⁰ On earth we must work to cultivate our garden, the soul, a task in which we will be helped by Christ, the heavenly gardener. In Latin this theme is amply deployed by the chastely-married Paulinus of Nola in his letters to Aper and Amanda, two new recruits to sexless marriage, who are still living on their big farm-estate.⁵¹ The Song has enjoyed the most remarkable mis-reception in all reception-history. An erotic song by origin, it sang of lilies and myrrh and the knocking of the Beloved on the garden door, where he "put in his hand by the hole of the door". This wondrously erotic imagery became neutered and recycled as inspired words about the inner virtue of a virginal soul which is awaiting its garden-master, Christ. Alternatively, as Origen explained, especially in his *Homilies on the Song*, the 'garden enclosed' is a symbol of the pure Church,

⁵⁰ METHOD. *Sypos.* 7, 152; ORIG. *Cant.* 2, 5.

⁵¹ PAUL. NOL. *Ep.* 39, 4-6.

a society of saints.⁵² Cyprian agreed with this misreading and, around him, the enclosed garden became a symbol of the traditional Church in north Africa. By its 4th-century opponents, the self-styled *Catholici* or ‘Universals’, this Church was labelled the ‘Donatist’ Church. Augustine and his fellow-bishops then declared it heretical, not schismatic, and set about forcing its members out from their garden and into their own sectarian Church instead.⁵³

In Gregory of Nyssa’s sermons on the Song of Songs the Biblical links were drawn even closer. The Burning Bush, blazing but unconsumed, became an explicit type for Christian virginity, beyond anything imagined at Methodius’ banquet.⁵⁴ Artists and poets soon followed up and added the Virgin Mary to the garden. Flowers and roses around her became elaborated in Christian texts, gaining complexity as time passed. Hesychius of Jerusalem already compares Mary to an enclosed garden, fertile but unseeded, whereas Origen had interpreted the “lily among thorns” and the Song’s enclosed garden only as the Church.⁵⁵ This Marian garden-imagery was to have a very long medieval life.

Lucian once contrasted the perishable flowers of nature with the imperishable flowers in paintings on the walls of a big house.⁵⁶ In their post-Constantinian churches Christian artists began to show the imperishable flowers of Paradise in fine mosaics. There were flowers and palms in Paulinus’ apse-mosaic at Nola c. 400. In mosaics of the 6th century, whether at Ravenna or Poreč, the ground of Paradise is set with a standardized range of flowers. They are not imaginary ‘fleurets’ or a general sort of ‘variegated’ meadow.⁵⁷ Lilies and roses, fittingly,

⁵² Song of Sol. 5, 4-5; ORIG. *Hom. in Cant.* 1, 1; 1, 7; 1, 9.

⁵³ CYPR. *Ep.* 69, 2; BROWN 1967, 212-213.

⁵⁴ GREG. NYSS. *Hom. 4 in Cant.*, PG 44, 830-858.

⁵⁵ HESYCH. *Hom. 5*, 1-3, ed. M. AUBINEAU; MAGUIRE 2012, 79-80; ORIG. *Hom. in Cant.* 3, 4.

⁵⁶ LUCIAN. *Dom.* 9.

⁵⁷ PAUL. NOL. *Ep.* 32, 10-17; TERRY & MAGUIRE 2007, 163-164 and Pls. 259-260, showing the apse in the basilica of Sant’Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

are in the foreground and palms, of course, are in the saints' hands and around their bodies. The puzzling open-faced white flowers are not imprecise, either. They are, I suggest, none other than the amaranth, the elusive flower of Paradise, now given artistic form. This paradise-flora had not been formed by rhetors' verbose ecphraseis of spring or Paradise or Creation in their sermons. It was a simple, symbolic flora which was known to many of its Christian viewers and was passed on, surely, in conversations. In Roman Augustan poetry, white lilies among roses had been a simile for the blush of a maiden when touched by love. Girls who "weave white lilies among amaranth" were compared to a virgin-bride being brought to her husband.⁵⁸ The main flowers in early Christian paradise-mosaics happened to have had an erotic past in pagan imagery. Christians, surely unaware of it, gave these same blossoms a different meaning in their own language of flowers.

So many of these Christian texts and images were to have a vigorous Byzantine and Western medieval life. In the 10th- to 12th-century texts of the Byzantine compendium, the Symbolic Garden, we find the fullest surviving list of the meanings of Christian flowers, from cypresses to scented styrax and many others. In fact, Aelian and the anonymous pre-Christian *Physiologus* were non-Christian sources for much of this lore.⁵⁹ In medieval Western literature we then find heavenly rose trees, the soul as a garden and Christ as its gardener (such a favourite of early Cistercian meditative writings), the crucial association between virginity and the enclosed garden (in the medieval Latin West, the Song of Songs was to attract more than thirty commentaries, each making this point) and the linking of lilies and roses with the Virgin, whether in a garden or on her 'assumption' up to Heaven.⁶⁰ Much, of course, was newly

⁵⁸ VERG. *Aen.* 12, 68-69; TIB. 3, 4, 33-34; LYNE 1983, 59-60 = 2007, 142-143.

⁵⁹ THOMSON 1960; RIGO 2008, 287-319 translates a revised text; BOOTH 1998, 15-19.

⁶⁰ ANTOINE 2002, 20-21; 25-26; 47; 66-79; GOUSSET 2001.

elaborated in the later period, whether the iris or the aquilegia as symbols of the Holy Spirit, or the West's reading of the Song of Songs as a song about a chivalrous earthly Beloved, courting his earthly lady in an enclosed or walled garden.⁶¹ The latter, naturally, was never an image in readings of the Song by earlier Christian celibate perfectionists. However, as so often, the medieval Christianity which we admire in superb illuminated manuscripts and florid poetic texts was indebted to the first four centuries of Christian writing and imagination. They were already very florid and their cultural, though not sexual, legacy proved fertile.

IV. Gardens in Christian literature

In pagan literature, earthly gardens had been places of retreat and philosophical debate. Early Christian writers at first tended to prefer the setting of the seashore or places near to it for their dialogues. A breakwater on the beach at Ostia was the setting for Minucius' enchanting *Octavius* and the sea-shore itself was the setting for one of the denouements in the Clementine *Recognitions*. Many reasons have been adduced for this notable change of literary scene.⁶² In my view the important ones are that conversions by the shore recalled Christ's calling of future apostles by the "sea" in Galilee and that sea-water was handy for baptism. As a compromise, a place with a sea-view might be preferred, not least because it would be quieter. Justin Martyr met an elderly Christian and was converted by him in a "green field near the sea, at a distance from the actual shore". So, too, Peter in the Clementine *Recognitions* meets a hard-line astrologer on the beach but takes him away from the shore to dispute with him in a "quiet recess away from the harbour".⁶³ In the

⁶¹ LEVI D'ANCONA 1977; ANTOINE 2002, 90-93.

⁶² MIN. FEL. *Oct.* 3; PS.-CLEM. *Recog.* 8, 1-3; EDWARDS 1987, 267-276.

⁶³ IUSTIN. *Tryph.* 2; PS.-CLEM. *Recog.* 8, 3.

pagan emperor Julian's enchanting prospectus for the estate which he is giving to Evagrius, he describes it as "not more than twenty stades from the sea", so that no "trader or sailor harasses the place with his chatter or insolence". Its view of the sea and ships is cited as a strong point in its favour. It lay near Constantinople, "presumably", modern topographers think, "somewhere on the rising ground above the modern district of Maltepe, overlooking Princes' Islands to the south and the city to the west".⁶⁴ Justin and Pseudo-Clement shared something of Julian's taste in landscape.

In early Christianity, the garden is the scene of announcements rather than discussions. In the 2nd-century *Protevangelium* of James we meet the fullest description in early Christian literature of a garden in which an Annunciation occurred. It is the Annunciation to Anna, the mother-to-be of the Virgin. Lamenting her infertility, Anna goes out into her and Joachim's garden and complains to its laurel trees (pagan symbols of triumph and of prophecy) and its sparrows (pagan attendants of the goddess of Love). These items were to lead a rich afterlife in Byzantine art and texts of this episode.⁶⁵ Then and there, an angel announces (prophetically) that Anna will bear a child (triumphantly) with love (but not sex). This garden, however, is fictional. For gardens to be important in real Christian authors' lives, authors had to emerge from the garden-and park-owning upper classes. It is not until Cyprian that we have such a Christian author.

Cyprian's letter to Donatus is a neatly-constructed conversion-text (written c. 246) and, in it, we meet a description of a Christian's actual garden, written by a Christian who was rich enough to have had one. Cyprian invites Donatus to a discussion overlooking the autumnal charms of his green estate, under a vine-covered pergola, surely his own. Augustine

⁶⁴ IULIAN. *Ep.* 25; MAGUIRE 2000, 231-264, at 262; compare LONGUS 4, 2-3 for the 'luxury' of a sea-view.

⁶⁵ *Proteu. Iacobi* 2-3; DOLEZAL & MAVROUDI 2002, 105-158; MAGUIRE 2012, 65-66; 70-74.

admired the lavish style of this scene's description but it was also, surely, based on Cyprian's own green *horti*, or estates, near Carthage.⁶⁶ After withdrawing to these *horti*, he was eventually arrested there in late summer 258. His biographer Pontius insists that at first Cyprian had sold his *horti* and given away the price, but then they were restored to him by "the indulgence of God", although Cyprian would gladly have sold them again if the fear of persecution had not deterred him. A similar note of evasive defence has been detected in Cyprian's own phrase for these gardens in one of his last letters, *horti nostri*, our gardens, a phrase with community undertones, not simply 'mine'.⁶⁷

Like bishop Cyprian, the 4th-century Cappadocian fathers were rich enough to have garden-pergolas and fine features in the setting of their own villas and estates. At the end of his life, Gregory Nazianzen is as defensive as Cyprian about his retreat to one such place, his family estate near Kerbala. In a memorable poem, he defends himself against rich and fashionable critics who are accusing him of not being a proper ascetic because he is living in such a favoured retreat, a "garden gay", in Cardinal Newman's translation, with a "gently trickling rill, / And the sweets of idleness".⁶⁸ Too big a personal garden, evidently, was a sore point with poor Christians or other hard-line Christian ascetics. Just how lovely Gregory's surroundings could have been emerges from the pearl of all early Christian letters on landscape and green gardens, Gregory of Nyssa's letter to the lawyer Adelphius in praise of his estate near Vanota.⁶⁹ Near the house the fruit trees even include peaches. The climbing roses and the vines on wall-trellises surpass the most famous gardens in all antiquity, Alcinous' in Homer's *Odyssey*. The fish

⁶⁶ CYPR. *Ad Don.* 1; AUGUST. *Doctr. christ.* 4, 14, 30-31.

⁶⁷ PONT. *Vita Cypr.* 15; CYPR. *Ep.* 81, 1; CLARKE 1989, 314-315.

⁶⁸ GREG. NAZ., PG 37, 1349-1353; MCGUCKIN 2001, 397, quoting Newman's translation (1840).

⁶⁹ GREG. NYSS. *Ep.* 20, ed. G. PASQUALI, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* VIII.2.

ponds are amazing, as are the grapes and the fruit served for breakfast *al fresco*.

In the West, too, the writers who make the most of gardens are propertied Christians, Augustine and Paulinus of Nola. Augustine recalls two gardens at crucial moments in his religious progress. One, in Milan, was the scene of his abandonment of sex and worldly ambition and was complete with a fig tree which was surely real enough, not a fictitious Biblical echo in his presentation of the episode. It was a small garden, however, in a tenanted house, like the garden in Ostia over which Augustine and his mother Monnica looked out in the following year while enjoying their famous shared ascent to God.⁷⁰ Both of these gardens existed, but their specific mention in the text is also there to enhance the setting of these visionary episodes, far from the madding crowd.

Paulinus was vastly richer and grander than Augustine and was more active as a garden-landscaper in his own right. At Nola, he claims, his patron saint Felix had once worked as a gardener, leasing a "modest" three acre plot and cultivating it himself without a labourer. Professing to honour this saintly role-model, Paulinus embarked on early Christianity's most lavish and aggressive garden-landscaping. The shacks of "squatters" and their dirty little vegetable gardens were obstructing Paulinus' vision for his new Church and garden complex, planned as a sort of St Peter's in Nola for the worship of Felix as his patron saint. Thankfully, "fire from Heaven" descended to burn off the squatters' hovels. Paulinus credits Felix with the miracle, but historians may prefer to credit Paulinus' own staff. Copious fountains were then installed, diverting Nola's precious water-supply to Paulinus' garden.⁷¹ Paulinus was as tiresome a neighbour to Nola as Ippolito d'Este and his villa's teeming garden-fountains were later to be to Tivoli. Instead of

⁷⁰ AUGUST. *Conf.* 8, 8, 19 (*hortulus*); 9, 10, 23, read too symbolically by SMOLAK 2003, 149-160.

⁷¹ PAUL. NOL. *Carm.* 16, 284-290; 28, 61-104; 146-164; 266-279; MRATSCHEK 2002, 400-401.

squatters' plots, expanses of green grass greeted visitors to Felix's shrine with orderly fruit trees and vegetable beds, from which produce could be graciously offered to them in the saint's name.⁷²

V. Christian gardeners

What about actual gardening? Unlike his role-model Felix, Paulinus was only a projects-man outdoors, like many a modern banker turned garden 'designer'. He refers to himself in his garden, but the references are all entwined with neat metaphors about his "little" garden as Paradise or the "gardening" of Paulinus' own sinful soul. He even presents its "manure" as "humility". His garden-references are most artfully adapted to their recipients. Owners of big farm-estates receive some of the most cultivated, including praises of God as a Gardener.⁷³ Likewise, when Paulinus invites Sulpicius Severus to come and be a *colonus* in his "little garden", he is playing with the metaphor of serving God as a Christian hired labourer and tending His oil and wine. He is not inviting Severus to become a working gardener, let alone a "worker" like himself. He claims to picture Severus' attendants arriving at the garden and making it more cultivated, but again the reference is scriptural. Severus never came, but not because he was afraid of being made to dig with a spade.⁷⁴

In c. 401 Augustine evoked the joys of actual gardening, the first Christian to do so. Here too, however, the context is important. He is commenting on Adam's role as a cultivator in Eden. He asks what could be more "wonderful a spectacle" than a man "speaking to nature by sowing seeds, planting a

⁷² PAUL. NOL. *Ep.* 32, 12.

⁷³ *Ep.* 29, 3; 43, 6; 44, 7, on humility as his "manure"; *Ep.* 39, 6, God as Gardener; HUNT 2012, 149-160 follows this theme in Syriac sources, which represent God as "farmer-cultivator" of the heart.

⁷⁴ PAUL. NOL. *Ep.* 5, 15-16.

tree or shrub or grafting onto one?" Augustine is discussing benign gardening in Paradise, which he considers to be an example of an activity which had been freely undertaken while unencumbered by the Fall. He imagines a gardener who even seems to "ask each root and seed what it can and cannot do, and why". This gardening is so blessed because it suggests noble, improving thoughts to its practitioner's mind.⁷⁵ Augustine's idealizing of gardening is a far cry from the daily routine of a post-lapsarian garden-worker, always thinking of his next break.

Significantly, both Paulinus and Augustine were celibate monks. Augustine strongly supported the tradition of monks working with their own hands. Even as a priest he was given, in 391, a garden-space in the ground around the Catholic church in Hippo in which to found a monastery.⁷⁶ This garden would have had to be maintained. Presumably monks who joined the community were expected to work in its area. They were a human rag-bag, some of them from labouring backgrounds, and there was no novitiate of lesser brethren to be assigned the dirty work. Perhaps Augustine sometimes pulled out a weed, but he was surely too busy praying and teaching and reading to dig in person. It is among monks, however, that Christian gardening became distinctive.

At the head of it, naturally, stood stories of Antony himself, the first desert father. When he withdrew further into the Egyptian desert, he begged a little grain and then asked for a hoe, an axe, and a spade to clear ground and cultivate it himself. Next, he began to grow "a few" vegetables with the aid of a nearby water-spring. He could then offer vegetables to visitors. Inevitably his vegetable beds were trampled by visiting wildlife, but Antony was said to have caught one invading animal. He asked it why it wished to harm him, as he did not wish to harm it, and then he blessed it in the Lord's name

⁷⁵ AUGUSTIN. *Gen. ad litt.* 8, 8, 15; HARRISON 2002, 13-33.

⁷⁶ LAWLESS 1987, 58-61.

before releasing it. Supposedly he was never troubled again.⁷⁷ In England gardeners have yet to try blessing their bothersome badgers.

These stories are stories of productive gardening, not flower gardening for scent and display. They are also stories of charity and hospitality, expressed with produce. They were soon matched by monks' practice elsewhere. In the early 380s the travelling virgin, Egeria, invaluabley observed the existence of plots for fruit and vegetables at several of the Holy Places in Palestine. On the rocky top of Mount Sinai, Christians even gave her "blessings", not bits of bread but fruits which, she cannily emphasises, had been grown in kinder ground at the mountain's foot, near the monks' cells. At the site of the Burning Bush, no less, she found that there was a "very pleasing" garden and in it the monks ate a light dinner in front of the Bush itself. She also found that there was a garden where John the Baptist had baptized his visitors. The nearby river allowed fruits to grow very well.⁷⁸

What Egeria saw was typical elsewhere. In hostile surroundings, monks used nearby water-springs and engaged in hard-won productive gardening. Adam and the recreation of Paradise were cited as their models, at least by authors of their hagiographic Lives. Even in the harsh Judaean desert, monks tried to grow a few struggling plants, although the fertile oases of nearby Jericho sent them rather more fruits and greens which they could eat. Archaeologists have continued to find evidence of cultivated plots and terracing round remote monastic settlements in the region.⁷⁹

The apostles of early Christian gardening are therefore monks, a new phenomenon to pagan eyes. Like many simple occupiers of a bit of property in the Roman world, they grew their own vegetables, with the added motive to grow more so

⁷⁷ ATHAN. *Vita Ant.* 50.

⁷⁸ *Itin. Egeriae* 3; 4; 15; HUNT 2000, 34-51.

⁷⁹ BROWN 1988, 221; 381; HIRSCHFELD 1992, 148-161; PATRICH 1995, 61-63; 78; 100-107; TALBOT 2002, 42-46.

as to show charity to visitors, the model alleged by Paulinus to have been Felix's too. In the Byzantine era, monk-gardeners become most famous on Mount Athos, where Athanasios in the 10th century began to garden on the most forbidding rocky site. Continuing claims that Athos' flora is 'special' or 'divine' are a pious delusion.⁸⁰ Meadow-flowers in Romania or the rock-flora of the Carpathian mountains are far more impressive without being connected to a 'holy' Mountain. In later Byzantium the supreme gardening saint is not an Athonite: she is Matrona of Perge. She began by dressing as a man and presenting herself as a gardener to the monks whom she visited on her travels. As gardening was regarded as fit work for new arrivals in a community, this role for future saints is an apt narrative-convention. Later, Matrona settled her own nunnery in Constantinople, on the site of a former rose-garden.⁸¹

Bishops did not garden in person. They were mostly too busy. Only one bishop is known to have taken a special interest in soil and then for a very special reason. By the 6th century pilgrims had begun to bring bits of 'holy' soil west from the Holy Land in little *ampullae*, carried on their persons. It was left to the archbishop of Pisa in the 1190s to transport by ship a load of earth from the Hill of Golgotha in the Holy Land to dignify his Cathedral's cloister. He had been serving there as a Crusader. The city had been open to visitors again since 1192 and, although Golgotha itself was now supposedly enclosed inside a church-precinct, the soil had been plausibly sourced. It was spread in a special Campo Santo and marketed as a burial-ground for Pisa's especially rich families.⁸²

In 6th-century Italy, by contrast, humble Christian vegetable-gardeners had become credible recipients of miracles. In the early 590s, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* include a significant cluster of garden miracle-stories, including the legendary tale

⁸⁰ TALBOT 2002, 45; SPEAKE 2002, 29–36, on the "Garden of the Mother of God" (36).

⁸¹ TALBOT 2002, 66.

⁸² TOBINO 1982.

that Paulinus of Nola, no less, had gone off to a Vandal king in Africa and had volunteered as a gardener. He had been wanting to earn the ransom of poor Christians who had been taken captive from his homeland. The Vandal king's son enjoyed talking to him in the garden more than to his other friends. It is the last of antiquity's many garden-dialogues.⁸³ Gregory's other garden-miracles are rather different. They include cautionary tales which good Christian monks should take to heart. There is a story warning of the perils of eating lettuce without blessing it first with the sign of the Cross. Above all, there are stories which warn against stealing produce from a monastery garden. The temptation was plainly a familiar hazard of garden-life: pagans, too, had told tales of the god Priapus, active against garden-thieves. At Nursia, a wicked priest was even said to have tried to corrupt Benedict's monks by sending seven naked ladies into their garden. Scholars have tried to link these girls, too, to pagan cult. It is more likely that they owe their role in the story to the monks' psychology.⁸⁴

In each case, the workers of Gregory's garden-miracles are living persons, usually abbots of a community, especially one Equitius from Amiternum. Abbots were praised conventionally as 'gardeners' tending the souls of their community. Miracles set in a monastery-garden related to this theme.

Not that abbots did much heavy work themselves. They had an alternative of their own. Among Manichees, the inner Elect lived in Christ-like poverty and were exempted from digging or gardening by their powerful theology of the Light-particles and Evil which were scattered in plants and the soil. Gardening and pruning were for second-class Hearers only and even then they had to confess the sin involved.⁸⁵ Abbots had a different escape-route. Gregory's near-contemporary Cassiodorus is explicit about it. In the 550s, he withdrew to his charming

⁸³ GREG. M. *Dial.* 3, 1, 1-8; PETERSEN 1984; MÜLLER 2005, 46-55.

⁸⁴ GREG. M. *Dial.* 1, 4, 7; 1, 3, 2-4; 3, 14, 6-7; SOCRATES *Hist. eccl.* 1, 12, for similar thefts; GREG. M. *Dial.* 2, 8, 4, with LAPORTE 1963, 6-17.

⁸⁵ BEDUHN 2000, 30-68.

monastery at Squillace in southern Italy. Here, his productive gardeners were to be his monks, but not himself. If monks are admitted to a community, he states, but are too stupid to learn to read or write, they can praise God by working in the garden or the fields instead.⁸⁶ Cassiodorus uses two neat citations of consecutive lines from the *Georgics* and then cites Psalm 127: "You will eat hard-earned bread, you are blessed and it will be well for you".⁸⁷ He then moves on to a splendid recommendation of practical gardening books for his educated readers. They include such neglected classics as Gargilius Martialis, an authority on the best fertilizers for vegetables, whose work is known to us only in citations by the Elder Pliny.⁸⁸ The novices at Squillace could count on excellent horticultural advice from their well-read Father. As often, those who could not read did the actual work.

Christians changed the symbolic language of flowers and immortalized particular varieties in art. They envisioned gardens in new ways, enjoyed them, if they were rich enough, as places of retreat, and anticipated them in heaven. Among their modern scholars these sensitivities are most memorably expressed by A.-J. Festugière, himself such a great admirer of the Fondation Hardt. In 1949, he stayed for three days in Taormina with the Franciscan sisters in their Sicilian convent. I note that he could not have stayed in the former Dominican convent of his own monastic order, because its cells had been turned into rooms for one of Italy's most expensive hotels. Like San Domenico, the Sisters' convent had a fine garden and, a year later, Festugière recalled its impact in a characteristically moving preface to his book *L'Enfant d'Agrigente*, which he dedicated to the nuns. When he shuts his eyes, he writes, he recalls this beautiful wild garden on its cliff, behind which is Paradise, "non pas trop soigné, mais libre encore, innocent et fantasque,

⁸⁶ CASSIOD. *Inst.* 1, 28, 6 - 1, 29, 1.

⁸⁷ VERG. *Georg.* 4, 484-485; Ps. 127, 2, cit. CASSIOD. *Inst.* 1, 28, 5, trans. J.W. HALPORN.

⁸⁸ CASSIOD. *Inst.* 1, 30, 6; ROSE 1875, 129.

où toutes les plantes ont mariage, et la bête et l'oiseau amitié avec l'homme et l'homme amitié avec Dieu". This enchanted garden will live on, he concludes, in his inner depths, this garden which we all carry in the secret of our hearts, this beautiful Lost Garden which, sometimes, Providence grants us to rediscover here on earth so as to comfort us on our road and to remind us of its end-point.⁸⁹

Father Festugière had a truly patristic sensibility but he was not, I think, an active gardener himself. Long before him, previous monks had entrenched gardening in new places and related it to a new scale of values. In pagan anecdotes, the Roman consul of 299 BCE, Valerius Corvus, was said to have continued to work very thoroughly in his farm-fields in his old age, persisting to the age of a hundred. Significantly, late medieval illustrators presented Corvus as digging in raised beds in a garden.⁹⁰ Monks had become the new icons of 'gardening for the elderly'. They were the champions of vegetable gardening. They were the new aspiring martyrs and, in turn, they became heirs to the former martyrs' flowery visions of Paradise.

The Fondation Hardt needs a new vision for its garden. I suggest a monastic model. All novice-visitors should be required to work in it daily. A hermit has to be found and put in charge. There should be no promise of seven naked ladies on the lawn as an incentive.

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⁸⁹ FESTUGIÈRE 1950, vi-vii.

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DISCUSSION

B. Bergmann: You have referred to Paradise as a garden. The term ‘paradise garden’ is used rather loosely in modern studies of Roman art. It is sometimes applied to the flowery abundance which collapses the divisions of the seasons in such landscape-frescoes as the Garden Room at Prima Porta and in Pompeii’s House of the Golden Bracelet. Yet the word *paradeisos* in classical writers seems to hold no such consistent meaning and certainly was not associated with the Golden Age. How should we distinguish the imagery of spontaneous efflorescence and the lack of time in Roman garden art from the early Christians’ Paradise?

R. Lane Fox: There are three main issues here. The pagan world used the term ‘paradise’ for parks, especially hunting-parks, having borrowed the word from the Persians. The foundational texts here are by Xenophon and, for the Persian context, Pierre Briant.¹ If we call these flowery landscape-frescoes ‘paradise-gardens’ we are not following pagan antiquity’s usage. There is also the need to distinguish between representations of the four seasons, sometimes combined in one image, and Christian paradise-gardens in which there are, strictly, no seasons at all. Henry Maguire provides a helpful point of entry into this issue.² Greeks and Romans did have the idea of a ‘utopian’ garden whose flowers and fruits are born all the year round, but not all their flowery frescoes are of this type. Even when they are, they are not strictly ‘Paradise’-scenes. Paradise had specific garden-features, fruit trees, a spring, understood as

¹ XEN. *Oec.* 4, 20; BRIANT 2002, 201, 443.

² MAGUIRE 1987, 25-26.

a central fountain, from which flow the four rivers.³ More is usually said about its trees than its wild flowers. As a result I prefer to be strict. We should call the scenes you mention scenes of 'abundance' and discourage loose use of the term 'paradise' for such non-Christian images.

K. Coleman: Cultivation of the monastic garden required fertilizer as well as irrigation. In the pre-Christian world, sanctions against temple-robbery included prohibition of the theft of 'sacred' manure. Epigraphic evidence about this topic has attracted quite vigorous discussion recently.⁴ As everything attached to a sanctuary belonged to the god, would the dung of the sacrificial animals have done so also? Perhaps it would have been considered all the more efficacious, and therefore valuable, for having been the god's possession.

R. Lane Fox: You raise, if I may say so, a truly fertile question, one which we too often overlook. To the Athens texts we should add others, for instance the classic one from Arcesine on Amorgos.⁵ I know of no cautionary tale against stealing manure from a monastery's dung-heap. In the desert, I suppose Antony and his later followers would collect up any droppings from visiting wild-life and, if available, from their monastery's donkeys. Above all, they would use their own droppings, monastic 'night-soil', as the Chinese call it. In Paradise John Milton's Adam and Eve say they are doing likewise, in the burgeoning Garden "which mocks our scant manuring". It would be worth looking for Jewish texts on this question, not least because sacrificial animals and birds were so prolific in the cult at the Jerusalem Temple. I cited the remarkable Campo Santo of holy soil at Pisa. However, I do not myself think that dung from pagan sanctuaries was thought, like this holy soil, to be

³ Gen. 2, 6-9.

⁴ OWENS 1983; KEEGAN 2008.

⁵ RHODES & OSBORNE 2003, No. 59, with bibliography.

'sacred' and to have special divine qualities. It was just a very valuable resource.

C. Loeben: Eine Bemerkung über die Gärtnerei des Heiligen Antonius. In der östlichen Wüste von Ägypten, wo er sich ansiedelte, gibt es fast keine anderen Oasen, im scharfen Kontrast zur westlichen Wüste. Ohne Zweifel dachte er, dass er von Gott an seine Wasserquelle geführt wurde, aber es gab fast keine andere Quelle in der Nähe. In welchem Ausmaß kann gesagt werden, dass er sie entwickelte? — nur für seine Besucher oder für andere Leute in der Umgebung?

R. Lane Fox: The topography is indeed always crucial for understanding the places where saints settled. Peter Brown has some fine remarks on the question of the desert and the not-so-desert in his classic paper, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man".⁶ In his *Life of Antony*, Athanasius writes only of Antony feeding his visitors. He does not find a big supply-garden.

S. Dalley: You mentioned that in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* cypress trees were imagined to be standing outside the gate of Paradise. I think this motif has old non-Greek roots which we can already see in the Babylonian tradition. My paper mentioned the pair of tree-gods who are depicted in terracotta as standing as guardians at the entrance to a shrine and others in a seal-impression who are bending their heads. I think the Christian text has developed this imagery.

R. Lane Fox: Thank you for this unremarked detail. In Christian texts which survive in non-Greek versions or arise outside or on the edges of the non-Greek world, so much remains to be traced which is missed altogether by classical and patristic readers like myself.

⁶ BROWN 1971, 80-101, esp. 83-84.

K. von Stackelberg: I have two questions. First, your paper illustrates the marked tension between the erotic, seductive aspect of gardens and their cultivation by monks as a way to the improvement of their souls. Is there also a sense in which the pleasure of the garden is acting as a prophylactic against temptation? Secondly, elements of Irenaeus's description of paradise (e.g., the grapes) remind me vividly of Lucian's description of the Isle of the Blessed in the *Verae Historiae*. Do you think Irenaeus is also playing with a metatextual aspect of the garden, grafting healthy Christian Gospel material onto pagan paradoxography?

R. Lane Fox: Pleasure is never a prophylactic against temptation in Christian texts, unless it is pleasure or delight in God. The only permissible pleasure would be the idea of 'gardening for God' in his Creation, not the simple pleasure of gardening or gardens *per se*. Secondly, Irenaeus was certainly not playing with pagan texts in any controllable sense of metatextuality. He is metascriptural. However, I would reverse your point about Lucian, as it reminds me of something fascinating. In the *Verae Historiae*, the semi-females who sprout vine-branches from their fingers may be a parody of the talking females in trees whom Alexander meets at the edge of the world in the *Alexander Romance*.⁷ However, the enclosed city, shining and bejewelled, also in the *Verae Historiae*, is taken by the (Christian) scholiast to be a parody of the Christians' New Jerusalem.⁸ I think the scholiast, remarkably, is right. The city is populated by souls in a sort of transfigured body. There is no pagan philosophic source for this notion. The only obvious source is the transfigured body in Christian teachings of the future Resurrection. The city also enjoys "perpetual spring", causing grapes, pomegranates, and apples to bear fruit constantly. This perpetual fruiting can be traced back to Alcinous'

⁷ LUCIAN. *Ver. hist.* 1, 8.

⁸ LUCIAN. *Ver. hist.* 2, 11; RABE 1906, 21, lines 19-20.

garden in Homer and the perpetual spring to later poems on the Golden Age. However, it also matches Christians' ideas about Paradise, as my paper noted. I think Lucian is indeed parodying the Heavenly City of Christian teaching, a point which has not been widely recognized.

É. Prioux: Vous avez évoqué l'Alexandrie tardo-antique et la figure de Clément d'Alexandrie. Peut-on évaluer l'influence éventuelle sur ces auteurs de la poésie hellénistique et/ou de la Seconde Sophistique, qui semblent constituer deux moments essentiels dans la constitution d'une approche littéraire du thème des jardins?

R. Lane Fox: Clement wrote a lot and I can only answer for his *Paedagogus* and then only because of the superb *Sources Chrétiennes* edition by H.-I. Marrou, expert on the cultural ballast shared by writers of this period. Marrou's notes never find a late Hellenistic or Second Sophistic parallel. The only sources he detects are scripture or archaic-classical Greek poetry or sometimes some late Hellenistic prose 'diatribe', hard though this genre is to pin down. Marrou's fine introduction wonders if Clement used an intermediary, a *florilegium* we might say, for his classical allusions.⁹ Late Hellenistic epigrams are nowhere detected. Perhaps renewed study might detect their presence in other works, especially Clement's *Stromateis*. I am doubtful, but I am no expert in this field. In the *Paedagogus*, Clement describes "God's education" as a "possession for all time", an allusion to Thucydides, of course, which will pain all loyal Thucydideans.¹⁰ My sense is that Clement looks back to collections of such classics, not to contemporary sophistic prose.

⁹ MARROU 1960, 66-91.

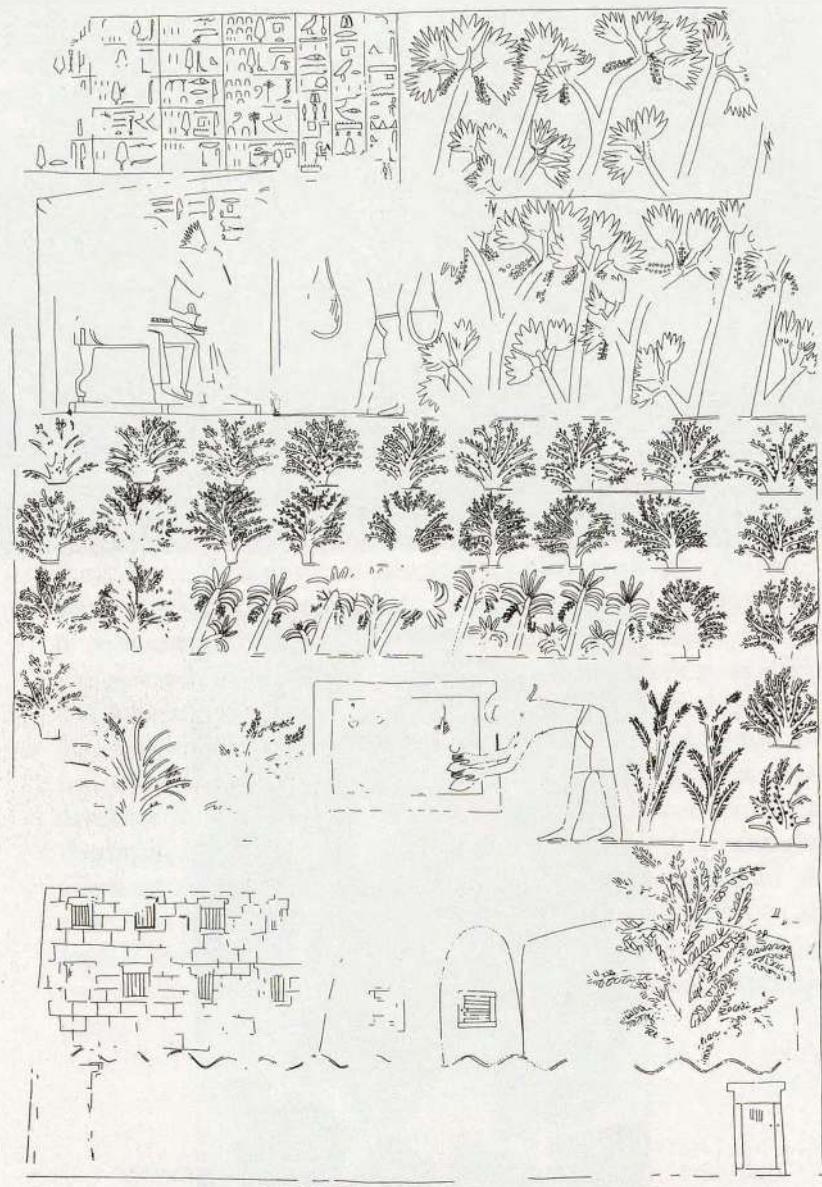
¹⁰ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 1, 54, 3.



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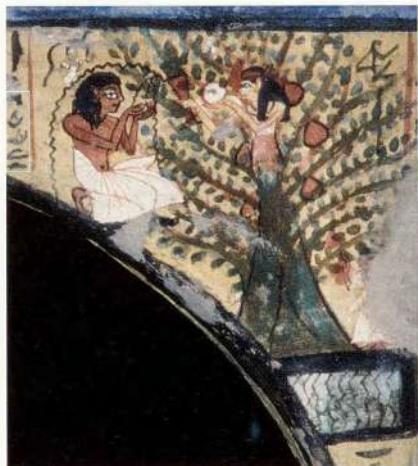
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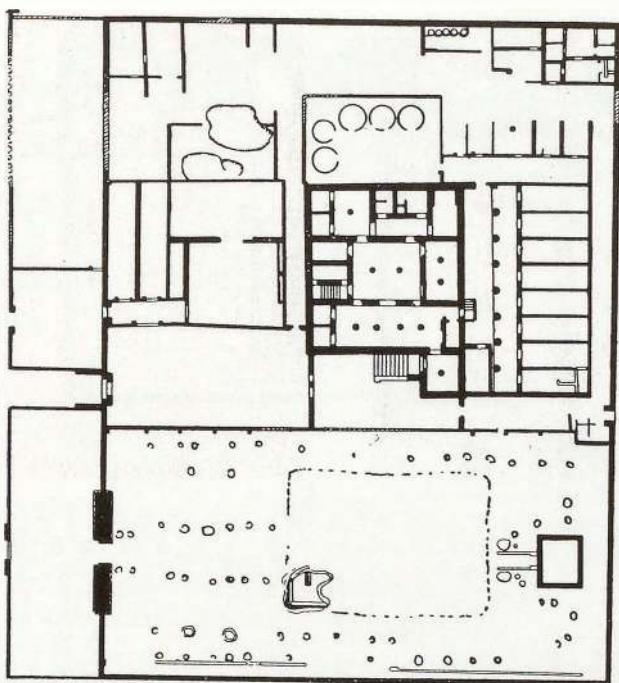
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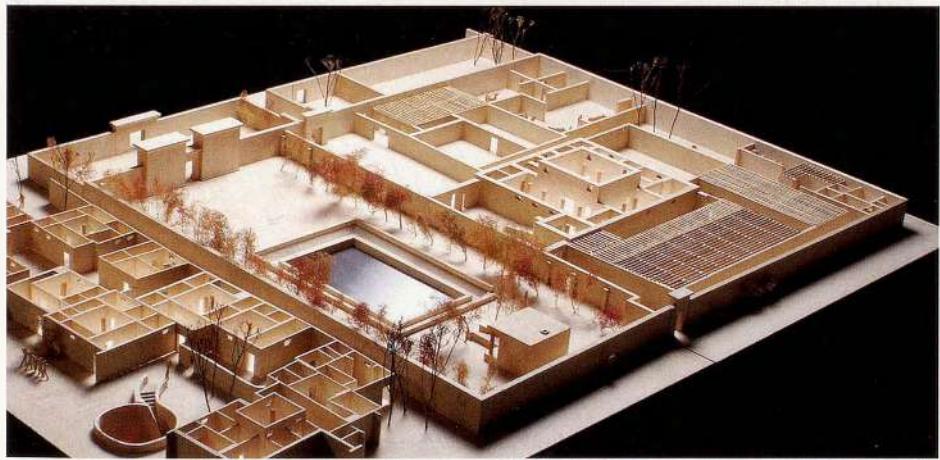
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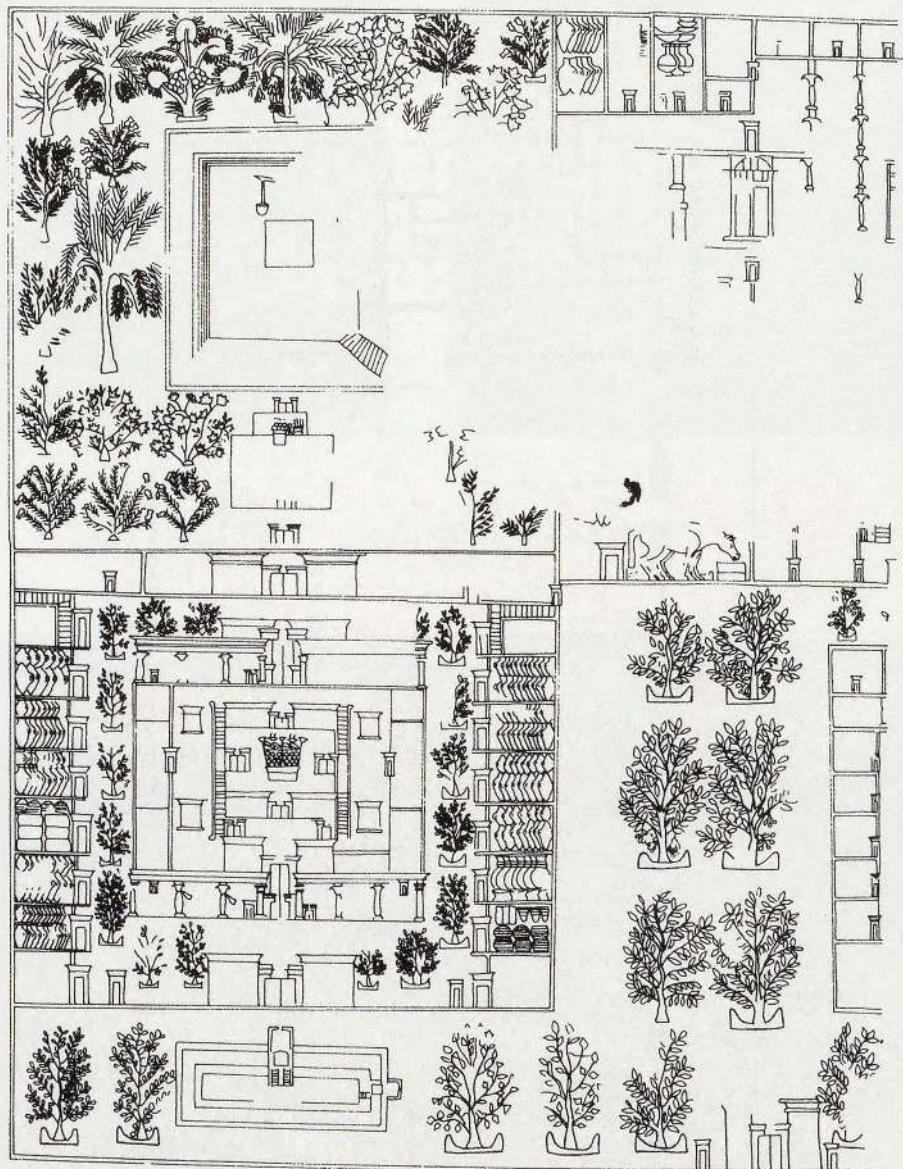
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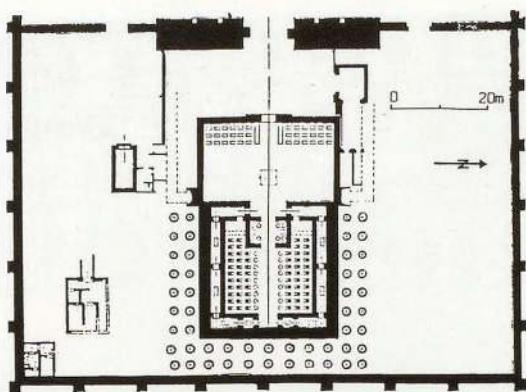


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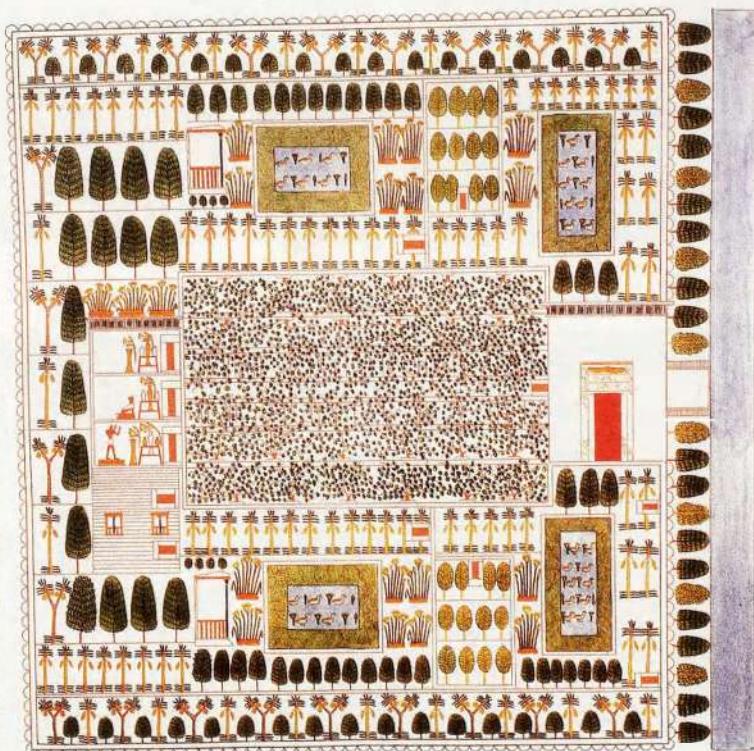


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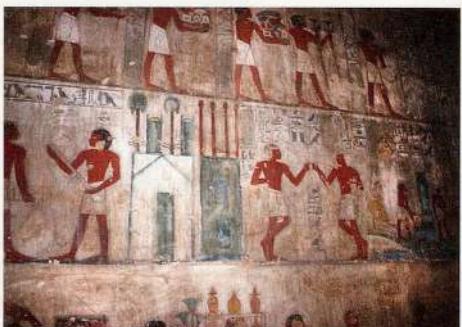
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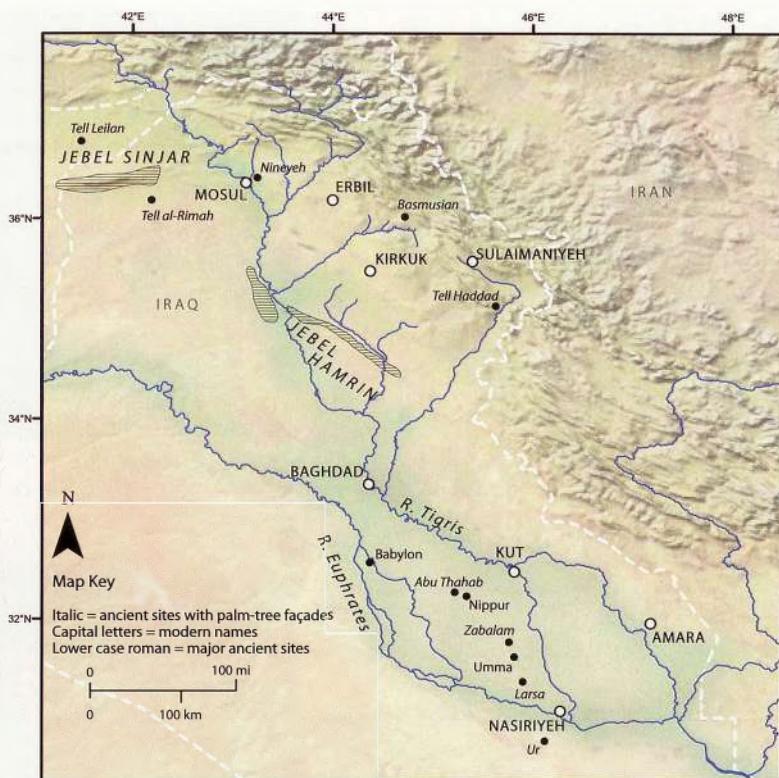
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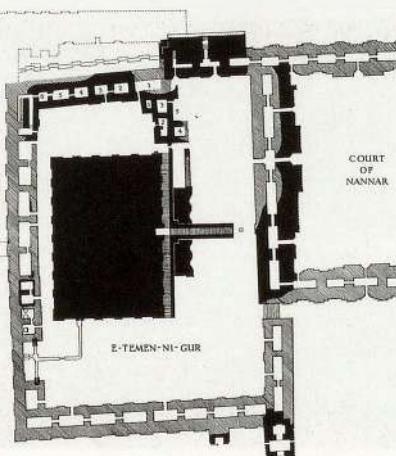
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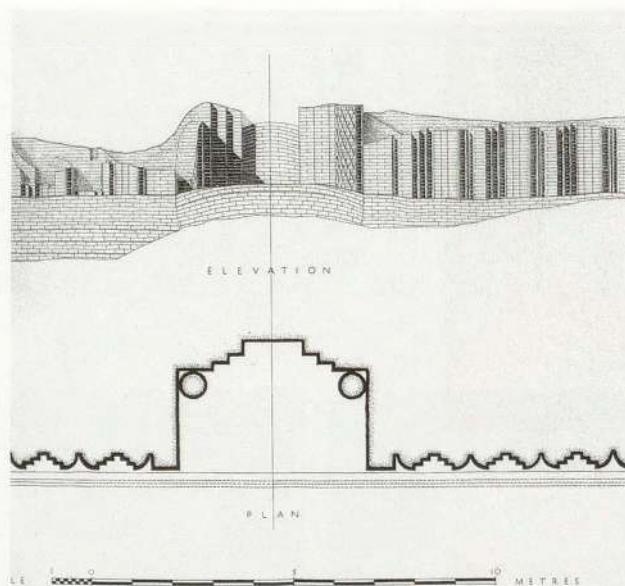
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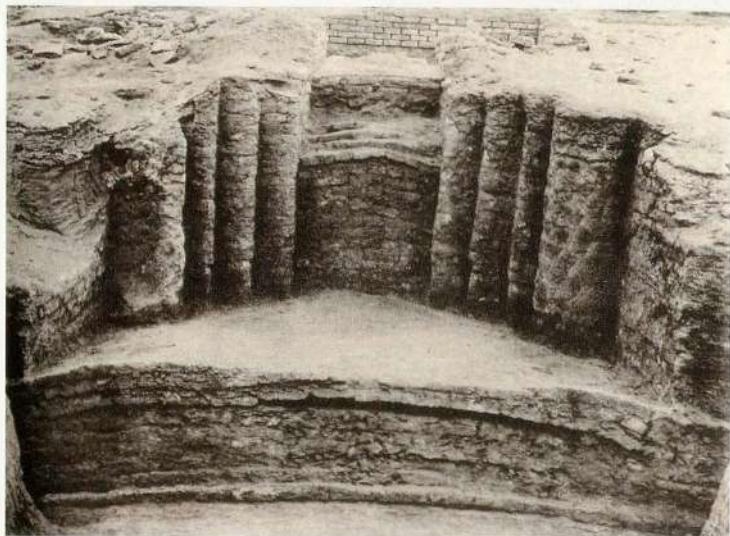
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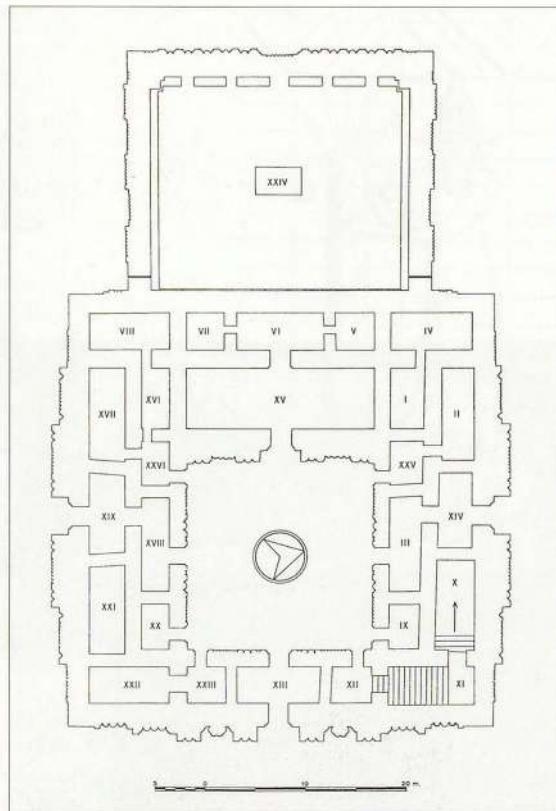
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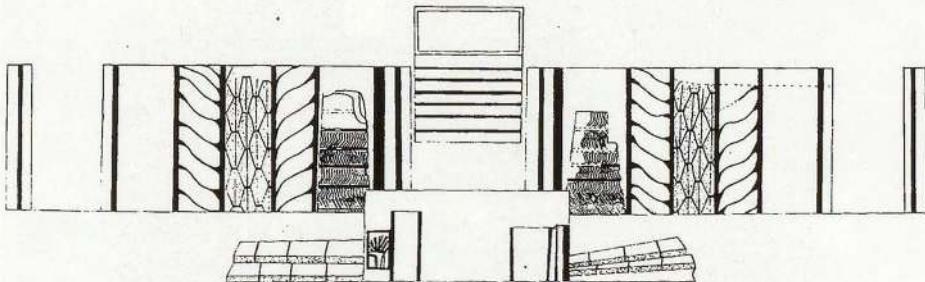
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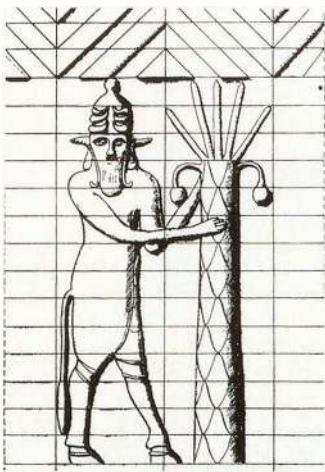
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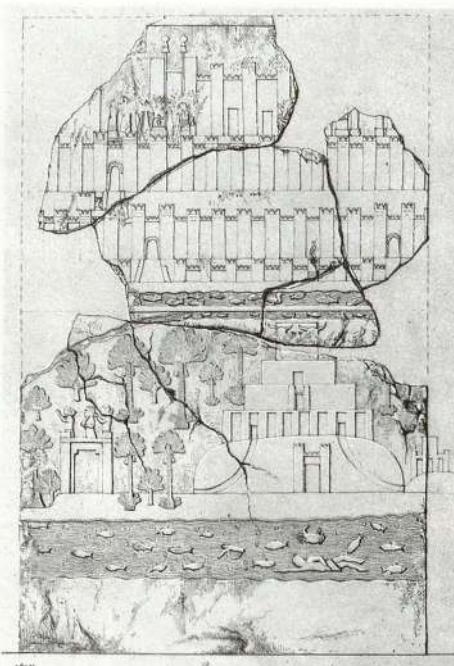
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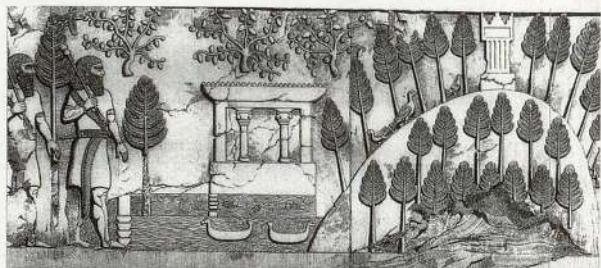
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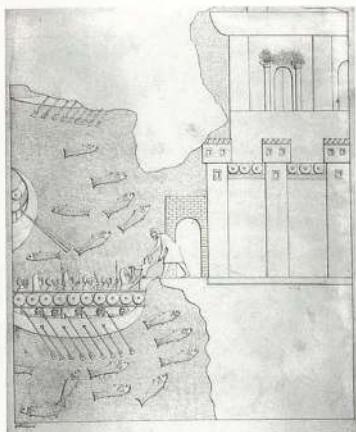
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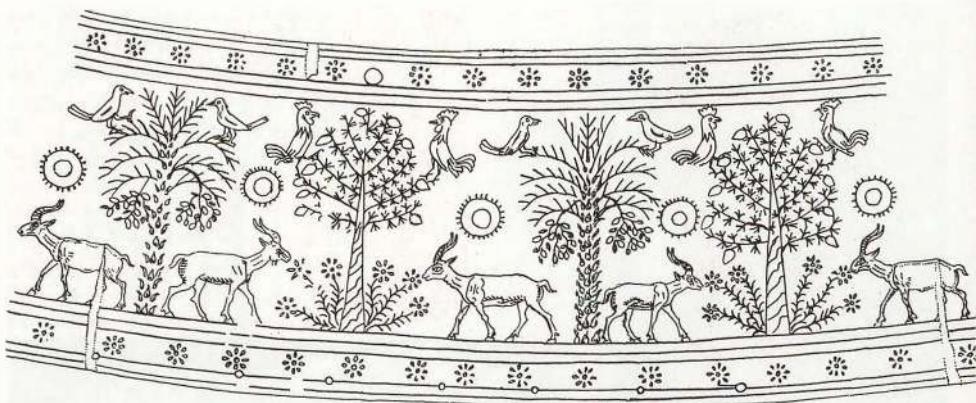


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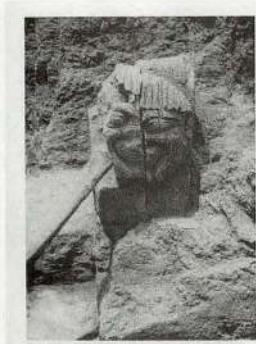
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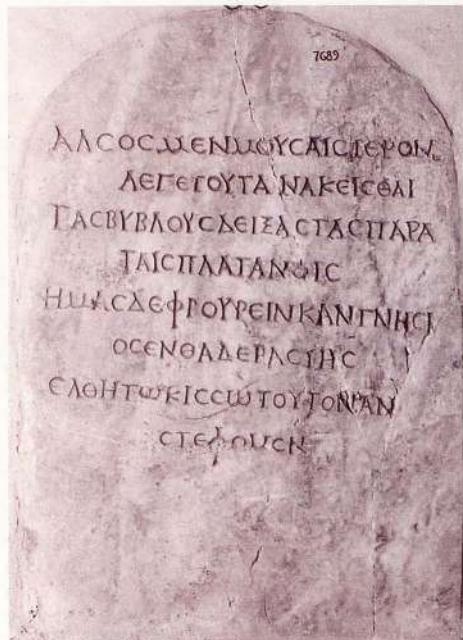




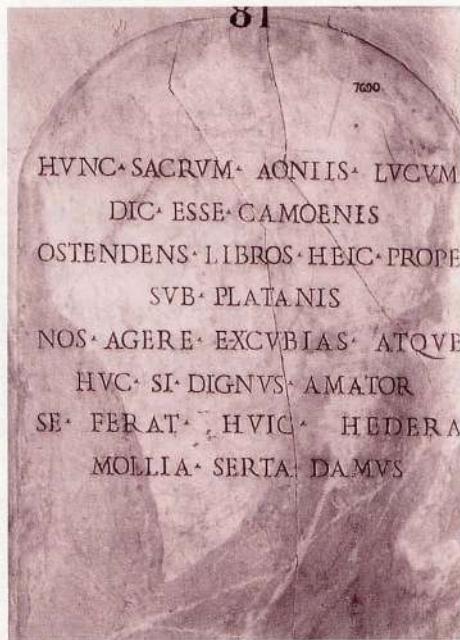
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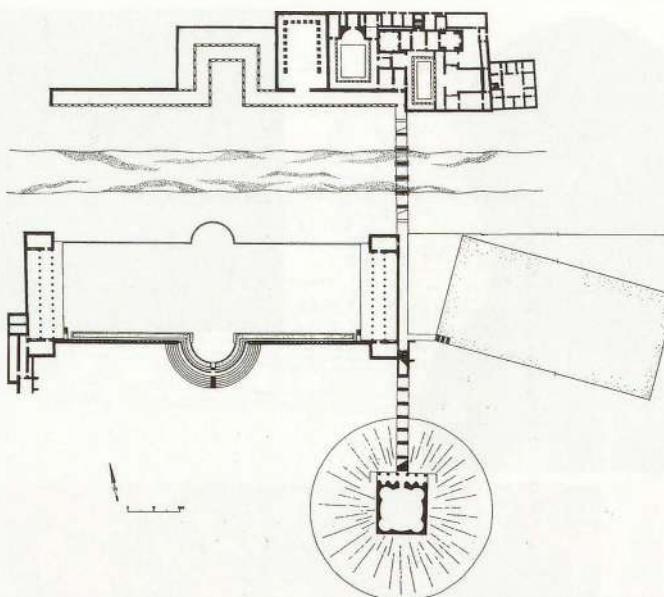
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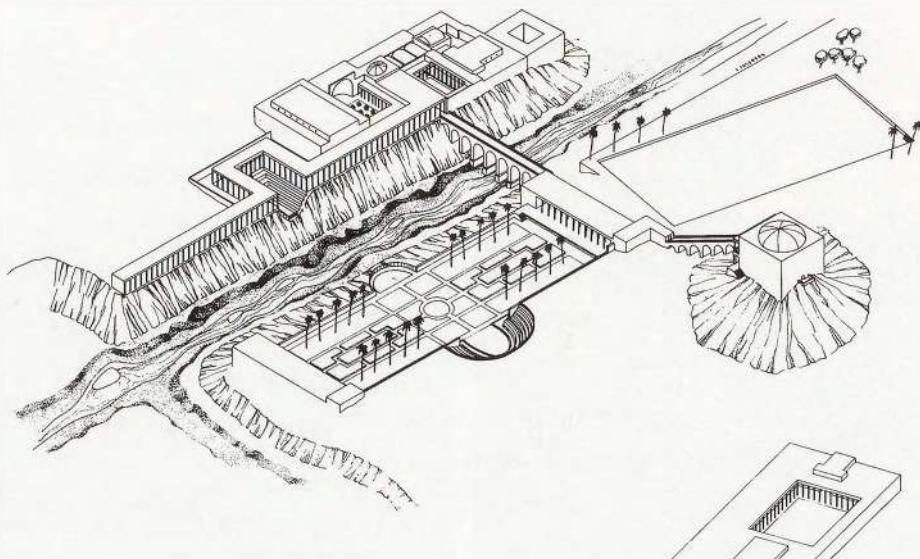
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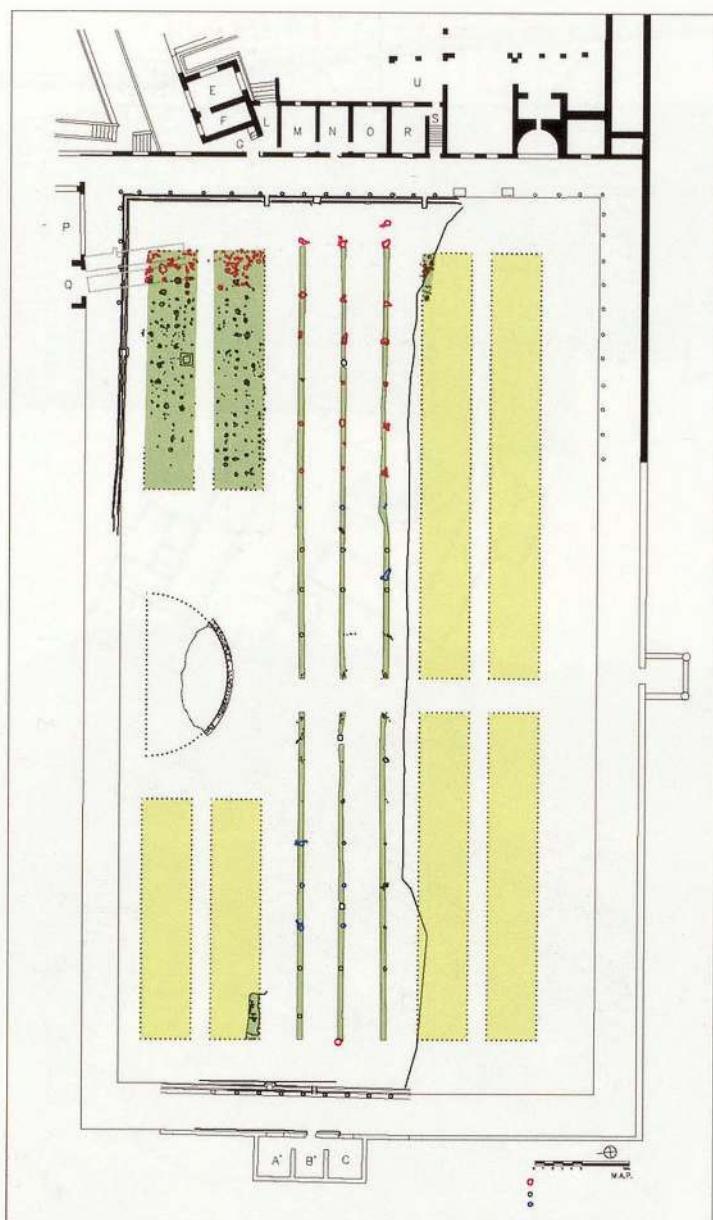
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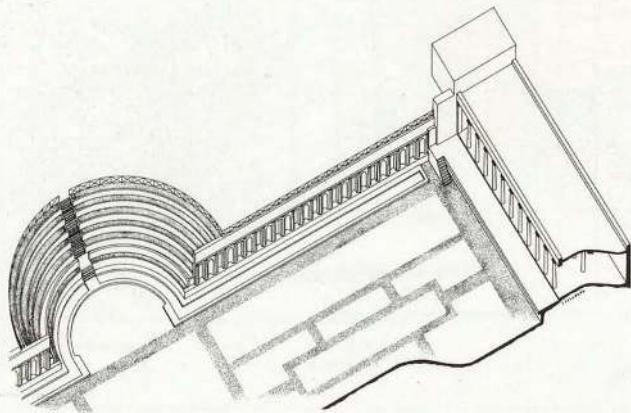
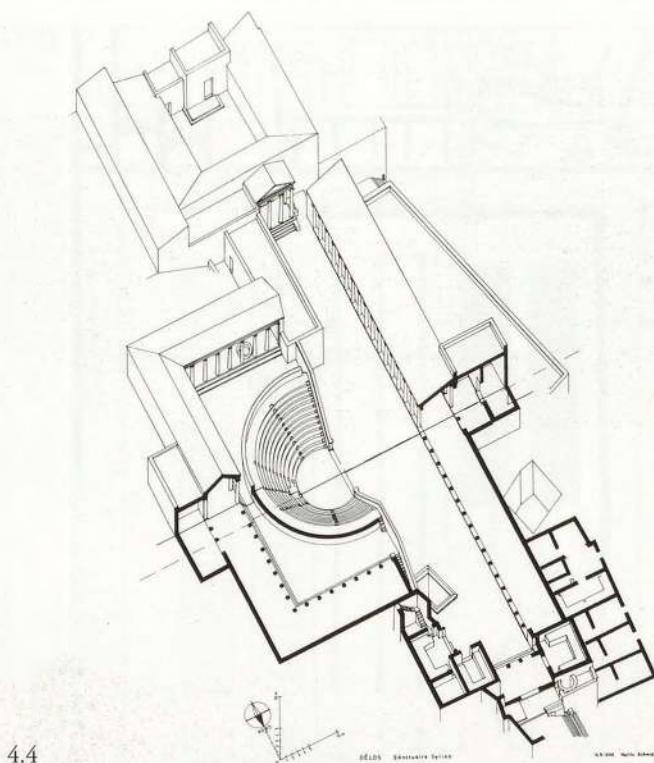
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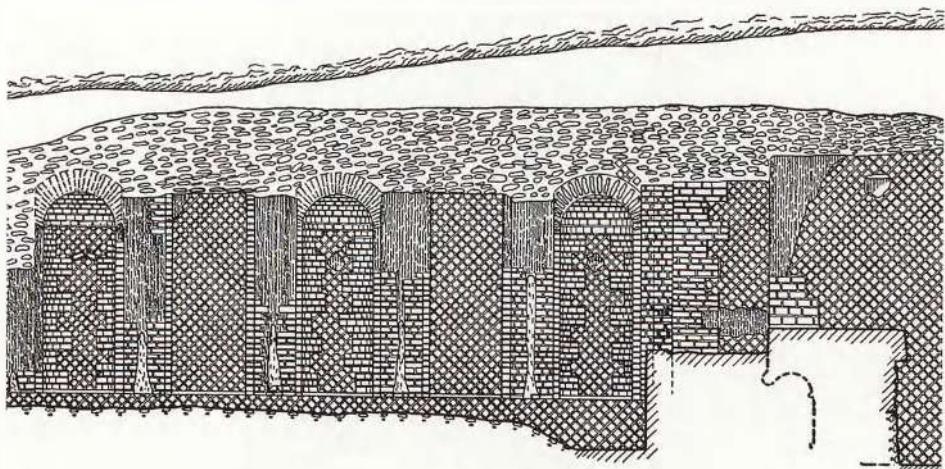


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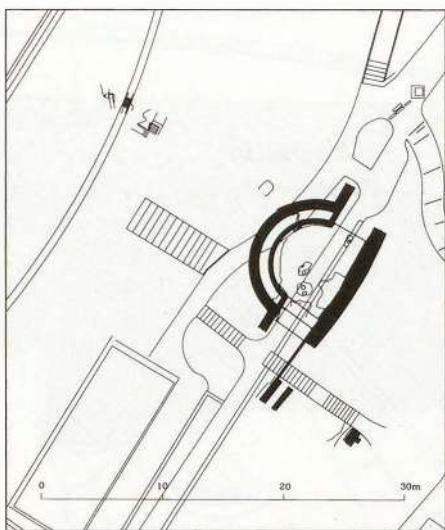




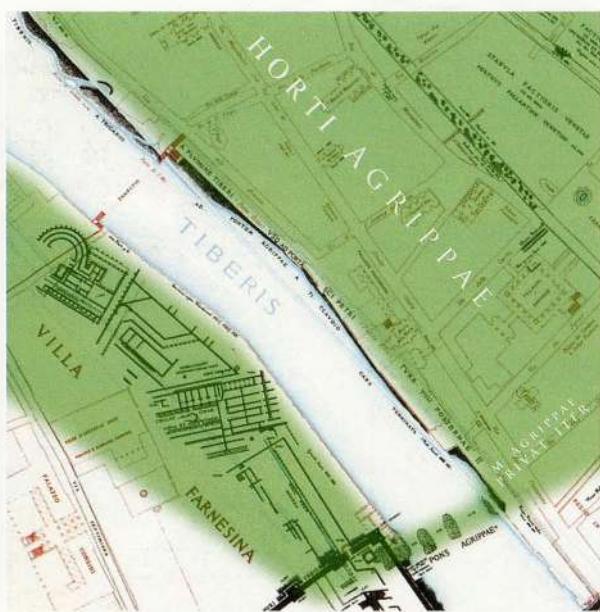
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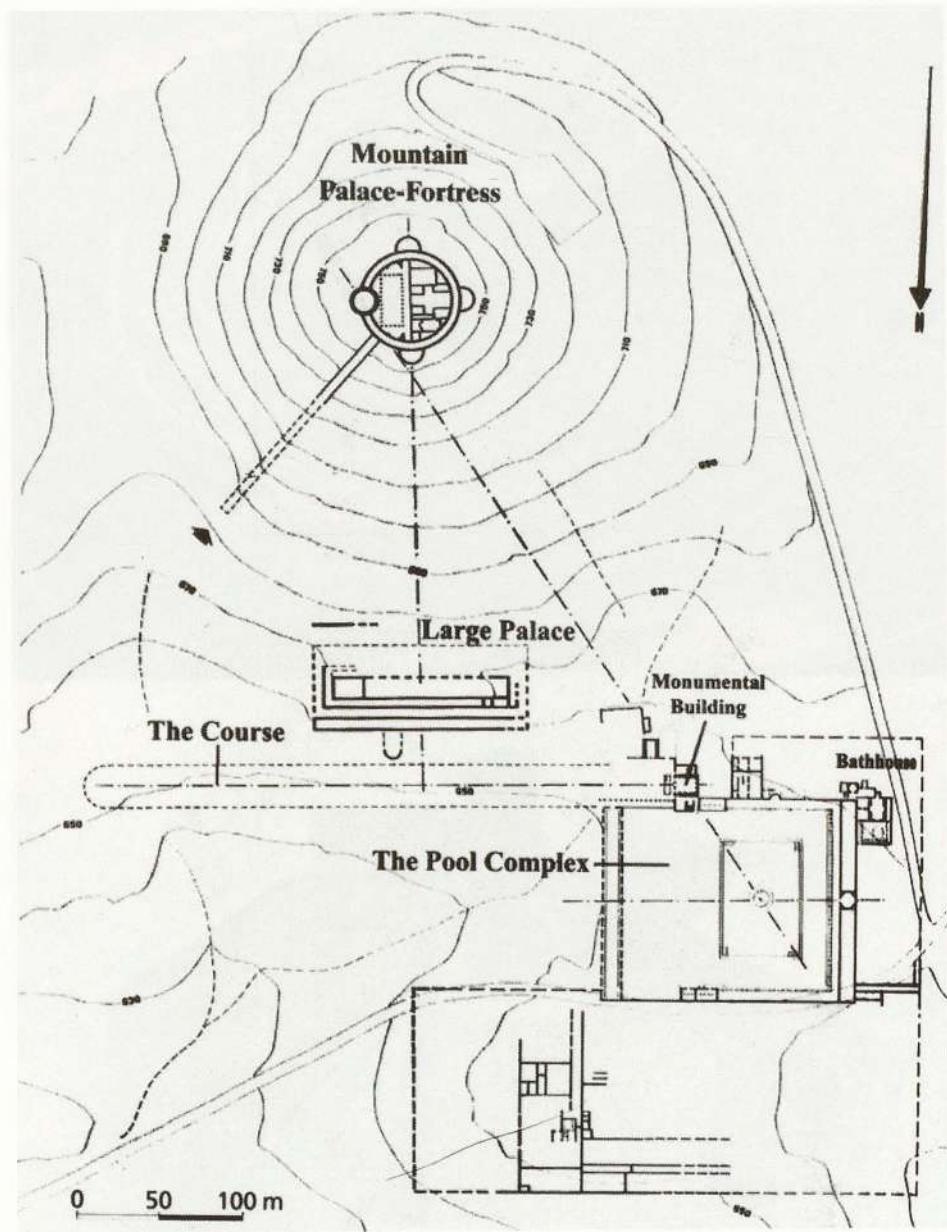
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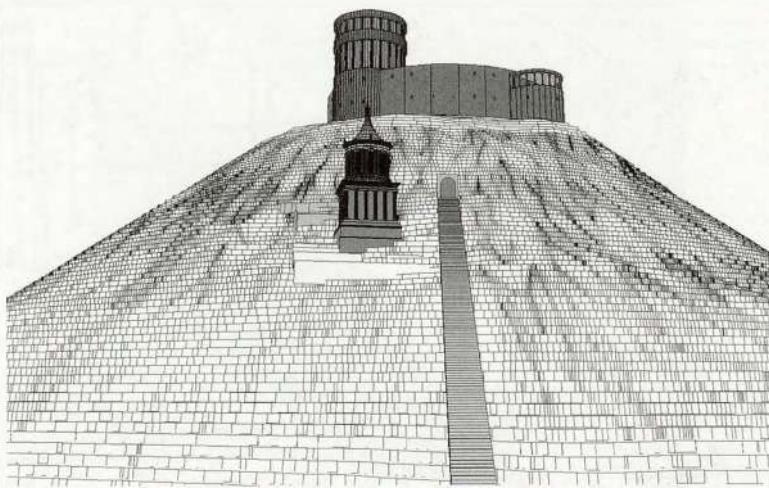
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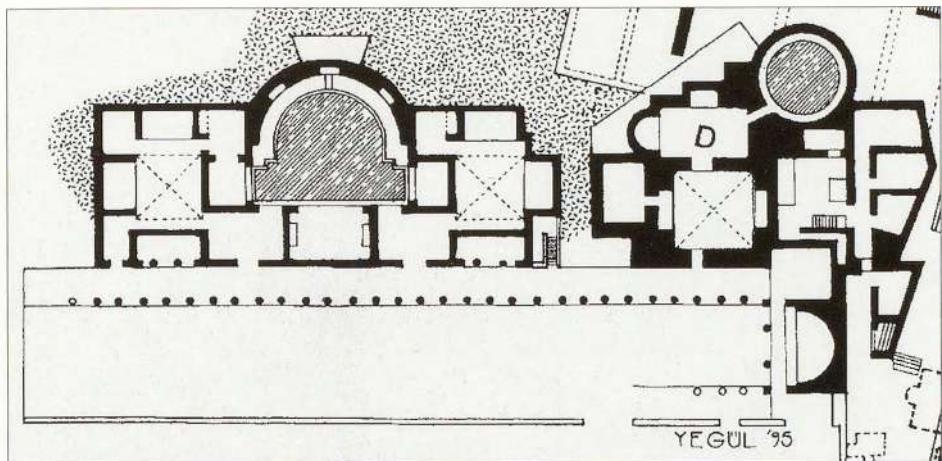
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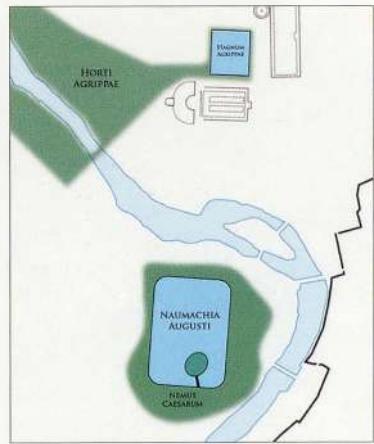
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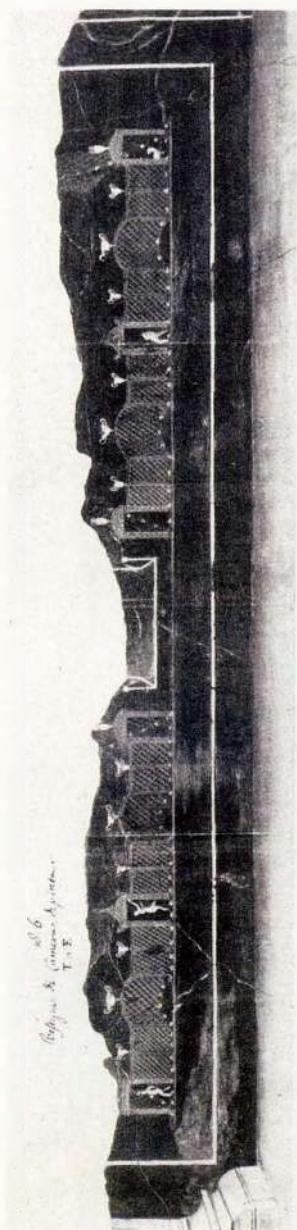
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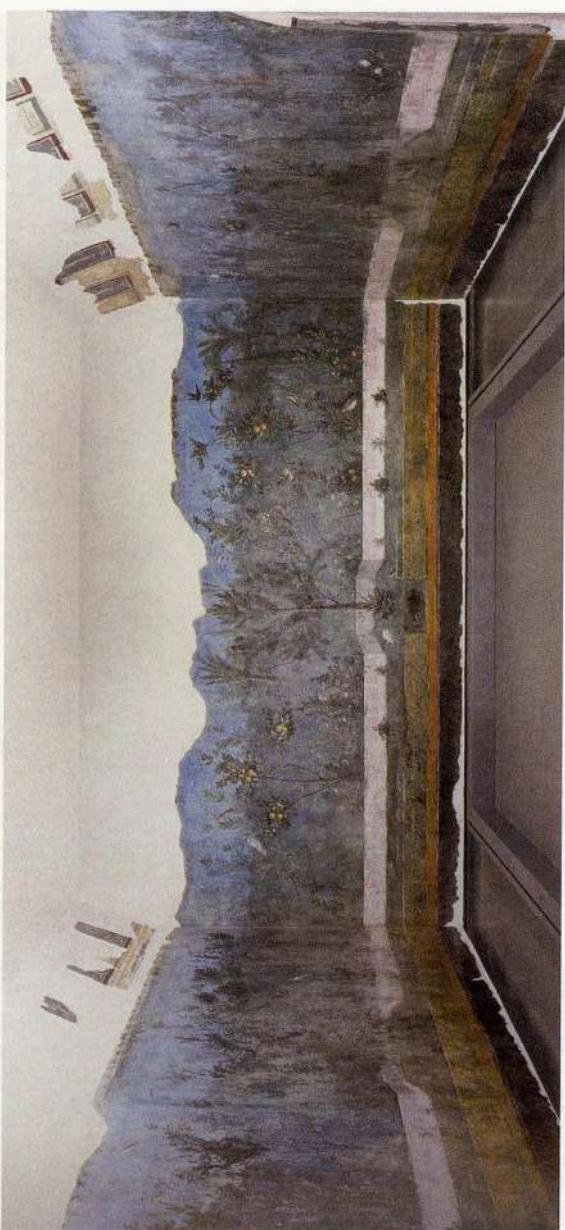
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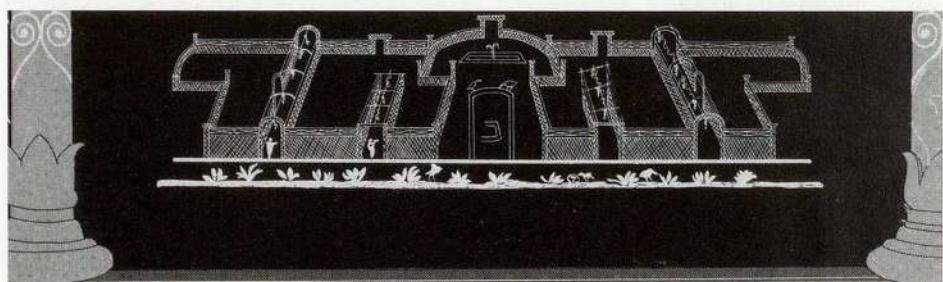
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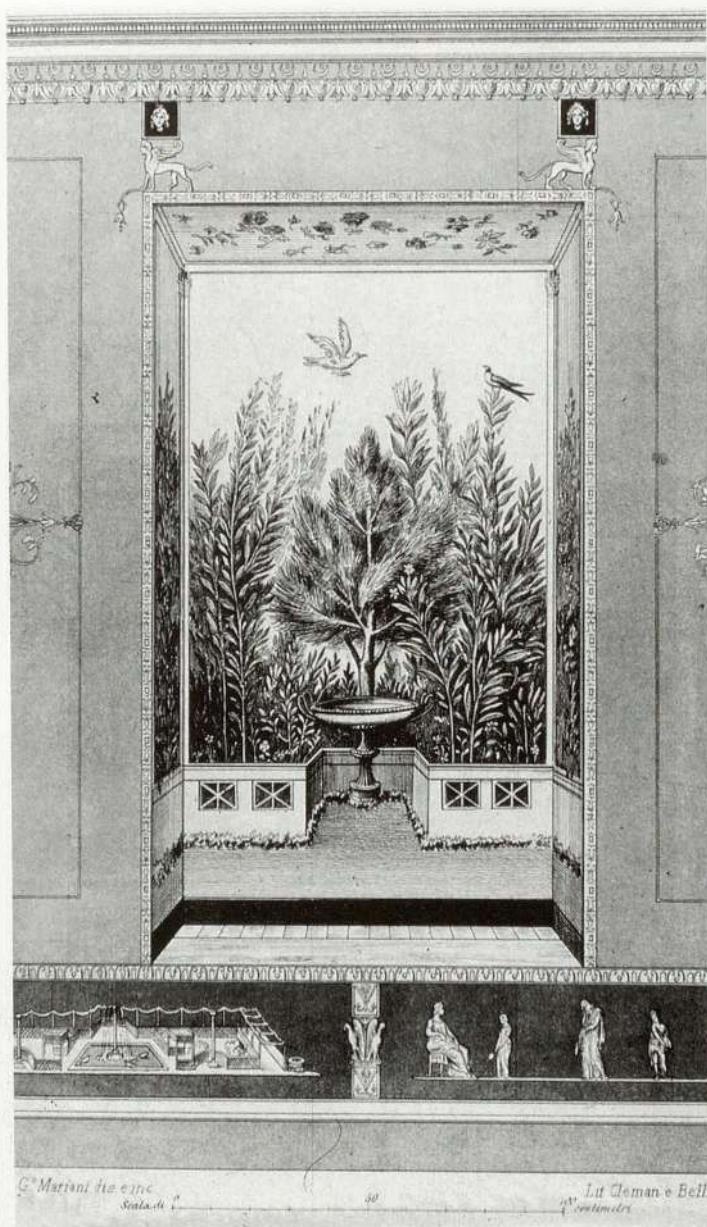
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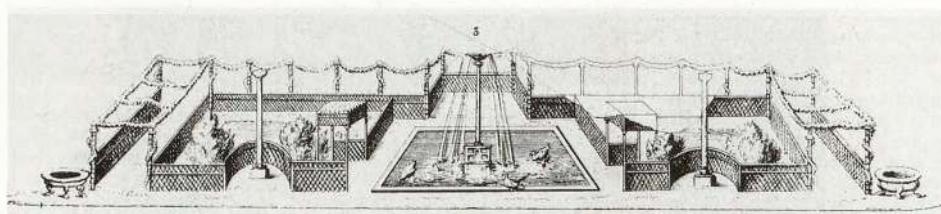
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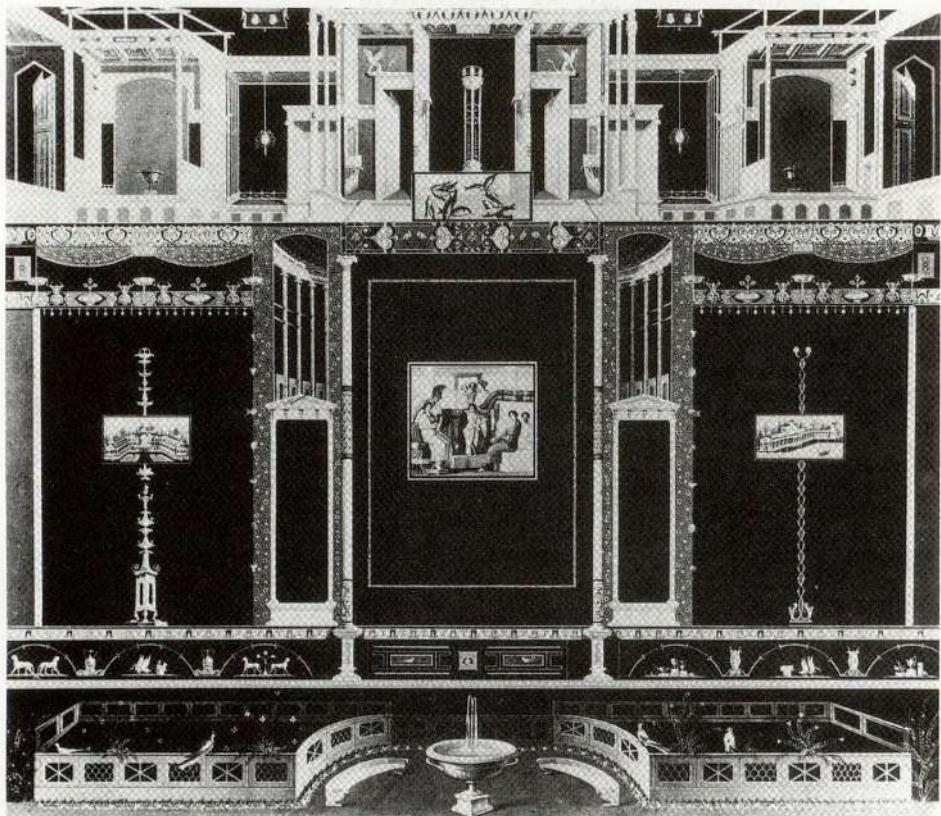
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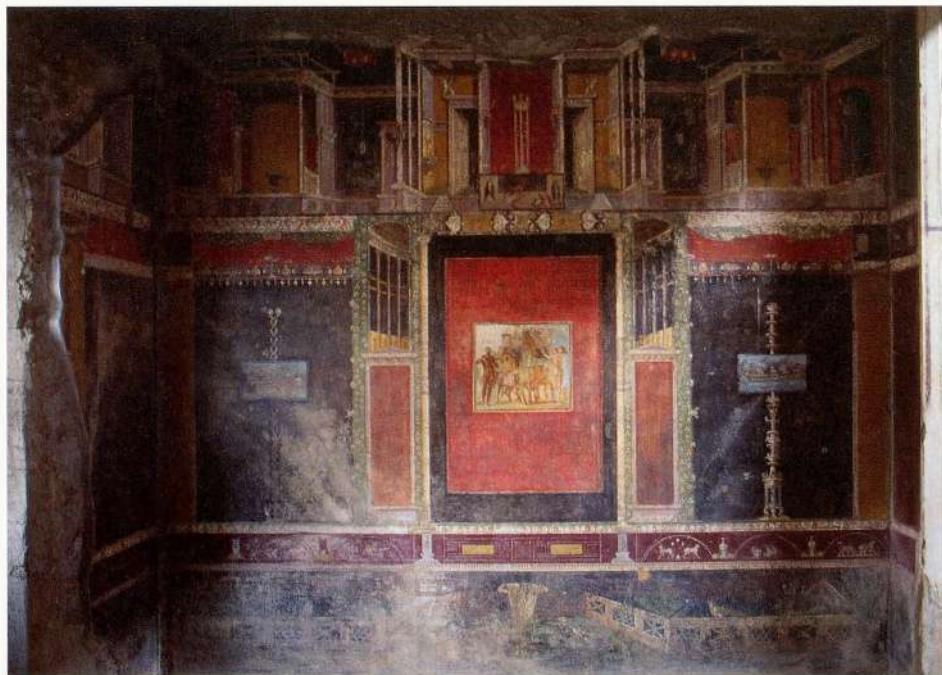
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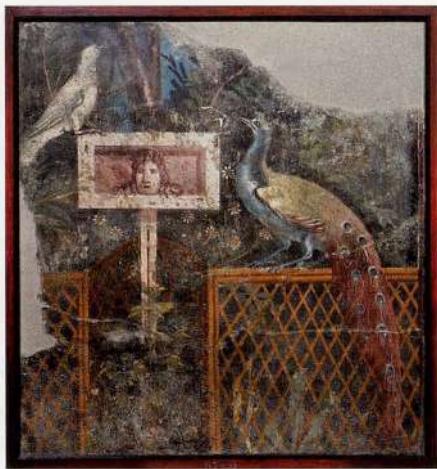
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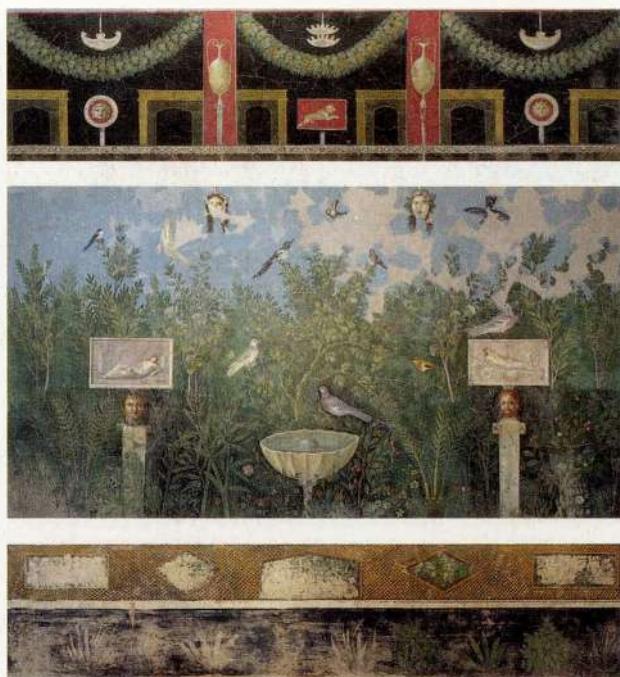
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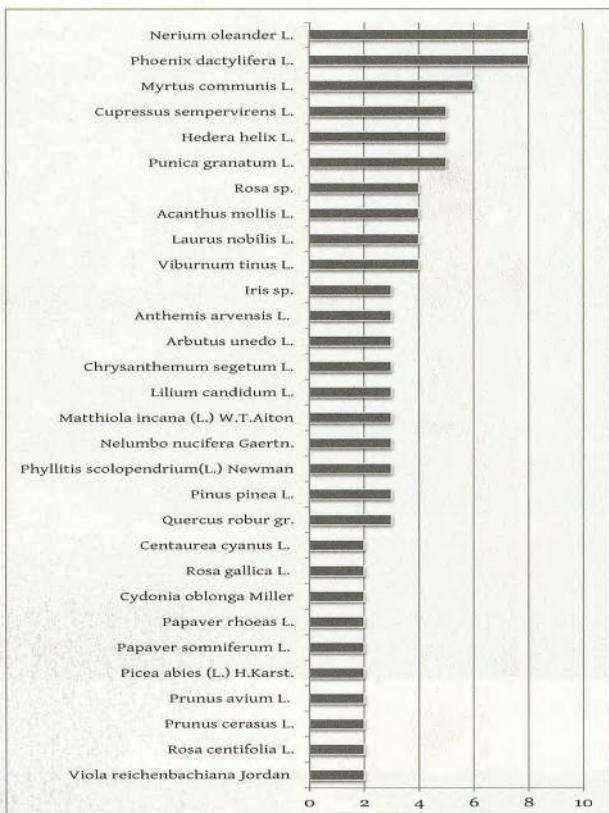
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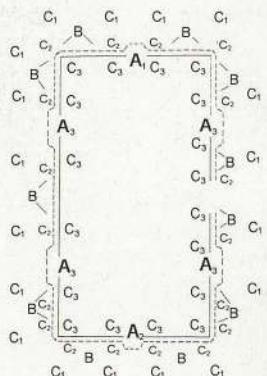
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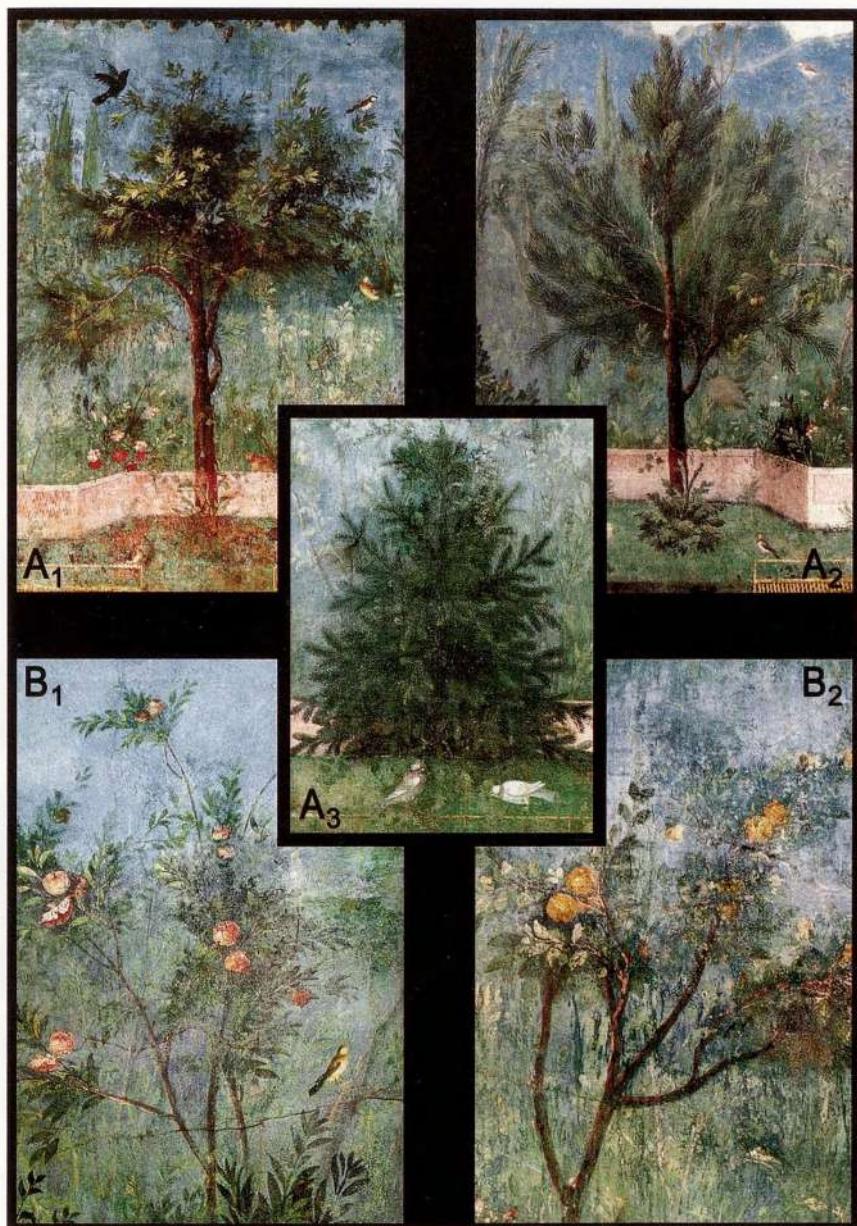
6.20



7.1



7.2





7.4



- | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
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Carmina Latina epigraphica
(CLE) (Bücheler):
 247 = *CIL* I² 1319 = VI
 9583 = *ILLRP* 798 = *ILS*
 8341: 198.
 886: 122.

Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum
 1828-1877 (*CIG*):
 III 6186 = Kaibel 1878, n.
 829 = *IG XIV* 1011: 122,
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Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
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Le jardin dans l'Antiquité

Introduction et huit exposés suivis de discussions

*Kathleen Coleman, Christian E. Loeben,
Stephanie Dalley, Évelyne Prioux, Rabun Taylor,
Annalisa Marzano, Bettina Bergmann,
Giulia Caneva, Robin Lane Fox*

« Les jardins sont un moyen universel de domestiquer la nature. Ils sont aussi l'expression des mentalités et des valeurs propres aux sociétés qui les cultivaient. À la fois matériels et symboliques, ils sont par essence insaisissables. Leur étude se décline par périodes ou par pays, sous un angle global ou local. Les présentes contributions embrassent trois millénaires d'histoire du monde méditerranéen. À la lumière de périodes, de lieux et de thèmes choisis, elles redonnent vie aux jardins anciens. » Kathleen Coleman



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