VI SPACES AND PLACES

si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil. Tusculum late May/June 46 BCE, Cic. *Fam.* 9.4[1]

If you have a garden in your library, there will be nothing lacking.

…any purposeful arrangement of natural objects…with exposure to the sky or open air, in which the form is not fully accounted for by purely practical considerations.[2]

Pictures and spaces, like literary texts, tell a story. This chapter, together with the *Survey*'s envoi, tackles a range of these stories. At our first two sites we focus on painted landscapes in suburban villas (the Villa 'Farnesina', and the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, near Rome). The next two, the famous but now mostly lost Horti Sallustiani and Porticus of Pompey, open a window onto the political and civic role of peri-urban Roman landscape gardens. Rounding off the survey, a stroll around the parkland of the emperor Hadrian's villa near Tibur (modern Tivoli) uses the contemporary site to reflect on villa visits then and now.

How can we get a sense of the visual and physical qualities of Roman landscape? Ancient agriculture and planting schemes leave few ostensible traces, and although there are literary texts and landmark studies of plants and crops to which we can refer, this chapter turns first for help to painted vistas.[3] Without these frescoed instances of visual trickery and wishful thinking from the walls of Roman houses and villas, re-imagining the archaeological remains of designed landscapes and their conversation with the built environment and lived experience in their heyday would be very difficult.[4] We have already seen how Latin authors enthusiastically textualized and mediated the natural world; their vision prefigures sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

[1] Addressed to Varro, with whom he was planning to meet up.

[2] Working definition of a garden: Cooper 2006: 12–14 (citing M. Miller 1993: 15).

[3] Kuttner 1999c: 8 for caveats. Jashemski 2002 gives chapter and verse on plantings, using Pompeii as a focus. Barker and Lloyd 1991 present useful examples of fieldwork in landscape archaeology; Villedieu 2001 showcases the Palatine Hill. On horticulture, von Stackelberg 2009: 35–47 sums up; for the detail, see Jashemski's massive two-volume study of Pompeian gardens (1979/93) and Jashemski and Meyer 2002 (a comprehensive work on Pompeii's natural history).

[4] In a series of key studies, Purcell (1987b, 1995, 1996a) and Wallace-Hadrill 1998b make clear what is most important. Jashemski 2007 sums up.

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artistic reinvention of 'landscape' but was also in close dialogue with a wide range of practical and utilitarian agendas. Fragmentary echoes of how utility and aesthetics combined in ancient designed landscapes can still be tracked down in surviving Renaissance and later landscape gardens; visiting these estates shows how agriculture could frame ornamental parks, which in turn worked as performance venues displaying the power and taste of their owners in support of their political ambitions.[5] Exploring one or more of these sites, tripping out to Hadrian's Villa at Tibur, and factoring in the texts we sampled in Chapter V, will all help to make more sense of what landscape could mean in ancient Rome.

VI.1 Landscape as background and foreground

Returning to terminology, the problem identified in Chapter I remains: how do we tease out what constitutes a specifically *ancient* 'interest' in landscape as an artistic subject or object, or as experiential space, and relate it to contemporary reception? Chapter I suggested some further reading and introduced the roots of modern Western landscape discourse in sixteenth-century art. Chapter II's investigation of aesthetics pointed out how Romanticism's Sublime delighted in reinventing the natural environment as an alien and disturbing landscape, with some features recognizable from Bacchic nature (although hard to reconcile with the ethos of most ancient representations). The Western, post-Renaissance and in particular post-Romantic use of the term 'landscape' prioritizes the aesthetic qualities of nature, and often muscles out (or idyllizes) functional utilitarian features and voices. Combined with an emphasis on nature as wild(er)ness, this could lead to the assumption that there was little significant equivalence between classical and modern

[5] Consult Andrews 1999: 67–75 for a succinct summary. More expansively, useful approaches are presented in Hunt 1991, 1996; Ehrlich 2002; Helmreich 2002; Christian 2008. The great landscape gardens typically have well-illustrated websites, but see also Webography: *Garden Visit* and Catena Digital Archive of Historic Gardens and Landscapes. If you are planning a trip, visit (e.g.) in the UK: Mount Stewart (Co. Down), Rousham (Oxfordshire), Stourhead (Wiltshire), Stowe (Buckinghamshire), Wrest Park (Bedfordshire); in Ireland: Powerscourt Gardens (Co. Wicklow – see Figure 10); in France: Parc des Buttes-Chaumont and Parc Monceau (Paris), Désert de Retz (Marly), Versailles; in Germany: Sans Souci (Potsdam), Dessau-Wörlitz (Wörlitz); in Italy: Villa Aldobrandini (Lazio), Bomarzo (Lazio), Villa d'Este (Lazio), Villa Lante (Lazio), Sacro Bosco (Lazio), Villa Borghese (Rome), Villa Doria Pamphili (Rome), Villa Medici (Rome); in Russia: Peterhof (St Petersburg), Tsarskoe Selo (near St Petersburg); in the USA: Monticello (Charlottesville, VA), Hearst Castle (San Simeon, CA), Vizcaya (Miami, FL).

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landscape discourse and interest in the farmed countryside, but we have already seen how much this oversimplifies the position.

We can restart here by focusing on ancient landscape frescoes. Like those that often decorated churches, stately homes, and aristocratic villas, they present architecturally fixed vistas, tied for the most part permanently to one building, relating spatially to a defined physical and economic environment, and connected directly to one aristocratic commissioner and (typically) his household.[6] Like ancient landscape frescoes, when mural landscapes once again began to open up imaginary windows within Europe's grand buildings they did not need to include human figures in order to speak intimately about and to the families and socio-cultural milieux who gazed at them, who inhabited the rooms their vistas extended, and who typically depended on extensive landholdings for their prosperity. As we will see, the architectural spaces from which mural landscapes are viewed condition and specify their perspectives, authorizing three-dimensional reading strategies very different from those encouraged by portable art works or objects, even when similar scenes were on display.

Landscape art had become a sign of prosperity and power that a time-travelling Roman might have recognized. With its roots in the development of a newly humanistic and environmental rather than religious iconography, 'natural' scenery was taking centre stage by the seventeenth century. Its popularity in the wealthy and powerful Italian courts, and at Rome, helped to secure the place of 'landscape' in the new neo-classical style. As Nicholas Poussin (1594–1665)'s influential (beautiful, occasionally threatening, but never agricultural) visions make clear, this was an emblematic vision of landscape as a combination of pagan Golden Age idyll and Christian moral and social order, a development that increasingly became linked to the exploration and discovery of 'new' worlds and European imperialism.[7]

[6] See Andrews 1999: 53–75. Bek 1980: 164–203 outlines how villa art and architecture connect.

[7] Cosgrove 1998: 140–2 sets out the general argument. Giorgione (1477/8–1510)'s famous *The Tempest* prefigures a fascination with symbolic post-classical landscapes in which figures, nature, and built structures play complementary roles. Cf. landscapes by Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), and (as on this *Survey*'s cover) Claude Lorrain (Gellée) (1604–1682) (like Poussin, both spent time working in Rome). Two recent major exhibitions emphasize continuing interest in landscape: 'Poussin and Nature' (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2008), and 'Agostino Tassi (1578–1644): un paesaggista tra immaginario e realtà' (Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, 2008). Cosgrove 2007 discusses how changing geographical knowledge affects vision and understanding – see the exhibition 'Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art' (British Library, London, 2010). Vautier 2007 examines how 'Rome' in all sorts of ways remained a key feature of artistic development right up to the nineteenth century.

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This was the era of increasingly elaborate landscape gardens across Europe, designed to establish the political and cultural authority of their owners, but in time the so-called Picturesque movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries eventually redefined both this kind of 'landscape' and the more ostensibly natural countryside as a touristic or dilettante pop-culture spectacle (see Figures 6 and 7).[8] 'Untouched' nature joined the landscape gardens and parks of great estates (see Figure 10) as stops on a day-tripper's itinerary. This kind of increasingly commercialized experience allowed visitors to take a tour without engaging directly with the politics of an uninhabited (or depopulated) countryside, an invisible workforce, or the original agenda of landowner or designer.[9] Marxist cultural critics argue that the term 'landscape' *always* veils the reality of rural labour and social inequality, transforming the countryside into escapist scenery rather than a place of work (or a place from which authentic 'workers' have been cleared).[10] This may seem far removed from ancient experience, but land rights were a burning issue in the late Republic and, as we noted earlier (for example, in Chapter III), rural to urban migration and perceptions of changing patterns of land use were of huge concern for ambitious politicians.

Away from the frescoed palazzi and the patronage of wealthy churchmen, landscape art was developing and gaining early popularity in northern Europe in particular in a slightly different way: as a portable souvenir or household chattel, and this adds another flavour to the mix. The *bulk* market for most landscape art (and therefore its main form of exposure to the widest range of people) was concentrated in painted scenes on canvas, in mass-produced prints, and in landscapes on porcelain or pottery. These landscape scenes made the countryside a commodity at a time when cities, commerce, and trade were flourishing. The currency of landscape in this context was mostly about a different kind of progress to that of neo-classicism: mobility and change (and, eventually, a kind of nostalgia). By the mid-seventeenth century the Netherlands, for example, was a major European trading economy, whose wealthy merchant class operated as a powerful oligarchy. A popular import was Chinese porcelain, which encouraged the development of the famous Delftware; this in turn was frequently decorated with rustic views. Mass-produced 'landscapes'

[8] Ackerman 1990 is the landmark study.
[9] Chard 1999: 209–48 traces this pattern in touristic responses.
[10] See e.g. Daniels 1989.

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on homeware spoke most vividly to those living and working in a flourishing, urban, and highly mobile cash economy.

Summing up, to get the most out of the term 'landscape' when studying ancient perceptions and modern developments means using it to explore how 'certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature'; these 'insiders' cannot 'walk away from the scene as we can walk away from a framed picture or a touristic viewpoint'.[11] Even when such scenes apparently lack human figures, they are still populated landscapes, closely connected to the real 'figures' for whom they provide a backdrop. The decline in fresco-painting and the early decoupling of landscape art from architectural form and its social hierarchies, and from a direct relationship with the land, is one major reason why we might now struggle to think ourselves into a Roman worldview.[12] However, although the fixed contexts for defining space as landscape have shifted (and continue to shift), by tagging space as 'landscape' we still specify landscape as a valuable commodity, high in cultural as well as real capital. Roman 'interest' in landscape, defined in this way, represents a nexus of intellectual, aesthetic, and practical reward, where landscape works as 'a medium of exchange between the human and the natural, the self and the other. As such, it is like money: good for nothing in itself, but expressive of a potentially limitless reserve of value.'[13]

VI.2 Landscape and scale: gardens

The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world.[14]

[11] Cosgrove 1998: 15, 19.

[12] Andrews 1999: 166–75 sums up how changing relationships between natural order and social hierarchies affected 'landscape'. Other developments (e.g. impressionism and the invention of photography) are also summarized clearly by Andrews 1999: 177–223.

[13] Mitchell 1994a: 5.

[14] Foucault 1986: 26 (in the context that the earliest kind of 'other' space, or heterotopia – a place embodying contradictory or culturally troubling sites, and providing space for exploring them safely – is the garden). Cf. Cyril Connolly's melancholy, metaphoric usage: 'It is closing time in the gardens of the West and from now on an artist will be judged only by the resonance of his solitude or the quality of his despair' – 'Comment', in *Horizon* December 1949–January 1950.

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Over the course of the first century BCE one specific kind of landscape, the 'garden', changed – horticulture came to symbolize the harmony between human (art) and nature that was so lacking in the contemporary world. Garden space is particularly important in this chapter, although Latin terminology has foxed those eager to specify exactly what was meant by *hortus* (typically, garden singular) and *horti* (plural, often a large estate or pleasure garden).[15] This urge to pin down the semantics overlooks the sophisticated way in which the term 'garden' still operates, drawing together a multifarious range of garden art, landscape elements, and uses – some of these, although fewer than one would hope, are highlighted in the reopened ancient Roman 'garden' display at Rome's Musei Capitolini; what we mostly see there (and what mostly survives) is just a tiny sample of the art and decor, offering little insight into ancient gardens' utilitarian roots.[16]

For one modern example of what we are dealing with, consider London's Kensington Gardens in the light of Cooper's detailed study of what gardens mean.[17] This space is now simultaneously a public park, a royal estate (*horti* as collective plural), a collection of diversely planted and structured individual gardens (*horti* as individuating plural), and a green oasis in a teeming metropolis.[18] 'Gardens' in the plural still suggests an expansive and multi-use landscape, populated with decorative, utilitarian, and ideological aspects and sites; plural usage also tends to imply narrative or metaphorical complexity. The singular 'garden' suggests smaller-scale space, though perhaps every bit as complex in structure, planting, and symbolism. In space-syntax terms, 'garden' allows comprehension as one isovist (all points are theoretically at least visible or intelligible from all other points), whereas 'Gardens' more typically comprise convex space (multiple isovists, where not all meanings, vistas, or itineraries are notionally available simultaneously).

Ancient gardens operate within the broader remit of landscape, but also bring the wider landscape into the domestic setting – as we have seen in Pliny.[19] Previous chapters also emphasized the importance

[15] For a sketchy summary, see Beard 1998. Von Stackleberg 2009 looks briefly but thoughtfully at what gardens mean in a Roman context.

[16] Review: E. Fentress 2007. See Cima and Talamo 2008.

[17] Cooper 2006.

[18] Different but comparable examples include New York's Central Park; Paris' Jardin des Tuileries and Bois de Boulogne; Dublin's Phoenix Park and St Stephen's Green; and London's Hyde Park. Kingsbury and Richardson 2005 present an accessible and thoughtful array of discussions.

[19] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 44–5.

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of reading Roman landscapes as part of an established Graeco-Mediterranean conversation about how humankind relates to the natural environment.[20] Persian 'Paradises' (Greek παράδεισος; Latin, *paradisus*) – Royal parkland – became a primer for environmental design in the Hellenistic courts, providing one additional point of reference for the development of landscape semiotics in the late Republic.[21] Despite nuances of foreign, regal luxury, landscape gardens rapidly became emblematic of Rome's new imperial status as cultural arbiter and collector. The increasing prominence of large-scale, aesthetically complex gardens in the highly charged political climate at Rome in the first century BCE encourages an ideological reading, particularly with the unprecedented appearance of public gardens around the city. In this era, vistas and landscapes previously restricted to elite *otium* in the *suburbium* and Campania increasingly formed part of the peri-urban experience.[22] They showcased Roman power – or the power of individual Romans – to combine different elements of designed landscape (market gardening, farming, recreation and relaxation, authority) in a coherent and even ideologically challenging package, a trend underscored in the propagandist display of rival generalissimos such as Pompey and Caesar, both of whom provided Rome with public gardens not far outside the city walls.[23]

For most Romans, daily life made food the keystone of gardening. The majority of gardens were in some way 'kitchen' gardens, whether on a grand scale, with 'warrens' and oceanic fish ponds, or more like modern allotments, with mixed planting of vegetables, ornamental cultivars and flowers for cutting, or merely a trough of herbs and vegetables for the pot.[24] This, as we have seen, does not

[20] Follow up on wider context using e.g. Segal 1963 (literary focus); Ridgway 1981 (Greek sculpture as garden ornament); Osborne 1987, 1992 (the history behind the scenography); M. Carroll 1992, 2003 (accessible surveys cover lots of ground); Hughes 1994: 45–72, 130–48, 169–80 (environmental concerns); Farrar 2000: 1–11 (usefully descriptive); Alcock 2002 (combines archaeological and historical approaches); Cole 2004 (applies gender theory); Hutton 2005 (adds an ancient tourist's view to the mix); and Barnett 2007 (how religion affects landscape).

[21] For Persian Paradises (e.g. Cyrus' at Pasargadae), see Stronach 1989 and (more wide-rangingly) Conan 2007; in brief, see Farrar 2000: 9–10; Briant 2002: 442–4. Semiotically fluid, 'paradise' denoted enclosed space – royal parkland; formal, structural, and aesthetically complex gardens; gardens where plantings rather than pavilions were the focus – and both domestic and public functionality. Water featured frequently, as did shade.

[22] Adams 2006.

[23] See Grimal 1984: 65–89. On Pompey's gardens, see below. On Caesar's gardens, made public in his will: Coarelli 1996; D'Arms 1998; Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002: 142–3. Discourses equating man-modelled landscapes with political power feed into the late Republican worldview via Xen. *Cyr*. 1.11, through Polyb. 31.29, and into e.g. Varro's tamed 'nature' (see Green 1997: 440).

[24] Von Stackelberg 2009: 10–13 sums up.

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mean that they lacked design or visual interest. Even the humblest of plantings has the potential to be easy on the eye as well as practical, and aesthetics played a significant part in the conceptualization and discussion of utilitarian gardens.[25] Martial's humorously ironic comparative description of a tiny *hortus* shows how a modest plot can assume grandiose qualities.[26] His 'window-box' garden takes on the characteristics of a lavishly appointed hunting villa, with all the key features of a quintessential rustic landscape: woodland, farmland, livestock, and flowers. In this pint-sized property, woody rue makes for a Grove of Diana, a rose petal stands in for a garland, a mouse takes on the epic proportions of the Calydonian boar, while, caterpillars or no, the harvest barely fills a snail-shell. Thus, in a garden, size isn't everything; a small, complex space, particularly one in which mixed plantings change seasonally, is also likely to be extremely 'fat' space and a densely allusive text, tightly scripted in terms of seasonal and laborious time, topography, and aesthetics.

Martial's *hortus* encapsulates the simultaneously emblematic and representational qualities of the painted landscapes and *trompe-l'oeil* gardens that became a popular feature of interior decor in the late first century BCE, and persisted into the first century CE. These painted representations of nature are at once fantastic, imaginary, and hyperreal; they also offer us a vista into what (elite) Romans wanted or even expected to see through their windows, and how they understood the relationship between inside and outside space, and this is where we start.

VI.3 Imagined landscapes: the Villa 'Farnesina'

[In discussion with his son, Andrews realizes that for the boy] the countryside had a repertoire of several scenes visually auditioning to be landscapes. What, then, constitutes a 'scene'? … Can we arrest the moving panorama at any point and be satisfied that the segment of land now in focus is a landscape?[27]

[25] For good starting points, see Conan 1986; Littlewood 1987: 9–10; Purcell 1995, 1996a; Beard 1998. Turner 2005 takes a long view; Wolschke-Bulmahn 1997 explores ideologies of garden design versus nature in the twentieth century.

[26] Mart. 11.18. Martial variously denotes the minute property as '*rus*' (country estate) and '*hortus*' (garden). See also Plin. *HN* 19.59. For discussion, see Linderski 2001.

[27] Andrews 1999: 5.

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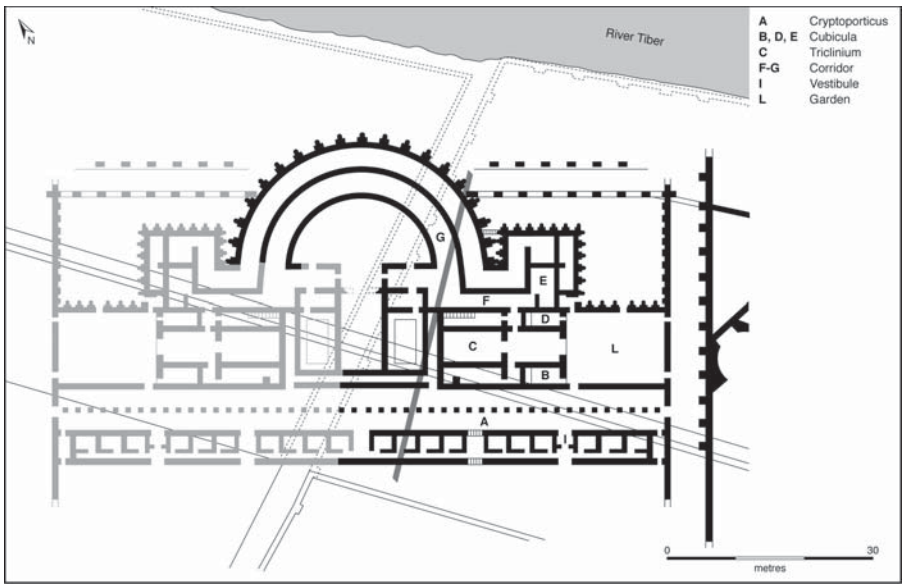


Figure 11 Villa 'Farnesina', based on G. Gatti's 1880 plan (*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, April, Table IV, 2a).

Situated across the Tiber from Rome, the large, symmetrical Villa 'Farnesina', only partly excavated, is often associated with Augustus' aide Agrippa, husband of the Princeps' daughter Julia (follow the discussion using Figures 3 and 11).[28] It is a tempting identification (detailed in Beyen 1948), but the Tiber bank was prime real estate and some caution is justified.[29] Today, the Via della Lungara presents no ancient villa but, instead, a glorious Renaissance palazzo, decorated to order for the Chigi family in the early sixteenth century.[30] The excavated Augustan-era site was completely backfilled. To find evidence (at the time of writing), visit the Palazzo Massimo, one home of the

[28] On the excavations (written up in *NSc* April 1880, 127–42, Table IV), a result of embankment works regulating the Tiber in 1879, see in brief Bragantini and de Vos 1982: 17–24; Dolciotti 1998b.

[29] Agrippa may or may not have been the owner, but the eclectic mix of frescoed scenes recovered from the excavated rooms has much in common with the decor of other villas from this period. For brief coverage, see Bergmann 1995a: 104–5; Bragantini 1998b; Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002: 272–3; Wyler 2006: 215–16. At greater length, see Leach 1988: 226, 240–1, 261–76 (comparing the Villa 'Farnesina' to the Palatine Casa di Livia) and *passim* (on landscape painting from villas around Vesuvius). More generally, see Leach 1985; J. R. Clarke 2005; Moormann 2007.

[30] The name 'Farnesina' stuck after the villa came into the hands of the Farnese family in the late sixteenth century.

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Museo Nazionale. This museum displays a treasure trove of frescoes including those recovered from the Villa 'Farnesina', and from the Villa of Livia (*ad Gallinas Albas*) at Prima Porta.

A number of excellent analyses focus on the colourful landscape vignettes from a series of the Villa 'Farnesina's' small rooms. The jewel-like quality of the scenes in these *cubicula*, brilliant with vivid colours and set amid painting schemes that mimic richly inlaid marble, costly wood, and gems, shows the views off as if they were paintings adorning a gallery. Their subject matter is mostly small-scale, with images strongly evocative of an Alexandrian Greek background.[31] Bergmann comments that 'the empire was inherently collective' – make this 'eminently collectable' to understand how this villa's decor showcases the pick-and-mix eclecticism in landscape aesthetics and ornament.[32] The scenography is emblematic of the tutti-frutti qualities of later first-century iconography at Rome. It shifts between what are termed 'second' and 'third' styles,[33] showcasing and defining viewers against a complex array of landscape effects so that we and they exemplify the *voyant-visible*, presenting a sophisticated panorama of Rome and the Mediterranean in dialogue.

Our focus is the less ostentatiously spectacular landscape frieze that decorates the corridor F–G, connecting the south wing to the central hemicycle.[34] The corridor makes strolling feet map out this key architectural feature whose curved wall partly at least defined the villa's terraced riverside gardens and visually commanded the Tiber. Its position facing the new temple (Pantheon) and leisure complex sponsored by Agrippa on the Campus must have drawn the eyes of those strolling across the river in the parkland and traversing the still relatively undeveloped Campus plain.[35] The hemicycle may have been a landmark even in the further distance, potentially visible perhaps a kilometre and a half away at Augustus' Mausoleum, or farther still, from Sallust's estate or the luxury Pincian hillside villas north of the

[31] E.g. the rooms designated *cubicula* B, D, and E.

[32] Bergmann 1995a: 106. The *triclinium*, for example – a south-facing room, open to an enclosed garden with mock-portico decor – combines a delicately sketched landscape, complete with statuary, figures, and natural and artificial features (picked out on a black background), with a narrative frieze around the upper part of the walls (Egyptian-style judgement scenes: see Bragantini and de Vos 1982: 234–9). Wyler 2006: 217 explains that the artist created 'an emphatically new language'.

[33] On these 'styles', see J. R. Clarke 1991: 31–72; Strocka 2007. See also Kuttner 1998.

[34] See 'pull-out' page in di Mino 1998 (discussion in Bragantini 1998a).

[35] To get a sense of the topography, explore the *Digital Augustan Rome* online map (see Webography: Romano).

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Figure 12 Rome, view south-west across the 'ancient' Campus from the Pincio (Villa Medici); the sightline includes the Mausoleum of Augustus (behind the central church) and stretches towards the Gianicolo (the green slopes give a hint of the verdant estates of the Janiculum in antiquity). The Villa 'Farnesina' site (Via della Lungara) is further along on this sightline.

city (such as that enjoyed by Lucullus – the Villa Medici occupies this part of the hill today and its terrace offers views giving a sense of the scope and interest of ancient vistas; see Figure 12). The hemicycle certainly engaged monumentally with Tiber traffic, and, with its curved façade, visually referenced the curved *cauea* (auditorium) of Pompey's theatre.[36]

It is unlikely that the curved portion of the corridor provided direct access into the hemicycle, but its arc emphasizes to viewers and amblers that this is a monumental luxury villa (not a townhouse), a 'theatrical' space, a place with surplus room, and one whose form and

[36] On the place of villas in the landscape (in general), see Mielsch 1987. On this villa's design, see Favro 1996: 166 – its innovative combination of existing forms with radical changes in scale makes the villa an interesting (domestic) companion piece for the public Baths of Agrippa across the river. See also Lugli 1938: 5–27; Yegül 1992: 181–3. On Augustan-era changes to the northern Campus, see Palmer 1990; Rehak 2006.

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therefore the kinds of experience that it encouraged were part of a new wave in peri-urban villa design. Unlike the binary in/out dynamics of the *domus*-house, in this villa moving farther 'in' requires decisions about routes, and means moving (or even meandering) through garden courts from a north-west or south-east direction, approaching clusters of rooms leading to corridor F–G, or into the 'main' central public space (the 'auditorium'), before facing the same sorts of spatial and directional decisions when the routes reverse themselves in mirror image.[37]

For Vitruvius, corridors (*ambulationes*) were by design and tradition best suited to decoration with landscape frescoes, and wild or 'satyric' landscapes are typically associated with the stage sets for 'satyr' plays.[38] This overlap marks up landscape scenes as a world of gods, myth, performance, and unknowability, which in turn redefine the space they decorate.[39] Vitruvius also makes clear throughout book 6 that displaying the self via appropriate architectural features is closely aligned to a Roman's ability to persuade others to see him on his own terms.[40] Demonstrating his command of the shared symbolic values of self-display, rooted in domestic decorative use of theatrical imagery, substantiates the homeowner's right to take a major role in civic life and to compete politically to represent and guide the citizen body.[41] Vitruvius comments metaphorically that a shared semiotic system of values and references is necessary to decode trajectory and movement through a landscape-frescoed corridor, and chooses the word *doctrina* (implying a system of key skills) to indicate the kind of life-training that makes it possible to choose and follow an appropriate route

[37] The *cryptoporticus* (recall Pliny's enclosed walkway or arcade) provides an alternative direct axial route following the line of the roadside shops; on the *cryptoporticus* as a design feature, Zarmakoupi (forthcoming) looks set to prove definitive. On privacy in Roman domestic space, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 17–37; Nevett 1997; Riggsby 1997. On the relationship between access, routes, social identity and hierarchies, see Grahame 2000: 15–23. On applying space-syntax theory, see Grahame 2000: 24–36.

[38] Vitr. *De arch*. 7.5.1–2, 5.6.9. On painted landscapes, Leach 1988 is still a go-to study; other important recent work includes Bergmann 1991 (and on landscape and myth, 1999); J. R. Clarke 1996; Allison 1992; Tybout 2001; O'Sullivan 2007.

[39] E.g. the fountain, pergola, grotto, shrine, cliff-face, and faux-wilderness of *Cubiculum* M (north wall) at the Boscoreale (P. Fannius Synistor) villa, near Pompeii (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Ov. *Am.* 3.1.1–4; Sen. *Ep*. 41.3. See Lehmann 1953; M. L. Anderson 1987: 17–36. On the Roman Gaze, see Sharrock 2002.

[40] On Vitruvius, see McEwen 2003 (*passim*); Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 147–9, 193–6.

[41] Relevant additional discussions to factor in include Bergmann 1994; Wiseman 1994; Bodel 1997; Kuttner 1998; Wallace-Hadrill 1998b; Grahame 2000: 7–9, 15–22; and (ranging widely) Hales 2003.

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(*iter*).[42] His list of typical iconic vignettes therefore prioritizes scenes *characteristic* of landscape, such as harbours, promontories, shores, rivers, springs, canals, shrines, groves, hills, cattle, and shepherds; and, where appropriate, statues of gods and legendary subjects.[43]

In antiquity, discrete art works, frequently booty documenting Rome's triumphal imperialism, were typically housed in porticoes – another kind of 'corridor'.[44] As Leach's wide-ranging discussion shows, Roman colonnaded gardens and *porticus* art galleries made reference to each other in terms of use, design, and decor.[45] The delicate, sketchy, and muted landscape vignettes lining corridor F–G seem, however, to recede rather than vying for attention as individuated works of art (or 'booty') – see Figures 13–15. Now, initially at least, they catch the glance rather less than their quirky 'frames': impossibly slender and structurally incredible architectonic features (wreathed and garland-carrying 'caryatids') which emphasize both the linear perspectival qualities of the space and also the artifice of the emphatically 'framed' and regularly ordered alternation of quasi-rustic landscape 'views' and 'still-life' groups, concealed and revealed by the curving space of the passage. The painted 'frames' help to point up the complexity of this space by alluding to the colonnaded wall of a *porticus* gallery and encouraging the passer-by to read the landscape vignettes in a slew of ways: as vistas into imagined, physically inaccessible space; as hyperreal commentaries on the real peri-urban sights and sites just outside; as a way of structuring the speed and pattern of movement through the corridor; and as tells on the core activities, concerns, and successes of the household.[46]

The scenes of produce, musical instruments, theatrical masks, and so on that alternate with the corridor's landscapes remind the passer-by of the socio-cultural status of owners and guests as common participants in a complex system of patronage and friendship.[47] Owners and guests alike might expect to bring and be presented with (token) gifts in kind to signify and solidify their relationship – and

[42] Vitr. *De arch*. 6, *Praef*. 1, 2. See O'Sullivan 2006 (key study on walking and landscape-painting); La Rocca 2008: 71. Laurence and Newsome (forthcoming) focus on movement, showing how much interest this theme is now generating.

[43] Vitr. *De arch*. 7.5.2.

[44] Favro 1994; C. Edwards 2003.

[45] Leach 2004: 123–55.

[46] On looking 'through', see Kuttner 1999c. Short 2008: 121 outlines a complementary argument: '"IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS" is not only a linguistic metaphor, but also (and above all) a conceptual metaphor that provides a kind of semiotic "schema" for behavior as well as speech'.

[47] See Wallace-Hadrill 1989 (edited collection on patronage); Brunt 1965a (*amicitia*).

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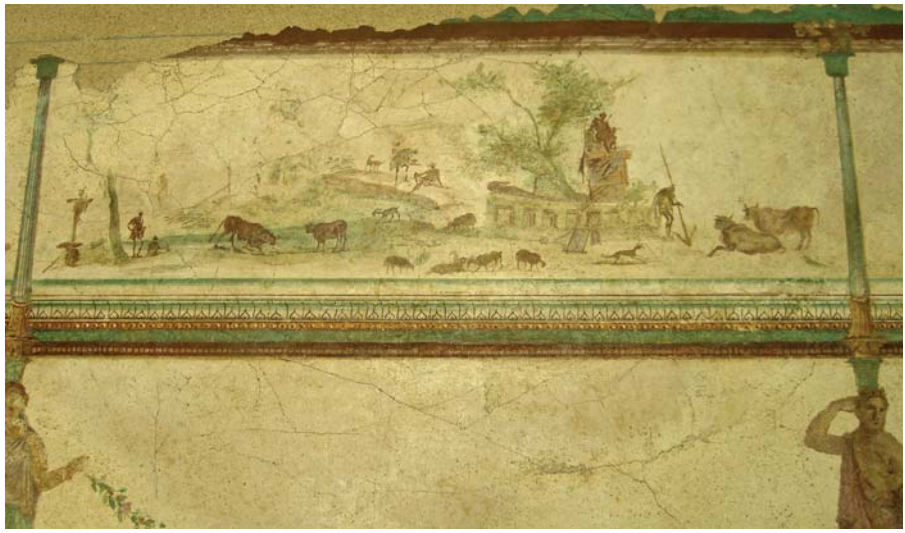


Figure 13 Villa 'Farnesina', Corridor F–G, pastoral landscape fresco (Palazzo Massimo Museum, Rome. Inv. 1232 F1: S2). See main text for detailed discussion.

perhaps to contemplate the nature of this friendship as they strolled past the sequence of images. As one gazes along corridor F–G, the repeating pattern of landscapes and still-life groups floating on a pale background signals visual and conceptual unity, and regularly forces the passer-by's eye back from the 'outdoor' pseudo-vistas to the architectural reality of the internal space and its day-to-day usage. Every few steps the stroller passes from landscape to painted 'support', to another cluster of iconic objects and consumables that evoke and give shape to the life of the cultured homeowner, his family, and his guests.[48] The 'Farnesina' strip differs from, for example, the painted 'Odyssean' Esquiline landscape[49] in use of colour but also in the ambiguity of continuous/fragmented narrative progress from scene to scene, and architectural context ('Farnesina' F–G is not a space designed for static use, such as a *triclinium* [dining room]). The effect

[48] Similar in muted colour, and pictorial style, are the (probably contemporary) landscape vignette from the excavations beneath the American Embassy in Rome (*in situ*); the Sala del Monocromo (Casa di Livia, Palatine Hill, Rome); columbarium decor in the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome; the red room of the villa at Boscotrecase (Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Naples). For detail on the 'still-life' scenes, see de Vos 1982; masks and other quasi-Dionysiac or satyric imagery are a persistent theme (Sauron 1994: 573–7).

[49] O'Sullivan 2007 is excellent on this.

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is what Lynch terms a 'melodic' time series, and studying the effect shows how space, too, exerts an authority.[50]

Sampling a few of these landscapes shows how this might work. Our first vignette is primarily rustic and sacral (Figure 13).[51] This scene is densely allusive of pastoral tropes familiar from Chapter II, and enthusiastically picked up in verse shortly before this villa's decoration by Virgil.[52] Key qualities common to Vitruvian diktats and pastoral verse are all present: a sense of leisured labour, and iconic features such as trees providing shade, a deity (Apollo), flowing water, verdant greenery, grazing animals, and shepherds in conversation. Also typical of the pastoral franchise is a dialogic and dramatic quality. Literary pastoral's delight in self-conscious meditation on the nature of artistry, the fragility of harmony between humans and nature, and the relationship between urbane discourse and rustic integrity adds complexity to a stroll past these landscapes.[53] These are spaces encoded for contemplating the self and the qualities of Roman identity peripatetically, and this is borne out by Rome's location of philosophical enquiry in the stoas and peristyles of the educated and Hellenophilic elite – where walking is key to intellectual development.[54]

Another shuffling of pastoral motifs adds bite to a vignette where identifiably urban morphology intrudes – the gate and faintly visible rotunda on the left-hand side (1233 F2: S8).[55] These landscapes are evidently doing more than simply re-scripting pastoral motifs or reflecting the reality of the Roman world.[56] Just along the wall (1233 F2: S2) this crystallizes. We see a two-storey, riverside villa, set by a harbour (Figure 14). A central bridge connects the villa to a faintly visible pedimented and colonnaded structure suggesting a large, urban edifice, possibly a temple, across the river.[57] The scene picks up some pastoral emblems (evidence of human intervention in the landscape, water, trees, hills, a god-haunted quality) and mixes them with a

[50] Lynch 1960: 107; on autobiographical hegemony expressed through space, see Arnold 2008.

[51] Inv. 1232 F1: S2 ('S'2 refers to the Section or 'vignette' within the specified panel, reading left-to-right; 'F' refers to position on F–G); in detail, see de Vos 1982: 337–8. Bergmann 1992 is particularly useful for getting to grips with painted pastoral (especially groves).

[52] Pl. *Phdr.* 230b2–c5; Theoc. e.g. *Id.* 1, 7; Verg. *Ecl.*

[53] Comparing literary and painted pastoral, see Segal 1963: 50–1.

[54] See e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 5.1.1–2; *Rep.* 1.14, 18. Montiglio 2000; Nightingale 2001; Zetzel 2003.

[55] Leach 1988: 270–1 reads this slightly differently. Different again is de Vos 1982: 338.

[56] Cf. Leach 1988: 271.

[57] The scene splits down the middle, pivoting on the possible 'villa' that engages with river, bridge (both to the left), and rustic, pastoral landscape (to the right). See de Vos 1982: 338 and Leach 1988: 269–70 for conflicting interpretations of what this scene represents.

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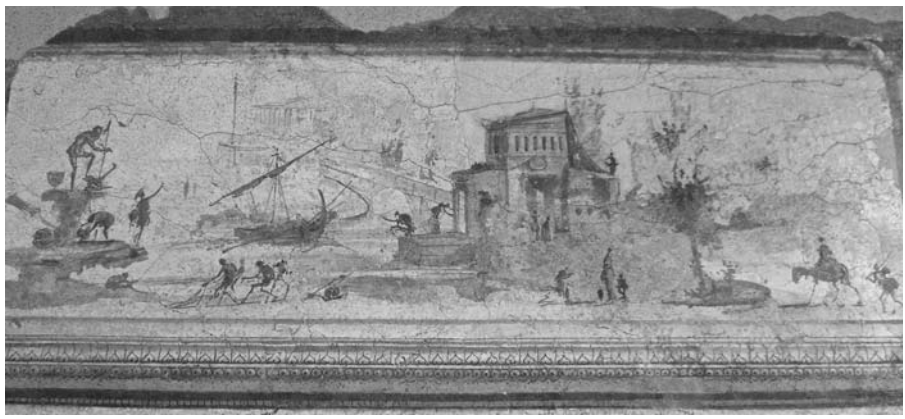


Figure 14 Villa 'Farnesina', Corridor F–G, riverside landscape fresco (Palazzo Massimo Museum, Rome. Inv. 1233 F2: S2). See main text for detailed discussion.

prosaic harbour where four fishermen are strenuously hauling in nets under Poseidon's statuesque gaze but also subject to the painted villa's oversight.[58] From the real Tiber-side villa 'Farnesina' we gaze across to the imagined waterside villa, which in turn looks down towards its own rustic scene.[59]

This painted villa and its landscapes prime us to look thoughtfully *through* the wall to the real villa's environs. Just north-west of Agrippa's new bridge across the Tiber, the Villa 'Farnesina' was a little further on again from Rome's working port area and the naval arsenal downstream, and lay to the north-east of the Janiculum hill. The frescoes emblematically rework the 'real' landscape surrounding the villa as a series of synecdochic, stripped-down pastoral miniatures, rather than as a directly representational *trompe-l'oeil* panorama. Stopping in this corridor and considering how the allusive imagery connects to lived experience means thinking about how close this villa (and perhaps its owners) are to the city's constraints, and how and why this particular set of landscape scenes works for the householder.

[58] To his right, below, crouches a figure making an offering and a man who seems to be playing leaping fish on a line. Below him sits a fisherman with a pole. These figures share a common and close focus, keeping them anchored in the left foreground. Resting on his trident with a dolphin beneath his right foot, this Poseidon-'type' dates to a Lysippan model from the late fourth century BCE. Beneath his pedestal sit a rudder (or just possibly, as Leach 1988: 270 argues, an anchor) and a globe.

[59] The right rear-ground is occupied with increasingly faint greenery, and possibly a hill, and the landscape's 'rural' section has little of the pastoral *joie de vivre* of the last scene discussed. Linking the two narrative units, one figure associated with the 'villa' confronts the rigged ship manoeuvring towards the central bridge with sails furled.

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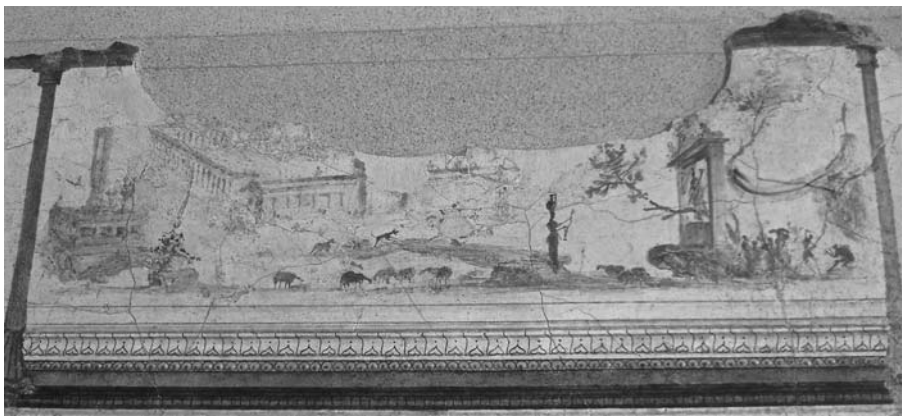


Figure 15 Villa 'Farnesina', Corridor F–G, pastoral landscape with *quadriporticus*, fresco (Palazzo Massimo Museum, Rome. Inv. 1230 G3: S2). See main text for detailed discussion.

Pausing also makes this more like a relaxed stroll through a country-house *porticus*, and the accessible positioning of the scenes and their iconographic range encourage a contemplative rather than a utilitarian or purposeful pace.

One final example (1230 G3: S2) takes us fully into the hemicycle (Figure 15). Centre left sits a vast, square-colonnaded structure with a large entranceway;[60] a basic pastoral zone (centre foreground) then meshes the left zone (perhaps a sacred precinct[61]) with the scene to the right. Here, at the high point of the ground sloping up from the colonnaded building, stands a woman carrying a pitcher on her head;[62] she faces a *syzygia* – a short entablature supported by two pillars – containing a drapery-swirled female figure, usually identified as Isis-Fortuna and holding a cornucopia.[63] On the entablature crouch two terminal sphinxes, enhancing the Egypto-curious aspects of the scene. One branch of a bifurcated and gnarled tree passes right through the *syzygia*, stretching towards the pitcher-carrier. The other branch, twisting up behind the shrine, supports an awning whose right end is

[60] This structure appears to have an external *ambulatio* built into the façade (with side entrances) in addition to a *porticus* enclosing the open central space.

[61] A *schola*, surrounding a feature that looks like an attenuated dipylon gate.

[62] De Vos 1982: 340 suggests that the woman's hands are occupied by spinning; Leach 1988: 268 proposes that the slope leads down towards a stream running across the foreground at which the sheep are drinking (with the arched feature to the lower left as a rustic footbridge).

[63] De Vos 1982: 340 makes out a lotus on the statue's head.

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fixed to a high outcrop crowned with a Priapus. Beneath the awning a group watches exotic, Egyptian dancers accompanied by an *aulos*.[64]

Here, the empire's culture of collecting comes sharply into focus.[65] Key compositional elements (the Isis-shrine, the water-carrier, the dancers) hint at the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of Rome as capital, while alluding to the need somehow to integrate them with the rustic-idyllic qualities of Rome's mythic pastoral origins – cued up in part by the ancient gnarled tree and Priapus: here, locations are ideas. Visually, perspective encourages a bird's-eye view down into the open square of the *porticus*. It floats on the pale ground at what seems a distorted angle, suggesting a lack of secure foundations in this landscape and pointing up the surreal qualities of the vista. Despite its familiar elements, this structure is completely unprecedented within a sacral-idyllic scene.[66] Leach proposes that it alludes to contemporary Augustan building projects across the river. Agrippa's Saepta Julia, another rectilinear colonnaded structure, was directly in the villa's sightlines (on the far side of the artificial lake associated with Agrippa's Baths); it was also close to the Temple of Isis on the Campus, perhaps also in play through the frescoed *syzygia*, and Agrippa's new Pantheon.[67] Standing near the beginning of the hemicycle phase of the corridor, we look through the fresco to the real-life Saepta and Pantheon: art evokes but also offers a new angle on reality.

Moving along the landscape-frescoed villa corridor in either direction highlights the controlled and controlling nature of corridor space. These are commissioned, painted, and imagined scenes marking up a wholly enclosed space – yet the dialogic quality linking them to each other, to the exterior world, and (relationally) to passers-by encourages an imaginative approach. The landscape scenes mimic 'real' landscape in stylized fashion; their sketchy qualities and the curve of the corridor urge us both to stop to puzzle out the detail (risking the chance that others using the corridor may bump into us and start a conversation) and also to keep moving, to find out what happens next rather than to pause for deliberation. The painted structural elements designate false

[64] On this iconography, see de Vos 1982: 341 n. 27.

[65] On connecting nostalgia/utopianism to Egyptian and 'oriental' motifs in this era, see Grimal 1984: 84–6; von Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990: 41–9; de Vos 1991; Sauron 1994: *passim*. Orlin 2008 shows how a tactical deployment of Egyptiana could help to redefine Romanness.

[66] Leach 1988: 267–8.

[67] Ibid.: 269 argues vigorously that the fresco's stream with footbridge cites the footbridge across the Euripus (Campus Martius), and develops this topographic argument for panel 1231 G1 S2 (a 'naval battle' scene).

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edges to the scenes that the compositions themselves fail to script; they appear to be excerpts from an ongoing comic strip in which the effects of empire and the day-to-day life of the countryside jostle, suggesting also the complex cultural functions of elite villas; yet this reading ignores their hyperreal qualities as a sequence.

Here, so very close to Rome, the owners' approved decor suggests a stroll through a still rural world – small towns, farms, and village life – in which the rustic villa forms one constituent part. The contrast with the real and increasingly built-up environs of Rome – and the wealth and power of the villa owners – just across the river or over the 'garden wall' must have been striking. These part-'satyric', part-pastoral vistas are at once boundary markers (for the corridor and villa), surreal in their iconographic juxtapositions, and scenographic in Vitruvius' theatrical terms. To return to Augé: moving means repetitively 'taking up a position' and thereby taking a series of positions on the sites around us. 'Landscape' deployed as corridor decor invites comment because the sequence of thematically connected miniature isovists conjures up different points of view on narratologically disconnected sites. These scenes could not really exist in sequence along a single vector and outside a single line of windows, or outside one real colonnade. Yet they encourage recognition of the different kinds of promenade that a villa might have, or views and experiences that it might offer, thus helping to animate and refine our understanding of how villa space operated. Their dependence on movement helps define the space both as a passageway and as an intellectual experience. Again, one walks in order to think, and the experience of walking stimulates 'new reflection'.[68]

For Roman citizens, concerned to articulate a new sense of shared identity, the process of walking down this or similar corridors might well have seemed to signal a new way of perceiving the world and Rome's place within it. Its simultaneously generic and contemporary qualities might also have suggested to the passer-through that no two views out the window captured the same scene: by pausing at some scenes and not others we can see a more or less rural, a more or less politicized, or a more or less artistic and literary landscape for this villa. The subtle range of scenes on offer, with their multicultural hints at imperial horizons, suggest that viewers might still be reflecting on the embedded cultural tensions on reaching either wing of the villa,

[68] Fontana-Giusti 2007: 259; Short 2008: 121.

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Figure 16 Villa of Livia (*ad Gallinas Albas*), Prima Porta, detail of Garden Room fresco (east wall, to the right when facing the entrance). Here we see a spruce tree, a quince (left), and pomegranate (right). A thrush perches above the quince tree; a pigeon sits below the spruce. One can just make out two cypresses in the background. Dark-green box sets off small, low, blue and yellow flowers (lower left, behind the balustrade); the 'filler' plant looks like oleander (dark green leaves; all the following plant identifications draw on Gabriel 1955). In front of the balustrade we can just about make out (left to right) an ivy (with violets entwined with it), an iris, and (in the recess) a hart's tongue fern. A sense of the painted 'lighting' effect is visible on the spruce's branches and the quinces in particular (hinting at a central light source, emphasizing the focal tree, adding depth to the perspective). It is not wholly obvious here, but the scene lacks shadows (adding to the surreal effect).

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at the moment when they are confronted with the more explicitly Egyptianizing decor in some of the surviving rooms.[69]

VI.4 Total immersion: Livia's garden room (Villa *ad Gallinas Albas*, Prima Porta)

Coming from the Villa 'Farnesina', we have now seen how landscape frescoes can have some of the flexibility more usually associated with portable art. We have also seen in detail how pastoral iconography gives visual reality to a paradox: 'one is both invited and detached while involved in a process that heightens awareness of one's station in the present world'.[70] Pastoral's self-reflexive quality also features in the rather different visual frame of reference, a lushly vivid and verdant painted garden (see Figure 16) that one experiences in a sunken room at the villa of Augustus' wife Livia at Prima Porta (north of Rome on the Via Flaminia). This surviving room's totally immersive qualities of unified design and space challenge the beholder to suspend disbelief and give way to its idyllic and hyperreal profusion.[71]

Taking a step back, context helps to decode the visual effect. Augustus took a keen interest in 'greening' Rome and embraced the complex propagandist possibilities of combining an extensive building programme (leading to his famously 'marble' city) with lush use of nature.[72] The contrast between sparkling new public buildings and vivid greenery, juxtaposed at new and older sites such as Pompey's portico gardens, Augustus' own Mausoleum, and Agrippa's bathing and exercise complex, must have been striking and, on a hot Roman day, delightful.[73] Not just a respite from the relentless heat or the dusty

[69] Versluys 2002 discusses the politics of Egyptian imagery.

[70] Bergmann 1992: 21; cf. the more historicizing view of Silberberg-Pierce 1980.

[71] To follow up, sample: Kellum 1994; Reeder 1997a, 1997b; Liljenstolpe and Klynne 1997–8; Kuttner 1999c; Klynne and Liljenstolpe 2000a, 2000b; Reeder 2001; Settis 2002; Carrara 2005; Klynne 2005; Zarmakoupi 2008.

[72] E.g. Strabo 5.3.8 on the Mausoleum's gardens; Suet. *Aug.* 92.1–2 (on the 'miraculous' Palatine palm tree); Plin. *HN* 14.11 (on Livia's vine) and 15.70, 139 (on Livia's new fig and laurel varieties). See also Gallini 1970: 157–87 (on Bacchic nature in this context); Brilliant 1975 (on Augustus' laurels); von Stackelberg 2009: 89–92 (on Augustus and nature); E. A. Pollard 2009: 320–4 (on the imperial qualities of botanic gardens). Favro 1996: 176–80 briefly sums up on gardens and Augustan Rome.

[73] Conan 1986 discusses the relationship between nature and art in these terms. Castriota 1995 shows how this filters into the iconography of the *Ara Pacis*. Kellum 1994 relates it directly to Livia's villa. Compare Lloyd 1982. On nature, landscape, and the urban gaze, see Duret and Néraudau 2001: 235–41 (and on Strabo's Campus Martius, 329–31).

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hurly-burly of urban life, appropriate control over the environment suggested a harmony between citizen(-emperor), *Natura*, and the realms of myth and deity. Roman power was also glossed favourably by the increasing success of imported specimen plants.[74] Thriving public gardens in Augustus' city signified a flourishing *res publica* and a concord between humans and gods; they stood in for more explicit propagandist assertion that the era of civil war, unnatural bloodshed, and political devastation was over.[75] The (civic) laurel was particularly significant for Augustus' appropriation of Apollo as a patron deity, emblematic of the new-style government and a renewal of moral order; at Prima Porta, however, a much more multifarious profusion of planting presents a complex experience.[76]

An additional frame of reference is contemporary interest in plant encyclopaedias, a genre that first gained popularity in the first century BCE as literary spoils from libraries and collections newly under Roman control began to make their way back to Rome. Kuttner suggests that Livia's innovative, seasonally ambiguous, and multifarious painted garden is a visual equivalent to the newly available botanical handbooks.[77] These plant companion-books must also have made a significant impact on public and private planting schemes in the new wave of parks clustering around the city itself – Pliny the Elder was later to comment that, in the wake of Pompey's dendrophily, trees became key 'captives' or booty in Roman military triumphs.[78] In particular, we may speculate that they prompted a new educated awareness of the scientific and epistemological connotations of particular fashionable combinations of non-agricultural flora.[79] One might trace this awareness in the relationship between painted gardens here and at other sites: vividly beautiful examples include frescoes from villas at Boscoreale, Boscotrecase, and Torre Annunziata (Poppaea's

[74] On appropriate versus inappropriate in landscaping, see von Stackelberg 2009: 93–100. The pomegranate's popularity is an excellent example, but see also the lemon, lupine, peach, walnut (for a catalogue of plant evidence from Pompeii, see Jashemski and Meyer 2002: 80–180).

[75] See Kellum 1990.

[76] Kellum 1994: 211 n. 7; Sauron 1994: 571–3; Liljenstolpe and Klynne 1997–8.

[77] Kuttner 1999c: 29. See also French 1994: 92–103 (on Theophrastus). On Dioscurides and ancient botany in general, see Pease 1952; cf. Plin. *HN* 25.5–8. On Pliny the Elder and the natural catalogues, see Beagon 1992: *passim*; E. A. Pollard 2009: 324–9.

[78] Plin. *HN* 12.111. Sen. *Controv*. 5.5 gives a flavour of the issues. See Meiggs 1982: 276–8.

[79] The ability to read and facility to consult plant handbooks was accessible only to a few, but even elite crazes in plants can quickly become wider cultural phenomena, e.g. the so-called tulip fever that spread rapidly from seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

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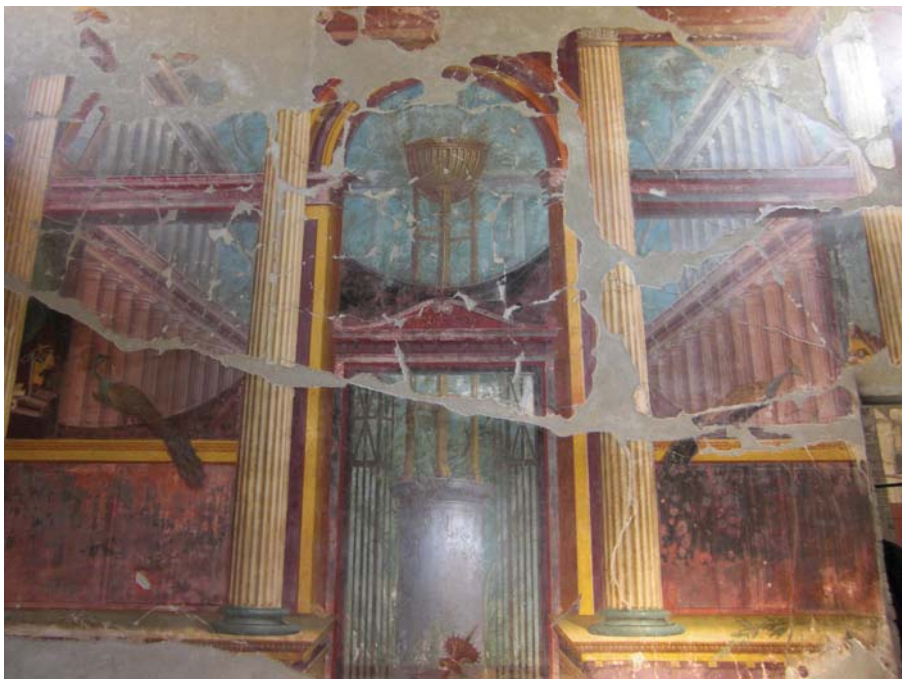


Figure 17 Fresco detail (*Oecus* 15) from the Villa known as Poppaea's, at Oplontis (modern Torre Annunziata, near Pompeii). Note the combination of architectural (framing), culturally significant, and natural features (peacocks, greenery, deep blue sky; double-height arcaded *porticus*, theatrical masks, gateway, tripod). Sauron 1994 decodes the scene.

Villa at Oplontis, *oecus* 15; see Figure 17), and the 'Auditorium' in Maecenas' Esquiline Gardens.[80]

Today, visiting the site of Livia's extensive estate, whose ridgeline position dominated the Tiber valley's course towards Rome, makes for a confusing experience. Instead (or in advance), the visitor can get a sense of the whole site by exploring the recently developed 'virtual' villa, which reconstructs the different phases of building and decor.[81] One

[80] As of Summer 2009, the Oplontis frescoes can be visited in situ (see also M. L. Thomas and Clarke 2007, and Webography: *The Oplontis Project*). The 'Auditorium' of Maecenas (Rome) is usually closed to the public, but guided visits are sometimes available (on the site, see de Vos 1983; Kuttner 1999c: 24–6, and Webography: *Iconoclasm* blog). See also the Villa 'Farnesina' *uiridiarium* (Dolciotti 1998a; Kuttner 1999c: 26); the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, Pompeii (vividly illustrated in the 1991 exhibition catalogue *Il giardino dipinto nella Casa del Bracciale d'Oro a Pompei e il suo restauro* – consult Stefani and Borgoncino 2006).

[81] Webography: *The Virtual Museum of the Ancient Via Flaminia*. Terminals with the full interactive Multi User Domain, explored using avatars, are on site at the Museo Nazionale

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entered the so-called Garden Room by stepping underground – surely, as with the 'Auditorium' of Maecenas on Rome's Esquiline Hill, an indication that this was a summer space, providing a fantastical escape from the heat of the sun. One emerged into a 360° painted garden, whose fertility implied plentiful sun and rain but never inflicted them on its occupants.

Entering the Palazzo Massimo's reconstruction hints at the somatic impact: first, cool, dim, almost bewildering abundance; then the cumulative effect of the frescoed foreground's detailed intensity gradually blends into more impressionistic representation of fertile greenery as the painted space 'recedes' toward the implied distance.[82] Viewing the room in virtual reality emphasizes the potential for subtle lighting to enhance the artifice, and also reminds us that if a *triclinium*, then the angle of gaze would ideally be quite different from that available to the museum visitor. Initial impressions of riotous nature and a myriad shades of green are quickly modulated if one steps up to the 'fence' to get closer to the 'garden'. Orientation is initially provided by a low (perhaps calf height, if standing, but closer to eye level if reclining to eat) painted 'wicker' fence (set 'behind' a dark border, where the walls meet the floor) with a central opening to the north and south, and occasional small birds.[83] The next perspectival plane is a well-tended grass walkway, with a decorative stone parapet forming the second boundary. Here a distinctively patterned ornamental tracery offers a frame, focuses the gaze, and encourages the viewer to linger.

A repeating pattern of individual small flowering and foliage plants (iris, ferns, violets, ivy) follows the parapets on each side and discourages the eye from focusing exclusively on the central feature of the shorter parapets: directly opposite each break in the wicker fence the parapet 'withdraws' into an angular recess. One expects an urn or statue, but instead finds a tree – pine (north) and oak (south).[84] On the (long) east and west walls, two similar recesses per side embrace

Romano, at the Terme di Diocleziano; elements of the Virtual Villa are downloadable. Forte 2007 details the project's results.

[82] Grau 2003 traces such total-immersion (or virtual-reality) techniques from antiquity to the present.

[83] Linderski 1989 is particularly interesting on painted birds.

[84] For detailed descriptive analysis of individual features, see Gabriel 1955. Note the 'woodland' quality hinted at by the choice of trees, and the fact that laurel is not one of the 'display' trees, despite its significance for the Villa as a whole. Kuttner 1999c: 28 suggests that the trees are monumentalized and aestheticized by their cooption in this way. This makes for another connection between controlled and riotous nature in the different painted zones.

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spruce trees. These trees (vertical compositional elements) form a visual link between the room proper, the manicured pathway, and the seemingly wild natural profusion beyond. Further connections between the zones include the freeze-frame fluttering birds and the untamed vegetation, on the point of invading the walkway from over the parapet. The contrast between the three main zones (room, walkway, and lush planting) suggests a progression from central social order, through environmental order, into a world where *Natura* apparently takes charge.[85] Another reading might prioritize the schematic face-off between natural profusion and Roman love of taxonomy – the two confront each other across the path.[86]

Unlike Varro's theatrical aviary, this is not an ostentatiously 'artificial world of colonnades and bird-netting'.[87] For a start, the cultivation scheme looks plausible, at least superficially, and presents instantly recognizable plants easily cross-referenced today, with a minimum of extravagant hard-landscaping.[88] If we look harder, reading for symbolic potential, the scene starts to look less natural. Individual elements recall the densely allusive properties of the literary landscapes we have examined, with an array of possible scenographic keys including a Bacchic scheme. Ivy and violets conjure up a grape-laden vine, and mark up the year – spring flowering leads to autumnal harvest; the vine is Dionysus' plant, whereas violets supposedly protected against hangovers.[89] Dionysus' ivy activates the triumphal imagery of other foliage on display: oak, palm, laurel, myrtle, ivy, pine. It is noteworthy that all the plantings in this 'garden' (as in comparable examples of this scheme elsewhere) are sempiternal: vigorous, flourishing young trees, shrubs, and flowers. The typically gnarled and aged trees popular in pastoral or sacro-idyllic landscapes do not feature, keeping viewers in the room at the heart of the best of all possible worlds.[90] Kellum details

[85] See Kellum 1994: 215.

[86] On the wider implications, see Castriota 1995; R. Evans 2003.

[87] Varro *Rust.* 3.5.9–17. Kellum 1994: 217 also draws important connections with Virgil's *Georgics*.

[88] Caneva and Bohuny 2003; more generally, Jashemski 1979. On Greek plants, see Baumann 1993.

[89] Kellum 1994: 218–21. This relates to Bacchic nature (Chapter 2), and hints too at the ivy and violet garlands worn by Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium* (212d, e). On ivy and Dionysiac imagery, see Kuttner 1999c: 13–19. On sacred groves, see Scheid 1993; on painted groves, see Leach 1988: 197–260 *passim*; Bergmann 1992; Reeder 2001: 75–83 (summary discussion focusing on Livia's Villa).

[90] Cf. the Ara Pacis' multi-seasonal produce. Looking past Virgil, Johnson 1990 (on Tibullus; see also Leach 1980) and Leach 1975 (on Calp. *Ecl.*) connect pastoral directly to politics and *anomie*.

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the semiotics of laurel in myth (Apollo, Daphne) and for Augustus, but for discussion of how these images function as tropes within a wider discourse of painted *trompe-l'oeil* gardens, we turn to Kuttner.[91]

For Kuttner, garden-room frescoes are framing devices: they typically encourage the viewer to see the room as a pavilion or grotto with a designed garden prospect. Her analysis proposes that this room's decor reconfigures its central space as a grotto from which we gaze out into the open air (even though anyone using the room would recognize the impossibility of the isovist), but, if one gets too close, the different painting styles giving detail to foreground and creating an eye-deceiving perspectival distance become clear.[92] The artifice of this scheme is also highlighted by its architectural impossibility: a cave must have a back wall – here instead *all* walls are 'open', no (painted) structural supports are on display, and no particular perspective or panorama is strongly prioritized. Moreover, the once vividly painted stuccoed vault evokes artificial landscape features rather than natural grottoes; again, looking up may have forced viewers to recall that 'outside' the simulation is underground.[93]

If this room was used as a *triclinium*, then recalling Pliny's elaborate water features (and comparing it with, for example, the dining cavern at the Villa at Sperlonga, the 'Canopus' and 'Serapeum' complex [Figure 20], and the 'Maritime Theatre' at Hadrian's Villa, or possibly the 'Auditorium' of Maecenas at Rome) we may be surprised that no evidence remains of a water feature to heighten the grotto experience.[94] Moreover, this 'garden' includes no definitive painted water features (compared to, for example, the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro at Pompeii), sculptures, or urns (as in the frescoed *uiridiaria* from Poppaea's Villa at Oplontis, or from the Villa 'Farnesina');[95] without clear evidence of water (to nourish the greenery), the sense of mysterious luxuriance

[91] Kellum 1994: 219–21, 222–3; Kuttner 1999c.

[92] Kuttner 1999c: 15, 27. Gabriel 1955: 7–8 prefers to read the irregular yellowish-brown feature linking the ceiling and the painted garden as the rough edge of a thatched roof; Reeder 2001: 35–44 (also interested in the idea of an underground room 'pretending' to be underground) adopts the grotto interpretation, and draws comparisons with the 'Auditorium' of Maecenas (2001: 53–9).

[93] As Gabriel 1955: 21–3 observes, the painted 'lighting' strategy also fails to cohere fully, making for a slightly surreal effect, which the reconstructions proposed in Forte 2007 tackle, using artificial lighting schemes.

[94] In detail, see Lavagne 1988. Also Stewart 1977; Mielsch 1987: 121–8; Ricotti 1987 (with discussion of Hadrian's Villa); Ehrlich 1989 (ditto); Ridgway 2000; Weis 2000; Beard and Henderson 2001: 74–82; Carey 2002 (with discussion of Hadrian's Villa); Kuttner 2003. Compare the stepped water feature identified in the 'Auditorium' of Maecenas.

[95] J. R. Clarke 1996 and Bergmann 2002 (on the villa at Oplontis) are useful here.

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is heightened.[96] The lack of built-in natural sound effects suggests that any imposed soundtrack would be occasional and dependent on the event or context, would heighten the sense of artifice, and would perhaps isolate any voices in conversation. The silent walls would in this way become a 'natural' audience.

Next, shifting to real rather than painted scenery, we wander back towards Rome and two famous landscape parks.

VI.5 Landscapes encircling the city: the Horti Sallustiani and Porticus of Pompey

The political qualities of the designed parklands surrounding Rome, and the *otium* they supported, show how importantly these public and private landscapes featured as part of integrated image-making packages for their wealthy owners.[97] Different kinds of experience were available, from a getaway from the heat and dust, to a philosophical stroll, an afternoon outing, a chance for seclusion, or something more akin to an art gallery or theme-park visit (cf. Figure 9). Underpinning all these landscape experiences was the ever-present authority of the garden's sponsor – visually and explicitly in the statuary and art on display, implicitly in the availability and fertility of the garden itself, and conceptually in the kinds of stories told or evoked by combinations of a visitor's personal memory, the garden's imagery, and specific conditions and contexts of a given visit.[98]

Roman memory, we have noted, was spatially dynamic, and closely attuned to the artificial qualities of Roman culture. Landscape gardens give us an opportunity to see the 'art of memory' at work.[99] Roman mnemotechnics (that is, the systematization of memory) operates by visualizing a 'memory' three-dimensionally as a landscape to be moved through: the would-be memorizer starts from a mental picture of some regularly articulated, designed space (stoa, basilica, portico…) that contains discrete iconic images or objects (herm, bust of Sophocles…). She or he then uses the icons as pegs on which to hang the key elements in a structured discourse. Mentally revisiting

[96] Kuttner 1999c: 27 makes a case for a painted stream being represented by the dark 'border'; see also Ricotti 1987. See Bergmann 2008 on the mysterious quality of such spaces.
[97] La Rocca 1986: 18–33 is a keynote study. See also Lloyd 1982.
[98] Here, Bergmann (1991, 1994) is particularly useful. See also Bartman 1991; King 2000.
[99] Sauron 1994: 446–74 (on *oecus* 15, Oplontis).

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the sequence of 'statues' in the 'place' (that is, imagining oneself to be walking from one to the next in a specific order) allows one to reconstitute the speech or whatever is the object of memory.[100] As the unknown author of the *ad Herennium* notes, the mnemonic landscape of these memory nodes (*loci*) was ideally rather like a villa.[101]

Thus a prospective garden designer in the late first century BCE could start with a fairly well-defined discourse about what makes a pleasurable and usable landscape (shade, water, paths), and an awareness of the dangers of the wrong kind of hubristic associations.[102] Required ingredients include icons (a bust of Socrates, a herm, a Priapus or a Venus, a startled deer, etc.): booty arrayed in an appropriately articulated sequence to tell a story you want your visitors to see.[103] Roman landscape gardens deployed these features strategically to emphasize the relationship between orderly, productive (of pleasure or power) recreation, Roman civic identity, and practical philosophy. To visit them is to experience a controlled narrative of the relationship between owner, visitor, state, gods, and the natural world.[104]

Unfortunately, like most Roman landscape gardens, the Gardens of Sallust and Porticus of Pompey are no longer visible in situ. Moreover, nineteenth-century urban development redesigning Rome as a capital for the newly unified Italy eradicated most of the lingering traces of the changes in level that were key to estates such as Sallust's. In their time, however, these were two of Rome's most famous landscape parks.[105] They are the source of iconic images such as the 'Dying Gaul' (appropriated by the Ludovisi family in the early seventeenth century

[100] This draws on the processes as outlined and discussed in Yates 1966; Blum 1969; and Small 1997. For a range of contemporary approaches to the structures of memory, see Neisser 1989; Burgin 1996; Casey 2000, 2001; Brockmeier 2002; Ricoeur 2004.

[101] *Rhet. Her.* 3.31–2. See Bergmann 1994; McEwen 1995: 14–17 (succinct; focusing on Pliny's villas); Baroin 1998. Cf. van Eck 2000.

[102] See Varro *Rust.* 1.2.10. Ideas of Persia feed into a developing colonial perspective over the eastern Mediterranean as a lush, luxurious, and even dissolute zone; an imaginary and threatening landscape of kings, courtiers, excess, and transgression. See La Rocca 1986: 8–17.

[103] See Cic. *Tusc*. 2.9 (his own 'Academy' and 'Lyceum' remember 'real' spaces, but through a literary and philosophical filter); *Q Fr.* 3.1.1–6. Hill 1981 looks specifically at domestic usage, but see also Littlewood 1987; Kuttner 1995, 1999a; Bilde 2005.

[104] Summed up in Hartswick 2003: 16–20. Charlesworth 2003 presents a useful analogue (Stourhead, UK), while Moore, Mitchell, and Turnbull 1993, and Hunt 2003 consider the broader issues.

[105] There are elements of the Horti Sallustiani still in place, e.g. the delicate landscape frescoes (comparable to those in F–G of the Villa 'Farnesina') discovered beneath the American Embassy; and a vaulted (Hadrianic) structure accessible via Piazza Sallustio and open by arrangement or during events (Webography: *Horti Sallustiani*; see also Carpano 2000). Pompey's Portico lies beneath the charming backstreets that connect Largo Argentina with Piazza Campo

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during construction on the site of the Horti Sallustiani).[106] This and other instantly recognizable statues from a range of ancient luxury estates are a highlight of any tour through the remodelled Capitoline Museum (take them home, in a richly illustrated book on sale in the Museum shop).[107]

Hartswick details what we currently know and can deduce about the Horti Sallustiani, making the important point that plantings were by no means a minor feature in these luxury estates. We have seen at Prima Porta how planting schemes can tell a subtle and allusive story.[108] There is, unfortunately, little contemporary evidence for the role of Sallust, disaffected politician-turned-historian (mid-first century BCE), in the design and layout of this estate. Its boundaries are uncertain (see Figure 3), but it was neighbour to the Horti Lucullani and stretched across the Pincian and Quirinal hills north of the city, taking in the valley between the two (and the stream – known now as Acqua Sallustiana – that ran down through it, draining eventually into the Tiber).[109] Clearly, this estate nestling just outside the city walls had an ample and (recalling Columella) almost ideal water supply. Like Maecenas' Esquiline Gardens, this estate also had mortuary connections: it was close by the Campus Sceleratus (located just inside the Porta Collina) where Vestal Virgins who broke their vows were entombed alive.[110] Moving on a generation, Sallust's estate took centre-stage when inherited by his great-nephew, another Sallust, who was part of Augustus' inner circle.[111] The estate finally passed directly into imperial hands, probably by inheritance: Agrippina (Nero's mother) was eventually widowed by the second Sallust's adoptive heir (Sallustius Passienus), and went on to marry the emperor Claudius.

de' Fiori. La Rocca 1986 discusses the Esquiline *Horti*, including the Horti Lamiani (on which, see Cima 1996); Cima 1986 homes in on the archaeology.

[106] On the 'Gaul' statuary's evocation of the Hellenistic court of Pergamum, see Marvin 2002: 205–11, 214–15. More generally, see Hartswick 2004: 104–8. Other famous icons include the Ludovisi and Boston thrones, Silenus with Baby Dionysus, a wounded Niobid, and the Borghese Vase.

[107] Cima and Talamo 2008 – although at €50 (June 2008) it's not an impulse buy. E. Fentress 2007 reviews the Capitoline '*Horti*' display. Its temporary counterpart (in Florence) was the ambitious 2007 exhibition exploring gardens from Babylon to Rome (and reconstructing two full-scale Pompeian peristyle gardens), catalogued in di Pasquale and Paolucci 2007, and reviewed by Marzano 2008.

[108] See also Talamo 1998.

[109] Hartswick 2004: 1–8 sums up the changing topography and possible boundaries.

[110] On the Esquiline Gardens, see Häuber 1998.

[111] Name-checked in Hor. *Carm.* 2.2. See also Tac. *Ann.* 3.30.2; Syme 1964: 283 suggests that the gardens only became ostentatiously luxurious under the second Sallust's ownership.

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As is abundantly clear in Hartswick's account, despite the range of finds from the Horti Sallustiani, recovering a clear sense of what a garden visit might have been like at any given time is impossible.[112] Nevertheless, based on our case studies and factoring in Vitruvius' comments on the close relationship between designs of town and country properties, we can conclude that colonnades, statuary and sculptures, water, axial views, shrines, formal plantings, and designated walkways were prominent features in this as in other peri-urban parks, combining the static quality of architectural structures and immobile marble and bronze figures with the shifting sensations of the seasons and times of day, the fluttering of birds and humming bees, the babble of fountains, and the potential for (guided) choice among the various itineraries and paths (see Figures 9, 10, and 17).[113]

Visual and semiotic allusions to the Greek world filter through architectural terminology (stoa, peristyle, gymnasium) and thus nestle also in the semiotics of the likely architectural structures themselves. Sites in this estate, as in those of Cicero and his correspondents, probably had tags such as *Lyceum*, or *Museum*, or even *Amaltheum* (recalling the goat-nymph who nannied Zeus on Mount Ida, and the mythical cornucopia flowing from her broken horn).[114] Softening the crisp masonry and angular architectural forms, ivy and vines were probably important elements of the park's soothing greenery, and also significant for their Dionysiac exuberance and hint of mystery and danger.[115] Such plantings would also have evoked the convivial quality of elite estates as venues for self-display and grand entertainment, while at the same time recalling the agricultural focus of many of the more suburban and rustic villas.[116]

[112] See Talamo 1998 and Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002: 146. For recent archaeological finds, see Piranomonte 2007. Compare Villedieu 2001.

[113] Hartswick 2004: 12. Vitr. *De arch.* 6.6.5. Aural qualities filter through e.g. Varro's discussion of aviaries (see Chapter 5) and Cic. *Leg.* 1.7.21; recall Pliny's fountains (also Chapter 5). Plin. *HN* 12.13, 35.116 located the Roman beginnings of topiary and painted *trompe-l'oeil* topiary in the Augustan era.

[114] Cicero's Tusculan estate had a 'Lyceum' and an 'Academy' (*Div.* 1.8, *Tusc.* 2.9 – see Leen 1991); his friend Atticus had an 'Amaltheum', like Gelon's 'Horn of Amalthea' in Syracuse from the early fifth century BCE (*Att.* 1.13.1, 1.16.15–18; see F. G. Moore 1906; Grimal 1984: 78, 304–6); on Oplontis, see Sauron 2007. More generally, see Ridgeway 1981; Gleason 1994: 19–21; Wallace-Hadrill 1998a.

[115] Recall Pliny's ivy (Chapter V.5), and the use of these features at Prima Porta. Wiseman 1998: 16 discusses the vineyards in this zone.

[116] Hartswick 2004: 14, and recall Chapter V on Varro, Columella, and Pliny. It is unclear how widely accessible to or closed off from the peri-urban landscape these elite estates were (physically or visually). Hartswick 2004: 16–17 argues that major 'national treasures' (art as booty) would be on public display at least occasionally (citing Cic. *Tusc.* 5.102); cf. C. Edwards 2003.

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A frisson of danger as well as cultured delight must have amused and even possibly unsettled the visitor meeting a rosy hippopotamus reflected in a pool (cf. the two Pegasus statues, Figure 10), or being spied on by a Silenus or Satyr amid the foliage or peering out from a grotto; the presence of warrior Amazons too suggest that violence and perverse sexuality lurked as one took the air and strolled along avenues and colonnades, or gazed down the hillside or across the valley.[117] More prosaically, imperialism, conflict, and death, noble or ignoble, may have featured if the famous 'dying' and 'suicidal' marble 'Gauls', with their Hellenistic and Pergamene connotations, and the (possibly Greek-import) Niobids (inventoried in the Ludovisi collection) all populated the estate.[118] A marble group comprising figures identified as Artemis, Iphigenia, and a hind draws together sex, death, power, and danger as key landscape components.[119] The relationship between idyllic landscapes and (sexual) violence simmered in our discussion of Melior's tree (Chapter IV). If this range of immobile statues was characteristic of the estate's marble inhabitants, then the exuberant but also implacable, perilous, and inhumane qualities of nature seem to have been important to the range of itineraries, particularly where disturbing faces or cloven hooves poked out from amid greenery – an experience still available in Rome's Villa Sciarra, a terraced public park populated with slightly larger than life-size tableaux of sexy violence (see Figure 18) and complete with a living 'stage', theatrically framing statues of the months of the year.[120]

[117] For statues that seem 'real', see Pygmalion's creation (Ov. *Met*. 10.247–69); cf. Apul. *Met*. 2.4. On reality versus art, see Philostr. *Imag.* 1.28.2 (Elsner 1995 is particularly useful). An exotic hippopotamus (from the Ludovisi inventory) is on display in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen). The Villa Ludovisi took over the site of Sallust's estate in the seventeenth century and was a rich source of sculptural finds; these are summed up by Haskell and Penny 1981: 27–30 (on the 'dying Gaul': 224–7; on the 'suicidal Gaul': 282–4).

[118] Consult Hartswick 2004: 93–104. The 'dying' and 'suicidal' Gauls from the Ludovisi collection are currently on view in the Musei Capitolini and Palazzo Altemps (Rome); a related kneeling 'Gaul' is on display in the Louvre (Paris). Elements of a 'Niobid' group can be seen in the Palazzo Massimo (Rome); this was a popular theme for sculpture groups: there are other examples (possibly from the Horti Lamiani, on the Esquiline) in the Uffizi (Florence) and the Ny Carlsberg Glypotek (Copenhagen). Cf. Hepple 2001 on the 'museum garden' in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Hölscher 2004 is interesting on how Roman 'art' related to Greek models and examples (Pollitt 1978 sums up the kinds of 'booty' pouring in).

[119] Hartswick 2004: 83–142 discusses sculptural finds currently identified as likely to be from the estate. See also Moltesen 1998.

[120] Though Cic. *Q Fr*. 3.1.5 debunks the reality effect. On the numinous quality of landscape, see Ov. *Met.* 3.155–62. Leen 1991 discusses how particular sculptural forms or figures were associated with different spaces (see also Vermeule 1968). On deviant luxury, women, and gardens, see Boatwright 1998. See Webography: *Villa Sciarra* (including statue groups of Pan and Syrinx, and Apollo and Daphne).

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Figure 18 Apollo and Daphne statue group, Villa Sciarra, Rome. This couple, and an array of other 'classical' groups also still *in situ* (e.g. Pan and Syrinx; Diana and Endymion), were originally part of Giovanni Ruggeri's (early eighteenth-century) design for the grounds of the Villa Visconti (Brignano, Italy). The Wurtses, the American owners of the Villa Sciarra (from 1902), bought the Ruggeri sculptures as part of their landscaping vision for this new project. On George Washington Wurts' death (1928), his widow, Henrietta, made plans to give the Villa Sciarra to the Roman people as a public park, which concluded with a formal presentation to Mussolini in March 1930.

As terraced parks such as Rome's Villa Sciarra make clear, the theatrical qualities of the landscape itself, and its power to conceal and reveal through changes in level or apparently natural barriers (water, rocks, crevasses), will have taken centre stage. These, combined

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– as discussed by Beard (1998) – with the artificially frozen limbs, evocatively Hellenic herms, artistic license in modelling, and playful approach to scale will have challenged, charmed, and delighted guests and owners alike. Part of the pleasure must have been in the process of recognizing the high-concept landscape for the artifice that it was, in scrutinizing the boundaries between nature and art, static and transitory effects, and enjoying the interplay of 'natural' and artistic structuring features. The tactile quality that characterizes surviving marble inhabitants suggests that there was pleasure to be gained from testing the limits of art and myth to enrich the meaning of landscape: these immobile figures may have been designed to fool the willing viewer into participating in the performance until the moment when cold stone broke the illusion.

Our second Roman park takes us down from the hills onto the Campus plain, and right up to the city's traditional boundary. Where Sallust's estate benefited from its location straddling a valley, offering the potential at least for elaborate vistas, terracing, and straightforwardly gravity-fed water features, Pompey's site presented flat, if marshy, ground.[121] Gagliardo and Packer (2006) sum up recent archaeological (re)thinking on the park but, to get a sense of how the park maps onto the contemporary city, Gleason (1990) still provides the best overview.[122] This garden differs from Sallust's *horti* not just in terms of scale, scope (designed as a public space), and context (association with the theatre and Temple of Venus Victrix) but also through architectural form.

This was a *quadriporticus*, a space defined by the architectural feature that enclosed it, gave it shape, and defined its paths and vistas: the rectangular colonnade (cf. Figures 9, 15). Vitruvius, writing thirty-odd years after this entertainment and relaxation complex had become part of Rome's landscape, emphasizes that planted colonnade gardens are a key feature of the ideal theatre, and also integral to urban design.[123] Gleason argues that this park is *the* archetype for the formally designed Roman *porticus* garden; it certainly provides context for the landscaped

[121] The Villa 'Farnesina' used terracing to maximize its river frontage; Lucullus' Pincian villa also took advantage of topography to enhance the monumental and experiential range of views and perspectives that it provided. On the use of terracing for maximum impact and spatial innovation, see Tybout 2007.

[122] See also Denard 2002; Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002: 207. On the politics of the complex, see Temelini 2006.

[123] Vitr. *De arch*. 5.9.1–9.

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environments contextualizing the auditorium-shaped features in the Villa 'Farnesina' and the Gardens of Maecenas.[124]

Pompey's *porticus* garden had made available for the first time to a mass audience a glimpse of the evocatively Hellenic and visually dense world of elite suburban villas. It was intelligible to a cross-societal audience specifically because it drew on the architectural vocabulary of the familiar smaller-scale structure and plantings of a *domus* garden, scaled up dramatically and re-imagined as a public-access but topographically controlled space, relating directly to the public and civic buildings on the Campus. Pompey's *quadriporticus* provided a new permanent expression of the festal qualities of Rome's year (in the theatre) and offered a temporary home to the then peripatetic meetings of the Senate.[125] Shops, too, formed part of the complex, nodding to the typical mixed-use rhetoric of urban streetscapes. As the detailed reconstructions proposed by Gleason (1994) show, Pompey's *porticus* surrounded a grove designed to present an effect at once harmoniously natural and highly urban and artificial: sightlines and perspective served a coherent (self-)promotional agenda.[126] Strolling in this garden's shade soothed eyes and mind, delighted the ear with babbling water, and imprinted on visitors the powerful patron who stood behind Pompey – Venus herself.

The theatre and temple of Venus were complete by the late 50s BCE, and then 'restored' by Octavian (soon to be Augustus) in 32 BCE. The dimensions of the *porticus* garden were in the region of forty-five by thirty metres.[127] The fragmentary Severan Marble Plan (the early third-century-CE *Forma Urbis Romae*) depicts a strictly symmetrical design for the garden, analysed in detail by Gleason.[128] Enhancing the structured design and offering movement, greenery, and shade, two double 'colonnades' of trees echoed the marble columns of the *porticus* itself, and provided further perspectival authority for how and

[124] Gleason 1994: 13. We might, here, recall Pliny's 'hippodrome' feature (Chapter V.5).

[125] Gros 1987. The Campus was traditionally a political and military space: military gatherings (e.g. soldiers preparing for a Triumph) and consular (and magisterial) elections – the Saepta – were key defining activities. See also e.g. the Villa Publica (the dramatic *locus* for Varro *Rust.* 3). Caesar was, in this period, giving both Saepta and Villa Publica a makeover. See also Sauron 1987.

[126] Compare Bergmann 1994, Kuttner 1999c. See also Gros 1999; Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002: 207. Throwaway literary references abound; see e.g. Catull. 55; Prop. 2.32; Ov. *Ars am.* 1.67, 3.387; Mart. 2.14.10, 11.47.3. Fittingly, Pompey's nemesis Caesar was eventually assassinated in the Senate's meeting hall in Pompey's complex (44 BCE).

[127] Using Gleason 1994: 16, fig. 3 (reconstruction based on the Severan Marble Plan). This scale makes the length and breadth relate proportionally in a ratio of 3 : 2.

[128] Gleason 1994. See also Webography: *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project.*

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at what stages in the visit particular elements of the garden were on display. As discussed above, the 'back wall' of the stone colonnades themselves made available the typical *porticus*-gallery experience of statue-filled niches alternating with Greek works of art – in effect, trophies, showcasing Pompey's power, generosity, wealth, and military success.[129]

The central axis between marble and arboreal 'columns' led from the Curia (east), through the theatre, and on to the Temple of Venus (west), putting these two structures in dialogue via the orderly grove (perhaps, as we noted earlier with Pliny the Elder, evoking the serried ranks of a Triumph) and the theatrical and performative space between them. Gleason suggests that other emblematic trees such as laurel (victory) and myrtle (Venus) were likely to have featured too; if so, the orderly planes set off by the laurels' and myrtles' dark glossy leaves will have strongly emphasized not just Pompey's eastern victories but also his continuing subscription to Roman values.[130] The fountains commented on by Propertius (2.32.11–12) provide the final sensory feature. Glimpsed through the orderly plantings, the bubbling of water makes for a charmingly unpredictable visual and aural element, encouraging movement (to experience a new vista) and conversation. Indeed, opening up comfortable, stimulating conversational avenues and spaces for Rome (that is to say, presenting Rome with its own version of Athens' Academy or Painted Stoa) was a key innovation for a city unaccustomed to recreational public space.

Coarelli and Sauron (with different names in mind) both argue strongly that the *porticus* gallery was curated as a unity, combining Roman imagery with the sophisticated luxury of the Hellenized East; the central space, if we take Propertius' word for it, is both emblematic *locus amoenus* and Roman *imperium sine fine* (boundless empire) in miniature.[131] Also subtly enhancing the central axis of planes were regular features variously interpreted as fountain-statues

[129] E.g. Plin. *HN* 35.59, 114, 126, 132 (paintings). Mart. 11.47 describes the northern 'hundred-column' portico (*hecatostylon*) as located by a grove of plane trees in which lurked statues of wild beasts. Kuttner 1999a: 360–4 is excellent on the (female) statuary.

[130] Gleason 1994: 19. See also Kuttner 1999a: 364–8 (detailed discussion of literary context for the planes).

[131] Prop. 2.32.7–16. On the curatorship, see Coarelli 1971–2: 105 (Atticus); Sauron 1987 (Varro). Key recent studies are Kuttner 1995: 170–4; and 1999a. Zanker's influential reading of Augustus' Forum fits well with a controlled scheme in this earlier complex (1988: 193–5, 210–15). At Pompey's *porticus*, gilt-brocade 'Attalid' drapes kept the sun from important paintings (Prop. 2.32.11–12; Ov. *Ars am.* 3.387). On the statues, see Sauron 1994: 249–314 (at 266–80, a stroll through the colonnade); more generally, see Vermeule 1968.

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or posts to support trophies or triumphal icons.[132] This prioritization of Pompey and the East meshed with visual and structural allusion to the suburban landscape – Latium's hills were dotted with temples embraced by groves.[133] Thus Pompey's 'grove' might mediate between politics (Curia) and rustic landscape (the 'mountain' *cauea*) in a completely different way, evoking the nostalgic ideology of Rome's mytho-historical origins as a woodland space under the care of roaming nature deities.[134] This *rus in urbe* quality seems to underscore Kuttner's implication that Pompey's complex kick-started the *topopoesie* that features so strongly in the literature of this era.[135]

At the Villa 'Farnesina', regular (painted) structural features drew the eye along corridor F–G. Here, the combination of trees, columns, and colonnades similarly encouraged a linear reading, but the axial vista's provision, between stone and living columns, of glimpses of colour and moving water served a purpose not unlike that of the 'Farnesina' landscape vignettes into a hyperreal countryside. Snatched, sketchy, or partial views suggest a whole world of interest lurking off-centre, and add a sense of dimensionality and exploratory possibility to an otherwise linear 'access' model focused between civic duty and the 'mountain' glades leading visually towards Venus' temple on its 'outcrop'. Gleason's argument that, rather than having a full-height permanent stone *scaena* (stage building) blocking the visual link between temple and grove, the original Pompeian scheme made use of temporary *scaenae* erected to order for each production, allowing a unified experience that was overwritten when Augustus remodelled the complex with a permanent *scaena* and closed the Curia, is particularly attractive in this context.[136]

This chapter has explored a range of landscapes, from mythic pastoral vignettes, complete with shrines, shepherds, trees, and more

[132] Summed up in Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002: 207.

[133] Gleason 1994: 21 and Kuttner 1999a: 347 propose that we see in particular a link with the site and topography of the Fortuna complex built into the hillside at Praeneste (possibly redeveloped after Sulla's sack in 82 BCE; see also Hill 1944; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 111–16).

[134] Kuttner 1999a: 357–8 proposes that the 'Maro' statue in the *porticus* garden is sited with specific regard to the complex's Curia, so as to evoke the visual and spatial dynamic between the statue of Marsyas and the Curia in the Forum Romanum. In this way, Pompey's garden becomes an alternative Forum.

[135] Venus' centrality to Lucretius' environmental study of human evolution also flickers behind this nexus. Kuttner 1999a: 359–71 follows Pompey's Porticus through the *Greek Anthology* and Martial.

[136] Suet. *Aug.* 31. See Gleason 1994: 24.

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urban forms, through to the fantasy power to make seasonal time perform on command in the garden room at Prima Porta and other sites. We have seen how extensive parkland with the space to evoke imaginary Arcadian landscapes could transform Rome's environs into a powerfully charged expression of empire and a space perhaps to let down one's guard and enjoy the alternation of pavilions, fountains, planting, and avenues as a balm against the cut and thrust of city life down the road. Finally, we have looked at a single example of a large-scale formal garden, where the setting and landscape design made no concessions to nature's authority and owed everything to the controlling vision of its originator. Our final stop, at Hadrian's Villa, takes something from each of these kinds of landscape. The painted nature that will have brought life and interest to this villa is gone, but frescoed plantings and landscape scenery will still have helped shape the original relationship between villa and countryside.

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