IV LANDSCAPE: TIME AND MOTION

Gardening is not about those mythical 'green fingers'. Gardeners know that the plants, the trees, the staff, and the grounds *are* the identity they create for themselves by doing every single thing that can be done, over and over, as the year wheels about.[1]

We have already thought about how Golden Age imagery influences understanding of what landscape should be about, and we will return later to issues of chronology and temporality. Here, we start with some strategies for reading landscape as a sequence of places that can be combined to tell a story. One definition of space makes it what we experience by moving through a series of places, which we connect up into patterns by picking particular routes to follow.[2] Using this model, landscape stories invite us to move into and around them, offering different 'ways of going out and coming back in', depending on how we map our route.[3] Following the narrative flow through a landscape takes time.[4] Time, however, is relative – and culturally constructed; depending on context and terminology, time can move at different speeds and follow different logics.[5] Bakhtin's **chronotope** is helpful here. Using the natural environment to create a structure for understanding how time passes gives meaning and order to the passage of the year. For agricultural communities, it was a matter of life and death: studding the calendar with legends and myths closely linked to places, seasons, and appropriate activities was one way to ensure that good and bad ways of doing things were remembered over

[1] Henderson 2004b: 19 (discussing Sen. *Ep*. 12).

[2] See de Certeau 1984: 127; cf. Augé 1995: 85–6. On chronology and archaeological narratives, see A. M. Pollard 2009. For movement through a landscape in time, see Conan 2003a.

[3] De Certeau 1984: 106. Useful analogies (on the relationship between urban space, social organization, and intellectual structure) emerge from Hillier 2003a and 2003b.

[4] For time as 'placial', see Casey 1993: 9–13; this phenomenological approach, tracing its roots to pre-Socratic philosophy, states that everything in existence has a 'place', and the 'place world' exists in time as perceived by humans (e.g. the terms 'before' and 'after' relate to 'in front' and 'behind'). V. Evans 2004 connects this up with language use. Ricoeur 1984/5/8 (three large volumes) works towards an analysis of the subtly open-ended conversations between author, text, and reader that generate acceptable participatory narratives and shared, acculturated versions of how to 'tell' the time.

[5] See e.g. Cox and Forshaw 2009. Feeney 2007: 7–42, 138–42 introduces the practical and conceptual issues for Rome.

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time.[6] Calendars therefore engage in a complex dialogue with religious and cultural assumptions, and they also respond to scientific advances in measuring the passage of time.[7]

When we gaze upon any landscape – physical, literary, or representational – we are plotting space with reference to time. We progress through a landscape's topographical elements (hill, tree, stream, temple) by tagging them, and then connecting up the tags in a way that satisfies our preferred interpretation or route. We can also term this 'marking up' a landscape. This can be intensely personal (linked meaningfully to individual desires, fears, and experiences) and can also plug into a society's collective myths, stereotypes, and concerns (ruins: romantic, frightening?; a patchwork of small, irregular, hedged fields: quaint, inefficient?; a canal: boating holidays, freight?). In this way, drawing on Lynch's analysis of urban form, we see that individual landscape elements change depending on how they are connected up; we plot their relative positions within a frame (the edges of the landscape as they relate to our points of view), and size up how and how long it might take to account for them, to move between them, and even the different perspectives that strolling along a path, into a valley, or through a gate could open up.[8]

This is **narratology** and, drawing on de Certeau's important analysis of how space gains meaning as a network of time, place, and stories, a few examples might work as follows: the shady plane tree encourages the viewer or passer-by to move towards it, and away from the midday sun; the regimented vineyard encourages a linear gaze along its lines, and invites us to imagine seasonal ripening of the grapes and their eventual harvest, and pressing and ageing elsewhere on the estate. A

[6] See Rüpke 2004: 32–4. Summing up the Roman calendar tags, see Webography: Nova Roma, and *Rogue Classicism*'s 'This Day in Ancient History' section; more discursively, see 'Early Roman Calendar'.

[7] The Western (Gregorian) calendar adapted the Julian calendar (45 BCE), reframing the year in terms of Christian concepts and temporal cycles. Other religions (e.g. Judaism, Islam) and cultures (e.g. China) count time differently. Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) – Greenwich gained the Prime Meridian in 1851 – recalls a time when Britain dominated the globe. Echoing Imperial Rome's standardization of the calendar, the original division of the world into twenty-four time zones was the British empire's response to increasing globalization. Modern systems continue to refine chronology: Universal Time (and its variants, e.g. UT1), which replaced GMT, is sidereal (measuring the rotation of the stars) rather than solar. International Atomic Time (TAI) takes the average of a set number of atomic clocks (measuring the microwaves emitted by electrons). Co-ordinated Universal Time synchronizes TAI with UT1 so that the perceptual experience of time (the diurnal cycle) matches the most accurate standards of measurement. Leap seconds (rather than leap days, seasonal change, festivals, or intercalation) are now what keep things in sync.

[8] Lynch 1960: 96–9, 106–7.

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surging river suggests its whole course, from mountain source to sea, while also evoking the god of its source, and associated festivals.[9] The time taken to 'read' a landscape therefore includes how long one needs to explore it and to make sense of it. Cognitive linguistic approaches will add an extra dimension here, but we can also draw on space-syntax terminology. We now see how storytelling and its temporality (time passing within a 'story' and the time taken to read or tell a story) is central to **way-finding** through 'fat space'. A combination of memory and experience, plus a landscape's signs, routes, and **axial lines**, enable us to make meaningful connections between landmarks, nodes, and **isovists**.[10]

Parsing a landscape: Virgil and Statius

If we treat space as a form of discourse, then we can analyse it in linguistic terms.[11] In its most basic sense, parsing a landscape means identifying its topographical features (vocabulary) and interpreting them relationally (syntax).[12] As Gombrich influentially commented, 'All thinking is sorting, classifying. All perceiving relates to expectations and therefore to comparisons.'[13] More specifically, embedded within language is a relationship between grammatical case and movement that specifies how we react cognitively to space as we verbally define or respond to it. For texts or sites composed or interpreted in an inflected language such as Latin, syntax and semiotics are particularly closely linked because of the flexibility of word order.[14] Cognitive linguistic terminology helps us see how the process of connecting up sites and vistas into meaningful and complex isovist space is rooted in the structures of language and the linguistic choices made by authors and readers.[15] Language and its mental spaces determine how landscape operates via a range of symbols within a semiotic system: we understand landscape by recognizing its components and ordering

[9] De Certeau 1984: 115–30. On narratology, see Bal 1985; also Barthes 1986; J. Potter 1996. On geographic epistemology, see Lowenthal 1961. On narratology and semiotic chains of association, see Barthes 1967. On visual semiotics, see Saint-Martin 1990.

[10] On way-finding, see Lynch 1960: 4, 46–90; a useful recent collection is Golledge 1999.

[11] See Werth 1999 for this approach.

[12] Testing space-syntax theory on Rome, see von Stackelberg 2009: 54–9; as applied to Pompeii, see Grahame 2000.

[13] Gombrich 1960: 254.

[14] See Short 2008: 106–10. This article tackles the complexities and is well worth the effort.

[15] Cf. Thoreau 2004: 110, attempting to define the Concord river.

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them in ways that make sense.[16] When we recognize a topographic entity as water, if it is wide, flowing water, we refine this interpretation by terming it a river; we understand that rivers flow downhill. Downhill means a sloping scene; by following the course of the river in either direction we are 'moving' up or down. Furthermore, returning to Latin we know that, syntactically, our river is located in space (the ablative or locative case), and also flows away from one place (the ablative) and towards another (the accusative).[17] This approach overlaps with the terminology of cultural memory, which similarly relies on shared linguistic structures generated by and productive of agreed meanings for particular verbal signs.

Virgil's *Aeneid* offers one of the most famous examples of a temporally complex landscape when the Greek émigré Evander, returning from the Ara Maxima, takes the newcomer Aeneas on a tour of the site that will one day be Rome.[18] Key verbs introducing this passage are *refero* (return, 8.307), *eo* (go, 8.307), *ingredior* (walk along, 8.309), and *miror* (marvel at, 8.310). Evander enriches the space they traverse with stories that conjure up vistas.[19] An intricate collection of chronological and spatial ideas is in play, and these are best illustrated by plotting the story using Figure 5. The route, however, remains surprisingly difficult to visualize. Evander's back-to-the-future lecture tour of the future site of Rome configures space as a synchronous sequence of tagged landmarks: a hypertext. Moving towards, pointing to, and hovering at each site brings up additional resources for reading the topography. Evander's toponyms are at once pre-Roman (from

[16] Lynch 1960: 83–90, 95–105; Grahame 2000: 3–4, 24–8; Conan 2003b: 288. Ricoeur 1977 is unavoidable on metaphor and identity; for our purposes (metaphor and the analysis of space), approaches presented by Lakoff and Johnson 2003 are particularly useful.

[17] This bare-bones explanation picks out prepositions governing specific cases that denote or connote movement and location, e.g. *a*/*ab* (+abl.), *ad* (+abl.), *de* (+abl.), *in* (+acc./abl.), *per* (+acc.), *ex* (+abl.). We can also factor in verbs followed by the dative, e.g. *appropinquo* (I approach); ablative of place from or place where; and locative.

[18] Verg. *Aen* 8.337–69. This passage has a large bibliography; for discussion and references, see e.g. Hardie 1992; Zetzel 1997; Ando 2002; Papaioannou 2003; Reed 2007: 129–47 (part of a study of cities in the *Aeneid*). Witek 2006's detailed examination of landscape in Virgil is not available in translation. Alden Smith 2005 focuses on vision in the *Aeneid*. On the semiotic richness of Roman scenography, and suggestions for further reading, see e.g. C. Edwards 1996; Lowrie 2003; Larmour and Spencer 2007a.

[19] Evander is described as '*Romanae conditor arcis*' (*Aen*. 8.313), which is usually translated as 'founder of the Roman citadel'. *OLD s.v. conditor*: 2–4 gives 'originator (of a practice)', 'author', and 'organizer'. Hence we have additional nuances configuring Evander (the 'good man') as creator, scripter, and planner of what follows. Aeneas' understanding of the story is inevitably different to that of an ideal reader.

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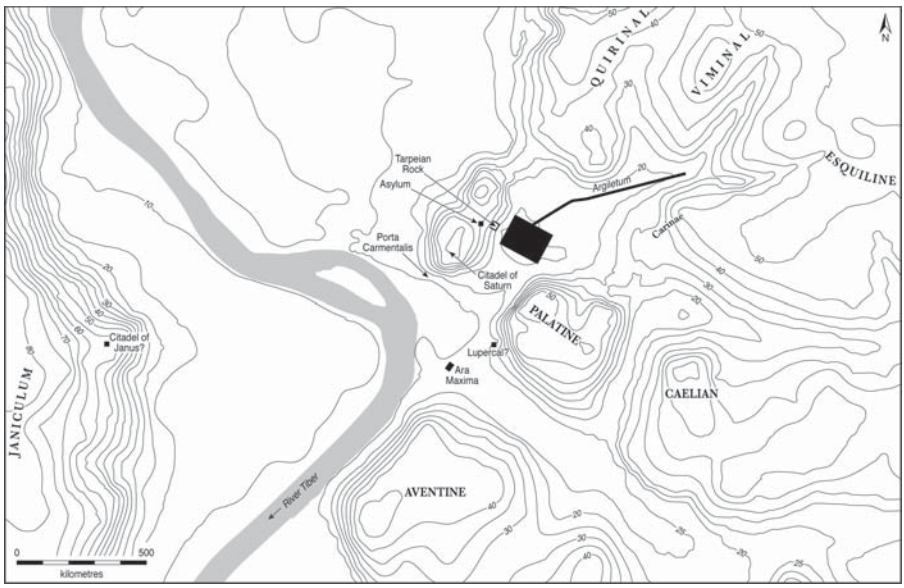


Figure 5 Evander's tour of 'future' Rome (Verg. *Aen.* 8).

Evander and Aeneas' point of view the city does not yet exist), and *ur*-Roman (resonant of the legendary past, in Virgil's city).

The tour proper starts at the spot that we learn 'the Romans' (re) call by the name Porta Carmentalis.[20] Naming this site orients the group (and ourselves as audience) to face it. Behind us is what will be the Forum Boarium, and the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. Within the *Aeneid*'s narrative present, however, neither 'the Romans' nor their/our *future* toponyms exist; this interjection is offered by the narrator. By marking up Evander's tour with anachronistic sites, Virgil implies that Roman toponyms are autochthonic and inevitable: intrinsic to and inextricably embedded within this space. The pre-Roman pastoral landscape's innate qualities are already primed for tagging by Evander and Virgil. They make it inevitable that, one day, *bona fide* citizens will become fully Roman by inhabiting the site that has always been waiting for them. Moreover, as the poem makes clear, this tour is the nearest thing to a stroll around Rome that Aeneas ever gets.[21] Viewers are encouraged to perceive the scene

[20] '*Carmentalem Romani nomine portam* / *quam memorant*' (Verg. *Aen* 8.338–9).

[21] On reciprocal gazes (Aeneas' arrival and interest guarantees Rome's foundation; walking around the pre-Roman site embeds Aeneas ideologically and figuratively in a city he will never see), see e.g. Merleau-Ponty 1964 (and, for context, Jay 1993); cf. Varela, Thompson, and Rosch

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as three overlapping isovists: the pastoral hills, woods, and river; the selected prefigured urban landmarks of Rome; and the totality of the city as experienced by each of the poem's audiences. Facing the Porta Carmentalis, however, makes impossible the uninterrupted transition to the next site as scripted: '*from here*, a vast grove…' ('*hinc lucum ingentem*…').[22]

This next site, the grove tagged as the Asylum, highlights the tension between narrative and experiential space. The Asylum is yet to be founded (by Aeneas' descendant, Romulus) and, straddling the Capitoline peaks, its natural depression should be invisible from the Porta Carmentalis, below and south-west of the hill.[23] The lack of a verb of movement to configure the transition between sites encodes the group as rotating on the spot (taking in a series of vistas rather than walking from one site to the next), yet '*hinc*' can imply movement as well as directionality, despite no localized specification of a new stop on the tour. This ambiguity places our group simultaneously (still) at the Porta Carmentalis and also somewhere (else) with a sightline on the Asylum (perhaps drifting around the Velabrum; see Figure 3, no. 52). The compression of the scripting offers one solution. Focusing on what Evander does, we see that he both *points out* and *calls attention to* ('*monstrat*', 8.337) the Porta Carmentalis, with the same verb doing duty for how he presents the Asylum. Hence the emphasis is on gestural axes and conceptual isovists rather than uninterrupted sightlines or proximity.

This interpretation gains weight when we see that the next tagged site, again dependent on *monstro*, is the Lupercal. The transition here is managed solely with '*et*' (and), suggesting the group rotating a further ninety degrees or so clockwise to gaze back towards the Palatine.[24] Virgil embeds movement of a different sort in the topographic mark-up here: the Lupercal is named for (the wolf-god) Lycaean Pan in Parrhasian (that is, Arcadian, 'exile') fashion. The link to Romulus connects Greece to the eventual city foundation, long after Aeneas. So, gazing at the Lupercal, the isovist expands imaginatively to take in a god-haunted domain in Greek Arcadia, adding that touch of exotic wilderness to the (contemporary) city centre.

1991: 241: 'a path exists only in walking'. Royo and Gruet 2008: 382–91 survey Rome along lines that Merleau-Ponty might recognize.

[22] Verg. *Aen* 8.342.

[23] '*Rettulit*', 'Romulus founded…' (*Aen* 8.343); the perfect tense adds chronological complexity.

[24] Verg. *Aen* 8.343–4.

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The next site presents a conflict. It appears to follow seamlessly by reusing the verb *monstro*, but the formal transition suggests a double-take: '*nec non et*…' ('and moreover'), with the double negative requiring a moment's thought.[25] This signals a halt to the clockwise sweep of Evander's tour, which is confirmed when we find that the Argiletum is the next stop. This (then) wooded site, north-east of what will become the Forum, requires the group to swing around roughly forty-five degrees anticlockwise from the Lupercal. This reverse rotational momentum then continues as Evander leads (*duco*) them from here ('*hinc*') back to what will eventually be the Tarpeian 'seat' and (*et*) the Capitol (the two sites are presented as a unit, depending on the verb *duco*). Chronological friction is highlighted by the narrator's focalization in the next line: the Capitol is golden *now*, but *then* bristling with woodland thickets; 'now' must mean in Virgil's city.[26]

Almost all of the many senses of *duco* imply actual movement through space, but one significant exception that keeps us guessing is the sense 'spin a yarn' or 'compose'.[27] The ambiguity in *duco* suggests Evander as the scripter of the scene rather than as the enthusiastic cicerone, tramping the sites; yet the relatively lengthy description (8.347–54) creates a density of space in these lines that could suggest time taken scrambling through the undergrowth, as well as time needed to come to an understanding of the complex site. The complexity is underlined when we meet the next transition term. 'What's more' ('*praeterea*', 8.355) implies that our isovist is being semiotically enriched rather than topographically redefined. What transpires is that the Capitol is redesignated as a ruinous town, twinned with the now (from Evander's point of view) ruined citadel of Janus (the Janiculum, across the Tiber).[28]

If Evander is lecturing a tour party on the Capitol (suggested by *duco*, meaning to escort, lead, or move), Virgil's deployment of *hic* (this, here) in the following lines is idiosyncratic. The two landmarks featured next (the citadels of Saturn – that is, the Capitol – and Janus, on the Janiculum) are relationally connected using *hic* (8.355, 357). This **deictic** conjures up a performative gesture on Evander's

[25] Ibid., 8.345.

[26] 'Now'/'then' terminology emphasizes that the mark-up here is squarely in the narratorial voice: '*aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis*' (*Aen* 8.348).

[27] *OLD* sense twenty-three (of thirty). See e.g. Prop. 4.6.13; Ov. *Met.* 1.4.

[28] On ruins and Roman identity, see Fowler 2000; Spencer 2005. On Janus' Hill, see Grimal 1945.

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part – an arm sweeping demonstratively between two sites (here… and here…) spatially removed from (or equally adjacent to) the tour party. This setup works far better in phenomenological terms for an audience down near the Porta Carmentalis (with a sightline on the two citadels) than up on the Capitol itself or even at the Tarpeian Rock, and the next line seems to encourage us to imagine the group back down somewhere in the vicinity of the Porta Carmentalis.[29] We are thus implicitly encouraged either to fill in an unscripted phase in the tour (where the group treks back down from the Capitol to the low ground), or to read *duco* as primarily about storytelling rather than physically leading.

Referring back to Figure 5, we find further support for a primarily static tour when we examine the next transition, taking the group to a Palatine site: 'amidst such conversation they were making tracks [*subibant*] to the house of modest Evander' (8.359–60). This transition phase, closely linked to some leisurely sightseeing ('*uidebant*', they were looking, 8.360) concludes the excursion and takes us back ('*subibant*') to our last unambiguous verb of movement ('*progredior*', see 8.337). No mention is made of a scramble down from the Capitol (no roads yet), and the intuitive response suggests that a stroll back to Evander's place from the (future) Porta Carmentalis (or perhaps the Velabrum) is what rounds off the tour. Instead of emphasizing physical movement through space, this reading finds that sketchy description blending with reminiscence and imaginative visualization generates an evocative but fragmentary and imprecise landscape. By downplaying real-time movement, Virgil seems to bring the future city's hotspots directly to 'us' (as readers), providing 'us' (and Aeneas) with the need-to-know lowdown.

Movement can be encoded to play a part in texts in other ways too: letters are envoys, travelling the roads of Italy, instantiating dialogue between author and addressee and tying individuals, families, and communities together. Tacitly, the conversational qualities of epistles are underpinned by the unspoken delights and discomforts of travel as they wend their way between the correspondents. In the speed or distressed state of their imagined delivery we might assume that a further layer of landscaping is overlaid – the human response to infrastructural factors such as roads, the relationship between travel across a weather-beaten landscape, seasonal patterns of movement

[29] Verg. *Aen* 8.357–8.

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such as transhumance, and Roman pride in the ability to move traffic briskly.[30] Jumping forward just over a century from Virgil, we find another example of a text generated by and also redefining movement, but with particular reference to roads, in Statius' *Siluae* 4.3, praising and describing the Via Domitiana (see Figure 2). This long, hendecasyllabic poem (at 163 lines, by far the longest in *Siluae* 4) takes the wayfarer (*uiator*) down through Campania, following Domitian's new highway completed in 95 CE.[31] Seven key lines close the introductory section:

> *hic segnes populi uias grauatus*
> *et campos iter omne detinentes*
> *longos eximit ambitus nouoque*
> *iniectu solidat graues harenas,*
> *gaudens Euboicae domum Sibyllae*
> *Gauranosque sinus et aestuantes*
> *septem montibus admouere Baias.* Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.20–6

> this man [Domitian] – frustrated by highways holding people up
> and plains that make every journey a delay –
> banishes long, meandering routes and with new
> laid surface stabilizes the heavy sands,
> delighting that the home of the Euboean Sibyl
> and the bays of Gaurus and sweltering
> Baiae too, he's shifting a little closer to the Seven Hills.

This new route, as an itinerary, collapses time and space while also (at some length, and with some meanders of its own) cataloguing a trip south to where Rome meets Magna Graecia's northern zone of influence.[32] Until 'now', travel south has been a constant struggle against an obdurate landscape and changing geopolitical needs: now, if one leaves the Tiber at dawn one can be sailing the Lucrine Lake at twilight. This is not simply a domestic matter, since it also

[30] Hor. *Sat.* 1.5 recounts a trip through the Pontine Marshes to Feronia by canal, with a sleepless night tormented by midges and the croaking of frogs (see Welch 2008). On low-tech travel and local networks see, briefly, Dench 2005: 190. On transhumance, see Garnsey 2000: 689–91; on movement more generally, see Scheidel 2004.

[31] The new *Via* cut the journey time between Rome and Naples by splitting from the Via Appia where it turned inland towards Capua. Coleman 1988 provides an excellent, detailed commentary on this poem. See also Newlands 2002: 284–325; Smolenaars 2006. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.

[32] Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5. The structure is broadly tripartite: terrain/construction; eulogy of Domitian as road- and bridge-builder (spoken by the river god Volturnus; description of the monumental arch marking where this road leaves the Via Appia); a mythologizing and historicizing eulogy of Domitian, spoken by the Cumaean Sibyl.

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opens up Rome to a new superhighway from the east;[33] semantically, however, the focus remains on Rome, and a Roman point of view is being addressed whereby other parts of the route always operate relationally. The benefits come when places that one might want to visit from Rome take less time to reach, or to travel (back) from. Statius' estimate of the new journey time of one day seems optimistic, but the reconceptualization of Baiae, for example, as a day from Rome transforms it from a getaway to a suburb: Rome-on-Sea. Baiae's fleshpots are now accessible, in theory at least, to those who also wish actively to participate in the *res publica*.

As a sense unit, this passage connects the main man, Domitian, directly to the Seven Hills. By naming evocative sites around the new route's southern terminus, and dismissing the whole interim landscape as a now-vanished series of detours and hindrances, Statius makes evident how modern technocracy has redefined Italy spatially and relationally.[34] There is no longer any reason to note the towns or places *en route* because the new streamlined way-finding process has erased their landmark status, and bypassed many communities. Traditionally, the parts of roads closest to these and other urban settlements were lined with tombs. We still see evidence of this on the Via Appia (as it leaves Rome) and outside ancient Pompeii.[35] A modern comparison could be drawn between the high density of tombs at strategic sites – in effect advertising family history – and the billboards and promotional hoardings that colour contemporary high-traffic areas.[36] Perhaps the speed of Domitian's new superhighway will have the effect (in Statius' poem at least) of making these building blocks of shared memory unavailable and thereby implying one more way in which movement through landscape and cultural identity are intertwined.[37]

[33] See Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.36–7, 4.3.107–10, 4.3.112–13. Statius speaks of 'easterners' coming by sea to Puteoli, cutting out a big chunk of slow road travel.

[34] See Pavlovskis 1973.

[35] See Webography: 'Street of Tombs'.

[36] See Webography: *Awesome Billboards and Outdoor Advertising*; *Extraordinary and Attractive Billboards*.

[37] On tombs and roads, see e.g. Purcell 1987a; Koortbojian 1996; Gowing 2005: 13–15. Recall Chapter I (on cultural memory). Huyssen 2003 explores the relationship between cultural identity and traumatic urban redevelopment (e.g. the fall of the Berlin Wall; 9/11).

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Et in Arcadia ego: difference and repetition in Varro and Ovid

Habit is the foundation of time, the moving soil occupied by the passing present.[38]

Another kind of chronology, the repetitive process of working the land, exploits philosophical tropes – principally Stoic – that Foucault defines as 'care' or 'cultivation' of the self.[39] Each iteration of ploughing, sowing, and harvesting in the farming year is at once a new act, and an echo of and riff upon previous acts in the sequence, rooted in a specific sense of place. Constancy of place helps 'promote the highly reassuring conservative illusion that nothing fundamental has really changed'.[40] This cyclical quality hints at the hermeneutics of reception (farming needs to remember, respond to, and develop agricultural lore; Rome's farming manuals drew heavily on Greek knowledge).[41] Thus, when Varro has a stab at rationalizing the historical connection between planting schemes, the Italian countryside, and calendars in the late Republic (*Rust.* 1.27–8) he is also flagging up farming and gardening as key **ontological** activities for quizzing how Roman epistemology and Italy's landscapes combine to generate Roman perception of time. He is simultaneously alluding to and reinventing the hermeneutics of Rome's reception of 'Greek' paradigms of time, familiar from Hesiod.[42]

Writing about the relationship between history and the measurement of time, Feeney sums up:

The horizons of Roman time were progressively extended, reaching backwards to Troy and sideways to assimilate the synchronistic time systems that the Greeks had devised as an indispensable part of their own contentious historical sensibilities; further, key

[38] Deleuze 2004: 101. This difficult and at times oblique book – first published in 1968 – has proved hugely influential. It attempts to unpack and analyse the relationship between difference and unified identity by way of some of the giants of Western philosophy (from Aristotle all the way through to Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Kant, and Hegel). For a clear introduction, see J. Williams 2003.

[39] Foucault 1988: 43, 45–8, 67. In general terms, for Roman gardens, see von Stackelberg 2009: 62–4. On the mutually sustaining interplay between *historia* and *memoria* in Roman culture, see e.g. Gowing 2005, 7–13 (in the wake of Halbwachs 1992).

[40] Zerubavel 2003: 41.

[41] This is 'complex repetition', Deleuze 2004: xviii, 368. See also Deleuze 2004: 96–7 (how this operates in the visual and perceptual fields). On the knowledge base for Roman farming, K. D. White 1973 is a good starting point.

[42] E.g. Hes. *Op.* 383–669, 765–828, cited by Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.9, as part of a lengthy catalogue of Greek agricultural classics.

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transitional moments in Greek mythology became a tool for the Romans to use in order to reflect on their status as an imperial people, guilty masters of nature and of technology.[43]

This makes clear the sheer complexity of the idea of time and its measurement at Rome. Also at stake here is the close relationship between what Varro terms 'natural' (that is, in effect, seasonal and inevitable) and 'civil' (that is, contingent) urban timeframes.[44] As Cancik suggests:

> Sacred landscape is a constellation of natural phenomena constituted as a meaningful system by means of artificial and religious signs, by telling names and etiological stories fixed to certain places, and by rituals which actualize the space.[45]

Varro is an interesting test case – his first account of the calendar (in his study of the Latin language, *De lingua latina*) was followed, almost a decade later, by *De re rustica* (in the form of a series of debates about the nature of farming and country life). As Feeney puts it, 'When Varro talks [*Rust.* 1]…about the divisions of the year and their relationship with agriculture and nature we are, all of a sudden, in a completely different world' – the world of Caesar's seasons.[46]

The lead-in to the debate on measuring time in Varro saw a group of punningly named friends awaiting the arrival of the sacristan at the temple of Tellus (the Earth) in Rome: Agrius (Mr Fallowfield), Fundanius (Mr Farmish), and Scrofa (Mr Porker).[47] Clearly, anyone planning a landscaping project must know that cultivation involves knowing the cycles (seasonal, annual) and understanding **teleology** (how plants mature). This is the same for pleasure gardens, small plots, and farmland alike.

Porker's description of solar and lunar schemes makes the celestial bodies control the kinds of agricultural time available to mankind. Mr Sucker (C. Licinius *Stolo*) then interjects, complicating matters by suggesting that agriculture need not *follow* the seasons but as a way of life can instead help to make the seasons work for the educated and

[43] Feeney 2007: 138.

[44] Varro, *Ling.* 6.12 – probably composed before Caesar's calendar reform, though possibly published shortly after the new calendar. See Feeney 2007: 202–9. Cf. Plin. *HN* 18.205 on the problem of over-reliance on compartmentalized chronological systems: a blend of natural and civil is what's needed, but subject to the common-sense proviso that the weather will never fit itself to fixed dates.

[45] Cancik 1985–6: 253.

[46] Feeney 2007: 200.

[47] Varro, *Rust.* 1.26.

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skilful farmer, who actively identifies the growth cycles of different crops and plants accordingly for maximum productivity. Each field will be, as it were, part Spring, part Summer, part Autumn, part Winter, depending on what crop is sown, with each moving through its own process of ripening to maturity and harvest according to its own biorhythms but also to suit the farmer's order.[48] Sucker's alternative calendrical scheme is broadly complementary to the imperatives of heavenly calendars, but is based around human know-how and contingency: the ripening to maturity and consumption of in-demand produce.

In Varro's discussion, every way of measuring the year is tied to farming but, as Kronenberg observes, this array of calendars highlights how circumscribed the farmer's many and varied attempts to impose order on 'the haphazard world of nature' are, and how, ultimately, mankind is alone in the struggle to make practical and productive sense of the passage of time, since 'the gods never helpfully intervene' to sort things out.[49] This concern with identifying and setting limits to cycles, and in particular with articulating differences between them and specifying their internal logics, encourages readers to recognize 'the operations of power, and the tensions and conflicts those operations generate'.[50] Getting calendars right, and choosing the appropriate scheme for the task at hand, can be a matter of life and death.

Varro's second book takes Pompey's campaign against the pirates in the Mediterranean (60s BCE) as its backdrop. Notionally in conversation with provincial farmers, 'Varro' recounts a quasi-philosophical myth of ages, tracing agriculture and animal husbandry alike back through time to the remotest (and Greek) past, via obvious suspects such as the philosophers Thales and Pythagoras; 'Varro' is in fact greeted Homerically as '*ποιμένα λαῶν*' (shepherd of the people), connecting a pastoral pre-Roman world to the big names of Trojan epic, and making Varro (and his farming manual) a Homerically flavoured guide for configuring a new world.[51] This leads eventually to a whimsical account of the founding of Rome by shepherds, and the consequences

[48] Ibid., 1.29, 1.37.4. See also 1.41.1 (the vagaries of fig-growing); 1.45 (each plant has its own internal calendar); and 1.46 (the leaves of some trees are natural seasonal markers, twisting over at the summer solstice).

[49] Kronenberg 2009: 91.

[50] Cubitt 2007: 224.

[51] Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.3–5, 2.5.1.

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of this vision of Rome's pre-history and inception for the operation of Roman time.[52]

The significance of Rome's past (and in particular its foundation stories) in the cultural production of the late Republic has featured in every chapter thus far. Varro's synthesis of agriculture, pastoralism, and history shows just how tight the connections are between the practicalities of marking time and the consequences of chronological and calendrical choices, particularly when the Roman calendar itself was being radically overhauled. In this context we can conclude with one other chronologically focused landscape, taken from Ovid's calendar poem (*Fasti*), commenced in the early years CE.[53]

Ovid's lengthy opening entry tackles the month's titular god, Janus, who manifests himself to explain why he has two faces. Janus is the gatekeeper to the year; he completes the old year and ushers in the new one, but also describes himself as controller of the natural environment:

> '*Quicquid ubique uides, caelum, mare, nubile, terras,*
> *omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.*' Ov. *Fast.* 1.115–116
>
> 'On whatever and wherever your gaze falls – on sky, sea, cloud, earth –
> all these things are closed and opened by my hand.'

Quickly, Janus and the narrator tackle why the year came to start in January, a dead time agriculturally, rather than in the traditional month, March.[54] Janus' reply points up a friction between different chronological models that we saw explored by Varro. As Feeney comments, Ovid

> knows…that the controlling power of the grid falls short of controlling nature, or of ultimate success in tracking its day-to-day unpredictability. The inherent arbitrariness of the human plotting of time is an important theme… *Natural* time…is not arranged by human agency through the year but is indivisibly continuous… The flow of time and the human grid can never finally be one and the same.[55]

The year begins, Janus states tersely, when the sun is reborn after midwinter.[56] In shifting the New Year from March to January, Janus

[52] Ibid., 2.1.6–9, 9–10.
[53] Wallace-Hadrill 2005 usefully connects up Ov. *Met.* and *Fast.*
[54] Ov. *Fast.* 1.149–50.
[55] Feeney 2007: 203, emphasis original. Cf. Berns 1976 on Lucretius.
[56] Ov. *Fast.* 1.163–4.

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makes the sun-god Apollo's return provide one mythic rationale for setting aside the intuitive, practice-based, seasonal calendar, despite a lingering preference for that traditional agricultural scheme.[57] As we read on through the *Fasti*, on reaching March the issue is reopened. Here our guide revisits and resists the traditional preference for using agriculture as the reason for a March new year. He strips away the agricultural explanation previously offered, instead presenting a pre-existing political rationale: Romulus gave Mars's month the honour of ushering in the year to emphasize his importance; reflecting the hard work of farmers is aetiologically sidelined.[58] March, this calendar entry suggests, was just as much a political choice as January. This inbuilt contingency in how time was measured and marked shows the calendar flexing in tune with cultural and ideological shifts.[59]

One further mark-up is also taking place, one that we have met already in Varro and Virgil: the translation of Greek knowledge into Roman operating systems. Here in *Fasti* 3 we also learn that early Romans were, the story goes, incapable of reading the stars, unlike the Greeks, who made the constellations tell a tale that made time pass meaningfully as the year turned. Romans, Ovid suggests, traditionally depended on 'foreign' wisdom to make sense of how their environment worked.[60] Telling the time using these sidereal stories explained, reinforced, and universalized a sense of pan-Mediterranean Hellenism that Rome's first citizens could not match, either scientifically or as an embryonic political community. As Feeney reminds us, Greek continued to be the language of enquiry even in Augustan Rome – the *horologium* (sundial), a feature of the Campus Martius, was marked up in Greek.[61]

As we now move on to detailed case studies in Chapters V and VI, we will see how Romans continue to turn to Greece for raw material.

[57] Ibid., 1.151–60.

[58] Ibid., 3.97–8, 79–104, 135–66. On why the Romans started their year when they (variously) did, see Feeney 2007: 204–5.

[59] We also see it at work in the festal calendar, e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 1.657–62. See Beard 1987 (seminal discussion).

[60] Ov. *Fast.* 3.105–12.

[61] Feeney 2007: 206.

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