CHAPTER TWO

Utilitarian and ornamental house gardens

n some ancient cultures it was common to own a house and a garden. 'Field, garden and house' as a unit appears frequently as a reference in legal and administrative texts in Mesopotamia, and in Greek inscriptions from the fifth to the first century BC, 'house and garden' is a common entry in records of realestate property. The garden was often quite separate from the house and the two could be bought and sold separately.

Gardens could provide the owner with fruit and vegetables, either for his own consumption or for sale. Like many other country dwellers, the mother of the Athenian playwright, Euripides, is said to have raised vegetables commercially on her farm outside Athens for markets in the city in the fifth century BC (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 387). The Roman author Cato, in his second-century treatise *On Agriculture*, wrote that the suburban garden ideally should be planted with useful plants such as flowers for wreaths, onions, myrtle for wedding celebrations, laurel and nut trees (*De Agri Cultura* 8.2).

Utilitarian gardens depicted in Egyptian wall paintings consisted of plots of land subdivided into square beds and, depending on the available space, they could be laid out on a grand scale or fitted into smaller plots between the houses. On a relief in the tomb of the official Mereruka at Saqqara dating from around 2330 BC, garden labourers irrigate gardens divided up into square beds and crossed by canals (fig. 11).

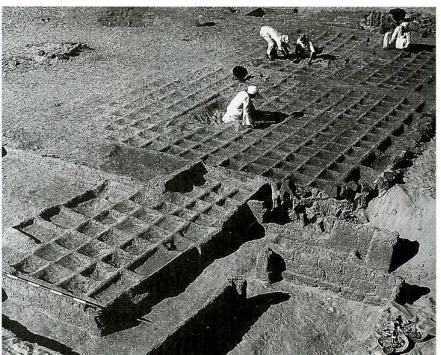
Archaeological evidence for regular rows of square planting beds has been uncovered at several sites, including Mirgissa in Sudan, where the edges of the individual plots were raised so that the water with which the plants were irrigated would sink into the small depression rather than run off or evaporate quickly (fig. 12). In Egypt at the Workmen's Village at Amarna, a city established

Detail of fig. 16 (p. 27) The garden of King Ashurbanibal on a relief from Nineveh, c. 650 BC.



11 Egyptian labourers watering plants in a garden subdivided into plots, tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara, c. 2330 BC.





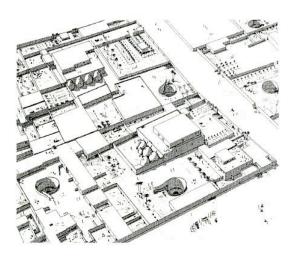
12 Square planting beds in an excavated Egyptian garden at Mirgissa in Sudan, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, c. 2125–1550 BC.

by the pharaoh Akhenaten around 1350 BC, walled areas adjacent to the houses contained square growing plots separated by low mud-brick partitions, each plot containing a deposit of alluvial soil.² The dimensions of the plots or plant receptacles at Mirgissa and Amarna varied only slightly, suggesting that there may have been a relatively standard size of growing plot in such regular layouts.

Although it is not known what plants grew in these beds, a variety of vegetables must have been cultivated. While Egyptian pictorial sources repeatedly represent only lettuce and onions, archaeological evidence shows that vegetables such as leeks, lettuce, cucumbers, radishes, lentils and beans were

grown in the second millennium BC in Egypt and lower Mesopotamia, areas of dense settlement and arid conditions. Because of the bordering deserts in both regions, the use of limited areas of irrigation or flooded land was essential to meet the needs of the population, especially since vegetable crops had to compensate for the shortage of wild plants in the desert areas.³

If the house was large enough, an orchard would be found near the Egyptian vegetable garden. The excavated villas of high administrative officials and other houses in the main city at Amarna, ancient Akhetaten, had relatively large plots of open land surrounded by an enclosure wall, and judging by the surviving planting pits in the soil, the land was used for the cultivation of gardens and orchards (fig. 13). Within the enclosure there were also storage silos, wells, animal byres and ovens. Such houses, built by court officials and overseers, are recorded in autobiographies carved on the walls of their tombs. In his autobiography, Harkhuf, governor of Upper Egypt, recorded for posterity: I have come here from my city, I have descended from my nome; I have built a house, set up [its] doors, I have dug a pool, planted sycomores. A scribal school text, recording a house in a town and a farm in another village, reveals that some people possessed property in more than one location: I will build for you a new villa upon the ground of your city, surrounded with trees . . . I will tend for you five arouras of cucumber beds to the south of your



13 Reconstruction of Egyptian bouses and planted courtyards in Amarna, c. 1350–1334 вс.



village, and the cucumbers, carobs and . . . will be as abundant as the sand' (*Papyrus Anastasi* IV).

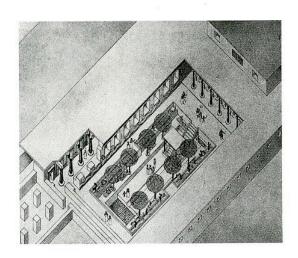
Egyptian paintings portray domestic orchards enclosed by a wall and full of the types of trees that were cultivated most frequently, ranging from the sycomore fig (*Ficus sycomorus*) and the common fig (*Ficus carica*) to the date palm and the pomegranate. Paintings from tombs reveal such orchards were positioned near to private houses and domed storage silos. This close proximity is also confirmed by a small coniferous wood model from the tomb of Meketre at Thebes revealing a house with a garden of sycomore trees around a pool (fig. 14).

The pleasure gardens of ancient Egypt are most frequently associated with the estates of the wealthy, particularly those of court officials and of the pharaohs themselves. Typically they are represented in art surrounded by a wall and located next to a large, multi-roomed house, or they are in a courtyard of the house and the garden is often associated with a pool in which lotus flowers grow and fish swim. Flower-beds were frequently planted around the edges of pools, too. Some of the possible varieties of vegetation in a pleasure garden of this type are recorded in the Theban tomb of Ineni of the sixteenth century BC: these include sycomores, fig trees, date palms, dom palms (*Hyphaene thebaica*), persea (*Mimusops laurifolia*), olive trees, pomegranates, willows, tamarisks and grape vines.⁶

But pleasure gardens are not only known through their depiction in Egyptian art. Excavations in 1979–89 at Tell el-Dabaa (ancient Avaris) in the eastern Nile delta uncovered a palace of the Thirteenth Dynasty (eighteenth century BC) surrounded by surprisingly well-preserved remains of gardens. To the north, south and east of the palace were gardens with square flowerbeds set in a regular grid pattern and trees arranged around an (unfinished) pool. The planting pits for the trees were encased in circular brick borders and were supplied with water from irrigation ditches. Judging by the substructure of a possible wine-press, another garden at the site may have been planted with vines. Although the settlers at Tell el-Dabaa were Canaanites, possibly living there as traders under Egyptian jurisdiction, the palace is purely Egyptian in its layout and the gardens also conform to those at other Egyptian sites.

14 Painted wooden model of an Egyptian house and garden with sycomore trees from the tomb of Meketre, c. 1990 BC.





15 Reconstruction of the so-called harem and its courtyard garden at Amarna, c. 1350–1334 вс.

The pleasure gardens of the pharaoh are best known at Amarna. In the northern section (the so-called harem) of the royal palace a courtyard was laid out on several terraces which were planted with trees and flower-beds, and irrigated by a well, a channel and a pool (fig. 15). In the southern section of the city at Amarna stood a palace complex, the Maru-Aten, that once belonged to Akhenaten's eldest daughter Meritaten. Artificial lakes, the largest one measuring 60×130 metres in size, numerous pools, flower-beds, arbours and trees adorned the open areas within the complex. Gardens such as these were designed and understood as overt symbols of status and power. They were also extremely

labour-intensive, particularly in the dry climate of Egypt. Digging the wells, pools and lakes; bringing up the water through channels; watering and fertilizing the plants and building and maintaining both the buildings and the gardens on such sizeable parcels of land needed a large entourage of personnel.

The Egyptian pleasure garden was also a place associated with romantic encounters, and song and sensual pleasure. Egyptian love poetry makes frequent reference to the garden; in a poem of the Nineteenth Dynasty a lady sings: 'I am your best beloved. I am yours like this field which I have planted with flowers . . . a lovely place for strolling, with your hand in mine. My body is satisfied, my heart in joy at our going out together. Hearing your voice is pomegranate wine; I live for hearing it, and every glance which rests on me means more to me than eating and drinking' (see Chapter 8).9

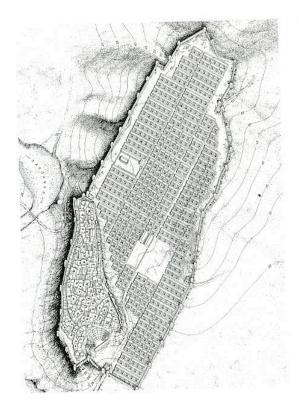
That the pleasure garden was also a place for rest, relaxation and enjoyment in the first millennium BC in Mesopotamia is indicated by an Assyrian relief depicting King Ashurbanipal (668–626 BC) dining, drinking and chatting under a vine trellis in a royal garden planted with various types of trees (fig. 16). Perhaps the most famous Near Eastern pleasure gardens in antiquity – and the ones we know the least about today – were the so-called 'hanging gardens' of Babylon. This garden, almost certainly connected to the palace, was constructed between 604 and 562 BC by Nebuchadnezzar II for his wife,



Amytis, who was homesick for her native Media (Kurdistan) and the mountain vegetation with which she was familiar. It was considered one of the ancient world's seven wonders but has not been located with any certainty in excavations of the palace. The only details we have are those supplied by Greek and Roman authors, who describe a terraced garden approximately 120 metres long and 25 metres high, supplied with water from the nearby Euphrates river. In general, the pleasure garden most frequently encountered in the ancient Near East is the orchard, grove or park (see Chapter 3). However, a royal herb and vegetable garden belonging to Merodach-Baladan II, who ruled from Babylon in the late ninth century, is also mentioned in a cuneiform text. Presumably vegetable plots and herbs, possibly for medicinal use, were cultivated in more modest gardens.

In ancient Palestine, an arid land, gardens were highly prized if we are to believe the tale of King Ahab of Samaria who coveted the vineyard of Naboth and wanted to transform it into a 'garden of herbs' so that it would be an asset to the palace (First Book of Kings 21.2). Pleasure gardens are a recurring topic in the Song of Solomon: 'A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranate,

16 The Assyrian King Ashurbanipal dines in his royal garden on a relief from Nineveh, c. 650 Bc. Birds perch in the trees and the severed head of the defeated Elamite ruler bangs from a branch.

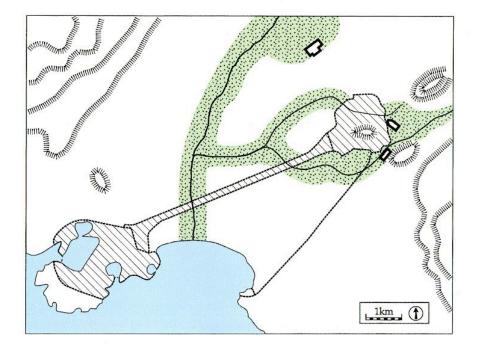


17 Bird's-eye view of the Greek city of Olynthos after 432 BC.

with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard, and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices . . .' (4.12-15). This unabashed appreciation of gardens, however, is rarely expressed in biblical verses of the Old Testament; more common is the idea that the pleasure given by gardens and orchards is mere vanity: 'I builded me houses, I planted me vineyards; I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits; I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees . . . and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun' (Ecclesiastes 2.4-6, 11). Nevertheless, despite the moralistic condemnation of the sensuous pleasures of the garden, biblical references clearly confirm the existence of well-watered, fertile gardens.

Precious little is known about either utilitarian or ornamental gardens in the Greek world before the eighth century BC, and even then the source of information is purely literary. ¹² In Book VII of Homer's *Odyssey*, at the palace estate of Alkinoos,

the Phaeacian king is described as having a garden with three main elements: an orchard with apple trees, pear trees, olive and pomegranate trees; a vine-yard; and a vegetable garden. Judging by this description, these were not royal pleasure gardens, but rather well-ordered utilitarian gardens. There is considerably more evidence for gardens of various kinds from the fifth century BC in Classical Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. Excavations in all parts of the ancient Greek world have shown that the city within the defensive walls was densely built up, and that its residents lived at close quarters. Whether in irregularly laid-out cities, such as Athens, or in towns laid out on a regular grid plan, such as Olynthos or Priene, the individual houses were built adjacent to each other and they bordered the street (fig. 17). The average building plot was only 250 square metres, and every bit of it was necessary for the house itself.



18 Classical Atbens and its suburbs with garden zones along the rivers (dotted). The three gymnasia (see p. 50) in the suburbs are outlined in black, and the walled city, including the corridor to the harbour at Piraeus, is cross-hatched.

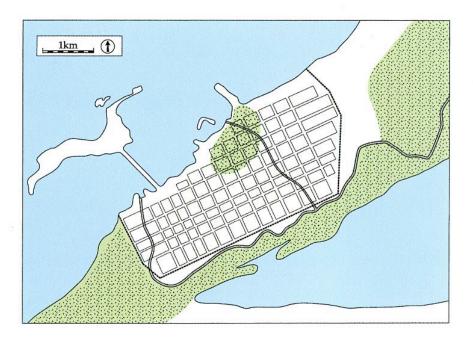
If there were no cisterns in the city itself, and if there were no springs, streams or wet areas within the city walls, the only suitable location for gardens was beyond the city where rivers and streams could supply the gardens with water. In Classical Greece gardens were clustered around the city in a green belt of vegetation in suburbs and rural districts (fig. 18). Many of these were market gardens for fruit, vegetables and flowers, whereas fields of grain, vine-yards and orchards were more prevalent on the outlying farms. Such gardens are referred to in literary works and in inscriptions recording real-estate property, but in very few cases is the actual physical relationship between the house and the garden specified. The utilitarian garden on the farm was set apart from the house and protected from human and animal intruders by a wall.

It appears that gardens were a relative luxury in Classical Greece. Thanks to the survival of numerous inscriptions and literary sources, we are informed about the purchase prices for gardens in the fourth century BC,

primarily in Athens and its environs.¹⁴ Plato bought a garden in the suburbs of Athens in 388 BC for 2,000 drachmas, and Epicurus purchased one in the same century for 8,000 drachmas. Further away from the city, in Attica, a garden located inland cost 250 drachmas, whilst a house and a garden in the coastal region was sold for only 205 drachmas. Since the average daily wage of a labourer in Classical Athens was only one drachma and anyone who had a personal wealth of less than 2,000 drachmas at the end of the fourth century BC was not included in the propertied classes, gardens as costly as those purchased by Plato and Epicurus would have been the preserve of the rich. But gardens could be leased for between thirty and seventy drachmas a year in Athens, so that some of the poorer residents would at least have had access to one. Perikles, speaking after the destructive events of the war against Sparta in the late fifth century, encouraged the Athenians not to mourn the loss of possessions that were but mere luxuries – and revealingly one of the luxuries he mentioned was a garden (Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 2.62).

By the Hellenistic period, that is roughly the third to first centuries BC, the conditions for house gardens within the Greek city had not substantially improved and houses were still crowded together. Building laws of Alexandria, for example, specified that a distance of 30 centimetres between houses had to be maintained. Internal courtyards, surrounded by columned walkways (peristyles), were still regularly paved, many of them with mosaics. The suburbs remained the prime location for utilitarian gardens, particularly in Alexandria, the city founded in the late fourth century BC by Alexander the Great on the coast of northern Egypt, where suburban gardens and tomb gardens were planted with fruit trees and vegetables (fig. 19).

It has often been assumed that villas of wealthy Hellenistic Greeks had pleasure gardens similar to those of the later Roman villas. ¹⁵ However, even if some urban houses in Hellenistic cities could be much larger than their Classical predecessors, there was still no available space for a garden, and courtyards still tended to be paved. Only in Alexandria did the palaces built by the Greek King Ptolemy and the later kings of his dynasty appear to have planted areas. Strabo, writing his *Geography* (17.1.8) in the early first century AD, described the peninsula of land leading to the harbour of Alexandria as the location of the palaces, groves and parks. These palace parks are almost certainly a traditional

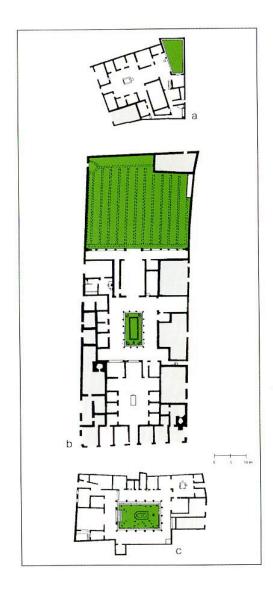


19 Hellenistic
Alexandria with its
gardens (dotted),
both in the urban
palace quarter and
outside the city wall,
near Lake Mareotis
and along the Canopus
canal (grey).

Egyptian feature harking back to the ancient pharaonic custom of surrounding the palace by gardens, rather than a new feature introduced to Egypt by the Ptolemies.

There are, as yet, no proven Hellenistic forerunners for the pleasure gardens of private Roman houses and villas filled with flowers, trees, shrubs, fountains and statuary. One glance at the houses and towns of the Roman Empire makes it immediately clear how very different their attitude towards nature was. Gardens, whether practical or ornamental, were an integral part of the Roman private house in the city and in the country. Early Roman houses in the fourth and third centuries BC frequently had a small vegetable garden at the rear of the property as testified by excavations at Cosa on the west coast of Italy. Kitchen gardens existed behind all the houses erected in the town in the third century BC. ¹⁶

By the second and first centuries BC, the peristyle courtyard, a Greek architectural form, became a popular feature of aristocratic Roman houses.



20 Roman bouses in Pompeii with areas given over to gardens (green): a. House of the Surgeon, b. House of the Pansa, c. House of the Golden Cupids.

Unlike the Greeks, however, the Romans converted this open area into a garden (fig. 20). At the same time, the small kitchen garden diminished in importance and was, in some cases, abandoned. A number of secondcentury houses in Pompeii, however, continued to have a utilitarian garden in a walled area at the back of the house, despite also having a peristyle courtyard in the centre of the house. The House of the Faun and the House of the Pansa, for example, appear to have had an orchard or perhaps a mixed garden of fruit trees and vegetable beds at the very back of the house, while the peristyle courtyard in the middle of the house probably had a rather more ornamental character (fig. 21). On farmsteads in the countryside, kitchen gardens were situated for easy access, as we can see at Boscoreale, outside Pompeii, where the owner of the farm laid out vegetable beds next to the main entrance of the house, while he planted the rest of the property with vines.¹⁷

Gardens in the peristyle courtyard of a Roman house were not necessarily formal or ornamental. The House of Polybius at Pompeii, for example, had a peristyle garden which, as excavations of the subsoil and the root cavities have shown, was an informal, utilitarian garden with fig, cherry, pear and apple trees in it.18 If the courtyard garden was formally planned and designed to be decorative, it indicated that the owner of the house was wealthy and socially elevated. Those who emulated the aristocratic lifestyle would strive to impress with an ornamental garden, as is apparent in the House of the Vettii in Pompeii (fig. 22). The nouveau riche Vettii brothers who acquired and decorated the house in the middle of the first century AD literally covered the walls of the interior rooms with expensive, but not always tasteful, paintings, and they devoted

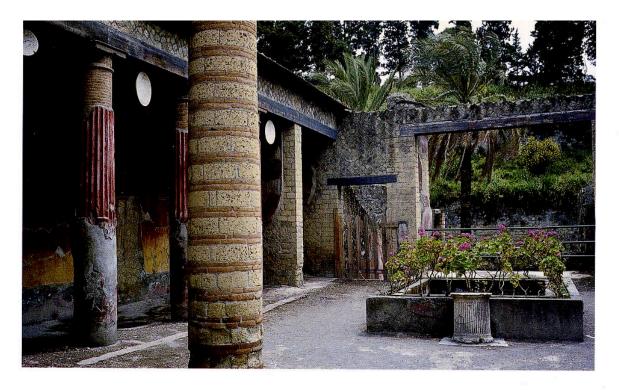


21 Central pool surrounded by plantings in the courtyard of the House of the Pansa at Pompeii, first century AD.



22 Peristyle garden in the House of the Vettii in Pompeii, replanted according to the preserved design of the first century AD.





23 Planter boxes around the central impluvium in the atrium of the House with the Relief of Telephos in Herculaneum, first century AD.

approximately one third of the entire building to a stunning garden full of ornamental plantings, fountains and statues.

The traditional heart of the Roman house was the atrium, just inside the entrance to the house. Before the construction of aqueducts in the late first century BC in the Vesuvian area, the cistern under the floor of the atrium was used to collect rain water. In some cases in Pompeii and Herculaneum, the atrium was then transformed into a decorative garden, with plant containers or planting boxes arranged around the edge of the *impluvium*, or pool, in the centre of the atrium (fig. 23). The same arrangement can be found around pools in the courtyards of Roman houses in Tunisia. The supply of water to Pompeii also meant that gardens could be irrigated with ease, as witnessed by the lead pipes carrying water to the fountains, pools and plants in the courtyard garden in the House of the Vettii. Pliny specifically mentions that one of the advantages of aqueducts is the constant supply of water not only for public buildings and baths, but also for houses, villas and gardens (*Natural History* 36.24.123).

At Pompeii, gardens attached to houses occupied 5.4 per cent of the excavated area of the city, and large food-producing gardens another 9.7 per

cent. Wilhelmina Jashemski, the excavator of most of the gardens in Pompeii, has calculated that over one third of the excavated city was open space. These spaces may have been 'open' but they were certainly not 'empty' (see pp. 14–15); they were flourishing gardens of many kinds as archaeological investigations have shown. Perhaps some of the most interesting gardens in Pompeii are the several large gardens in the south-eastern part of the city which were planted as vineyards, fruit orchards and commercial flower gardens.²⁰ In one of the large vineyards, 2,014 vines were planted and supported on wooden stakes and both the vine stocks and the stakes left cavities in the subsoil. Even though the aqueduct did not reach this part of Pompeii, the gardens were irrigated with rain water from containers and cisterns requiring a great deal of human effort.

Pliny the Younger's description of his Laurentian estate gives us some idea of a Roman villa garden in which the ornamental and the utilitarian were combined:

All around the drive runs a hedge of box, or rosemary to fill any gaps . . . Inside the inner ring of the drive is a young and shady vine pergola, where the soil is soft and yielding even to the bare foot. The garden itself is thickly planted with mulberries and figs, trees which the soil bears very well though it is less kind to others.

(Letters 2.17.14-15)

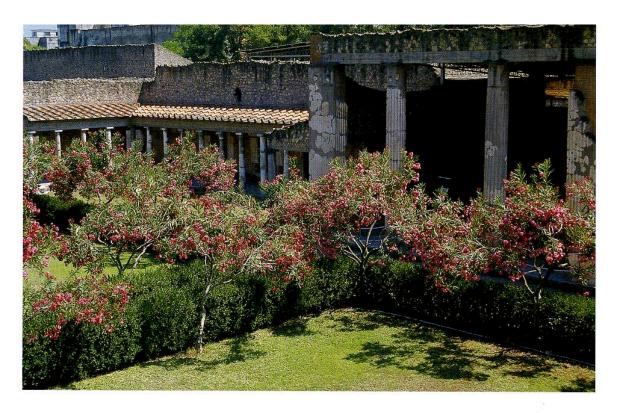
His Tuscan villa is no less pleasurable because of its gardens:

Almost opposite the middle of the colonnade is a suite of rooms set slightly back and round a small court shaded by four plane trees. In the centre a fountain plays in a marble basin, watering the plane trees round it and the ground beneath them with its light spray . . . There is also another bedroom, green and shady from the nearest plane tree, which has walls decorated with marble up to the ceiling and a fresco of birds perched on the branches of trees.

(Letters 5.6.20-2)

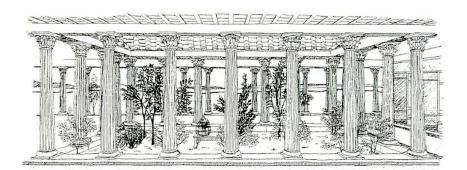
Pliny's descriptions of his villas are all that survive of them, but archaeology has uncovered physical remains of similarly pleasant garden villas. Perhaps the





24 Oleander and box bedges planted according to the original design at the so-called Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis, first century AD.

clearest archaeological evidence for impressive Roman pleasure gardens can be found at the so-called villa of Poppaea at Oplontis near Pompeii (fig. 24).21 This type of luxury estate is what Roman authors such as Cicero (To Atticus 12.25) and Strabo (Geography 5.3.6) referred to as 'properties of pleasure' and 'large and costly residences'. Thirteen gardens in and around the villa have been excavated and the villa has yet to be fully uncovered. Most of the gardens found were formal, including the two large gardens behind and beside the villa. The garden at the rear of the building resembled a park, with central and diagonal pathways bordered by shrubs and trees and with statues interspersed amongst the greenery. Along the east side of the villa was an enormous swimming pool, flanked on the east by a row of thirteen trees consisting of oleanders, lemon trees and large plane trees. In front of each tree was a statue or a herm of gods and heroes. At this site, architecture, gardens and garden adornments, as well as the natural scenery (Vesuvius to the north and the sea to the south), were designed to unite in a spectacular way. This is also illustrated at Livia's villa at Prima Porta outside Rome. Visitors' and residents' eyes would



25 Reconstruction of the small peristyle garden in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta near Rome, c. AD 40.

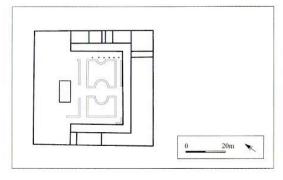


26 Courtyard garden in a pool in the Roman House of the Jets of Water at Conimbriga in Portugal, c. third century AD.

have been drawn to the view of the 'tamed' landscape in the small peristyle garden, located close to the southern edge of the villa, with the wild mountainous landscape of the *Mons Albanus* beyond (fig. 25).²² Like Oplontis, this imperial villa had several gardens, of which only some have been excavated.

The replanting of many of the gardens at Oplontis, replicating the Roman planting pattern and vegetation, has been particularly successful, and it





27 (Top) Model of the Roman palace at Fishbourne, Sussex, with its large formal garden, c. AD 75.

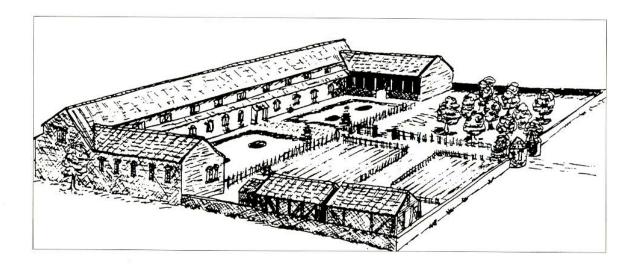
28 (Above) Preserved planting trenches (grey), possibly for box hedges, reveal the design of a garden with a pool next to the Roman villa at Dietikon in Switzerland, first century AD.

becomes immediately clear when walking along the paths and through the courtyards how intimately related the gardens and their architectural surroundings are. Another evocatively replanted and refurbished Roman pleasure garden, but in an urban context, is that in the so-called 'House of the Jets of Water' at Conimbriga in Portugal (fig. 26).²³ In this house, the ornamental courtyard garden was designed as six masonry planter boxes in geometric shapes in the middle of a pool; 400 lead spouts on the edges of the planter boxes and the pool itself spurted water into the pool.

The garden as an extension of the villa, and the close relationship between the two, is also evident at Roman sites in the European provinces. At the Roman palace at Fishbourne in Sussex, the visitor would have entered the courtyard and been led across the formal garden by a central path to the audience room in the west wing of the palace (fig. 27).²⁴ The planting trenches, flanking the path across the courtyard, probably once held box

hedges and the formal arrangement of the plantings complement the architectural surroundings. It is suggested that the northern and southern peristyle courtyards in the eastern wing of the palace were also designed as gardens and recent evidence recovered from the terrace suggests that this area may have been a 'natural' garden with pools and streams. Small semi-circular basins of Purbeck marble were set into the box hedges and were probably supplied with water by ceramic pipes running beneath the main courtyard.

Both the palace and the formal garden are based on purely Mediterranean prototypes, and the entire complex, laid out in this manner in the 70s AD, must have seemed very foreign in Britain and can hardly have failed to impress British visitors who would never have seen anything quite like it on their shores. Whether or not the palace owner was indeed Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus), 'king and legate to the emperor in Britain', who had been granted



Roman citizenship under the Emperor Claudius, remains a matter of speculation, but the proprietor was certainly a man of wealth and standing in society.

A similar kind of formal and geometric ordering of space with plantings and hedges can be seen at the later first-century Roman villa at Dietikon in Switzerland (fig. 28), and, as at Fishbourne, it is the planting trenches dug into the subsoil, probably for box, that can be used to reconstruct the design of the landscaping in the courtyard.²⁵ In addition to the formal gardens, which were 'exported' to conquered regions outside Italy in the Roman period, evidence exists to indicate that utilitarian gardens became a common feature of Roman urban houses and farms in the provinces. This evidence includes parallel rows of planting beds for vegetables or small trees in front of the Roman villa at Latimer in Buckinghamshire (fig. 29), deposits of enriched garden soil in a walled enclosure outside the back door of a Roman farm house at Winden am See in Austria, and rows of soil mounds in market gardens outside the city wall at Roman Colchester in Essex.²⁶

29 Reconstruction of the Roman villa and its garden at Latimer, Buckinghamshire, fourth century AD.