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There is only one house on the whole island, but it is a large, pleasant and commodious one, belonging like the island to the Hospital of Bern, and inhabited by a Steward together with his family and servants. He keeps a well-stocked farmyard, with fish-ponds and runs for game-birds. Small as it is, the island is so varied in soil and situation that it contains places suitable for crops of every kind. It includes fields, vineyards, woods, orchards, and rich pastures shaded by coppices and surrounded by shrubs of every variety, all of which are kept watered by the shores of the lake; on one shore an elevated terrace planted with two rows of trees runs the length of the island, and in the middle of this terrace there is a pretty summer-house where the people who live round the lake meet and dance on Sundays during the wine harvest.

Here we read Jean-Jacques Rousseau's description of one of those rare landscapes created, and retained, in Switzerland more or less in the state in which it was captured by pre-Romantic sensitivity.¹ It is not so much a garden as a "lesson of matters and morals," as the "Elysium" of Julie in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* ought to be; not a garden as utopian composition and as literary fiction fashioned through re-creation of "nature" and falling under the category of an artifact, but instead a cultivated space enclosed within the island itself in a realistic idyll of a new genre, through its conjunction of geographic reality and poetic perception.² These two landscaped spaces nonetheless share the traits both of being inhabited and being traversed by their inhabitants. While the garden of Clarens in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* creates an initiatory itinerary that gives its young gardeners access to the "next life," the summit of Saint-Pierre Island in Lake Bienné witnesses the ritual dances marking the wine harvest on the neighboring slopes. It is only in later times, with the fashion for romantic journeys, that the route through a site, usually marked when it was not catalogued, is savored for the emotions it can arouse. These feelings of exhilaration and enthusiasm mixed with nostalgic reverie arise from then on independently of those who inhabit and maintain the landscape; they are experienced and lived through the eyes and heart of whoever has constructed and reconstructed them by his own descriptions: "It is here . . . that Jean-Jacques often rested, on the heights of these steep banks, and here where he contemplated the play of the waves, in a half-dream peopled by

¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (Paris: Flammarion, 1782), 5th promenade; English translation *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, trans. P. France (New York: Penguin, 1979), 82.

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (Lausanne: Chapuis, 1761), chap. 4, XI. See the analysis Jacques Gubler has proposed of this garden in *Les jardins de Jean-Jacques* (Lausanne, 1997), 32–37, esp. 36.

bittersweet feelings, staring into space. Here the fires of his soul would refresh themselves for life with the plants he lovingly harvested; here he allowed himself to be borne by the waves . . ." imagined the Count of Stolberg while following the tracks of Rousseau on his "grand tour" in the hills and mountains of Helvetia.³

Horticultural Artifacts and Ritualized Spaces

Even if it is gained from a merely analytical perspective, there is an essential operative distinction between a geographic space that is both shaped and used by those who gain their income from it while organizing the space in a scenery for differing symbolic practices, and a discursive space such as is apprehended by a subject of discourse and (re)configured through the medium of language (or visual images): there are real landscapes as shaped by users of the land, and there are represented landscapes in texts or paintings. The geographic space itself can in turn either be inhabited by those who frequent and use it, or be used by those who perceive and rewrite it in discursive media. There is thus a *they*-landscape and an *I*-landscape, a landscape of a narrative nature and one of an enunciative nature, each a creation of discourse with all the effects of fictionality that this implies.⁴

Because of its spatial limitation, a space such as that which Saint-Pierre Island constructs and circumscribes tends to coincide with a fabricated and enclosed space such as a garden. In the description and perception of the pre-Romantic writer, it is as if the island in the Lake of Bièvre oscillates between two poles, on one side French organization and symmetry, and on the other the nonchalant "nature" of a park in the English sense. Inasmuch as it is an enclosed space, this landscaped islet is moreover reproducible, whether as the island with poplars of the Ermenonville park, of English inspiration, that received the cenotaph of Rousseau, or as the island Rousseau laid out in 1830 in the harbor of Geneva, thanks to the hydraulic works connecting Lac Léman and the Rhône. But the insular and landscaped space can also be made the object of a literary re-creation, as it would indeed become in the Elysium of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

It seems the extreme reserve with which Classical iconography treats landscaped scenery can be interpreted as a sign of the Greeks' insensitivity to what we conceive of as landscape.⁵ Such as it is, there are numerous poetic texts that describe delimited and organized spaces under the casual designation *képos*, "garden." But the majority of Greek poems that contain elements of description of a garden also have a narrative character. This is to say that they present an itinerary through a space that they construct in front of our eyes—an itinerary of a narrative character if the protagonist is the *he* or *she* of the "story" or the poetic account, and one of an enunciative type if its protagonist is the *I*, the speaker of the "discourse," itineraries corresponding to *they*-landscapes on one hand, and to *I*-landscapes on the other.⁶ This is true for Archaic and Classical Greece, that is to say in all the literature that still largely depends on oral modes of transmission, extending from the Homeric poems to the tragedies. These are all manifestations of poetic composition that present a strong pragmatic component. In the genre of *mélōs* (often called "lyric" poetry), it often happens that the poetic text has a decisively performative character. In a self-referential manner, the locutor-*I*, an individual or choral group, enunciates the act that it is in the process of completing in song and dance. As an act of song, the "performance" of the poem is from that moment inserted into a ritual occasion, a ceremony of offering and of communication with a divinity.

³ Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg, *Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien* (Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1877), 1: 147–48, cited by Barbara Piatti, *Le Jardin de Rousseau: Petit périple historique dans l'île Saint-Pierre* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 64.

⁴ Remarks and bibliographical references on these elements of the semiotics of space may be found in my study *Poétique des mythes dans la Grèce antique* (Paris: Hachette, 2000), 47–52.

⁵ See, for example, the very limited corpus and corresponding report presented by Maureen Carroll-Spillecke, *KÉPOS: Der antike griechische Garten* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1989), 45–47; see also G. Siebert, "Imaginaire et image de la grotte dans la Grèce archaïque et classique," in *Nature et paysage*, ed. G. Siebert (Paris: De Boccard, 1996), 47–57; I owe this last bibliographical indication to Pierre Bonnechere, whom I thank for his useful remarks.

⁶ We see here the operative value in this case of the famous distinction discussed by Emile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 237–50, between "story" (*histoire*) narrating an action in the third person in a distant time and place and "discourse" (*discours*) that intervenes in the indicators of enunciation by resorting to the forms of *I* and *you* and the *hic* and *nunc*, and employs more or less direct references to the circumstances of communication.

The melic poem is an act of song and, by consequence, an act of cult.⁷ Because of this twofold character, if the itinerary of the poem that moves through or within a landscaped space has a narrative character, it often has the etiological value of a foundational explanation concerning its course, created in a ritual manner on the occasion of the enunciation of the poem. If, on the other hand, the course described in the poetic composition is of the self-referential enunciative type, it corresponds in a performative manner to that which the (male or female) singers are accomplishing by enunciating the poem itself.

In Greece, circumscribed spaces with vegetal regulation often correspond to sanctuaries: the *kēpos* itself often constitutes a *hierón*. Sanctuary-gardens are conceived not only as the scenes of epiphanies of divinities and of communication with them, but also as the sites of achievement of passage, with the change of status that such ritual transitions blessed by a divinity involve. There is thus a constant dialectical movement between the garden spaces of legend, frequented by heroic figures, and the landscaped sites of cult where the ritual passage of an initiatory nature explained symbolically by the "mythic" courses of heroes is accomplished, particularly by the poetic act.⁸ Under these conditions, the status attained through this horticultural transition of an initiatory character stems frequently from affinities with the profile, modes of action, and fields of intervention of the divinity honored in the corresponding cultic space. The poetics of the Greek garden are thus means of ritual and cultic achievement of a new social status, especially in death or love.

Meadows of Death

As poetic preludes, the *Homeric Hymns* have the practical function of inserting aoidic (then rhapsodic) recitations of epic compositions into the ritual celebration of a particular divinity, in order to enrich development of the cult. Defined by the ancients as *proems*, the *Hymns* take their diction from the Homeric poems that recount the different episodes of the heroic cycles. They are generally presented as offerings to the divinity concerned, in the mode of *do ut des* that characterizes mortals' communications with their gods.⁹ The epic proem dedicated to Demeter, among the longest of these compositions to have survived, praises the goddess by narrating the abduction of her daughter, Persephone, by Hades and the eventual assumption of the young maiden to Olympus by the will of her father, Zeus. We find that the young girl is carried off while playing with her companions, the daughters of Ocean, in a "soft field." Situated apart from land cultivated by Demeter's attention, in a plain whose borders establish a probable relation with Dionysus, this meadow is dotted with flowers, all of which—from the rose and violet to the narcissus nourished by Earth to deceive the young girl, and the crocus, iris, and hyacinth—are granted by their splendor and scent the erotic and seductive powers controlled by Aphrodite. The meadow is open, not an enclosed garden, just like the *leimón* bedecked with similar floral and scented seductions in the later Hellenistic poem in which Zeus, metamorphosed into a bull, carries off the innocent Europa.¹⁰

A text written on a gold lamella excavated from a necropolis in Magna Grecia and wrongly considered Orphic might come, then, as a surprise. Found among the semicarbonized remains of a body, perhaps originally placed on the sternum or in the mouth of the dead man, as were similar documents, the tablet of Timpone Grande in Thurii invites the soul of the dead to rejoice (as,

⁷ As concerns poems belonging to the genre of *mēlos* and their pragmatic, as well as performative, dimension, see the reflections I have presented in *Le récit en Grèce ancienne: Énonciations et représentations de poètes*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Belin, 2000), 17–48 (*The Craft of Poetic Speech in Ancient Greece* [Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 1995], 3–26) and "La poésie lyrique grecque, un genre inexistant?" *Littérature* 111 (1998): 87–110.

⁸ A certain epistemological prudence and rigor concerning the utilization of the anthropological categories of "rite of passage" and "initiatory trajectory" must be practiced, for the reasons I have indicated in "Indigenous and Modern Perspectives on Tribal Initiation Rites: Education according to Plato," in *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, ed. Mark W. Padilla (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1999), 278–312.

⁹ See the comments and references I have given on the cultic function of the *Homeric Hymns* in "Variations énonciatives, relations avec les dieux et fonctions poétiques dans les *Hymnes homériques*," *Museum Helveticum* 52 (1995): 2–19.

¹⁰ *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1–21; see also Moschos, *Europa*, 27–36 and 63–71, with the analogous scenario I have presented in *L'éros dans la Grèce antique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Belin, 2002), 58–60 and 174–78 (*The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999], 43–46 and 154–57. For the erotic powers attributed by the Greeks to the different flowers present in the *Hymn* and on the debated location of the plain of Nysa, see the detailed commentary of Nicholas J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 140–47 and 148–50.

for example, a god is called upon to rejoice in the offering of a *Homeric Hymn*) and to "march along the right path toward the sacred meadows [*leimónas hieroús*] and the woods [*álsea*] of Persephone."¹¹ The temporal development, as well as the spatial configuration constructed in the text, shows that the way toward the meadow of Persephone is conceived along a schema that recalls an initiatory itinerary. In fact, after a first moment in which the soul must abandon the sunlight, a second stage corresponds to the present moment of the actual enunciation of the text, when the dead man is invited to rejoice while traveling the path "on the right"; this promising course gives him access, in a third phase, to sacred meadows and woods. Separation through physical death from the world under the light of the sun, passage through an intermediary space, integration into a new status in the domain controlled by Persephone—temporally and spatially these instructions to the dead man correspond well to the completion of a rite of passage, in the definition given nearly a century ago by Arnold van Gennep, with its three (now canonical) phases of separation, marginalization, and aggregation.¹²

The designer of this schema wished it to be supple and polymorphous; if in this case we move beyond the rigidity sometimes conferred upon it now, we see that the initiatory course presented by the tablet giving the soul access to the next world is preceded by a preliminary phase. Expressed in terms of "passion" (*pathòn tò páthema*), this preliminary passage leads to a state marked by the use of a form of the pluperfect (*epepóntheis*). This state, definitively attained in the past through "passion," corresponds to a significant, to say the least, change of status. Once a mortal man, the receiver of the tablet has become a god, thanks to his passage and a symbolic metamorphosis; the change of status has come about after an immersion, like a kid, "in the milk." The relatively recent discovery of two tablets in the shape of ivy leaves, left on the remains of a woman in Thessaly, has cast an unexpected light on this enigmatic enunciation.¹³ Here is the translation of the more developed text:

Now you died and now you were born, thrice happy one,
on this day.
Tell Persephone that the Bacchic one himself released you.
A bull, you rushed into the milk.
Suddenly you rushed into the milk.
A ram, you fell into the milk.
You have wine as your fortunate honor.
And there await you beneath the earth the rewards
that the other happy ones [have].

In both these golden texts, the same formula, reiterated three times, not only makes the leaping dive into the milk the center of the instructions to the dead, while connecting this metamorphosis with other animals such as the bull or ram, but also associates it with a liberation granted by Bacchios, evidently an avatar of Dionysus.¹⁴ Better yet, the triple formula describing the symbolic metamorphosis of the dead "plunged into the milk" in the second person and corresponding without a doubt to the ritual moment of preliminary liberation under the control of the Bacchant god must be pronounced, according to an injunction in the text, while

¹¹ Thurii tablet A 4 Zuntz (487F Bernabé). The texts of the gold tablets have been the subject of a recent and provisional reediting by Christoph Riedweg, "Initiation—Tod—Unterwelt," in *Ansichten griechischer Rituale, Geburtstag-Symposium für Walter Burkert*, ed. Fritz Graf (Stuttgart–Leipzig: Teubner, 1998), 359–98; this will be reprinted in Alberto Bernabé's next volume of *Poetarum epicorum Graecorum: Testimonia et fragmenta*.

¹² On this topic, see the references I have given in "Tribal Initiation Rites," 280–88.

¹³ Pelinna tablets P 1–2 = 485–86F Bernabé, with the detailed commentary of K. Tsantsanoglou and G. M. Parássoglou, "Two Gold Lamellae from Thessaly," *Hellenika* 38 (1987): 3–17.

¹⁴ The relationship of the texts of Pelinna with rituals under the jurisdiction of Dionysus has been explored by Charles Segal, "Dionysus and the Gold Tablets from Pelinna," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990): 411–19 (trans., 411 n. 2), and by Fritz Graf, "Textes orphiques et rituel bachique: A propos des lamelles de Pélinna," in *Orphée et orphisme: En l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt*, ed. Philippe Borgeaud (Geneva: Droz, 1991), 87–102.

facing Persephone herself (*eipeîn*, the infinitive as imperative).¹⁵ Through its metrically distinct enunciation, this formula thus takes on the pragmatic function of a password giving access to the world of the "blessed" controlled by Demeter's daughter. At Pelinna as at Thurii, the completion of a liberating rite of initiation under the aegis of Dionysus Bacchios seems to be the necessary condition for the dead's admission to the realm of Persephone. It is only by following a double initiatory itinerary, divided between life and death, that the soul can arrive at the meadow; there it may associate with its like, under the control of the daughter of Demeter, in the privileged happiness generally reserved for the gods.¹⁶

Other texts written in Homeric style found among the dead in various tombs in Magna Grecia indicate that the itinerary followed by the dead after death is located in Hades and is separated from what is known by the community of mortals. The bearer of the golden text is thus invited to turn him- or herself away from a spring identified by a brilliant cypress from which the souls that remain in Hades drink; he or she will make his or her way toward a fountain that flows with the water of the lake of Mnemosyne. By recalling, thanks to the water of Memory, the bearer's privileged state in which he or she was initiated into a mystery cult that must be similar to that of Eleusis, the dead are associated, as an "offspring of Earth and Sky," with a group of "initiates and bacchants."¹⁷

The *Odyssey* itself does not ignore this doubling of the domain of the next world and the destiny reserved for souls after death. Although most of the great heroes of the Trojan War, such as Agamemnon, Ajax, or Achilles himself, are condemned by Minos to wander like the sorrowful phantoms that Odysseus visits in Hades after reaching the overcast land of the Cimmerians, the Old Man of the Sea grants Menelaus, as the husband of the daughter of Zeus, an eternal spring in the Elysian plain at the ends of the earth, under the control of the blond Rhadamanthys.¹⁸ Likewise, Pindar, in his praise of Theron on the occasion of a victory won in the four-horse chariot race at Olympia, can allow the wealthy tyrant of Acragas to escape the consequences of Zeus's judgment and to know after death the path the noble follow, reaching not only the meadow but also the island of the blessed; which enjoys the blooming of an eternal spring thanks to breezes from the river Ocean. There, apart from all sorrow, the great heroes such as Peleus, Cadmus, and even Achilles already spend their days.¹⁹ Independent of any preliminary initiation in the context of a mystery cult, specifically under the jurisdiction of Bacchios, the course reserved for the more privileged among the souls in these two poems leads, with a pragmatic function altogether different, to a space defined as an island and conceived of as a watered and ventilated meadow, dotted with flowers.

From funerary ritual, let us move to narratives of the next world. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* supplies a decisive contribution concerning the relationship between the narrative and fictional world of the gods and heroes on the one hand and the reality of mortals on the other. In fact, ending with the partial installation of Core, now the wife of Hades, on the summit of Olympus and with the institution by Demeter herself of a mystery cult meant to celebrate this destiny split between the realms of the gods and mortals, this aoidic narrative concludes with a double *makarismos*—a double promise of health—in this life and the next for any

¹⁵ In another tablet from Thurii (A 1 Zuntz = 488F Bernabé), on which the text is narrated in the first person, the formula "as a kid, I have fallen in the milk" concludes the text as it is fulfilled by the carrier of the tablet.

¹⁶ I have developed this idea of the connection of the two initiatory itineraries in the study "Invocations et commentaires 'orpiques': Transpositions funéraires de discours religieux," in *Discours religieux dans l'Antiquité*, ed. Marie-Madeleine Mactoux and Evelyne Geny (Besançon-Paris: Faculté des Lettres-Belles Lettres, 1996), 11-30; see also Riedweg, "Initiation—Tod—Unterwelt," 371-75.

¹⁷ Found in Hipponion, the most ancient lamella in the series dates probably to the end of the fifth century: B 10 Graf = 474F Bernabé. See Alberto Bernabé's exhaustive commentary on this text, "El poema órfico de Hipponion," in *Estudios actuales sobre textos griegos*, ed. José López Ferez (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1991), 219-35.

¹⁸ Compare Homer, *Odyssey* 11.385-571 (see also 24.1-204) to 4.561-69; see in particular on this subject the study by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 32-106.

¹⁹ Pindar, *Olympian* 2.57-80. Among others, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar and the After-Life," in *Pindare: Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique* XXXI, ed. André Hurst (Vandoeuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1985), 245-79, has shown the relationships that this Pindaric image of the afterlife shares with the representation seen in the gold tablets, though these should not be placed under the label of Orphism.

mortal who follows the Eleusinian initiatory itinerary.²⁰ The etiological relationship that the bard or rhapsode establishes between the rape of Persephone and the establishment of the mysteries is thus achieved in a quasi-performative manner through the ritual passage of the hearer of the poem to the status of initiate. Does the meadow of happiness in the next world share in its paradoxical affinities with the meadow of amorous seductions?

Gardens of Love

The hymn of a foundational narrative, in Homeric style, dedicated to an episode drawn from the biographies of Demeter and her daughter Core, ensures the "performative" transition to the accomplishment of collective ritual and cultic practices. Let us now return to ritual with a melic poem that presents all the enunciative characteristics of a composition itself constituting an act of cult—indications of the "here" and "now" of a gesture of invocation implicating the *I* and *you* in a ritual act of song and dance.

Sappho and the Cult-Garden of Aphrodite

Hither to me from Crete to this holy temple,

where is your delightful grove of apple trees,

and altars smoking with incense;

therein cold water babbles through apple branches,

and the whole place is shadowed by roses,

and from the shimmering leaves the sleep of enchantment comes down;

therein too a meadow, where horses graze,

blossoms with spring flowers,

and the winds blow gently . . .

there, Cypris, take . . .

and pour gracefully into golden cups

nectar that is mingled with our festivities . . .

From a spatial point of view, the four (or five?) strophes that comprise this poem of Sappho's correspond to the description of a landscape. It is no surprise that this very aspect of the poem held the attention of the rhetorician Hermogenes of Tarsus.²¹ In the treatise he devotes to the different types of style, he cites descriptive passages from this poem that appeal to the pleasures of sight and sound: cool water murmuring through the branches of apple trees, torpor seeping from the trembling leaves. In his effort

²⁰ *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 470–95, with the commentary I have written on the pragmatic aspects of the poem and on its epilogue in "L'Hymne homérique à Déméter comme offrande: Regard rétrospectif sur quelques catégories de l'anthropologie de la religion grecque," *Kernos* 10 (1997): 111–33.

²¹ Surviving in a fragmentary state, like a graffito, on a shard of Egyptian origin, and published in 1937, the fr. 2 Voigt of Sappho appeared in the first book of the Alexandrian edition of the poetess from Lesbos; translation by David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric I: Sappho Alcaeus* (Cambridge, Mass.–London: Harvard University Press–Heinemann, 1982), 57. It is organized and sung in Sapphic strophes, two of which are cited by Hermogenes, *On the Forms of Style* 2.4 (331 Rabe). The circumstances of the discovery of this text, the stages in its publication, and bibliography are given by Anne P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets: Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho* (London: Duckworth, 1983), 259–76.

to describe the poetic pleasures aroused by the description of a site, this Greek rhetorician from the imperial age might have added the shade in which the rose bushes plunge the entire space, the breezes blowing gently, and the meadow, pasture for horses, covered in springtime flowers. This poem engraved on a shard in the third or second century B.C. would present a landscape in the modern sense of the term if these "natural" elements did not reveal themselves at once to be enclosed in an *álsos*, a wood and orchard of apple trees defined as a graceful sanctuary, with its temple (*naós*) inspiring divine respect and its altars (*bômoi*) on which incense smokes.

By means of an extremely dense network of metaphorical relationships, the elements that make up this sanctuary-garden and their respective qualifications evoke the erotic power incarnated in the goddess Aphrodite. There are the apple trees breathing a seductive grace (*kháris*) that accompanies the bewitching perfume of incense, the shady rose bushes whose flowers are for the Greeks one of the emblems of the goddess of love, the blooming meadow offering pasture to fillies that often metaphorically represent young girls who pique the desire of grown men, and the breath of the sweetness of honey, particularly associated with erotic sentiment.²² Despite our considerable lacunae in documentation, there are numerous melic poems of an erotic nature that describe similar spaces. Such is true of a poem of Anacreon's, who makes some mischief in addressing a Thracian filly that frolics lightly in a pasture of tender grass. In a play of amorous evasion typical of the Greek conception of adolescent seduction leading to erotic maturity, he gives her the bit that this expert in poetry and in (erotic) equestrian art would wish to impose. Such is also the case for Ibycus, another poet almost contemporary with Sappho, who sets in opposition the erotic sentiment that affects him in all seasons, like an icy wind blowing from Thrace and heavy with lightning, with a spring that causes a garden of young untouched maidens to flower, where Cydonian apple trees grow, watered by numerous streams, and buds bloom on branches in the shade of vines.²³ Running water, shade from foliage, apple, or quince trees, and an amorous feeling aroused by young maidens coming to a maturity of beauty animated by Aphrodite, in an ideal garden imagined by a poet in the grip of Eros—all recall the sanctuary-garden dedicated to Aphrodite on Lesbos.

But while the poetic spaces created by Anacreon or Ibycus are limited by their fictional character to summoning the power of Eros over the poem itself, through the medium of words probably sung at a symposium, the poem of Sappho constitutes a direct appeal to Aphrodite. In the final strophe of this melic composition, the goddess of Cyprus is in effect invited to accomplish in person the ritual role of cupbearer. But the substance ritually mixed in the cups with the usual grace of the goddess is not the wine of the symposium, but the nectar whose consumption is reserved specifically for the gods. Distinct from the symposium properly speaking, which is organized by mortals and where the gods can be convened in a ritual *theoxenia*, the occasion of the ritual act of the goddess is explicitly designated by the Greek term *thallai*; in the Archaic period, this word, generally in the plural, defines a musical and choral festival usually also accompanied by culinary delights. We recall that in Hesiod's *Theogony*, it falls to the Muses, born from the love of Zeus and Mnemosyne, to animate festivities (*thallai*) and the pleasures of song. One of the Hesiodic Graces, described as arousing desire by her beauty, herself carries the name Thalia, and the catalog of the nine Muses given in the prelude of the same poem attributes to one of these the speaking name Thaleia. *Thallai* are also the festivities that the men of the Golden Age, in their permanent youth, have the privilege of enjoying, as well as what the men depicted on the pseudo-Hesiodic shield, in their ideal city, enjoy when they sample the pleasures of choral dances, culinary delights, and the abundant pleasures that follow. Finally, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus encounters the shade of Herakles on his descent to the underworld, who, in the company of his eternally youthful wife Hebe, shares in the flowering (following the etymology of *thalía*) and abundant entertainment of the gods.²⁴

²² These different types of description of the environmental elements of Aphrodite's seductions and the pleasures of Eros are in general explained in Burnett's detailed commentary, *Three Archaic Poets*, 261–75; see also Giuliana Lanata, "Il linguaggio amoroso di Saffo," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 2 (1966): 63–79, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque (Kernos, Supplément IV)* (Athens-Liège: CIERGA, 1994), 410–14.

²³ Anacreon fr. 417 Page; Ibycus fr. 286 Page-Davies. See my own commentary on these two poems and on analogous poetic configurations in *L'Eros*, 27–28 and 187–92 (*The Poetics of Eros* 16–17 and 165–70), where I also cite relevant studies on these compositions.

²⁴ Hesiod, *Theogony* 77, 907–9, and 915–17; *Works and Days* 113–15; *Shield of Heracles* 284–85; Homer, *Odyssey* 11, 601–4. See, for example, the references given by Richard Kannicht, "THALIA: Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Fest und Poesie bei den Griechen," in *Das Fest (Poetik und Hermeneutik XIV)*, ed. Walter Haug and Rainer Warning (Munich: Fink, 1989), 29–52.

But there is an aid in distinguishing the ritual space described by Sappho from erotic poetic spaces constructed in the compositions of her male colleagues, probably singing in a symposiastic context: the deictic spatial pronoun that opens the first strophe. True, some letters still visible on the ostrakon seem to indicate that this strophe was itself preceded by a preliminary one. But these introductory verses seem to have given information concerning the place of origin of the goddess, descending from the sky en route to Crete—if we trust the geographical indication given about her in the first readable verse—before joining the “here” that corresponds both to the location described in the poem and to the place of its enunciation. And where is it? At a sanctuary arousing respect (*naïon ágnon*, in the Lesbian dialect) and clearly dedicated to Aphrodite, with its sacred wood or orchard (*álsos*) of apple trees and its altars (*bômoi*) fuming with incense. In effect, like other demonstratives with the deictic force of the root *-de-*, the introductory *deïtro* of the first or second strophe of Sappho’s poem has the double force of an anaphoric or cataphoric reference to that which has been or is about to be presented in the discourse as well as an extradiscursive reference to the *hic* (*et nunc*) of the words uttered.²⁵

We thus witness in the epiphany of the goddess the presence of the poem’s principal protagonist. By means of an initial appeal to the transfer from Crete to the “here” of the enunciation of the poem, the goddess can be invoked directly in the final strophe to take an active part in the ritual festivities dedicated to her. The performance of the poem in song and dance, probably to the accompaniment of the lyre, itself consists of one of the culminating points in this process. There is thus a subtle enunciative slippage of the poetic, perhaps choral, *I*, which is surely present (though the text is hardly secure) at the start of the first strophe, toward the *you* of the goddess invoked in the first verse of the final strophe. Through this enunciative mechanism, Aphrodite is ritually invoked both in the landscaped space constructed in the poem and in the sanctuary corresponding to this poetic space on Lesbos in the sixth century B.C.²⁶ By the act of ritual language that represents the poetic song, Cypris thus becomes present in one of the sanctuary-gardens that are happily dedicated to her, such as that in Athens, on the formerly verdant slopes of the Acropolis.²⁷

Aside from a potential first strophe giving a celestial point of origin to the arrival of Aphrodite, the four Sapphic strophes that remain are organized, from the enunciative point of view, in a ring structure. Not only does the probable initial *I* that sings and dances the poem correspond to the final *you* that is invoked by the ritual song, but the temporal deictic indication attached to the *you* invoked in the final strophe corresponds to the spatial deictic indication at the poem’s opening: “At this precise moment, you . . .” (*éntha dè sú . . .* with the temporal value that *éntha* takes on when it is preceded by *dè*).²⁸ The space described in these two strophes within the ring structure is thus doubled through the temporal dimension that introduces the itinerary of the goddess. The spatial description, of the sort Emile Benveniste calls (recounted) “story,” thus coincides, in its end, with the arrival of the goddess in the enunciative and temporal realm of “discourse.”²⁹ If the sung enunciation of the poem by Sappho has as its function the invocation of Aphrodite in both the *hic* and *nunc* of one of the cults dedicated to her on the island of Lesbos, it should come as no surprise to see the goddess of love intervening in the festival celebrated in her sanctuary-garden in a manner reserved only for a divinity, as the cupbearer not of wine, but of nectar!³⁰

²⁵ There are many examples of this double deictic reference, frequent in the melic poems, in Nancy Felson, “Vicarious Transport: Fictive Deixis in Pindar’s *Pythian Four*,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 99 (1999): 1–31, and in my study “Deictic Ambiguity and Auto-Referentiality: Some Examples in Greek Poetics,” in *Arethusa* 37 (2004): 415–43. This initial *deïtro* has allowed the matching of the temple, also in the first strophe, with the deictic *tónde* from the letters visible on the ostrakon (*epfi tónde naïon*). On the possible presence of an initial strophe and what can be reconstructed of it, see Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 35–36.

²⁶ In Greek melic poetry the enunciative and discursive *I* that refers to the figure of the locutor should not be confused with the often collective performers of the poem (a male or female choral group). See *Le Récit*, 42–45 and 63–79 (*The Craft of Poetic Speech*, 20–24 and 39–52). On the hypothesis of the choral performance of certain of Sappho’s poems, see the excellent study by André Lardinois, “Who Sang Sappho’s Songs?” in *Reading Sappho: Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Ellen Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 150–72 (165 on fr. 2).

²⁷ References in André Motte, *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique: De la religion à la philosophie* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1973), 121–37.

²⁸ In citing this verse, Athenaeus (11.463e), or perhaps a copyist, simplifies the sense by substituting the form *élthe* (“come”) for *éntha*. The form *oinochóision* (“pour [the nectar]”) is, furthermore, a modern correction substituting an imperative for a participial form to give the utterance a finite verb.

²⁹ Cf. supra n. 6.

³⁰ Aphrodite appears as a cupbearer of nectar also in fr. 96.26–27 Voigt, while in fr. 141 Voigt Hennes is invoked to mix ambrosia for the benefit of the gods.

Longus and the Pastoral Garden of Eros

Let us consider, in a final return from ritual to narrative, the novel, a product of the other extreme of the temporal arc covered by Greek literature, flourishing in the second and third centuries A.D. Here we notice numerous gardens, such as the one the old herdsman and player of the syrinx Philetas introduces to the two adolescent protagonists of the novel by Longus, Daphnis and Chloe.³¹ The two young herders making their regular devotions to the nymphs come across a *garden* (*kēpos*) containing practically all the flowers and fruits found both in the meadow of seduction that receives Core in the *Homeric Hymn* and in the garden-sanctuary where the (probably) choral group animated by Sappho invokes Aphrodite. The place is described according to the three seasons: blossoming, maturation, and harvest. We find roses, hyacinths, and violets in spring, apples and pears in summer, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and myrtle berries in autumn, all in a shaded garden watered by three brooks, the whole of which would resemble an *álos*—if we took away the wall of dry stones enclosing the garden. But the birds, with their melodious songs, are not the only ones to frequent this imitation of a sacred grove. Here, the garden not only is inhabited, but is also the place of a narrative event. Its flowers, fruits, and rustling brooks attract none other than Eros himself, as a young boy, as mischievous and insatiable as ever. When asked for a kiss by the old shepherd, the winged and nude child responds with a voice more beautiful than the song of the most melodious songbirds, and in a dodge returns the old man to the role that he played previously in arousing his love for Amaryllis. Now Eros manipulates, in the *hic et nunc* of the novel's action, the idyll woven between Daphnis and Chloe.

This *kēpos* where Eros can frolic freely contrasts with the "regal" park (*parádeisos*) maintained by the farmer Lamon described in the last chapter of the novel. With its fruit trees perfectly aligned and its vines well ordered, this "paradise" is not without reference to the orchard (*órkeatos*) that the king, Alcinoös, maintains near his palace in the *Odyssey*. Phaeacia is a fictional land where the cultivation and harvest of pears, apples, grapes, and figs are favored by the breezes of a permanent Zephyros, reminiscent of the golden age.³² But Lamon's park offers fruitless trees, so ordered and fashioned as to give the illusion of a nature that is, in fact, controlled by the art of *mimesis*. It is an orchard-park dedicated to the cult of Dionysus, who is honored there in a temple with frescoes depicting various episodes from his biography. In contrast to this *phúsis* reconstituted by the artifices of *téchne*, the landscaped space maintained by the old herder Philetas supplies an echo of the brief but famous *ékphrasis* that marks the prelude of Longus's novel. In this initial enunciative scene, the narrator discovers, while hunting among trees, flowers, and brooks in a most beautiful wood on the island of Lesbos, a painting of a pastoral scene, dedicated to the nymphs who inhabit the place and thoroughly inspired by love, that anticipates the plot of the novel.³³ Thus Philetas's *kēpos*, animated by the presence of Eros himself, plays the role of an intermediary between, on the one hand, the "natural" wood (*álos*) consecrated to the nymphs and marked by the *téchne* of scenes representing wild births in the proem of the novel, and, on the other, the park (*parádeisos*) organized by the technical skill of Lamon in honor of Dionysus—all in preparation for the happy outcome of the novel, the marriage of Daphnis and Chloe.

The landscaped space constructed and maintained by the attention of Philetas thus fulfils at least a double function. Just like the cultic space represented in Sappho's poem on the ostrakon, this *kēpos* facilitates the epiphany of a god—no longer Aphrodite, but her young assistant Eros. Furthermore, through its inclusion in the sequence of different spaces represented in the novel, it takes on an essential narrative function. The space allows the intervention of the divine archer, who then motivates the amorous relationship between the novel's two young protagonists. This leads them from the innocence of adolescent virginity to the maturity

³¹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.3.1–2.7.1. On the role of Eros, cf. Froma I. Zeitlin, "Gardens of Desire in Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*: Nature, Art Imitation," in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. James Tatum (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 148–70.

³² Homer, *Odyssey* 7.112–32. On specific Greek knowledge of *parádeisos*, gained from their first contacts with the Persians, see Carroll-Spillecke, *KÉPOS*, 38–39.

³³ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, proem 1–4 and 4.2.1–4.4.1. The erudite combination of *phúsis* and *téchne* in the composition of imagined spaces in the novel is described well by Dörte Teske, *Der Roman des Longos als Werk der Kunst* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 38–45; see also the excellent study by Froma I. Zeitlin, "The Poetics of *Erôs*: Nature, Art, and Imitation in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 417–62. On the proem in particular, see the many enlightening comments in Richard L. Hunter, *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2–4 and 38–51.

of sexual relations consecrated by a perfectly legitimate matrimonial bond. From the perspective of narrative space, it is thus the garden that confers on Eros the role of conductor, so to speak, that he assumes in this gently initiatory novel. The plot consists, in effect, of an idealized education in pastoral love through veneration of the nymphs, Pan, and Eros. This transpires in a novelistic discourse that, skillfully mixing in turn *phúsis* and *tékhnē* and itself considered as an offering to the same divinities, transforms the play (*paígnia*) of the young shepherd and the virgin shepherdess into a propaedeutic journey under the aegis of Aphrodite's young assistant.³⁴

But the initiatory course that draws Longus's novel from the undaunted wildness of adolescence to the productive self-control of maturity in marriage resorts entirely to processes of narrative; it concerns what is fictional, if not pure fiction! Although present in the prelude, and in spite of many echoes that resonate with it in the epilogue of the narrative, there is no enunciative intervention that establishes any explicit relationship between what is recounted in the novel and its situation of communication. Thus in this novel, which was meant to be read, there is no relationship between the order of "discourse," a matter solely for the poem, and the process of "narrative" (or "story") that fills the four books introduced by the preface.

This return to the process of narrative and thus to *múthos* allows us to measure the distance separating on one side a melic poem that, as an act of song, is inserted into a cultic space and into the ritual acts it describes and, on the other, a novelistic and fictional act inscribed in an entirely reconstituted pastoral setting. Contrary to what has been asserted recently under the influence of feminist readings unwilling to find in Sappho any linguistic or ritual traits of the erotic poetry practiced by her male fellow poets, the poems of Sappho are not "poetry detached from performance, that is poetry as written text."³⁵ This definition does, however, apply perfectly to the action fabricated by the novelist, and new sophist, Longus. In particular, the *kēpos* maintained by the skill of Philetas is confined to resembling a sanctuary-wood (*álsos horán oiésetai*). This *álsos* is no longer meant to welcome those who, by their songs and dances, call for the epiphany of the divinity who inhabits the place; it is now the location of a purely fictional dialogue between its creator and the young god who frequents it. In charming (*etérophthesan*) the young goatherd and his shepherdess, as the winged boy himself succeeded in enchanting (*éthelge*) the aged player of the syrinx, this narrative (*múthos*) within a narrative has the function of introducing Eros and his powers for the sole benefit of the young protagonists of the novel's action, who thus "have heard for the first time the name of Eros."³⁶ Written or oral, all poetic activity is situated in the realm of narrative. Might then this constitutive distance, of a text that is, properly speaking, of literary character, in part be able to account for the strange absence in the landscaped space created by Philetas-Longus of a *leimón*, a meadow of love?

Erotico-funerary Epilogue

Let us return, in conclusion, to ritual activity. The *leimón* is located, properly speaking, at the center of the different elements that allow for the rapprochement of landscaped spaces dedicated to the cult of divinities of love and certain representations of spaces for an afterlife that can be achieved only through initiatory practices. The invitation for this rapprochement is even more necessary given the presence in Sappho's poem of cold water (*húdor psúkhrōn*), which recalls, through a play on the morphology of words, what the thirsty souls (*psúkhat*) consume when descending to Hades, and given the presence of a sentiment of drowsiness that, in the eyes of the Greeks, stems as much from associations with a state of erotic ecstasy as with the impression of rapture to

³⁴ On the initiatory and educative itinerary in pastoral love constructed in the novel, as well as on the relationships one can find in it with various mystery cults, the most even interpretation remains that of H. H. Chalk, "Eros and the Lesbian Pastorals of Longus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 80 (1960): 32-51; see also John J. Winkler, "The Education of Chloe: Hidden Injuries of Sex," in *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York-London: Routledge, 1990), 101-21.

³⁵ According to the surprising formulation offered by Eva Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in its Setting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 311, who does not take into serious consideration the poem on the ostrakon in her long chapter dedicated to Sappho (262-318; there is only a brief mention on 287).

³⁶ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.3.1-2, 3.7.1, and 3.4.4. It is no surprise that Greek thinkers often considered gardens (metaphorical ones, generally) to be places of musical education and of inspiration, if not of philosophical initiation; see Motte, *Prairies et Jardins*, 286-319.

which death is often integrated.³⁷ For souls that have experienced a preliminary initiation and can from that point enter, through a new initiatory course, into the domain reserved to initiates, bacchants, and blessed heroes, the pleasure inspired by Eros in the meadow of love approaches the divine felicity promised by access to the meadow of Persephone. Like sleep, the meadow is a place of a second state, in erotic ecstasy as in funerary ritual, that allows communication with a privileged space and with the blessed life of the immortal gods, and forgetfulness of the pains attached to mortal life.³⁸ Is it any wonder that on the island of Calypso, which by its charms makes its guest Odysseus forgetful of Penelope and of his mortal condition, the cave of the Nymph herself is surrounded by four streams of clear water and by soft meadows (*leimónes*) where violets and parsley bloom?³⁹

In any case, reference to the modern categories of "rite of passage" and "initiatory trajectory" seem pertinent to the initiatory interpretation of certain Greek ritual realizations of love as well as death. The landscaped space evoked in the ritual poetry of Sappho can appear as the intermediary space of a transition through a symbolic and transitory death recalled by the second state provoked by Eros and Aphrodite. There is thus all the more reason that the space outlined in Sappho's poem has a mixed nature, split between the meadow generally reserved for young maidens (*parthénai*) and the sanctuary organized as a garden that, with its arboricultural character, symbolically refers rather to a young bride (*númphe*) before the birth of her first child.⁴⁰ Aphrodite is most probably invoked to ensure, ritually speaking, the girl's passage from adolescence to maturity, a passage toward which the entire initiatory and ritual education given in the "circle" of the poetess of Lesbos aims.⁴¹ From this same interpretative perspective, the meadow constantly flowering with seductive scents in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*—meant for adult initiates in search of a better life after death—as well as that in the poetic tablets deposited with the dead as performative passports to the next life is transformed into a space no longer of passage but of success in the process of immortalization; it augurs definitive access to a status approaching that of divine beings. In both cases, whether it is a matter of melic strophes composed by Sappho in the case of the ostrakon or of dactylic hexameters interspersed in melic verses in the case of the gold lamellae from Magna Grecia or Thessaly, the Classical poems, in contrast to the post-Hellenistic novel, have the ritual function of ensuring the accomplishment of an initiatory passage. Therefore, we might ask whether the poem of Sappho's, scribbled on an ostrakon from Hellenized Egypt, could represent not a copy used in a school, but an amulet of erotic magic meant to secure the presence of Aphrodite for whomever might wear the shard and its text.⁴²

The landscaped spaces described or imagined by Rousseau are quite distant from these ritual spaces described in poetic texts, the very performance of which allows the realization of initiatory transitions, but they do share common traits with the pastoral and idyllic spaces created by the fictional narrative of Longus. At that point, however, the writer can no longer delegate to the gods and their assistants the educative role associated with these gardens transformed into landscapes. No melic poem better

³⁷ Represented iconographically with common traits, Eros, Hypnos, and Thanatos are the object of observations I have made in *L'Eros*, 31–32 and 49–52 (with references given in n. 50) (*The Poetics of Eros*, 19–21 and 36–38; references, n. 50).

³⁸ Note that the meadow can also be the location of oracular inspiration: see Pierre Bonnechere, "Prairies et jardins grecs de la Grèce de Platon à l'Angleterre d'Alexander Pope," in *Képoi: De la religion à la philosophie. Mélanges offerts à André Motte*, ed. Edouard Delruelle and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge. Kermos, Supplément 11 (Liège: CIERGA, 2001), 29–50. The deadly meadow of the Sirens in the *Odyssey* 12.184–91 must also be considered: see Pietro Pucci, "The Song of the Sirens," *Arethusa* 12 (1979): 121–32, reprinted in *The Song of the Sirens: Essays on Homer* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 1–9.

³⁹ Homer, *Odyssey* 5.59–64. Margaret Williamson, *Sappho's Immortal Daughters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 142–43 (see also 57–59) rightly describes the *kóma* of Sappho fr. 2.8 Voigt as "a trance induced by a divine power." Thanks to Jenny Strauss Clay for calling my attention to that particular meaning of the word *kóma*.

⁴⁰ Thus, in the idealized Phaeacia of the *Odyssey*, the virgin Athena has use of a sacred wood (*álsos*) of poplars, outside the walls, that, far from being organized as a garden as are the sanctuaries dedicated to Aphrodite, simply borders on a meadow (*leimón*) and is watered by a brook.

⁴¹ On this distinction between meadow and garden, with the feminine values attached to each of these spaces, see *L'Eros*, 181–84 (*The Poetics of Eros*, 160–64). I have attempted to present a development in the controversial question of the existence of a choral group animated by Sappho, along with its functions, in *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md.: Roman & Littlefield, 2001), 231–38 and 249–52.

⁴² This is the suggestion proposed by Burnette, *Three Archaic Poets*, 276.

illustrates this distance between melic poetry and novelistic fiction than the fragment of a threnody by Pindar that describes, according to Plutarch, the destiny that awaits humans distinguished by their piety *post mortem*.⁴³

For them shines the might of the sun
below during nighttime up here,
and in meadows of red roses their country abode
is laden with . . . shady frankincense trees
and trees with golden fruit,
and some take delight in horses and exercises,
others in draughts.
and others in lyres; and among them
complete happiness blooms and flourishes.
A fragrance spreads throughout the lovely land,
as they continually mingle offerings of all kinds
with far-shining fire on the gods' altars.

Translated by Daniel W. Berman

⁴³ Pindar, fr. 129 Maehler, cited by Plutarch, *Consolation to Apollonius* 35.120c; trans. William H. Race, *Pindar: Nemean Odes, Isthmian Odes, Fragments* (Cambridge, Mass.-London: Harvard University Press-Heinemann, 1997), 237. See the at times hesitant commentary of Maria Cannatà Fera, *Pindarus: Threnorum fragmenta* (Rome: Atenco, 1990), 163-80.