

# Through the Picture Plane: Movement and Transformation in the Garden Room at the Villa *ad Gallinas* at Prima Porta

Kaja J. Tally-Schumacher & Nils Paul Niemeier

*The recent villa and garden excavations of the Villa ad Gallinas at Prima Porta have inspired a new discourse regarding the villa, its gardens, and decoration.<sup>1</sup> Building on earlier discussions regarding transformative themes in the wall paintings and scientific identifications of the painted plants in the villa's famous Garden Room, we suggest that the garden may be read as a populated space of figures and not merely as a garden composed of plants. Utilizing green-screen technology with staged interactions in front of and with the painting, we identify viewers as critical components of the wall paintings' composition. Our green-screen recreation of the underground paintings points to an intentional choreography between the painting and viewer. The paintings of the Garden Room are formulated to accommodate observation by reclining diners while simultaneously eliciting garden-like strolling along the room's walls, as if the room were a real garden, blurring the distinction between the simulated and the real.*



Figure 1: Print of the north wall from the Prima Porta garden room by Sikkard, published in *Antike Denkmäler* (1891) shortly after the discovery of the painting.

### Introduction

Located just 15 kilometers north of Rome, the Villa *ad Gallinas* at Prima Porta has been long-renowned for two objects discovered during the 1863-1864 excavation season: the Polykleitan-esque statue of Augustus and the panoramic garden painting from a subterranean room located in the south-west of the villa complex.<sup>2</sup> The garden painting exemplifies the radical shift in the Roman painting styles of the 30s-20s BCE towards a more naturalistic style wherein the picture plane becomes permeable and the painted space is more directly connected to the real space of the viewer.<sup>3</sup> More recently, the discovery of gardens within the walls of the villa in the 1980s has prompted a renewed interest in the paintings and villa more broadly.<sup>4</sup> While the bibliography on the painting is rich, scholars have not placed viewers into the Garden Room and into dialogue with the images therein. Using green-screen technology, the authors and Cornell-affiliated colleagues recreated the Prima Porta garden painting and, following recent publications on Roman walking and

garden interactions, used actors to engage the painted garden.<sup>5</sup> While many scholars have noted the illusionistic quality of the garden painting, our green-screen reconstruction and repopulation of the room with ancient viewers take the illusionistic argument to the next stage as the painting is not merely an object to be consumed visually: the viewers are an integral part of the composition.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the painting choreographs two types of viewing. First, the perspective is manipulated in a way so as to best accommodate seated or reclining viewing, such as in Roman dining. Second, while the room is underground and inside, the painting imitates and elicits movements and interactions of strollers in real ancient gardens. Therefore, we suggest that viewing the Garden Room as a space populated by viewers allows for a greater interpretation of the painted garden as a transformed and transformative space.

### The Garden Room

The subterranean Garden Room at the Villa *ad Gallinas* features four walls, measuring 11.70

x 5.90 x 2.88 m in total, which are covered by a continuous painting of an ancient Roman garden. A close examination of the corners illustrates the paintings' uninterrupted nature as plants from one wall continue past the corner onto the following wall. Starting from the bottom of the wall and moving upwards, the painting features a black band (possibly representing a walk or a pool) encircling the room. Above and beyond the black band are two fences: first a wicker fence separating the walk or pool from a green walkway, followed by a marble fence separating the green walkway from a dense garden deeper in the composition (Fig. 1). While the black band runs continuously across the four walls (with the exception of the break for the doorway into the room), the wicker fence features three open gates (one each on the short walls, and one on the long wall opposite the door into the room) inviting the viewer onto a green walkway that runs the full perimeter of the room. The far side of the green walkway is framed by a row of alternating small plantings (irises, ferns, and staked ivy with violets) directly in front of a white marble fence. The marble fence features convex niches (one each on the short sides and two each on the long walls) that each contain a tree (an oak and a pine on the short walls, respectively, and four fir trees on the long walls). The garden behind the marble fence is densely planted, and trees peeking out above the vegetation in the background suggest the garden occupies a deep space. The garden scene is topped by an expanse of blue sky that is punctuated by flying birds. Birds also perch in the trees of the garden, on the fence, and in the garden walkway. The very top of the composition features a narrow band that is identified as either the rocky edge of a grotto or as the thatching of a trellis.<sup>7</sup> The treatment of the plants and birds combines botanical and ornithological knowledge with artistic elaborations, allowing scholars to definitively identify all of the featured species in the garden scene. Even more importantly, the seasons are conflated in the image as plants of different seasons are forced to bloom and produce fruit together. Traditionally, the room is thought to have been used as a cool *triclinium* (dining room) during hot Italian summers.<sup>8</sup>

### *Previous Scholarship on the Garden Room*

As the discussion of the paintings from their discovery to the most recent publications illustrates, the iconography of this garden is intentionally multivalent. While scholars have identified many possible interpretations, ranging from political, religious, and funerary associations to those of *ars topiaria* (the art of garden design), there is still more that can be gained from returning to this canonical work.<sup>9</sup> Möller's initial interpretation focuses on identifying the plant species present in the garden.<sup>10</sup> Rizzo, working in the 1920s, reads the paintings as a compendium of garden painting and of *ars topiaria*.<sup>11</sup> Grimal follows much of Rizzo's approach, paying particular attention to the naturalistic representation and the innovations of Studius, to whom he attributes the painting.<sup>12</sup> Gabriel's seminal 1955 publication on the paintings identifies and describes the plants and birds and their divine associations. Equally important, Gabriel identifies the number of craftsmen who worked on the paintings and their specialties.<sup>13</sup> Penso, like Gabriel and Möller, also identifies the plants within the painting, but his list of identifications is by far the least encompassing.<sup>14</sup> Bandinelli's discussion focuses on the chronological dating of the painting to the Augustan period, not on symbolic or design questions.<sup>15</sup> Settis is one of the first to begin approaching symbolic interpretations of the paintings, suggesting that the garden is connected to an interchange between art and nature and is also connected to funerary visual language.<sup>16</sup>

### *Current Scholarship*

In part, the recent scholarly attention given to the garden painting is no doubt connected to Gaetano Messineo's excavations at the site from 1982-1992, which uncovered the villa's residential area, and Klynne and Liljenstolpe's 1996-1999 excavations of the villa's gardens.<sup>17</sup> These excavations have thus allowed scholars to begin placing the paintings into dialogue with the surrounding villa. Kellum suggests that the paintings and the statue of Augustus found at the villa are expressions of the Augustan

*miraculum* (miracle) and a new dispensation of peace under his reign.<sup>18</sup> Sanzi Di Mino suggests that the garden painting is the oldest surviving example of a genre type that remained popular throughout the Roman Empire, and places it into dialogue with scenes of painted architecture.<sup>19</sup> Andreae connects the imagery of the painting to the panels from the Ara Pacis, interpreting the space as an Edenic garden.<sup>20</sup> Förtsch is one of the strongest proponents of identifying an underlying ideological structure within the painting based on both the symbolic associations of the plants depicted and the paintings' relationship to the Ara Pacis monument, wherein both structures express the fertility of the Augustan golden age.<sup>21</sup> Reeder's approach has focused on connecting the Garden Room to the remaining parts of the villa, on bringing attention to often ignored elements, such as the stucco fragments from the ceiling, and on reading the painted panels alongside discussions of groves and grottos.<sup>22</sup> The most recent botanical reexamination of the painted flora, led by Caneva and Bohuny, attempts to rectify the contradictory botanical identifications made by past scholars by providing a new taxonomic interpretation of the paintings.<sup>23</sup> Based on this attempt of reclassifying the species displayed, Caneva and Bohuny encourage scholars to reinterpret the message of the paintings.<sup>24</sup> The recent excavations have also spurred new discussions on villa design where the orientation, location, and decoration of the Villa *ad Gallinas* are treated as part of a larger design plan.<sup>25</sup>

#### Transformation: Mythological figures, plants, birds, and visitors in the Garden Room

While a number of scholars have pointed to the associations between the plants and particular deities, only Kellum brings our attention to the act of transformation, as many of the trees and birds are in fact transformed humans and nymphs in Greek and Roman myth (such as the nightingale, the larks, linnets, goldfinches, magpies, pine, myrtle, laurel, cypress, pomegranates, violets, and roses).<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Kellum's list of transformed figures can be expanded to also

include the poppy (previously Mekon, a youth, transformed by Demeter), the oak (Philemon, transformed by Zeus into an oak), and the acanthus (this may be an usual double play on the name, as Acanthus was turned into a bird by Apollo and Zeus).<sup>27</sup> To put this into better perspective, based on the most recent botanical analysis, nine of the 24 species depicted in the painting (38% percent) are transformed figures (Fig. 2).<sup>28</sup> The significance of these transformed plantings is further underscored by their placement and heightened readability in the composition.

But as Kellum's wording makes clear, her focus is on the act of transformation. She says that "the pine tree was a *transformation* of Attis, the youthful lover of the Phrygian goddess Cybele," and not that the pine was *Attis, transformed into* a pine tree (emphasis added).<sup>29</sup> Consequently, by focusing on the act or verb of transformation and its connection to Augustan visual language, we lose sight of the real, corporeal figures that populate the garden.

Like Kellum, Kuttner also alludes to a superficial correlation between plants and human figures in the Garden Room painting. Where Kellum identifies the mythological stories that pair with the painted plants, Kuttner suggests that the Garden Room painting shares visual qualities with contemporary monumental painted and relief narratives. Thus she suggests that the prominent pine and oak trees on the two short walls are set against a ground of less prominent plants much like the processional figures on the Ara Pacis relief, where pictorial depth establishes a hierarchy of importance (Fig. 3).<sup>30</sup> Although Kuttner identifies the visual similarity between the garden painting and developments in figural compositions, like Kellum, she views the depicted plants as mere plants without a transformed corporeal presence. We may, however, stretch Kuttner's and Kellum's observations even further. As Kuttner shows, the garden paintings visually parallel continuous figural narratives, a genre which collapses multiple episodes from a narrative into one image.<sup>31</sup> This is particularly

Species (Caneva ID)	Metamorphosis	Source
Acanthus, <i>Acanthus mollis</i>	Acantha	Ant. Lib., <i>Met.</i> 7
Chamomile, <i>Anthemis</i> sp. (formerly <i>Leucanthemum</i> )		
Strawberry tree, <i>Arbutus unedo</i>		
Boxwood, <i>Buxus sempervirens</i>		
Chrysanthemum, <i>Chrysanthemum corona</i>		
Orange, <i>Citrus</i> sp.		
Dogwood, <i>Cornus mas</i>		
Cypress, <i>Cupressus sempervirens</i>	Cyparissus	Ov., <i>Met.</i> 10.121ff.
Quince, <i>Cydonia oblongata</i> (vulgaris)		
Ivy, <i>Hedera helix</i>		
Iris, <i>Iris</i> sp.		
Laurel, <i>Laurus nobilis</i>	Daphne	Ov., <i>Met.</i> 1.490ff; Paus. 3.24.8.7; Hyg., <i>Fab.</i> 203.1
Myrtle, <i>Myrtus communis</i>	Myrrha	Ov., <i>Met.</i> 10.476ff; Hyg., <i>Fab.</i> 58.1
Oleander, <i>Nerium oleander</i>		
Opium poppy, <i>Papaver somniferum</i>	Mekon	Serv., <i>In Vergilii Bucolicum Librum</i> 2.47
Date palm, <i>Phoenix dactylifera</i>		
Fern, <i>Phyllitis scolopendrium</i> ( <i>Asplenium</i> )		
Spruce, <i>Picea excelsa</i>		
Pine, <i>Pinus pinea</i>	Pitys	Nomus, <i>Dion.</i> 16.363
	The Oitaiat*	Ant. Lib., <i>Met.</i> 32.5
Pomegranate, <i>Punica granatum</i>	Side	Apollod., <i>Bibl.</i> 1.25
Oak, <i>Quercus ilex</i>	Byblis	Ant. Lib., <i>Met.</i> 30.1-2; Ov., <i>Met.</i> 9.454ff; Hyg., <i>Fab.</i> 243.6
	Philemon	Ov., <i>Met.</i> 8.633ff
Oak, <i>Quercus robur</i>		
Rose, <i>Rosa gallica</i>	(As agent of transformation)	Apul. <i>Met.</i> 4.2.8
Viburnum, <i>Viburnum tinus</i>		
Periwinkle, <i>Vinea major</i> (?)		
Violet, <i>Viola</i> sp.		

Figure 2: Table identifying the plants in the painting, the metamorphosed figures, and the ancient sources for the myths (N. Niemeier).



Figure 3: Detail of the processional relief from the Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome. [Photography]. Encyclopædia Britannica ImageQuest. Retrieved 28 Feb 2016.



Figure 4: Before and after photos illustrating the use of a green screen in replicating the garden painting and staging interactions. Photos by N. Niemeier and K. Gleason; Garden Room background image from StudyBlue.

significant as scholars of Roman mythological painting have shown that Roman viewers recreated full mythological narratives from abbreviated painted representations.<sup>32</sup> Thus we might imagine a Roman viewer experiencing the Garden Room cinematically. Upon first entering the room, the viewer is faced with multiple mythological narratives at their conclusion, but upon closer inspection, the viewer unlocks and reads the implied narratives as they identify each individual plant. The painting is thus transformed from a stationary image into a film-like experience where the viewer is inundated with scene after scene of transformations as nymphs and humans interact with deities and their subsequent transformations into plants and birds. Unlike figural representations of myths, where the ending is often not depicted, here in the painted garden there is no alternative ending that the imagination may create. In some ways, therefore, the Garden Room presents a more terrifying scene than its figural counterparts, as the end of the narrative is explicit: the end of corporeal life in exchange for eternal existence as a plant or bird.<sup>33</sup> Even if one were to follow the initial interpretations of the room as solely a representation of a *locus amoenus* (pleasing place) without deeper significance, the fact that its floral and faunal denizens are transformed cannot be denied.

#### A New Approach: The Populated Garden

The concept of a populated garden of transformed figures becomes more pronounced when real viewers and garden visitors are placed into the composition. To create the experience of the garden room without traveling to Italy, we created an artificial Garden Room at Cornell University using green-screen technology. We then performed recreations of movement in front of this screen to simulate different interactions with the space. These include individuals strolling alone while viewing and interacting with the garden painting, men and women walking together, and interactions between people of different social status encountering each other while viewing the painting. As Roman gardens

were located at the intersection of social interactions, they are places where the landed gentry of the senatorial and equestrian classes mingled with villa-owning, wealthy freedmen, elite courtesans, non-normative figures like *cinaedi* (a complex, derogatory term referring to effeminate or homosexual men or dancers), foreigners, and visiting intellectuals, among other guests of the garden.<sup>34</sup> After filming, the green-screen was digitally removed using Adobe Premiere Elements, and one of the panels of the garden room was inserted in its place and set to scale (Fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> Working with strolling individuals and a stationary camera produced better results given Premiere Elements' limitations in creating a background that moves with the stroller in the foreground (the effect, otherwise, is one of the stroller walking on a treadmill in front of a stationary image). This forced us to emulate the experience of the static viewer watching the strollers. By using the camera and green-screen, it is now possible to have some idea of how Roman visitors might have interacted with each other either in a real garden setting (interacting with physical plants) or in the Garden Room. Furthermore, situations were reconstructed in which the strollers moved in front of a static viewer (e.g., a person reclining on a couch) in order to recreate the ways in which people strolling in the garden or the garden room might appear to become part of the garden or painted space from the perspective of a seated or reclining viewer. These were done as still-shots, and the background of the garden room was inserted with Adobe Photoshop.

Timothy O'Sullivan's recent work on Roman walking and posture informed our recreations of Roman movement and bearing, and was further built on the 2013 work done by Gleason, Simelius, Tally-Schumacher, and Torrey de Frescheville regarding movement through Roman strolling gardens.<sup>36</sup> The costumes and postures of the reenactors are also based on ancient statuary and paintings as relevant to the different gendered and socioeconomic identities of the potential stroller/viewers.

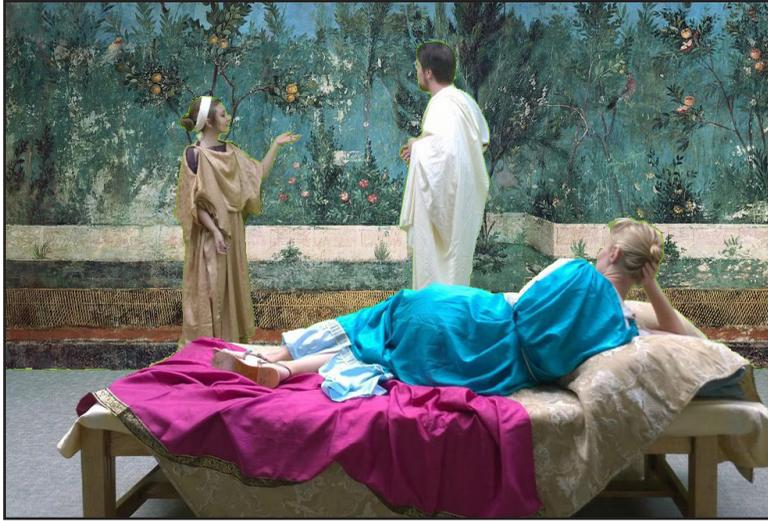


Figure 5: Illustrating the illusionistic quality of placing real viewers against the painting, viewers attempt to pick painted fruit. Photo by N. Niemeier and K. Gleason; Garden Room background image from StudyBlue.

Placing costumed, Romanized strollers in front of the painting has made a number of observations clear, particularly when we consider the possible types of viewers (i.e. active strollers versus reclining diners). Simply put, the presence of human figures set against the painting populates and completes the image, and transforms the two-dimensional painting into a three-dimensional space. There is an explicit pleasure and desire in attempting to pluck the ripe fruit off the trees or to bend and smell the aroma of a particular blossom (Fig. 5). Although Caneva argues that the painting is a purely symbolic construction and thus does not reflect actual Roman gardens, recent archaeological excavations at the Villa Arianna at Stabia in the Bay of Naples suggest that the design and plantings of the painted garden do in fact recall real garden spaces.<sup>37</sup> Our plan of the painted garden bears remarkable similarities to the densely planted beds in the Peristyle Garden at the Villa Arianna, with walkways separated from planting beds by fences, and plantings arranged in a manner similar to those depicted in the painting—smaller plants are placed in the foreground, with larger shrubs and trees placed further

away from potential viewers in the house. This suggests that the parallels in design between painted and real gardens are not superficial and that consequently the garden painting is not purely or merely an artistic construction (Fig. 6).<sup>38</sup>

#### Observations

In this study, when the camera takes the view of a reclining diner (set roughly at the height of a reclining figure's eye-level), a number of observations about the construction of the garden can be made. First, the composition and perspective of the painting are manipulated in such a way as to accommodate the view of a reclining diner in a way that a real garden could not. This is exemplified by the different perspectival treatment of the bottom and top halves of the painting. The bottom half of the painting, particularly the area between the marble balustrade and the black band at the very bottom of the painting, are tilted up towards the viewer.<sup>39</sup> While such a drastic slanting of the ground departs from a more naturalistic perspective, it does have an important function. Without such an intense tilt, the wicker fence

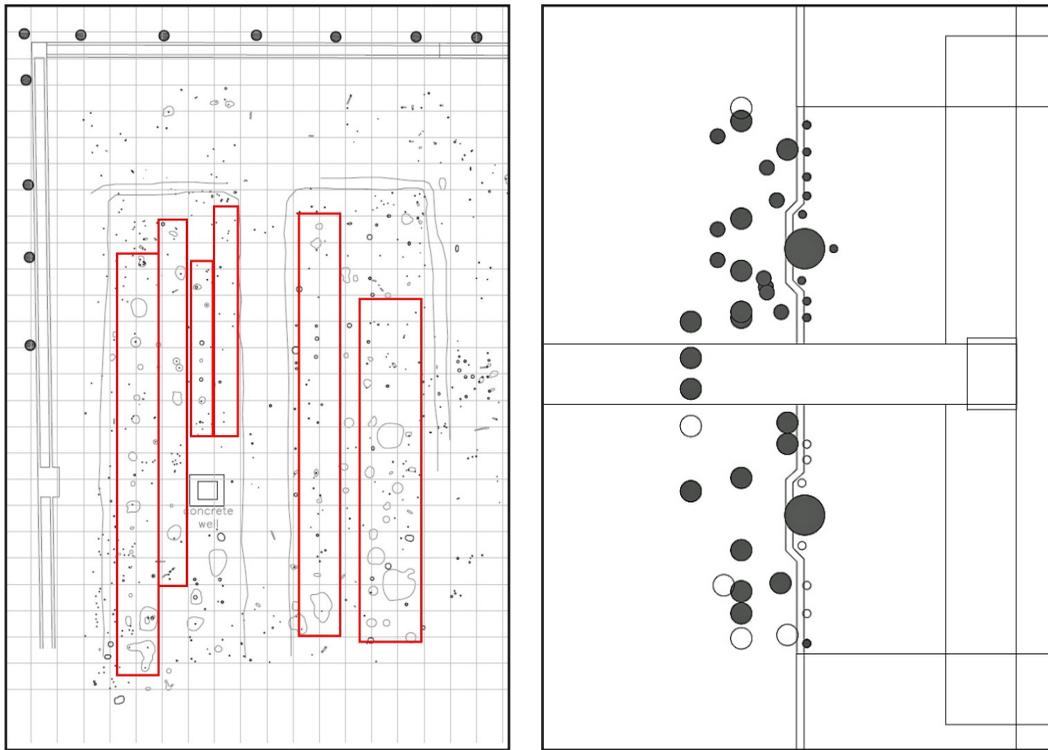


Figure 6: Plan of the plantings in Planting Bed 1 and 2 from the Peristyle Garden at the Villa Arianna in Stabia with rectangular areas highlighting parallel, straight rows of plantings (left) and our plan of the painted plantings on the east wall of the Prima Porta Garden Painting (right). (K. Gleason, T. Howe, M. Palmer, M. Powell, N. Niemeier).

would overlap the more distant marble fence, thereby blocking the seated view of the green walkway, the irises, ferns, ivy, and violets, and the black path or pool.

This does not mean that the painting prioritizes a seated position of viewing; in fact the painting is constructed in such a manner as to accommodate a second, different elevation of gaze, that of strolling viewers. The videos of strolling viewers in front of the paintings illustrate the connection between the viewer's height and the location of many of the fruits. Even taking into account that our reconstructed figures are taller than their real ancient counterparts may have been, there is a clear intentionality on the part of the artist in placing the majority of the fruit at the elevation of a stroller's view around the entire room.

The heavy depiction of pruning marks on the painted fruit trees suggests that the painting reflects a real garden aesthetic where plants were forced to bloom and fruit at a stroller's height. Furthermore, while the bottom half of the painting tilts the ground up, a close analysis of the plants behind the marble fence and their trunks displays a change in perspective where the ground recedes into the background without a drastic tilt. This creates a more naturalistic space that is equally accessible to strolling and seated viewers.

If the paintings elicit and choreograph strolling and seated viewing, they also "plant" the picture plane away so that viewers become critical components of the composition. The picture plane is permeable in part by the encompassing nature of the paintings—one

can almost imagine backing into the picture plane as easily as walking into it. While a number of scholars have dismissed the underground room as simply a *locus amoenus*, a pleasant, cool, summer retreat, the underground location of the room actually serves to further transform the painting into a reality.<sup>40</sup> The cool, damp air of the subterranean space, augmented by the climate of the real gardens above the room, recreates an idealized microclimate of a lush, liberally-watered, shady garden so that the viewer *feels* as if he or she is in the garden itself. The free- and single-caged birds play an equally important role in further deconstructing the picture plane. The barrel-vaulted ceiling of this room, paired with the relatively sparse furnishings of Roman villas, creates an ideal space for the reverberation of sounds.<sup>41</sup> Here, the echoes of a real caged bird, or the sounds of real birds in the aboveground gardens filtering in through the vault's windows, give voice to their painted companions. The effects of sounds interacting with the painted surface further collapse space by uniting the painted garden with the real gardens above ground. Additionally, the panoramic composition of the Garden Room literally surrounds and transports the viewer into a real garden populated by victims of transformation—might it be intimated that the viewer, too, may eventually succumb to such a fate? Might one lose one's own identity and become part of the painted scene? Perhaps a prolonged visit to the room is dangerous—a deity may appear at any moment to transform the viewer and, in so doing, completely blur the divide between the viewer-soon-to-be-plant and the plants of the painting.

Furthermore, the chthonic location of the room and the ascending departure via stairs is ripe with liminal and transformative associations. Deities who return from the underworld such as Dionysus and Heracles come to mind, as well as animals, such as serpents, which live above and below the ground, and transform through the shedding of their skin. The Augustan connection to serpents is particularly appealing, as Apollo in the guise of a serpent is said to have sired Augustus, and small serpents

are even found on the vegetal panels of the Ara Pacis, giving credence to their significance in Augustan visual and cultural language.<sup>42</sup> While serpents are not explicitly painted in the Garden Room, six of the plants clearly depicted in the painting were known in antiquity to be effective against snakebites and one was used as a snake repellent, as if snakes and snake bites were a real danger in the painting.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the rising popularity of animal fables during the Augustan period suggests that “minor” animal or bird associations in artworks should not be ignored.<sup>44</sup> Although the viewers safely skirt transformation into plants or birds, they cannot in fact escape a different type of transformation. They depart the subterranean structure, slithering up the stairs and across the threshold between the underground and the surface world like an Augustan snake emerging from his den.

### Conclusions

The use of a green-screen to reconstruct movement along the paintings of the Garden Room and viewership of the space demonstrates the intentional manipulation of perspective and composition to specifically accommodate two means of viewing: via reclining and via strolling. The upward tilt of the foreground maximizes the view for the seated viewer, indicative of Roman dining, while the location of the painted fruit at standing eye level points to a choreographed experience which imitates actions performed in real gardens: the painting elicits garden strolling inside and underground. By manipulating different variables in reenactments of activity in the Garden Room (strolling versus reclining, multiple people versus a single person, etc.), the multivalent readings of the room become further apparent. The green-screen fosters direct contact with images and spaces in ways in which PowerPoint presentations, book illustrations, and plans cannot compete. This sort of simulated interaction is especially important for spaces that are difficult to access or are deteriorating, but where better preserved documentation exists. By expanding on previous scholarship on the presence of transformative themes and the connection to contemporary figural, continuous narrative painting, we identify the figural quality

of the garden plants. The Garden Room is not simply connected to the Augustan political transformation as Kellum suggests. The painted garden is populated by, or rather, planted, with metamorphosed figures. As the picture plane is blurred, there is an explicit suggestion that the viewer may become the next victim-turned-planting or may leave the plane of the real and enter that of the picture.

The reintegration of the room and painting with real viewers illustrates the participatory nature of this space and the sophisticated deconstruction of the picture plane. The garden choreographs one's movement through two prioritized modes of viewing, as well as by the interplay between real doorways and painted wicker gates set beyond the picture plane. One might imagine a stroller walking along the black band towards the wicker gate, side stepping through the picture plane and continuing down the green walkway. The relationship between the Prima Porta garden painting and the albeit later garden beds found at the Villa Arianna suggests that the painted garden elicits movement in the viewer that directly parallels experiences had in real spaces, thereby further blurring the separation between the real garden and the painted garden. With the echo of the birds and the aromas of the flowers from the aboveground gardens and the cool, moist, and shady sensation of the air, the movement of the viewer might not appear to be part of a fantastical or mythological world—the painted garden *is* a real garden. There is no picture plane.

---

Endnotes:

- 1 The authors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Kathryn L. Gleason, Jessica Pfundstein, and Mujahid Powell for their collaboration on and contribution to the reenactment of ancient interactions with the Garden Room paintings, as well as their feedback on this project. We also thank Dr. Thomas Howe and Michele Palmer for their assistance at the Villa Arianna, as without their aid the project would not have been possible to complete. 2 Calci and Messineo 1984, 8.
- 3 Kuttner 2012, 23-4.
- 4 Liljenstolpe and Klynne 1998, 127-48.
- 5 The green-screen reconstruction came out of a Cornell University seminar, The Parks and Imperial Fora of Ancient Rome, held in the Spring of 2015 by Dr. Kathryn L. Gleason. The reconstruction is based on the collaborative work of Dr. Gleason, Kaja J. Tally-Schumacher, Nils P. Niemeier, Jessica Pfundstein, and Mujahid Powell. O'Sullivan 2011; Howe et al. 2016.
- 6 Kuttner 2012, 23-25.
- 7 Reeder 2001, 35.
- 8 Reeder 2001, 49.
- 9 Kellum 1994a, 224.
- 10 Möller 1890, 78-80.
- 11 Rizzo, 1929.
- 12 Grimal 1943, 320-30.
- 13 Gabriel 1955.
- 14 Penso, 1986.
- 15 Bendinelli, 1988.
- 16 Settis 1988, 3-39.
- 17 Klynne 2002, 19-20.
- 18 Kellum 1994a, 223-24.
- 19 Sanzi Di Mino 1998, 209-13.
- 20 Andreae 1999, 31-39.
- 21 Förtsch 1989, 333-45.
- 22 Reeder 2001, 67-75.
- 23 Caneva and Bohuny (2003, 151) analysis illustrates a number of discrepancies between Möller's 1890 identifications, Gabriel's 1955 identifications, and Penso's 1986 identifications. The correct identification of the plants is essential before the paintings may be interpreted through iconographic, mythological, or other lenses.
- 24 Caneva and Bohuny 2003, 154.
- 25 Zarmakoupi 2008, 269.
- 26 Kellum 1994a, 221. On pine and Attis, Ov., *Met.* 10.103-105; on myrtle Paus., 6.24.7, on laurel Ov., *Met.* 1.548f, on cypress Ov., *Met.* 10.106f, on pomegranates Arn., *Adv. nat.* 5,5f, and Clem. Al., *Protr.* 2.19, cf. 2.22, on violets Arn., *Adv. nat.* 5,5f, and Julian, *Or.* 5.168 c, and on roses Paus. 6.24.7. For the birds: on nightingales Ov., *Met.* 6.668f, cf. Philomela, Verg., G. 4.511-515, on partridges Ov., *Met.* 8.237f, on larks, linnets, and goldfinches Ant. Lib. c. 7, on magpies Ov., *Met.* 5.29f.
- 27 Ant. Lib. *Met.* 7, Serv., *In Vergilii Bucolicum Librum* 2.47; Ov., *Met.* 8.621-696.
- 28 Caneva and Bohuny 2003, 151.

- 29 Kellum 1994a, 221. Italics by authors for emphasis, not original.
- 30 Kuttner 2012, 24, 28.
- 31 Leach 2012, 141-62.
- 32 Leach 2012, 143-44.
- 33 Newby 2012, 349-89, Bergmann 1999, 81-108.
- 34 Niemeier 2015, 24; Stackelberg 2009, 70.
- 35 Niemeier 2015, 59, note 192.
- 36 O'Sullivan 2011; Gleason et al. 2013.
- 37 Caneva 1999, 79, Gleason et al. 2008.
- 38 The Large Peristyle garden at the Villa Arianna is one of the first of its kind to be discovered. Unlike the small urban gardens of Pompeii studied by Jashemski, the Villa Arianna garden follows the same aesthetic principles as the Prima Porta Garden Room painting. Moreover, both spaces reflect elite villa design, unlike Pompeian urban private and public gardens.
- 39 Criminisi et al. 2004, 2.
- 40 Dawson (1957, 148), like other reviews of Gabriel's publication, are indicative of the opinion that the room and the garden paintings are merely a *locus amoenus*, and that deeper interpretations are not needed.
- 41 An examination of even elite Roman spaces illustrates a relative sparseness of furnishing by modern standards. Archaeological records and painted representations of elite domestic spaces lack large tapestries or canvases which greatly affect room acoustics. *Triclinia* tend to also lack tall shelving, such as those used for scrolls, which would have been held in a function-specific room, such as library, thereby again showing a predilection for bare, painted walls which elicit echoes.
- 42 Suet. *Aug.* 94.4; Kellum 1994b, 34-35. The Ara Pacis vegetal panels are littered with tiny hidden creatures, not just snakes, but frogs, scorpions, grasshoppers, lizards, snails, sparrows, and a butterfly as well. Many of these creatures are associated with Apollo, and have liminal/transformational associations.
- 43 Plin. *HN*: 1.21, 1.39, 13.9, 2.60, 13.103, 13.112-113, 13.118, 15.30, 15.39, 15.118-126, 16.79, 16.107, 17.62, 17.67, 17.95, 21.27, 21.40-41, 21.64, 21.68, 21.130, 21.172, 22.53, 23.105, 23.107, 23.114, 23.159, 24.90, 24.141.
- 44 Phaedrus, *I. Prol.* 1, 1.2; Suet., *Aug.*, 74, 78; Quint., *Inst.*, 5.11.19-20; Demandt 1991, 397-418.

## Works Cited:

- Andreae, B. 1999. "Il Giardino di Livia." *Forma Urbis* 4(1):31-39.
- Apuleius. *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass), Volume 1: Books 1-6*, edited and translated by J. Arthur Hanson. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Arnobius. 1949. *The Case Against the Pagans*. Translated by G. E. McCracken. Westminster: Newman Press.
- Bandinelli, R. B. 1988. *Roma: L'arte romana al centro potere*. Milano: Rizzoli.
- Bergmann, Bettina. 1999. "Rhythms of Recognition: Mythological Encounters in Roman Landscape Painting." In *Im Spiegel des Mythos Bildwelt und Lebenswelt*, edited by Francesco de Angelis and Suanne Muth, 81-108. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Calci, C. and G. Messineo. 1984. *La Villa di Livia a Prima Porta*. Roma: De Luca.
- Caneva, G. 1999. "Ipotesi sul significato simbolico del giardino dipinto della Villa di Livia (Prima Porta, Roma)." *BullCom* 100:63-80.
- Caneva, G. and L. Bohuny. 2003. "Botanic analysis of Livia's villa painted flora (Prima Porta, Roma)." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 4:149-155.
- Celoria, F., trans. 1992. *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis: A Translation with Commentary*. London: Routledge.
- Clement of Alexandria. 1919. *The Exhortation to the Greeks*. Translated by G. W. Butterworth. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Criminisi, A., M. Kemp, and S. B. Kang. 2004. "Reflections of Reality in Jan van Eyck and Robert Campin." *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 37(3):1-19.
- Dawson, C. M. 1957. Review of Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta, by M. Gabriel. *Archaeology* 10(2):148.
- Demandt, A. 1991. "Politik in den Fabeln Aesops." *Gymnasium* 98:397-418.
- Förtsch, R. 1989. "Ein Aurea-Aetas-Schema." *RM* 96:333-345.
- Gabriel, M. 1955. *Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta*. Washington Square: New York University Press.
- Gleason, K. S. Simelius, K. Tally-Schumacher, D. Torrey de Frescheville. Forthcoming. "In Pygmalion's Garden: Performing Gender in the

- Roman Ambulationes.” In *IEMA Volume VI: Engendering Landscape & Landscape Gender*, edited by Will Meyer. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Grimal, P. 1943. *Les Jardins Romains*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Guaglianone, A. ed. 1969. *Phaedri Augusti Liberti Liber Fabularum*. Torino: Paravia.
- Howe, Thomas N., Ian Sutherland, Kathryn Gleason, Michele Palmer. In press, expected 2016. *The Excavation and Study of the Garden of the Great Peristyle of the Villa Arianna, Stabiae, 2007-2012*, Quaderni di Studi Pompeiani (Monograph).
- Ihm, M. ed. 1908. “*De Vita Caesarum*.” In *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Opera*, Vol. 1. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Julian the Apostate. 1913. “Oration V - Hymn to the Mother of the Gods.” In *The Works of the Emperor Julian in Three Volumes*, Vol. 1, translated by Wilmer Cave Wright. London: William Heinemann.
- Kellum, B. 1994a. “The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas.” *ArtB* 76.2: 211-224.
- , 1994b. “What we see and what we don’t see. Narrative structure and the Ara Pacis Augustae.” *Art History* 17(1):26-45.
- Klynne, A. 2002. *The Prima Porta Garden Archaeological Project: Terra Sigillata from the Villa of Livia, Rome*. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.
- Koehly, A. ed. 1857/1858. *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiacorum Libri XLVIII*, 2 volumes. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Kuttner, A. 2012. “Looking outside inside: ancient Roman garden rooms.” *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 19(1):7-35.
- Leach, E. W. 2012. “Rhetorical Inventio and the Expectation of Roman Continuous Narrative Painting.” In *Contested Spaces: Houses and Temples in Roman Antiquity and the New Testament*, edited by David L. Balch and Annette Weissenrieder, 141-162. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Liljenstolpe, P. and A. Klynne. 1997-1998. “The Imperial Gardens of the Villa of Livia at The Prima Porta A Preliminary Report of the 1997 Campaign.” *OpRom* 22-23:127-147.
- Mayhoff, Karl, ed. 1870. *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Möller, O. 1890. “Die Botanik in Freschen der Villa Livia.” *RM* V:78-80.
- Mynors, R. A. B., ed. 1972. “Georgica.” In *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newby, Zahra. 2012. “The aesthetics of Violence: Myth and Danger in Roman Domestic Landscapes.” *Classical Antiquity* 31(2):349-389.
- Niemeier, N. P. 2015. “Studies on the Roman Garden. Theoretical, Methodological, and Empirical Approaches.” M.A. thesis, Cornell University.
- O’Sullivan, T. M. 2011. *Walking in Roman Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Penso, G. 1986. *Les plantes médicinales dans l’art et l’histoire*. Paris: R. Dacosta.
- Reeder, J. C. 2001. *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas: A study in the Augustan Villa and Garden*. Providence: Brown University Press.
- Reimer, Georg, ed. 1891. *Antike Denkmäler: Herausgegeben Vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Institut*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Georg Reimer Verlag.
- Rizzo, G. E. 1929. *La pittura ellenistico-romana*. Milano: Filli Treves.
- Rose, H. J., ed. 1934. *Hygini Fabulae*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff.
- Sanzi Di Mino, M. R. 1998. “Il giardino dipinto della Villa di Livia a Prima Porta.” In *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, edited by Adriano La Regina, 209-213. Milano: Electa.
- Settis, S. 1988. “Le Pareti ingannevoli. Immaginazione e spazio nella pittura romana di giardino.” *Fondamenti* II:3-39.
- Spiro, F. ed. 1903. *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Stackelberg, K. T. von 2009. *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Tarrant, R. J., ed. 2004 *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thilo, G. ed. 1881. “In Vergilii Bucolicon Librum.” In *Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et*

*Georgica Commentarii* 3:1. Leipzig: Teubner.

Totelin, L. 2012. "Botanizing Rulers and Their Herbal Subjects: Plants and Political Power in Greek and Roman Literature." *Phoenix* 66.1/2:122-144, 219.

Wagner R. ed. 1894. "*Apollodori bibliotheca. Pediasimi libellus de duodecim Herculis laboribus.*" In *Mythographi Graeci*, Vol. 1, 1-169. Leipzig: Teubner.

Winterbottom, M. ed. 1970. *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zarmakoupi, Manta 2008. "Designing the landscapes of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta." In *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977-2007*, edited by Donna Kurtz, 269-276. Oxford: Archaeopress.