The gardens of Greece from Homeric to Roman times

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The gardens of some Mediterranean cultures are legendary, and they were so already in antiquity. The ‘Hanging Gardens’ of Babylon, for example, were considered in Hellenistic times to be one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. The paradise gardens or parakdeisoi of the Persian kings were well known to, and admired by, Greeks and Romans alike. The Romans themselves were passionate gardeners. Of all these gardens, only those of the Roman Empire have survived. Roman gardens in Pompeii and Herculaneum, buried under tons of volcanic material from Mount Vesuvius, and at various ancient sites in Britain, France and Portugal are familiar to us due to systematic excavations there and the survival of numerous depictions of gardens in the wall paintings of Roman villas. Greek gardens, on the other hand, have long remained something of a mystery, and they have only recently been given the attention they deserve. We simply are not as well informed about Greek gardens as we are about those of the Romans. Rarely have remains of plantings been observed in excavations of ancient Greek cities, these being limited to clay flower pots or root pits for bushes and trees cut into the bedrock. Nor did Greek historians or poets feel inspired enough to record detailed descriptions of the gardens and landscaping of the homes, parks and estates known to them. Thus, it is tempting for us to postulate that ancient Greek gardens were similar in appearance to the later Roman gardens or to the verdant courtyard gardens found in many Mediterranean lands today. As we shall see, however, there is no evidence to indicate that the Greek garden in antiquity bore any resemblance to its Roman or modern counterpart.

Our chief sources of information on Greek gardens are Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions recording real estate property and the papyrus documents of Hellenistic Egypt. A wide variety of other written, art historical and important archaeological sources help us to complete the picture.

The Greek word for garden, κήπος (kēpos), is, like the English term, rather imprecise, and just as gardens today come in all shapes and sizes requiring further definition (e.g. vegetable garden and flower garden), the ancient kēpos took on many forms. The kēpos could be a vegetable garden, a flower garden, an orchard, a vineyard, a sanctuary grove, a park or a tomb garden. The Greeks also had specific words for particular types of cultivated land, such as χωραζήμος (fields/farms), ἱλός (grove) and ἀμπελώνις ἱππ (vineyard), and, as it is by no means always clear how the kēpos compares with these other forms, we must consider the entire scope of agriculturally worked property.

Gardens of the Homeric and Archaic periods

Greek society in the period after the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdoms and the ensuing migrations was based on an agrarian economy. The written sources for the eighth century on agriculture are the epic poems of Homer, the Iliad and the Odyssey, and the Works and Days of Hesiod. In addition, the agrarian reforms of the Athenian statesman Solon offer information pertaining to agriculture in the late sixth century B.C.

In the late Iron Age and the Archaic periods, the communal property belonging to the city state was evenly distributed among its members, so that each citizen received a plot of land or κλήρος (kleros). The king was allotted an arable plot of land or τεύμα (temenos) from this joint property. The Homeric epics give us some insight into the appearance of the estates and the farms of the kleroi. The estate of the Phaeacian king Alkinoos in Book 7 of the Odyssey resembled with its orchards and vegetable beds a large farm more than a palatial residence. The farm of Laertes in Book 24 of the Odyssey, for example, consisted of a house, quarters for slaves, stables, fields, vineyards and orchards planted in rows. As a rule, the kēpos was planted with fruit trees.

The life of the farmer as Hesiod described it was a hard one. In his Works and Days we read of the increasing impoverishment of small landowners, many of whom lost their farms after failed harvests to speculators and corrupt officials. Solon’s reforms at the end of the sixth century were designed to free the farmers of their debts and to encourage them to focus on the profitable production of olive oil.
Homer (Odyssey, 6.162 ff. and 293 ff.) and Sappho (Fr. 2, Page). The painted frieze on the inside of a black figure cup of about 530 b.c. shows an early rendering of such a sacred grove fed by spring water gushing out of a lion head spout (figure 2). Sacred gardens in the precincts of nature deities and, above all, in the sanctuaries of Aphrodite, have been archaeologically investigated in many parts of Cyprus. The painted frieze on the inner wall of a black-figure amphora of about 530 B.C. shows an early rendering of such a sacred grove fed by spring water gushing out of a lion head spout (figure 2). Sacred gardens in the precincts of nature deities and, above all, in the sanctuaries of Aphrodite, have been archaeologically investigated in many parts of Cyprus. Last, but not least, groves were planted around Homeric groves and heroa (Iliad, 6.419 ff.).

The Greek countryside was dotted with clusters of farms and villages, but in the eighth century B.C., large, politically independent city states or poleis such as Megara, Corinth, and Thebes grew up. In the eighth to sixth centuries B.C., many such city states dispatched groups of citizens to other parts of the then known world to found colonies. Of utmost importance was the fair and controlled distribution of the property in the new city and the land in the territory surrounding it. Excavations in Archaic cities such as Metapontion in southern Italy, Megara Hyblaia in Sicily, Halieis in the Argolid or Herakleia Pontike on the Black Sea confirm the division of property in plots of equal size. In these orthogonally planned cities, each city block was taken up by private houses of similar or identical form, the house using up the entire plot reserved for it. No available room was left for a garden on the property. The increasing urbanism of the Archaic period led to the strict separation of an area designated for urban development—the town itself—and the agriculturally used suburban and rural territory encircling it.
Gardens in the Classical period

There is considerably more evidence for the gardens of the Classical period. This is due to the wealth of inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, the majority of them from Attica, and to the survival of the art and architecture of the time.

Archaeology has played a major role in salvaging remains of daily life in antiquity. Excavations in all parts of the ancient Greek world have shown that the city within the defensive walls was heavily built up and that its residents lived at close quarters. Whether in irregularly laid out cities, such as Athens, or in towns laid out on a regular grid plan, such as Olynthos, Piraeus or Kasope (figure 3), the individual houses were built side by side and bordered directly on the street.\(^10\) The average size of the plot of land on which the house of Classical times stood was only 250 m², and every centimetre of it was necessary for the house itself. No room was left on the property for a garden, not even in the central courtyard so characteristic of the Greek house. The courtyard often had a well or cistern and a house altar, and it was the site of all manner of family activities such as cooking, washing and other household chores. Animals, too, could be kept here. The small size of the courtyard—at Olynthos an average of 51 m² (figure 4), at Pirenc\(^{11}\) an average of 56 m² (figure 5)—prohibited the use of the area for anything other than the most basic necessities. Moreover, the courtyard of the Greek house was frequently paved with cobblestones, stone slabs, plaster or mosaics, so that a garden could not be cultivated there. A Hellenistic inscription from Pergamon preserving by-laws of the city administration, an inscription of equal relevance for the Classical period, clearly prohibits the planting of any vegetation (presumably trees and shrubs) near the walls of a house.\(^12\) This law was very probably necessary to ensure that house walls, often made of mud brick, would not be damaged by the growing roots of a tree. But it was also in the best interests of every house owner not to have a tree or any other type of tall vegetation in his courtyard, for the simple reason that the courtyard open to the sky was the major source of natural light for the house. The branches of a tree would not permit light to penetrate the practically windowless house.

Nonetheless, we may assume that potted plants, probably herbs, often stood in the courtyard. Such clay pots, easily recognizable as plant pots by the hole in the bottom, have been found in Olynthos (figure 6).\(^13\) No references to decorative, flowering plants or to cut flowers are found in either written or pictorial sources. Cut flowers were worked into garlands and wreaths worn at festivals (figure 7). One particular type of potted plant used in cult rituals was the so-called 'Adonis garden'.\(^14\) The Adonis gardens consisted of fast-growing plants in clay pots or broken amphorae filled with earth, as the vase painting on a fourth century red-figure lekythos in Karlsruhe indicates (figure 8). The plants matured and died within days, symbolizing the life and death of Adonis, and they were a ritual part of the Adonis festival celebrated by women.

If house gardens were not an integral part of the Greek city within the walls, were there any gardens in the urban centre of the polis at all? The answer is yes, but they were limited in number and size. Small groves of trees could be found in sanctuaries in the city. Evidence for such plantings has been recovered at the Altar of the 12 Gods in Athens, where water channels and root pits for trees were found (figure 9).\(^15\) According to Statois (Thebaid, 12.481–12.509), a grove of olive and laurel trees grew beside the altar, but it was a very small grove of only a handful of trees. Of Hellenistic date, but relevant here, are the root pits found in rows around the temple of Hephaistos on the edge of the Athenian Agora (figure 10).\(^16\) D. B. Thompson has suggested that laurel and pomegranate bushes grew in this temple grove.\(^17\) These have been replaced today by myrtle and pomegranate shrubs (figure 11). Furthermore, a grove (Ξάρας) of trees stood in the city on the site of the temple of Asklepios in Corinth and next to the temple of Zeus in Nemea, to which archaeological finds and literary sources attest.\(^18\) In Rhodes the acropolis area in the south-western part of the town seems to have been reserved from the late fifth century onwards for temples, cult places and sports grounds (figure 12).\(^19\) Aelius Aristides (25.6) mentions groves in this sector of the town.

The other urban area which could have been planted was the agora. Plutarch (Cimon 13) gives credit to the Athenian statesman Cimon for having planted plane trees in the fifth century in the Agora, and other ancient literary sources refer to the plane trees and poplars which grew here. D. B. Thompson compiled these references and attempted a reconstruction of the plantings in the Agora, which seem to have grown there along roads, paths and, above all, drains (figure 9).\(^20\) This corresponds to Plato's suggestion that the overflow or excess water from fountain houses be piped into public and sanctuary gardens (Laws, 761C). Plantings in agorai in other cities, such as in Anhedon in Boeotia, Metapontion in southern Italy and in Megalopolis are confirmed by the written sources.\(^21\) There can be little doubt that the Greek agora in the heart of the city was planted intentionally to provide a cool, shady environment for the main assembly place of the polis. An area of green, however sparsely planted, must have been a welcome sight in the densely built-up, crowded town.

The suburbs and rural districts of the Greek polis were very different in appearance from the city within the walls. Here we find clustered around the city in a green belt of vegetation the gardens associated with private homes, farms, gymnasia and sanctuaries (figure 13). Of essential importance to the city were the utilitarian gardens planted with fruit trees and vegetable beds. These market gardens for fruit, vegetables and flowers, as well as the more distant farms with fields of grain, vineyards and orchards, supplied the polis inhabitants with food.
Figure 3. Aerial view of Kaspe in north-western Greece, around 300 B.C. Reconstruction by U. Juch-Neubaue. After W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt* (1986), figure 111.
Figure 4. City block of 10 houses in Olynthos in northern Greece, fifth–fourth century B.C. After M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Kifisos: Der antike griechische Garten* (1989), figure 3.

Figure 5. City block of eight houses in Priene, fourth century B.C. Model by J. Wendel. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.

Figure 6. Clay flower pot from Olynthos. After D. M. Robinson, *Olynthos*, 13 (1950), plate 250.

Figure 7. Woman with a flower wreath at an altar. Red figure cup, fifth century B.C. American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations.
Cato's description (De Agr., 9 and 10) in the second century B.C. of an ideal suburban garden, which was to supply flowers for wreaths and garlands for festivals (figure 7), onions, flowering myrtle for wedding decorations, laurel and nut trees, is just as fitting for market gardens of the Classical period. Perhaps the garden of the playwright Euripides’s mother, a market gardener, looked something like this (Aristophanes, Thes., 387). The population of Classical and even Hellenistic Greece was largely vegetarian. Fruit such as figs, apples, pears and berries and vegetables and pulses such as olives, onions, beans, lentils and garlic were the staples of the Greek diet. Each polis or city-state strove to be self-sufficient but, occasionally, as in the case of Athens which relied heavily on imported fruit and vegetables from Boeotia and grain from the Black Sea, not enough was produced to make ends meet.

It was not only individual citizens that owned utilitarian gardens and orchards. The temples too acted as enterprising landowners by renting out cultivated land in their possession, the profits from the rentals being used to finance the cult and maintain its facilities. The rental contracts of numerous temple estates have

Figure 8. Aphrodite on a ladder receiving an ‘Adonis garden’ from Eros. Red figure lekythos, fourth century B.C. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.

Figure 9. Agora in Athens with a reconstruction of trees and plantings of largely fifth-fourth century B.C. Dotted and broken lines indicate aqueducts; broken lines indicate drains; solid black areas indicate fountains. After D. B. Thompson, Garden Lore (1963).
woodlands (figure 15). These large temple groves were restricted to the suburban and rural areas of the polis.

The sacred groves on the outskirts of Athens were the site of several gymnasia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The three oldest gymnasia were those in the suburbs Academy, Lykeion and Kynosarges, and these were shady, well-watered spots immediately adjacent to ancient cult places (figure 13). Cimon installed an irrigation system and added to the natural vegetation of the Academy in the fifth century, which later boasted plane, elm, poplar and olive trees. The trees and the palaestra in Lykeion were planted and built courtesy of the fourth-century Athenian statesman Lykourgos. All three suburban gymnasia must have been park-like areas with trees, paths and architectural monuments. Sports complexes in other parts of Greece, such as Sparta, Elis and Delphi, were likewise located in wooded areas which offered shade and refreshing spring water for athletic competitions and bathing facilities.

In Athens, in particular, these parks were the preferred location of philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Epikouros who founded their schools there. Descriptions of all the schools reveal that they incorporated different types of gardens. On the property of Theophrastus's school of Lykeion, for example, very probably was a vegetable garden with fruit trees supplying Theophrastus and his followers with at least some of the meals put on the table. But there was also a shrine dedicated to the Muses, undoubtedly set in the midst of a garden, and Theophrastus's own funerary monument.

The last type of garden, the tomb garden, was popular in the fourth century not only on the Greek mainland, but also in Asia Minor. For Plato (Laws, 947E), heroa and tombs surrounded by a grove of trees and within a temenos wall were special monuments with which important citizens could be honoured. The German excavators of the Kerameikos in Athens have loosely landscaped the ancient cemetery, but without claiming to have authentically reconstructed the original appearance of the tomb gardens (figure 16). In accordance with the laws relegating burial grounds to areas outside the city walls, the Classical cemeteries with their small plots or groves contributed to the suburban belt of cultivated land.

The gardens beyond the city walls were watered by the rivers and streams always in the vicinity of the city. Numerous references to gardens in well-watered regions in Attica, Boeotia and other parts of Greece can be found in the works of Theophrastus, Heracleides and Pausanias. Classical inscriptions recording real-estate property give the location of the plots of land and confirm the suburban and rural location of gardens near a known source of water. Gardens are fragile and they require frequent watering, as Theophrastus (Charact., 20.9) and Plato (Laws, 845D-E) stress. A certain Apollodoros, for example, was not able to water his garden when his well dried up in the fourth century, with the result that his vegetable beds withered and died (Demossthenes, Polyeles, 50.61). The garden of Hephaistos on the edge of the Athenian agora likewise died in the first century A.D. when the irrigation system in the sanctuary went out of use. The city dwellers of ancient Greece could be supplied with water only under difficult conditions, and the water from wells and cisterns in the city was a precious commodity for human consumption only. The suitable and practical location for gardens, therefore, was outside the city near natural springs and on the banks of nearby rivers.

Gardens in the Hellenistic period

All types of gardens known in the Classical period were still in existence in the Hellenistic period. The utilitarian garden continued to be a mixed garden with fruit trees and vegetables, and even tomb gardens had a very mundane, practical character. Tomb gardens in the suburb known as Nekropolis outside Alexandria were planted with fruit trees and vegetable beds, and they were rented out for 5 year periods (figure 17). The tenants of these gardens in the fertile Nile Delta harvested melons, lettuce, figs, cabbages, asparagus, leeks, grapes and dates.

A major innovation in Hellenistic Egypt, however, was the establishment of enormous agricultural estates which were managed in a highly professional manner. The Ptolemaic kings encouraged the development of arable land in Egypt. They irrigated and made fertile the Fayum and set up a complicated network of farms and plantations supervised and worked by professional gardeners and agricultural technicians (figure 18). These farms consisted of vineyards, in which also vegetables were raised, gardens and paradisei. Thousands of trees and vines grew on any one estate. Far removed from the earlier paradisei of the Persian kings, which were large game parks impressive to Greek visitors in the fifth and fourth centuries, the paradisei of Hellenistic Egypt were strictly utilitarian fruit orchards, tree farms for the lumber industry and fields of flowers such as roses. They were never laid out as pleasure gardens for the wealthy. By the same token, the paradisei on the banks of the Euphrates near Dura Europos were simply large orchards and vineyards.

Archaeological research in cities of Hellenistic date indicates that space within the city was at a premium. As in the Classical period, the density of urban building was high. The building laws of Alexandria, for example, specified that a distance of one foot had to be maintained between neighbouring houses. The central courtyard continued to be a feature of domestic architecture. It was almost always paved, often with luxurious mosaics (figure 19). Gardens on the housing plots or in the courtyards of the houses can no more be expected now than in the Classical period. Certainly, there is a wide discrepancy between the modest homes we have seen in the fifth and fourth centuries and the palatial estates in some of the Hellenistic monarchic cities. Palaces and urban villas up to 7,500 m² in size in Pella,
Figure 12. Plan by W. J. Brunner of the city of Rhodes including parks and groves in the acropolis area, Classical and Hellenistic periods. After M. Carroll-Spillecke, Kfínoz, Der antike griechische Garten (1989).
Figure 13. Athens and the surrounding suburbs including gardens and groves, fifth-fourth century B.C. After M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Kleio: Der antike griechische Garten* (1989).
for example, are characteristic of the blatant increase in private luxury. But here again, buildings were erected immediately adjacent to each other so that no room was left on the property for a garden. In many cases, the often very large courtyards of these Hellenistic luxury homes were paved with mosaics or, as in Palace IV at Pergamon, with andesite slabs, so that no gardens could have grown there (figure 20).

The only Hellenistic palace gardens referred to in the ancient sources are those of the Ptolemaic inner palaces in Alexandria (figure 17). According to Strabo (17.1.9) and Pliny (NH, 5.11.62-63), the palace district (Basileia) took up one-quarter or one-fifth of the entire city. Groves were located on the property of the palace itself. The gardens of the Ptolemaic palace, however, are primarily a traditional Egyptian feature harking back to the Pharaonic custom of surrounding the palace by gardens. In addition to the palace, the Basileia district was the site of a Mouscion, the theatre, shrines and Ptolemaic graves. Sacred and public buildings such as these were traditionally connected with gardens and groves, and it is to be expected that the entire palace district was dotted with areas of green.

Hellenistic Greek cities such as Alexandria (figure 17) and Rhodes (figure 12) were laid out on a very generous scale, and they had a larger surface area than almost any Classical city in the Greek motherland. Thus, it was possible to reserve a particular area in the city for sanctuaries and other public buildings which were surrounded by groves and gardens. It is not yet evident, however, that this was characteristic of Hellenistic town planning in general.

The location of Alexandria is geographically advantageous (figure 17). The Canopic canal and Lake Mareotis allowed the entire area around the city to be planted with gardens. Strabo (17.1.10) praised the many gardens in the Alexandrian suburbs; equally highly praised were the groves and sanctuaries in suburban Daphne outside Antioch.

There are, as yet, no proven Hellenistic forerunners for the pleasure gardens of private Roman houses and villas filled with flowers, trees, shrubs, fountains and statuary. The close contact between house and garden in Roman domestic architecture of the Republican and Imperial ages is, rather, a tradition which has its roots in Italy itself. If we trace the development of Roman, or Italic, architecture back to the fourth and third centuries B.C., we find that the early Roman house always had a small vegetable garden or hortus at the back of the property (figure 21). Excavations at Cosa have revealed the existence of a kitchen garden in the rear part of all houses erected in the third century B.C. This feature alone sets the Roman house apart from its contemporary Greek counterpart. In the Hellenistic period, the peristyle courtyard, a Greek architectural form, became a popular and regular feature of Roman houses. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans converted this open area into a garden. At the same time, the small kitchen garden diminished in importance and was eventually abandoned.

The choice of statuary in Roman peristyle gardens—herms, statues of Muses and Dionysiac subjects—as well as the many letters of Roman scholars such as Cicero clearly indicate that Roman peristyle gardens laid out with these embellishments were based on sacred prototypes, namely the gardens which once adorned Greek sanctuaries, public squares, gymnasia and particularly the Attic schools of philosophy. Cicero himself christened his garden the 'Academy' and set up herms and a bust of Plato in it (Ad Att., 1.4-6, 8-11; Brutus, 6.24). Even the Emperor Hadrian reserved landscaped areas on his sprawling estate at Tivoli which he named the 'Academy' and the 'Lykeion' (Ael. Spartianus, Hist. Aug., 26.5).

Unlike the Greeks, the Romans were not content to have their gardens out in the suburbs at a distance from their homes. By building aqueducts, water could be piped into the cities and into the very houses themselves. In fact, Pliny is quite specific on the topic of water from aqueducts. According to him (NH, 24.121-123), this water was intended not only for public buildings and baths, but also for private houses, villas and gardens. This enabled home owners to maintain luxurious private gardens with pools, fountains and formal plantings. In fact W.F. J. Schofield, the excavator of numerous Roman gardens in Campania, notes that aqueduct water in the house was piped primarily into the garden.
Figure 15. Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates near Kourion, Cyprus. A–G, rock cut channels and pits. After D. Soren, The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates (1987).
Conclusions: the Greek garden

In the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, the polis—the communal state property comprising city and territory—was the framework within which Greek citizens lived. At the centre of the territory stood the city itself, closed off from the surrounding countryside by a powerful circuit wall. New constitutions, reforms and theories were constantly developed in an effort to improve the conditions within the polis. Plato and Aristotle, for example, recorded their vision of an ideal community. For both philosophers, the ideal solution to the question of property division was to allot to each citizen a plot of land for a house in the city, a plot of land in the suburbs (for a garden?) and one out in the country (for a farm?). Although this distribution of land remained theoretical, the idea is based on the actual situation of the time. The homes of the citizens were within the city walls in an area densely packed with houses, sacred and public buildings, and the gardens and farms were outside the city clustered around the walls and in the outlying areas within the borders of the polis territory. Here gardens and groves prospered owing to naturally favourable conditions. Proximity to water had always been a consideration of essential importance when determining the site of the city. Urban Greeks came in touch with nature only if they left the walled city, which they of course did regularly, to visit the sanctuaries and gymnasia and to tend to their market gardens. They did not have to go far, as the average size of the city in Classical times was only about 700 m in diameter. As a rule, the green belt of vegetation lay at no great distance from the town. Within the town itself, few areas
Figure 17. Plan of the city of Alexandria and its suburbs including gardens and groves, Hellenistic period. After M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World* (1981).
survived. The tenant of the property belonging to the sanctuary of Herakles on Thasos, for example, was responsible for the care and maintenance of the fig, nut and myrtle trees growing there, and he was entitled to part of the produce. The Delian cult of Apollo owned estates on the islands of Delos, Rheneia and Mykonos, all in all 23 estates by the third century B.C., which boasted fields of grain, vineyards, gardens and grazing land. The income from the rental of these gardens and the sale of their produce was carefully recorded for centuries. Allegorical gardens such as the garden of the Hesperides were based on real orchards filled with fruit trees (figure 14).

Gardens and groves in temple precincts were not always maintained for profit. We hear of wild flowers growing in the precinct of Aphrodite in Cyrene and in the sanctuary of the Charities in Attica. Many ancient sources refer to groves of olive, pine, oak, laurel, cypress and fruit trees on the property of the temples. Herakles himself is said to have been the first to plant a sacred temenos with trees in Olympia (Pindar, Ol., 3.13–18, 23–26, 31–34). The early temple groves were naturally forested areas, but over the years the trees and vegetation within the precincts enclosed by walls were replanted if necessary. The sanctuary of Apollo Hylates near Kourion in Cyprus, for example, was enclosed by trees or shrubs planted in pits and channels, and beyond the sanctuary were sacred, wild
of green—the occasional sanctuary, the agora—offered welcome relief in a rather monotonous sea of buildings (10,000 houses in Athens). If the surface area of the city were unusually large and the city planners could afford to be generous, as they could in Rhodes and Hellenistic Alexandria, the groves and gardens in sacred and public contexts might also be more extensive.

One glance at the houses and towns of the Romans makes immediately clear how very different their attitude towards nature was. Gardens, whether practical or decorative, were an integral part of the private house in the city and in the country. In Roman Pompeii, for example, gardens were connected with houses, shops, inns, schools, temples and palaestras within the city, and even commercial vineyards, orchards, vegetable and flower gardens grew within the city walls. Outside the city were tomb gardens, farms and many villas and gardens. We are at a loss to name a single Greek town in which the inhabitants lived in comparatively close touch with nature under such pleasant conditions.

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Notes


12. SEG XIII, 521, II. 158-161.


Ancient sources: EURIPIDES, Hyl. Fr. 1, col. iv, II. 10-14; PAUSANIAS 2.15.2.


22. Antheodon: HERAKLEIDES, Geogr. gr. min. 1.23.


Megalore: PAUSANIAS 8.13.4-5.

23. M. Lautery, "Le Verger d'Héraclé à Thasos", Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, 61 (1937), pp. 380-409. See IG XII.8, 265. For a similar contract see IG II 2, 2494, ll. 7-22 (Soumen).


27. PLUTARCH, Cimon, 13.7; ARISTOPHANES, Clouds, 1005-1008; PLATO, Laws, 761B-C; PLINY, NH, 12.5.9; PLUTARCH, Sulla, 12.3; PAUSANIAS 3.0.2. On the aqueduct to the Academy see Camp, see note 15, pp. 72-73.

28. Ps.-PLUTARCH, Vitae X Orat., "Lykourgo's" 841C-D.

29. PAUSANIAS 3.14.8, 6.23.6-1, 10.8.8.

30. STRABO, 9.1.17, PLINY, NH, 19.19.51; DIOG. LAERTIUS 3.5, 2.30, 4.19, 5.39, 10.10; AELIAN 3.19; ATHENAEUS 13.588B.


32. CARROLL-SPIELLECKE (1989), see note 4, p. 38.

33. THEOPHRASTOS, HEPH., I.7.1. HERAKLEIDES, Geogr. gr. min., I.3.121. PAUSANIAS 1.19.5-6, 2.11.4, 2.36.8, 7.21.11, 9.24-4-5.

34. For example IG II-III, 1591, I. 13; 2759, II. 2-3. For irrigation ditches see IG I P, 84; IG II 2, 2494, II. 7-22; IG XII.7, 62, II. 27-37.

35. Thompson, see note 16, p. 411.


37. P. Vierck and F. Zuckuck (eds), Papyri, Ostrothek und Wachsstauben aus Philadelphi in. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Vol. 7 (Berlin, 1926), No. 1118 II. 5, 11, 26, 33; 39; No. 1120 II. 7, 10, 20, 22.


40. CARROLL-SPIELLECKE, see note 4, pp. 58-59.


53. Hoepfner and Schwandner, see note 9, p. 251.

54. Hoepfner and Schwandner, see note 9, p. 248.

55. Jashemski (1979), see note 3.