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Identifying and Interpreting a Philosophical Garden at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family, who always believed in my dreams and supported me on every step of my journey.

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Abstract

The Villa of the Papyri is one of the most important archaeological sites from Roman antiquity for its preserved architecture, library, and art collection. All three of these would be truly remarkable in their own right, but their combined presence in one site has drawn scholars to study the villa for centuries. This thesis contributes to this corpus of work by examining the west peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri and proposing the presence of a philosophical garden therein. This hypothesis is supported through analysis of ancient authors, archaeological research of the region, and evidence from the villa itself. Special attention is given to the statues of the west peristyle garden. The scheme of the philosophical garden provides a guiding logic to this collection that has often been described as lacking thematic cohesion in scholarship on the Villa of the Papyri. The west peristyle garden functioned as more than a luxurious display context for this art. The design of the west peristyle garden recalls the *gymnasia* and *mouseia* of the Hellenistic east in the owner's attempt to construct an inspirational environment for the contemplation of philosophical lessons in line with the politicized Epicurean teachings of Philodemus of Gadara.

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List of Abbreviations

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
De Arch.	*de Architectura*, Vitruvius
DRN	*de Rerum Natura,* Lucretius
Ep.	*Epistles* (letters), Cicero, Pliny the Younger
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
LH	*Letter to Herodotus*, Epicurus
LM	*Letter to Menoeceus*, Epicurus
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PD	*Principal Doctrines*, Epicurus
VS	*Vatican Sayings*, Epicurus

Chapter One

Introduction

The Villa of the Papyri is one of the most important archaeological finds from Roman antiquity and it has been the subject of intense academic fascination since its discovery in the 18th century. This thesis will argue that the Villa of the Papyri featured an intentionally designed philosophical garden in its west peristyle. The garden would have functioned as a location for the philosophical education of the villa's owner and his political entourage in line with the politicized Epicurean teachings of Philodemus of Gadara, whose writings feature prominently in the villa's eponymous library. Multiple facets of the west peristyle garden will be examined in terms of their contribution to the philosophical garden, including the naturalistic landscape, the artwork contained within, and relevant Epicurean philosophical texts.

The sculptures that comprise the garden collection of the west peristyle will be of particular importance to this paper. They have been the subject of much scholarly speculation, though no satisfactory explanation has been put forth towards a comprehensive thematic organization. The most unique aspect of the collection, and the source of the most scholarly consternation, is the presence of a substantial numbers of both political and intellectual figures depicted as herms. These numerous sculptures stand out in the context of garden art for their atypical and heterogeneous subject matter, substantial number, and the spatial intermixing of the statesmen with the intellectuals. These factors have often led previous

scholars to describe the collection as haphazard.[1] This paper contends that the statues were catalysts for philosophical thought on the principles of Epicurean governance as espoused by Philodemus, an explanation that provides a guiding logic to the varied and somewhat unusual subject selection of the sculptures in the west peristyle garden. To provide context for the in-depth discussion of the minutiae of this argument laid out in the subsequent chapters, a brief summary of the historical background is necessary.

By August 24th 79 CE, the day of Mount Vesuvius' infamous eruption, the Bay of Naples was dotted with the seaside pleasure villas for the Roman elites who looked to indulge in *otium*, roughly translated as leisure. The Romans had been building villas for centuries, but the construction of pleasure villas truly hit its stride in the late Republic and this region was particularly popular thanks to its beautiful vistas and advantageous breezes. Authors such as Livy attributed the growing acceptance of luxury to the second century conquests of the Asiatic lands.[2] According to Varro and others, the pleasure villa, or *villa urbana,* was compared unfavorably to the *villa rustica,* more utilitarian complexes primarily concerned with agricultural production in line with traditional Roman values.[3] Despite the fact that he was no stranger to the luxuries of the pleasure villa, Cicero criticized what he felt were the overly luxurious villas of others.[4] Cicero himself, amongst others,

[1] Mattusch 2005, 190; Stewart 2003, 254-5.
[2] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 39.6.7-9; Simone 2010, 17-8.
[3] *de Re Rustica.* 1.13.6-7.
[4] *Epistles* 1.19.6.

owned a villa in Pompeii.[5] Famous families, including the Julio-Claudians, built their luxurious villas in the Campanian region and others flocked to the area.

Clearly, it was not the villa itself that some these leading men found distasteful, but what was in their minds the crass implementations of its design. A good villa, one that fit with aristocratic Roman values, was constructed to emphasize its capacity for agricultural production together with *otium,* through the prominent location and scale of the associated spaces.[6] Gardens could serve dual purposes in this regard, as they were culturally constructed to represent both activities. Kitchen gardens were a straightforward example of a garden type representing self-sufficiency through agriculture yet a definition for *otium* is required. *Otium* is a difficult word to translate into English. At face value it is the opposite of *negotium,* which means business or occupation. However, when *otium* is unpacked, we find that it means more than simple leisure or the absence of pressing work, how modern Americans might define a vacation. For the Romans *otium* had literary and intellectual implications. It designated the time that one could spend, once finally freed from the necessary tedium of daily life, with opportunities to pursue reading, studying, or composing.[7] *Otium* was closely linked with luxurious villa gardens, which numerous ancient sources describe as the ideal venues for such activities.[8] While other aspects of villa design, such as *atria*, were imbued with important

[5] Zarmakoupi 2014, 8.
[6] Purcell 1995, 159; Hinds 2001.
[7] Myers 2005, 104; OLD 2, 126.
[8] See Statius's *Silvae,* Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes,* and Pliny the Younger's *Epistles* for extended examples of these descriptions in poetic, philosophical, and literary contexts respectively.

cultural significance, gardens were therefore major symbols of their owners' class identification and refinement due to these associations.

The most substantial primary source on Roman architecture, including villas, is Vitruvius. Writing at the end of the first century BCE, Vitruvius described the ideal form of the villa. According to Vitruvius the grandeur of the villa should be in keeping with the status of its owner.[9] The villa and its contents were intimately bound up with the identity of its owner and his prestige within Roman society. Vitruvius also commented that the villa should be focused around the *peristyle* and the *atrium*.[10] Indeed sumptuous persistyle gardens were common amongst the luxurious villas that have been excavated in the region, such as Villa Oplontis A, Villa Arianna, and Villa San Marco. [11] The Villa of the Papyri fulfills all of these standards in its design on an impressive scale with its opulent west peristyle (Fig. 1).

The massive Villa of the Papyri was constructed in the middle of the first century BCE, located just northwest of the urban center of Herculaneum. The villa was constructed with at least four levels forming successive terraces leading from the shoreline up the slope of the underlying topography and culminating in the main structure of the villa (Fig. 2). It also featured two *peristyles*, the larger of which was centered around a pool that measured 67 by 7 meters.[12] It is this larger peristyle, located to the west of the main structure, which is the site of the proposed philosophical garden. The smaller of the two peristyles fits within the scheme of Vitruvius's ideal villa design at the rear of the villa, but the larger peristyle is built on

[9] *De Arch.,* 6.5.2.
[10] *De Arch.,* 6.5.3.
[11] Zarmakoupi 2014, 45-52.
[12] Mattusch 2005, 17.

a different axis from the main structure (Fig. 3).[13] The isolating effect the spatial organization of the villa has on the garden contained with the west peristyle facilitated both physical and mental retreat, concepts important to Epicureanism for the contemplation of philosophical quandaries.

Built on the very slope of Mount Vesuvius, the Villa of the Papyri was covered by volcanic mud and ash and remained buried until it was discovered in the 1750s by the Swiss excavator Karl Weber under the auspices of the Bourbons.[14] The villa is at least 20,000 square meters in size, although it is only partially excavated due to the immense difficulty of excavating through the thick layer of volcanic sediment that encases it.[15] This makes it the largest of the villas excavated in the region. Its grandeur was immediately obvious and, since the subsequent rediscovery of its exact location in 1986, it has emerged as one of the most important examples of Roman villa architecture.[16] Geophysical surveys undertaken from 1986-1990 revealed the extents of the villa and its spatial relationship to the city of Herculaneum. These results demonstrated the clear break between the villa and the urban topography of the city, reaffirming its suburban nature. Subsequent excavations have revealed that the villa extended on terraces below and beyond the main floor explored via tunnels dug by Weber, but that his documentation was otherwise reasonably accurate.[17] The confirmed accuracy of these documents

[13] The main villa is organized on a north-south axis rising from the shoreline, whereas the west peristyle garden is much longer along its east-west axis.
[14] Parslow 1995, 77.
[15] Zarmakoupi 2014, 30.
[16] Simone 2010, 2.
[17] Simone 2010, 6.

supports the validity of their use in the study of artifacts from contexts explored by Weber's tunneling, butwhich have not yet been reached by modern excavation.

The villa is most famous for its library, the only complete example from antiquity yet discovered.[18] Outside of the room identified as the library, in which the shelves containing the bulk of the collection were found, scrolls were found in both peristyles and the *tablinum* linking them.[19] This further reinforces the notion that garden spaces were *loci* of intellectual and literary pursuits. The collection primarily consists of Greek language texts and largely of Epicurean works, many by the philosopher Philodemus.[20] The philosophical leanings and authorial attribution of these works have often led scholars to point to Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus as the owner of the villa, though this is not a settled question. Piso, the father-in-law of Julius Caesar, is known to have been a close friend and patron of Philodemus.[21] Whether or not this is the case, what is clear is that whoever owned the villa was a learned scholar of Epicurean philosophy who put great care into curating this collection.

The artwork, although it has received less attention than the library, has also been the subject of much study. Many spectacular individual pieces were discovered by Weber's tunneling excavations and were subsequently placed on display, mostly in Naples. However, most scholars treating the sculptures found within the villa have been content to describe the collection as haphazard or heterogeneous.[22]

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[18] Capasso 2005a, 115.
[19] Mattusch 2005, 16-7.
[20] Sider 2005, 2-5; Sider 2005a, 123.
[21] Capasso 2010.
[22] Beard 2008; Mattusch 2010.

There have been some attempts at picking out groupings, but little to no thematic continuity has been posited.[23] Carol Mattusch, author of the definitive volume on the sculptures of the Villa of the Papyri, characterizes the collection as the product of periodic and pragmatic acquisition. Statues and sculptures were purchased or accepted as gifts when the opportunity presented itself, not sought out for their place in a thematic program according to Mattusch. Her analysis of statues mostly pertains to their methods of construction as artistic objects. For convenience's sake, she groups them by material and attempts to identify pieces that could have been purchased together.[24]

The hypothesis that this thesis paper puts forth, that the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri functioned as a philosophical garden for the villa's owner and his political entourage, provides a guiding logic to the sculptural collection contained within. The sculptures served as catalysts and exemplary figures for the contemplation of ideal Epicurean political comportment as espoused by Philodemus of Gadara. Chapter two will outline this hypothesis in greater detail, as well as discuss the context provided by the villa and the garden space itself. Chapter three provides a summary and analysis of how Epicurean thought leading up to and including Philodemus informed the coalescence of the philosophical garden in the large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri. Special attention is given to Epicurus himself and to Lucretius, the illustrious Latin poet and noted Epicurean, examining their ideas on the nature of reality, philosophical retreat, and the power of images. Next, chapter four provides a comprehensive examination of how the individual

[23] Dillon 2000, 26-7; Pandermalis 1971.
[24] Mattusch 2005, 190.

sculptures worked within the scheme of the philosophical garden, demonstrating potential lessons and assessing how the sculptures worked in conjunction with each other towards a unified goal. Finally, chapter five reviews the arguments and evidence laid out in previous chapters to crystalize the picture of the philosophical garden at the Villa of the Papyri.

Chapter Two

Art and Philosophy in an Intellectual Garden

The Villa of the Papyri, located just outside of ancient Herculaneum, has captured the imagination of archaeologists, art historians, and the general public for centuries. The remarkable survival of a library of papyrus scrolls—all unfortunately fused shut and highly difficult to unravel--has been a major focus of scholarship on the site, and for good reason. Yet its immense architecture and art collection are equally enthralling. One area of the villa where all of its facets reach a nexus is the large peristyle garden to the west of the main structure. The interplay of built space, garden environment, and artwork in the large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri, I argue, contributed to the creation of a philosophical garden. The large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri, I further argue, functioned as a particular type of philosophical garden, which facilitated the contemplation of lessons in accordance with the branch of politicized Epicureanism espoused by Philodemus whose works featured prominently in the villa's library. The natural and mythic landscape established by the garden setting and naturalistic sculpture provided the philosophically inspiring environment for the lessons to be garnered from the display of sculptures depicting leaders and philosophers.

In the late Republic, Roman gardens became an increasingly prominent element of Roman villa design. Romans had admired the impressive public and palatial gardens of the Hellenistic east as these conquered territories inspired domestic contexts in Italy. However, as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill points out, Roman

gardens were not rote copies of their Hellenistic counterparts. The Romans adapted the symbols of eastern luxury, wealth, and power, but made them conform to Roman ideals. Indeed, most Roman villas featured gardens that were culturally constructed in such a way as to echo the Roman valorization of agriculture.[25] The garden of an early Roman *domus* or *villa* would have been planted with practical plants, such as fruit-producing trees. Paleo-botanical evidence from Pompeii and the surrounding region shows the transition to ornamental hedges, bushes, and trees that featured in formally organized gardens of elite houses in the late Republic, while agricultural plots still provided crops.[26] Moreover, there was certainly prestige to be gained from privatizing the monumental public architecture of the Hellenistic *gymnasion*, *stadion*, or *stoa*. Brunilde Ridgway points out that, given the constraints of Greek city planning, gardens were mostly planted in the public spaces of the eastern Mediterranean.[27] By incorporating the traditionally public monumental porticoes and gardens into their private architecture, elite Romans drew upon these civic symbols of power.

The large peristyle garden of the Villa of the Papyri, as one of these conspicuous symbols of personal prestige, was imbued with intellectual significance. Lucius Calpernius Piso, the oft-speculated owner of the Villa of the Papyri, or whoever owned the villa, capitalized on this cultural cache to create an impressive space closely bound up with Epicurean philosophy.[28] This philosophical identity is

[25] Wallace-Hadrill 1998, 2.
[26] Jashemski 1979, 25-30.
[27] Ridgway 1981, 7-8
[28] For a summary of past arguments about ownership of the Villa of the Papyri, see Capasso 2010. For gardens as reflective of owner's identity, see Hoffer 1999, 29; and

undeniably demonstrated through the authoritative collection of Epicurean texts in the villa library.[29] This chapter will outline an argument that the owner of the Villa of the Papyri created a philosophical garden by first examining the cultural implications of garden environments with a particular focus on their perception within Epicurean thought, and then it considers the context of the large peristyle itself, and finally examines the audience's reception of the individual artworks located within this environment. The particular branch of Epicureanism concerned with reconciling political activity with the teachings of Epicurus, of great interest to the owner of the Villa of the Papyri, is central to understanding the philosophical garden concept as presented in this chapter. Here I argue that the peristyle was a place for retreat and philosophical contemplation on lessons of ideal Epicurean leadership. While an in-depth discussion of Epicurean teaching will be presented in the next chapter, a brief explanation of its relevance both to the conceptualization of garden space and the reception of imagery will be woven into the corresponding sections of this chapter.

The large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri was not entirely novel, instead calling upon elements of garden design and concepts preexisting within the cultural milieu of the Roman elite. The design, use, and conceptualization of garden spaces underwent a drmatic evolution in Roman culture, from their practical archaic roots to their culmination in the vast luxury gardens of aristocratic villas, such as the peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri. By the late Republic elites had fully

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Newlands 2002, 6. See also Edwards 1993; Wallace-Hadrill 1988; Bodel 1997; Hales 2003; and Henderson 2004.

[29] Sider 2005, 2-5.

embraced luxurious gardens as symbols of wealth and sophistication, but Roman gardens began as rustic plots planted to provide produce for the associated household. The memory and idealization of these rustic trappings were still very much alive in the first century CE and authors such as Pliny the Younger wrote about their countryside landscapes in ways that valorized and emphasized their productiveness.[30] From Pliny's letters and from the works of others including Columella (*de Re Rustica*), we know that Roman villas retained their role as producers of wealth through agriculture.[31] Pliny also writes effusively about his personal kitchen garden, which apparently was located prominently at his Laurentine villa.[32] This location bespeaks Pliny's desire to advertise his adherence to a traditional rustic lifestyle.[33] Kitchen gardens such as Pliny's remained common in Roman domestic contexts, from the *domus* of a common citizen to the opulent estates of the elite.[34]

Thanks to the paleobotanical archaeology of Wilhelmina Jashemski, we now have a window into the makeup of Roman gardens.[35] Her work in the Campanian region, where the Villa of the Papyri is located, has revealed the ancient plantings from various contexts, including traditional Roman kitchen gardens, agricultural fields, and the luxury gardens that will be the focus of this paper. Her methods include root casts, seed discoveries, and pollen analysis to determine the ancient

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[30] E.g. Pliny, *Ep*. 5.6.7-13; for a discussion of traditional rustic Roman values constructed in luxury garden contexts, see Thomas 1982, 8-34.
[31] E.g., see Pliny *Ep*. 8.2 on wine production.
[32] *Ep.* 2.7.15.
[33] Myers 2005, 114.
[34] Purcell 1995; Jashemski 1987.
[35] Jashemski 1979; 1987; 1991.

plantings. Based on her findings, one can speculate as to what sorts of plants grew in the small kitchen gardens of the first century BCE. Fruit producing trees seem to be the most common, with cherry, apple, or pear commonly represented along with plant beds that could have yielded edible or medicinal produce. Any plants present in these gardens would have been planted informally and largely *ad hoc*.[36]

Customary gardens geared towards agricultural production existed alongside the advent of the luxury garden in the late second century BCE. In this century colonnaded peristyles, long a feature of domestic contexts in the Hellenistic East, were imported by the Romans, but with a new twist. They were combined with the Roman *hortus* (garden), whereas in the East they had been typically paved.[37] New concerns led to new types of plants being incorporated into these opulent pleasure gardens in novel ways. Instead of the practical concerns for production, plants were chosen for aesthetic and design purposes.[38] Plane trees, hedges, and ornamental bushes all became popular for their ability to enhance the appearance of garden spaces and to delineate space. In one of his letters Pliny provides us an excellent illustration as to how these plants were utilized as design elements from the perspective of the proprietor. He describes how at his Tuscan estate he created a garden replete with multiple discreet spaces with topiary elements, including a hippodrome shaped from box hedges. He also included walking paths and open spaces embellished and outlined with acanthus beds and rose bushes.[39]

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[36] Jashemski 1979, 25-30.
[37] Farrar 2000, 13-17.
[38] Jashemski 1979, 51-53.
[39] Pliny, *Ep.,* 5.6.32-35.

Throughout his description Pliny emphasizes the natural peace and calm of his environment that goes hand in hand with the transition of gardens spaces towards being associated with *otium,* the Roman concept of relaxation. However, *otium* was notstrictly leisure in its modern conception and often involved both physical and mental exertion. The concept involved literary and philosophical education along with exercise and athletics. The association of the two areas of self-improvement is embodied in the *gymnasion*, the site for both athletics and intellectual education in the Hellenistic world.[40] From various ancient authors we know that many peristyle gardens referenced the *gymnasion* in their architectural designs, namely by surrounding the gardens with colonnades.[41] Pliny even writes about reading while walking around the porticoes of his villa, indicating that studying and walking as two key aspects of *otium* could even happen simultaneously.[42]

The luxury of the garden was a context for the pleasure of *otium*; only the wealthiest could afford to take the time necessary to dedicate themselves to this pursuit.[43] Intellectual study was closely associated with villa gardens as is further demonstrated by another of Pliny's letters, wherein he describes his favorite spot for *studia*, which he describes as a "garden apartment" (*diaetam*).[44] Here he has peace and tranquility, resulting from the isolation from the rest of the estate, necessary to read and conduct his studies. Other sources reveal that, beyond

[40] König 2005, 50.
[41] Zarmakoupi 2014, 104.
[42] Pliny, *Ep.,* 9.36.
[43] Myers 2005, 104.
[44] Pliny, *Ep.,* 2.17.24.

pursuing literary studies in garden spaces, people specifically enjoyed conducting philosophical scholarship. Cicero explicitly attempted to recreate philosophical schools within his villa gardens, particularly the famous examples at the Athenian Academy and Lyceum.[45] Cicero's Tusculum estate even becomes the literary setting for his philosophical treatise on Stoicism. Statius also expounds on the role of gardens in the philosophical studies of his patrons in the *Silvae.* He argues that philosophy justifies the luxury of gardens, still apparently somewhat problematic in the early empire when people still clung to the rustic past.[46] While writing about his patron Manilius Vopiscus's villa at Tibur, Statius describes it as having "productive quiet" (*fecunda quies*).[47] Throughout the *Silvae* he repeatedly uses language about the peace and tranquility of the gardens, which emphasizes their philosophical productivity and exculpates their owners from charges of extravagance.[48] It is clear from these sources that Romans considered the peaceful, isolated, and natural environment of gardens as generating philosophical reflection.

Lessons on philosophy by Epicurus explain the function many Roman gardens. Statius, who identified many of his patrons in the *Silvae* as Epicureans, described villa gardens as pleasing spots for thoughtful reflection upon artworks.[49] Epicureanism, a school of philosophy intimately linked with gardens, must have been significant to the owner of the Villa of the Papyri given that this unknown

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[45] Cicero, *Tusculonae Dispatutiones,* 2.9.
[46] Nisbet 1978, 1-4.
[47] *Silvae* 1.3.91; all quotations of the *Silvae* are from Courtney 1990.
[48] E.g., *placidus*: 1.3.22, 22.9, 22.13, 22.14; *quies*: 1.3.29, 1.3.41, 1.3.91, 2.2.26, 2.26.140; *pacem*: 3.1.66.
[49] See *Silvae* 4.6.98*,* where Statius describes the virtues of Novius Vindex's statue of Hercules situated amongst "song loving laurel" (*amantes carmina laurus*).

individual collected texts by the philosopher Philodemus, was. Pliny the Elder even attributes the inspiration behind the *horti Romani,* Roman pleasure gardens, to the philosopher Epicurus. In his *Natural History* Pliny writes that "this practice [of constructing pleasure gardens] was first introduced at Athens by that connoisseur of luxurious ease, Epicurus" (*primus hoc instituit athenis epicurus otii magister*).[50] Pliny describes the garden as importing a countryside landscape into an urban context, an idea picked up by Roman aristocrats in the creation of their pleasure gardens around the outskirts of Rome. To the Epicureans, gardens were places of pleasure and philosophical retreat that could transport a visitor to an environment divorced from the outside world and all of its harmful stresses.[51] Epicurus counseled literal retreat from the perils of political affairs and set up his school in his own private garden outside of Athens as an ideal location for such retreat.[52]

Statius describes the seaside villa garden of Pollius Felix at Surrentum as the ideal location for practicing the Epicurean philosophy of its owner. He vividly describes the sounds, sights, and sensory experience of the garden in a way that transports the visitor to an idealized natural landscape fit for intellectual pursuits.[53] The natural landscape described here by Statius is highly reminiscent of the large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri, which is located within eyeshot of ancient Surrentum, modern Sorrento, in the Bay of Naples. The garden at the Villa of the Papyri was similarly located on a cliff overlooking the sea and featured many of the environmental experiences and soundscapes that Statius describes in his text. The

[50] *Natural History*, 19.19.9-11, translation from Rackham 1950.
[51] Ackerman 1990, 35-7.
[52] Epicurus, *Vatican Sayings,* 58; Long 1986, 15.
[53] *Silvae*, 2.2.112-18.

Villa of the Papyri had the power to place the Roman visitor in a state of mind conducive to philosophical contemplation.

The peristyle itself is located to the west of the main structure of the Villa of the Papyri (fig. 3). While the villa is not entirely excavated and portions mostly to the north are still unknown, from Weber's plan of the villa it is evident that the nucleus of the building was to the east. Limited access through only two entrances connected to the main building and the peristyle's tall walls helped infuse the garden area with a sense of isolation. To an Epicurean, the isolating nature of the garden enhances its appeal as a physical retreat from the outside world. It is easy to imagine the separation of the garden from the villa at large, which both Pliny the Elder and Younger explained as providing peaceful spots in the texts mentioned above. Indeed, the whole villa is slightly removed from the city of Herculaneum, accessible to the city yet removed from it. The main garden entrance through the *tablinum,* on the eastern end of the garden, provided a stunning view of the rich collection of sculptures within the peristyle, situated around a grand pool measuring 67 x 7 m. The grand peristyle surrounding the whole garden was comprised of 25 stuccoed brick columns on each of the long sides and 10 at either short end.[54] Inferring from the previously discussed paleobotanical evidence of the region, umbrella pines, plane trees, and hedges may have filled in and given shape to the large peristyle garden, organizing pathways winding around the statuary. When taken together with the natural setting and soundscape of the seaside location, the

[54] Mattusch 2005, 17.

cumulative experience of the garden environs and its contents must have struck awe in any visitor.

Unlike the large peristyle garden's reliance on standard features of luxury villas, the artwork from this garden is in certain ways atypical. Evidence from other sites, largely from the same Campanian region, give us an idea of what types of statuary were featured in the average Roman garden. In the gardens of the so-called villa of Poppaea at Oplontis statues, busts, and herms of satyrs and deities including Dionysus, and Aphrodite dominate the decorative scheme.[55] The large garden at this villa was excavated by Jashemski as part of her paleobotanical study of the region. From her research we know that this garden featured pathways delineated by hedges and lined with such statues alternating with trees.[56] Surveys of other garden spaces have turned up similar results. Broadly speaking, images referring to mythic landscapes are the overwhelming favorites for garden sculptures, which seems appropriate given that these settings recreated literary environments. Animals, deities, satyrs, bucolic figures (such as shepherds), and mythological figures inhabiting the natural landscapes described in literature were especially popular as the subjects of the typical garden statues.[57]

The large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri does reflect this taste in garden sculpture to a certain extent. It features statues of Pan copulating with a she-goat (fig. 4), a set of deer (fig. 5), and a life-size image of Hermes (fig. 6) amongst several others of the naturalistic tradition represented by other Roman-era

[55] De Caro 1987, 77-135.
[56] Jashemski 1987, 64-74.
[57] Farrar 1998, 97-125.

gardens.[58] Tellingly these statues are all grouped together at or actually inside of either end of the long central pool. Water features in Roman gardens were closely associated with mythological landscapes, setting forth a literary stage for these decorative figures.[59] At the Villa of the Papyri they can be taken together to establish that the large peristyle garden refers to mythic time with a protean natural landscape.

Where the garden sculpture at the Villa of the Papyri diverts dramatically from the norm is in the subject matter of the remaining sculptures. The vast majority of the sculptures are not of idealized types or naturalistic figures, but statues or herm heads representing specific historic individuals. More specifically, they represent a mix of famous political and intellectual figures from Classical Greek and Hellenistic history. The high number of historical figures represented in this peristyle is atypical for garden spaces. However, herms in general were not uncommon in Roman gardens, having earlier functioned as boundaries markers at sacred groves in Greece.[60] While herms often depicted mythical figures, such as their namesake Hermes, herm formats used to present statues of philosophers and great leaders are certainly not unheard of in Roman garden context. Peter Stewart has demonstrated that the inscription found on a headless herm from the villa garden at

[58] NM 27709, NM 4886, NM 4888, and NM 4893 respectively. All identifications and figures are from Mattusch 2005, unless otherwise noted. The numbers listed are those from the inventory catalogue of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.
[59] Zarmakoupi 2014, 152-157, 174-177.
[60] Dillon 2006, 31.

Casale Maruffi references the memory of both Cato and Socrates.[61] Yet, it was unusual to feature the large number of sculptures depicting historical figures in a private garden as presented at the Villa of the Papyri.

There is only one comparable collection of portrait herms from a domestic Roman context, from the Villa of Cassius at Tivoli, but even this collection indicates several key differences. First, the herms of the Villa at Cassius belong to a collection of figures from Classical Athens, a typical Roman fascination.[62] At the Villa of the Papyri a much broader geographic and temporal range is represented. Second, there are key differences in their display. The actual context of the herms from the Villa of Cassius is not entirely certain due to the 18th-century excavation methods pursued there; but it has been suggested that they originated from a middle tier of the villa's terraced environs.[63] That being said, there is a focus on Hellenistic rulers within the selection of herms depicting leaders in the large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri, which are extremely rare within the corpus of Roman copies.[64] Third, based on the material and stylistic groupings, it is most probable that the statues from the Villa of Cassius were purchased in three distinct groups at separate times.[65] As for the garden, the identification of the plants that would have existed in the Villa of Cassius is also unclear. Whatever their exact topographical situation, the herms displayed at the Villa of Cassius assuredly stood in a distinctly different setting from the large walled peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri with its spectacular

[61] See p.63 for discussion and full quotation of inscription. Stewart 2003, 255-256; for original text see Paribeni 1926, 282-286.
[62] Dillon 2006, 50.
[63] Dillon 2006, 49.
[64] Zarmakoupi 2014, 43.
[65] Dillon 2006, 50-51.

central pool. It would appear from the separate phases of acquiring artworks that there are three readily identifiable display groups at the Villa of Cassius, varying in terms of material, styles, and subjects.[66] It follows that the Villa of Cassius statues were likely presented in these separate groups, unlike the mixed subject matter arrangement at the Villa of the Papyri. The examples from the Villa of Cassius have definite ancient labels indicating the precise identification of the historical figures depicted, unlike those at the Villa of the Papyri. By contrast to the Cassius display, it is highly likely that all of the marble herms at the Villa of the Papyri were purchased at once in a single order from a Greek workshop.[67] This suggests a preplanned and unified theme to their display in the Herculaneum garden. These differences from the Villa of Cassius all add up to a picture of a purposeful display in the large peristyle garden of Herculaneum that has no real apparent parallels in Roman domestic contexts.

Philosophical erudition presents an overarching theme that governs the statues displayed in the Herculaneum garden. Yet previous scholarship on the sculptural collection at the Villa of the Papyri has taken several different approaches to reconciling the abnormalities of subject matter by characterizing its apparent lack of thematic organization. Carol Mattusch, whose work on the subject is the most extensive, describes the collection as having been acquired pragmatically through gifts and from existing stock available for purchase, with the thematic results being

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[66] Of these herms, some are herm heads meant to be attached to separate posts, similar in style to those at the Villa of the Papyri, while another group is comprised of traditional upright monolithic herms, and the final group features inscribed square marble plinths into which herm bases would have been inserted.
[67] Mattusch 2005, 183.

somewhat haphazard.[68] Mantha Zarmakoupi seems to agree with this viewpoint.[69] Maria Wojick, the author of another authoritative work on the villa's statuary, allows that there may be some thematic organization, but maintains that it is largely inscrutable.[70] Richard Neudecker as well avoids identifying a program for the sculptures, employing vague notions of the gymnasium and mythological landscape.[71] Of the few authors who have attempted to identify a program, P. Gregory Warden and David Romano interpret the statues of the garden laying out a "path of glory" leading up to the allegorical apotheosis of the villa's owner.[72] Dimitrios Pandermalis is concerned with the conflicting nature of the subject matter of the garden statuary: generals and philosophers, kings and scholars. In this contrast he sees a dialogue on the private and public nature of the villa and between the corresponding concepts of *otium* and *negotium*.[73] By Stewarts' assessment, many of the previously postulated theories on the Villa of the Papyri succumb to the weight of their elaborate or "tendentious" reasoning.[74] The general consensus arising from this scholarship on the sculptural collection of the Villa of the Papyri is that its organization is murky, at best. The question of what, if any, display programming is present in the garden art of the Villa of the Papyri is thus one that remains highly contested.

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[68] Mattusch 2005,190.
[69] Zarmakoupi 2014, 44.
[70] Wojick 1986, 259-84.
[71] Neudecker 1988, 147-57.
[72] Warden and Romano 1994, 235.
[73] Pandermalis 1971, 209.
[74] Stewart 2003, 254-5.

The theory I put forth in this paper avoids the pitfalls of those who have dissociated the Herculaneum sculptures from their archeological context, since I combine evidence from the villa itself to form a coherent, pragmatic, and clear paradigm explaining the display of the sculptures of the large peristyle garden. I argue that each group of statues contributes to the realization of a philosophical garden consciously planned to provide the proper environment and subject matter for the contemplation of philosophical lessons on civic leadership and public service in line with the branch of political Epicureanism taught by Philodemus of Gadara. Chapter three is dedicated to an extensive discussion of the evolution of Epicurean thought leading up to and including Philodemus, but for now a brief summary will suffice as clarification.

Epicurus himself disavowed political entanglements and recommended a withdrawal from public politics, which certainly seems at odds with the lessons of leadership proposed for the Herculaneum villa. However, later Epicurean scholars were not so shy of politics. Philodemus, known to have been a client of Piso, wrote a book entitled *On the Good King According to Homer*.[75] Philodemus' reasoning was that if the avoidance of pain should be the ultimate goal, as it is in Epicureanism, and politics could provide safety from a certain danger, then engaging in the political life was a worthwhile pursuit.[76] Whether one was ruling a kingdom or a household, Philodemus listed a number of ways to successfully conduct oneself politically. For example, a philosophical leader should build support through providing benefactions, and Philodemus especially stressed the importance of identifying a

[75] Hereafter referred to as *On The Good King.*
[76] Fish 2011, 75-6.

wise and philosophically erudite group of trusted confidants to provide council.[77] Was the owner of the Villa of the Papyri, either Piso or someone of comparable influence, trying to cultivate such an educated council? The images of rulers and philosophers among the garden statuary potentially held lessons worthy of contemplation for both the owner of the villa and visitors sharing these interests.

Epicurean philosophy also informs our understanding of how contemplating the statues promoted erudition, learning, and intellectual conversations within the large peristyle. The sense of sight was of great importance to the Epicureans. In fact, all of the senses were considered vital sources in producing knowledge about the surrounding world. In a letter to Herodotus, Epicurus laid out the multiple levels of knowledge, identifying sensorial perception as the first and most objective step toward reaching the higher level.[78] He claimed that atoms emanating from any given object created an impression upon the senses, instigating a memory, which Epicurus describes as an image. Our senses provide access to objective truths about reality; it is the fallibility of our minds while interpreting these sensations that create false impressions.[79] We can attach a word to one of these internal images, but in the same letter to Herodotus, Epicurus writes warily about the arbitrariness of words.[80] These teachings illustrate why the garden sculptures would have been useful additions. The sculpted images served as agents of primary knowledge, supplementing the Epicurean writings of the villa's library. The texts relied on potentially arbitrary words to instill lessons on Epicurean philosophy that were

[77] Murray 1965, 176-7; *On the Good King,* 13.22-15.37.
[78] *LH*, 50; Bailey 1926, 28-9.
[79] *LM* 129; Bailey 1926, 86-7.
[80] *LH*, 50; Bailey 1926, 28-9.

materialized by the imagery of the garden sculptures. These images provided visitors with potentially powerful visual experiences for an education in Epicurean philosophy. Epicurus's writings allow us to understand the power the statues would have had to inspire contemplation on the exemplary characteristics of their subjects in the mind of any Epicurean.

Each pairing or grouping of sculptures in the large peristyle would have offered lessons to a visitor tracing a path through the garden. Timothy O'Sullivan has illustrated in multiple works how the act of walking was integral to contemplating and discussing philosophy in Roman culture.[81] Using ancient sources, he establishes that a wise person with an interlocutor typically walked and talked in unison at prime locations in a city, the *porticus* and the *gymnaseon.*[82] These locations should seem familiar, as they are both architectural formats roughly comparable to Roman persityle gardens like that at the Villa of the Papyri. These places and the activities of strolling within them facilitated discursive analysis of many philosophical quandaries.[83] Indeed, archaeological evidence from the villa in the form of papyrus scrolls found in the large peristyle garden corroborates this area as the locus of this very activity.[84]

Upon entering the philosophical garden in Herculaneum, the visitor proceeded along a possible route in which the person might have circumscribed a path around the length of the centrally located pool (fig. 34). After entering through the *tablinum*, the visitor would first come upon a group of four Athenian orators and

[81] O'Sullivan 2006; 2007; 2011.
[82] O'Sullivan 2011, 78.
[83] O'Sullivan 2006, 68.
[84] Mattusch 2005, 17.

ideal citizens located in the eastern colonnade of the peristyle, indicated at locations 1 through 4 (figs. 35 and 36). These statues would also be the last statues encountered as the visitor exited the garden. The first sculpture is identified confidently as the famous Athenian orator Aischines (fig. 7); the second, less securely, as Isokrates (fig. 8); the third is an unidentified man whose arm is outstretched in a position suggesting oration (fig. 9); and the remains of the fourth are only fragmentary.[85] Despite the difficulties with identifying the last two, it is almost certain that all four represent famous Athenian politicians who were noted for their oratory. Oration was a key skill for any Roman politician, presumably including the owner of the Villa of the Papyri, and those depicted in the statues offered potentially powerful models of exemplary political comportment.

The ancient visitor would likely notice the sculptures of Hermes, Pan, and the deer next. As mentioned previously, these statues were grouped at either end of the pool, indicated at locations 5 through 13 (figs. 35 and 36). While these statues do not necessarily present philosophical values, they do establish that the garden operated as a literary environment. Further, these statues refer to the mythic sacro-idyllic landscape. The statues located at either end of the pool presented references to mythological narratives at a different location from the herms located around the edges of the pool. Herms, although dissociated here from their Greek purpose as boundary markers, still inherited the archaic quality of referencing a sacro-idyllic landscape. [86] Their presence signaled the potential of their environment to take on sacred and inspirational characteristics. In this way the herms in the large peristyle

[85] NM 6018, NM 6126, and NM 6210 respectively.
[86] Dillon 2006, 31-5.

garden mesh within the setting established by the built environment, the natural landscape, and sculptures grouped near the fountain. The herms transported viewers back to a mythical landscape where gods, people, and philosophical ideals coexisted in a protean state, as in the poems of Homer. [87] O'Sullivan convincingly argues that Homeric landscapes offered philosophical lessons to the viewer who metaphorically travelled as if alongside the voyage of Odysseus.[88] Philodemus himself uses Homeric kings as philosophical examples of leadership in *On the Good King According to Homer.*

The herms of the large peristyle garden are actually more accurately herm heads, in that they are cut off shortly above the shoulder. They differ from busts mostly through their lack of shoulders and the carved stone blocks that would have been inserted in the slots cut into their sides as symbolic representations of arms. These herms were arranged in pairs, indicated at locations 14 through 29 (figs. 35 and 36). They were displayed on concrete pillars decorated with stucco, but apparently lacking labels.[89] The actual subject matter of the herm pairs breaks down into two main groups: intellectuals and civic leaders. The bulk of the identifications of these individuals are far from secure. Different scholars recognize a variety of individuals, including duplicate identifications of multiple herms in disparate pairings. However, generally the kings, generals, and politicians tend have firmer identifications based on numismatic and portrait evidence. The intellectuals do not

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[87]; For discussions on the ancient view on Homer as a philosopher and the philosophical lessons of his epic poems, see: Kahn 1992, 1-5; Graziosi 2002 123-5; Fränkel 1975, 6-57; and Lamberton 1997, 33-54.
[88] O'Sullivan 2007, 519-526.
[89] Mattusch 2005, 185.

appear in coin types and comparative portraiture is also scanty.[90] Despite the problems in establishing secure identifications in some cases, their broad categorization as either intellectuals or leaders is possible due to their adherence to the physiognomy associated with each type. The appearance of their countenances, such as the furrowed brows of the intellectuals and the clean-shaven faces of kings, are emblematic of their defining characteristics.[91] From this collection, the possible portrait of the poet Anakreon (fig. 10) and king Philetairos of Pergamon (fig. 11) are excellent examples of each sculpture's appearance reflecting the nature of its subject.[92]

The arrangement of the herms in the large peristyle along a path parallel to a long colonnade is reminiscent of the Stoa of the Herms from the Athenian *agora* known from reports by Greek historians and today associated with the *Stoa Basileios*.[93] This *stoa* contained herm portraits of illustrious figures of the Athenian democracy, who provided citizens with statues depicting the paragons of civic virtue, and thus featured similar subjects to the politicians and leaders of the large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri.[94] The addition of intellectual figures in the Herculaneum villa garden collection represents a modification of the Athenian precedent. The Villa of the Papyri featured pairings that attest to the provocative nature of matching philosophers with politicians; yet, individuals of like kind were

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[90] Mattusch 2005, 183.
[91] See Zanker 1995, 90-145, for a discussion and evidence of how expressions and body language could communicate intellectual or leadership qualities of ancient figures in Greek and Roman sculpture.
[92] NM 6162 and NM 6148 respectively.
[93] Robertson 1999. Some identify the "Stoa Poikile" as the Stoa of the Herms.
[94] For the reflection of different civic ideals in herms and *kouroi* see Quinn 2007.

not always paired together in the large peristyle garden. In other words, kings could be paired with other kings, but also with philosophers, speaking to the owner's desire to represent the ideals of both types in meaningful juxtapositions.

At the far end of the garden opposite from the main entrance stood a pair of two young athletes in bronze (fig. 14), which the viewer would observe while rounding the pool at locations 30 and 31 (figs. 35 and 36). Perhaps this pair imparted lessons on preparedness, not just mental but physical, mentioned by Philodemus in *On the Good King.*[95] The philosopher also writes about the importance of appearance, but he also mentions the pitfalls of vanity, which potentially link to these exemplars of exercise and athletics. More importantly, the owner of the villa uses these two statues to make unambiguous reference to *gymnasia* and therefore further reinforces that the garden was a space for education and philosophical discourse. Nude exercise was a typical activity of *gymnasia* in the Greek east and the nudity of these bronze athletes drove home the reference within the context of the peristyle garden.[96]

As a visitor completed the stroll through the garden, the person would encounter the group of five *peplophorai* in the southeast portion of the peristyle at locations 32 through 36 (figs. 35 and 36). This group is commonly referred to as the "Herculaneum Dancers." This is a misnomer, since in their original state several of them would have been holding or carrying various implements. They are similar in size, number, and grouping to the Athenian orators and can probably be seen as having a mirror relationship to that group. While the Athenian orators imparted

[95] *On the Good King,* 7.21-13.21, 16.1-21.32.
[96] Miller 2004, 11-13.

lessons on ideal characteristics of male roles in elite Roman society, the *peplophorai* could have been geared towards offering lessons to female viewers. Epicurean schools, including the original garden school of Epicurus, were noted for including women.[97] No matter what lessons they were meant to impart, the *peplophorai* are clearly archaizing. Their dress, hair, and mannerisms recall *korai* statues of archaic Greece with some Early Classical stylistic elements incorporated, here transformed by artists who were presumably Roman.[98] Much like the naturalistic sculptures and the herms mentioned before, archaism served to transport the viewer to a landscape conducive to philosophical contemplation.

This survey has provided an overview of the content, organization, and impact of the sculptural collection of the large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri. The owner of the villa capitalized on preconceived Roman concepts of garden spaces, including references to Greek philosophical schools and *gymnasia,* to deliver the viewer into a propitious mental state for considering philosophical concepts. Set against this intellectually inspiring backdrop of a mythical realm with natural landscape features, the sculptural subjects provided exemplary lessons on ideal political conduct from both philosophy and rulership. The philosophers and leaders depicted in the garden sculptures of the large peristyle, never before united to such an extent in a single garden plot, all demonstrated exemplary characteristics as recommended by Philodemus for the consummate politician.

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[97] Long 1986, 15.
[98] For a discussion of the combination of what modern scholars term archaic and classical stylistic elements in these scupltures and the blending of those same Greek art stylistic periods in the Roman consciousness see Hallett 2015, 133-5.

Chapter Three

Epicurean Philosophy

By far the most comprehensive source of original ancient Epicurean texts is the eponymous library at the Villa of the Papyri.[99] Epicureanism was a prominent school of philosophy among elite Romans of the 1st centuries BCE and CE. Two of its more prominent followers were Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the benefactor of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus of Gadara, and Piso's son in law, Gaius Julius Caesar. Additional luminaries adhering to these beliefs included Atticus, Lucretius, Horace, and Vergil.[100] It is clear that the tenets of this philosophical school appealed to the owner of the Villa of the Papyri whether or not he was indeed "Piso."[101] The high proportion of works dedicated to Epicurean teachings among the papyrus scrolls discovered in the villa's library alone testifies to this conclusion. By examining the tenets of Epicurean thought on pain, imagery, retreat, wisdom and politics, this chapter will demonstrate how Epicurean philosophy informed the garden space and its statuary content at the Villa of the Papyri, ultimately leading to the creation of a philosophical garden within the west peristyle.

Before it is possible to discuss the arguments for the presence of Epicurean influence on the peristyle garden, it is necessary to fully establish that the owner was a devoted follower of this particular philosophy. To accomplish this task, let us

[99] Sider 2005, 2-5.
[100] Bourne 1977, 417-18.
[101] From this point on I will use "Piso" to refer to the owner of the villa for simplicity's sake, with the understanding that his ownership is not entirely provable.

turn to the aforementioned library discovered at the villa. There are 1,850 papyri fragments currently catalogued from the library, which probably constitute approximately somewhere between 700 and 1,000 individual books.[102] No fewer than 1,500 of these fragments are identified as coming from philosophical treatises. This large corpus of Epicurean teachings makes up over 75% of the total known contents of the library at the Villa of the Papyri. At least eight Epicurean authors are represented: Epicurus himself, Zeno of Sidon, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Demetrius Laco, Carneiscus, Polystratus, Colotes, and Philodemus. The entirety of Epicurus's 37-volume work *On Nature* (*Peri Phuseôs)* was likely stored in the collection, including multiple copies of some of the individual books.[103] The sheer volume of the Epicurean works should provide overwhelming evidence for the villa owner's infatuation with this branch of philosophy.

Philodemus's presence can be strongly felt through the contents of the collection. Of the 75 works that can be absolutely identified through their *subscriptiones,* approximately half of them are attributed to Philodemus.[104] Therefore, it is not far-fetched to imagine Philodemus's residing at the Villa of the Papyri and that this philosopher possibly curated the library. In fact, it is Philodemus's looming presence that is one of the main factors in support of Piso's ownership of the Villa of the Papyri, since Piso was known to be the main patron of Philodemus.[105]

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[102] For catalogues see: Gigante 1979 and Capasso 1989. Estimations of individual works from: Delattre 2006 and Janko 2000.
[103] Houston 2013, 186.
[104] Houston 2013, 185.
[105] Capasso 2010, 93.

Now that Epicureanism has been established as a guiding foundation for the villa owner's personal lifestyle, a brief background on the concepts and principles that comprised Epicurean philosophy is in order before we can begin to understand how they influenced the peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri. There is no better place to start than with the teachings of Epicurus himself. There will of course be many nuances that will be left out of this discussion, but I will try to include all the broad strokes of the concepts pertinent to our understanding of the villa's garden and its sculptural collection.

Epicurus was a prolific writer. We know this from Diogenes Laertius who claims that his writings filled up 300 scrolls in his *Life of Epicurus.* Only a fraction of these works survive. Primarily, we have three letters, including most importantly the letter to Herodotus, the *Forty Principle Doctrines* (*Kuriai Doxai*) also preserved by Diogenes, and fragments from his masterwork *On Nature* (*Peri Phuseôs*) that have been discovered at the Villa of the Papyri. There is also a collection of preserved sayings of Epicurus known as the *Vatican Sayings* (*Vaticanae Senteniae*).[106]

From these works and through the writings of later Epicureans we have been able to piece together the main tenets of Epicurus's teachings. In modern times Epicureanism has been closely associated with hedonism. While technically correct, this association tends to skew the actual nature of Epicurean philosophy. Epicurus was concerned with pleasure, to be sure, but conceived of it as the absence of suffering. In order to achieve the state of tranquility he referred to as "*ataraxia*," he emphasized moderation, freedom from fear, and mental stimulation over physical

[106] Long 1974, 18.

pleasure.[107] Short-term pleasure was not the goal, if it would lead to pain in the long run. Therefore, while one might conceive of hedonism as advocating, for instance, debauched drinking parties, Epicurus would argue rather for an intellectual conversation with a close circle of friends over a few glasses of wine.

However, before one could enter this rational pursuit of pleasure, or lack of suffering, Epicurus argued that one must understand the nature of the world at hand to better analyze the consequences of individual actions.[108] Epicurus believed atoms were the basis of perception and was an atomist at heart, albeit one who conceived of atoms as not being the absolute minimal measurement, but being comprised of minimal parts. He believed in a physical world with absolute and finite realities.[109] In order to understand these realities, one has to rely on the senses, which are taken to be essentially infallible. Epicurus wrote to Herodotus explaining this stance:

> And whatever image we receive by direct apprehension of our mind or our sensory organs of the shape or the essential properties that is the true form of the solid object, since it is created by the constant repetition of the image or the impression it has left behind. There is always inaccuracy and error involved in bringing into a judgment an element that is additional to sensory impressions…[110]

In this argument it is not our senses that misrepresent the essential nature of the world, but our interpretation of those senses that may lead us astray. Atoms emanating from a source, be it an animate or inanimate, reach our eyes, and ultimately leave an impression on our mind of their source. From these

[107] Konstan 2014.
[108] *Letter to Menoeceus* 129.
[109] Long 1974, 18.
[110] *LH* 50; translation from O'Connor 1993, 25.

interpretations we form impressions and concepts about the world around us and we attach words to them, which are intrinsically arbitrary, so that we may convey our thoughts to others.[111] The statues in the garden of the Villa of the Papyri would have created this sort of impression on a viewer, imparting inherent characteristics of each person depicted. Epicurus' twenty-fourth principal doctrine lays out his views on this ascertainment of knowledge:

> If you reject any sensation and you do not distinguish between the opinion based on what awaits confirmation and evidence already available based on the senses, the feelings and every intuitive faculty of the mind, you will send the remaining sensations into a turmoil with your foolish opinions, thus getting rid of every standard for judging. And if among the perceptions based on beliefs are things that are verified and things that are not, you are guaranteed to be in error since you have kept everything that leads to uncertainty concerning the correct and incorrect.[112]

To Epicurus nothing can be presupposed, but instead must always be confirmed through the scrutiny of our senses. Even his belief in the nature of atoms is confirmed by the senses. We can observe the movement of objects; therefore, there must be empty space. We do not observe spontaneous change; therefore atoms must have an inherent nature.[113] It would be fair to say the Epicurean notions of knowledge, understanding, and conceptualization are all grounded in a reliance on the senses. Vision and perception are the ultimate source of all knowledge necessary to the Epicurean pursuit of philosophical understanding.

Gardens could create powerful sensory experiences in the Roman viewer. For instance, Statius's descriptions of his patrons' villas in the *Silvae* go into vivid detail

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[111] *LH* 37.
[112] *PD 24,* O'Connor 1993, 73.
[113] *LH* 41-2.

about the impact their gardens had on the visitor.[114] Specifically they transported one to an idealized and even mythical landscape, which inspired philosophical contemplation. As discussed in the previous chapter, many of Statius's subjects in the *Silvae* were Epicureans themselves and no doubt their philosophical leanings lent particular force to their accounts of the sensory effects of garden spaces.

Epicurus also strove to surround himself with like-minded individuals who sought wisdom and knowledge in this way. He placed a great deal value in friendship along with the counsel and joy one could receive from it.[115] Ideally an Epicurean joined with friends to live a life of relative seclusion, retreating from the strife and pitfalls of public life to contemplate and discuss intellectual pursuits.[116] One of his maxims recorded in the *Vatican Sayings* is wonderfully illustrative of this belief: "We must free ourselves from the prison of everyday affairs and politics."[117] The concept of retreat from public life consequently dovetails with Epicurus's philosophy on the avoidance of suffering.

But where is one to carry out this lifestyle of retreat? We can look to the life of Epicurus for a telling answer. Epicurus very much practiced what he preached, forming a small band of followers and living a quiet life. His choice of venue for the focal point of his communal retreat was the garden of his house located in the countryside outside of Athens. In fact, his school would come to take on the name "the Garden."[118] The garden setting would come to be closely associated with

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[114] E.g. the villa garden of Pollius Felix at Surrentum in *Silvae*, 2.2.112-18
[115] *VS* 23, 56-7.
[116] Long 1986, 71-2.
[117] *VS* 58.
[118] Long 1986, 15.

Epicureans, who carried on the tradition of using gardens as the ideal retreat from the outside world.

The concept of the country villa, and the garden in particular, serving as a place for intellectual retreat was also generally understood by the broader Roman elite class. Pliny the Younger, for instance, wrote several letters discussing at length the tranquility and relaxing repose he found at his country villas, where he studied and exercised away from the hustle and bustle of city life. In particular, he writes with vivid detail about a secluded suite of "garden rooms" at his Laurentinum villa where there is almost absolute silence and natural beauty, with the garden on one side and the sea on the other. Here he writes that he studies without interruption, even from his servants' celebrating during the *saturnalia*.[119]

Clearly, then, the villa garden as a space for relaxation and intellectual studies was an idea not lost on Romans in general, but the concept was particularly embraced by and associated with Epicureans.[120] When one considers the historical significance of Epicurus as mentioned above, the image of the philosophical garden at the Villa of the Papyri truly starts to crystalize. The garden of the west peristyle was secluded not only from the urban scene, but even from the main structure of the villa itself. The garden's natural setting at the edge of the seacoast overlooking the Bay of Naples even had striking similarities to Pliny's seaside garden retreat. For "Piso," as an Epicurean, the secluded peristyle garden of his seaside villa would naturally have been imbued with meaning. The cultural implications of contemplation intertwined with the ideals of Epicurean philosophical retreat would

[119] *Ep.*, 2.17.
[120] Ackerman 1990, 35-7.

have made the realization of the philosophical garden in the west peristyle an adjunct to "Piso's" library. This garden was arranged as an appropriate setting for the Roman Epicurean. It captured the essence of Epicurus's prototypical garden and transported it within the display context of the Roman villa. Its luxury and explicit display of wealth was justified by its usefulness as a locus for philosophical education.[121] In this landscape one could engage the political-philosophical lessons on display in the sculptures of the large peristyle.

The statuary within the garden is the main focus of this paper and the statuary as installed reinforces the notion of the philosophical garden at the Villa of the Papyri. This begs the question, what would have been the utility of the garden statuary from an Epicurean perspective? The reliance on the senses within Epicurean thought serving to formulate concepts and understand the world in general has already been established.[122] Epicurus was also somewhat skeptical of words, understanding that their meaning is determined by humans.[123] Even though manufactured by man to a certain extent, the garden sculptures of the west peristyle provided an opportunity to engage philosophical concepts via the senses. From these concepts, the usefulness of the garden sculpture at the Villa of the Papyri as a supplement to the corpus of philosophical works of the villa's library in the course of an Epicurean education is a natural conclusion.

Unfortunately, Epicurus's writings on imagery are fragmentary, so it might appear that our understanding of Epicurean views towards imagery remains

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[121] Myers 2005, 108
[122] Epicurus *Letter to Menoeceus,* 129
[123] *Letter to Herodotus,* 50

regrettably incomplete for now. Fortunately, Lucretius, the Roman poet and noted Epicurean, dedicated the entire fourth book of his epic poem *On the Nature of Things* (*De Rerum Natura*) to a discussion of the senses and details at length the power of images over the mind. Philodemus has been an important source for previous discussions of the Villa of the Papyri, but I wish to propose that the statuary should also be examined through the lens of Lucretius's musings on imagery. Furthermore, I would contend that this lens provides a potentially beneficial approach to the analysis of the statuary.

To Lucretius, images are extremely powerful. They have the ability to invoke intense emotional responses, represent intrinsic aspects of a character, and even impart abstract concepts. In his treatment of illusions, a topic of great concern to him as they relate to the infallibility of the senses, Lucretius considers the ability of clouds to form images spontaneously. The images we perceive are often of wholly fanciful beasts, creatures whose existence is impossible. Yet we can interpret these images despite never having seen an example in the flesh. We can, for instance, conceptualize a minotaur in our heads.[124] We are able to recognize and interpret the meaning of novel concepts through visualizing their images. Indeed we understand them so palpably that we can even be horrified by their monstrous physique and beastly nature.

Lucretius opens book four by discussing the images we sometimes see of the departed in our dreams or thoughts. They can frighten us intensely and seem so real as to be ghosts, but they are not. These images we see are so steeped with the

[124] *DRN* 4.129-140.

character, personality, and fundamental nature of the absent or deceased person that they seem real, even though they must surely not be.[125] The image alone of an individual's deeds and life spontaneously inspires thoughts and contemplation on the nature of the being.

This ghostly imagery is a theme Lucretius revisits frequently throughout the poem, most famously recalling Homer's haunting appearance to Ennius. Another exceptionally evocative example is the journey of Aeneas through the underworld in Book 6 of Vergil's *Aeneid*. Over the course of his journey Aeneas encounters in procession the shades of great future Romans who represent the future heroes of his bloodline. These shades are of course heavily invested with significance to the reader who knows the course of Roman history. As the reader imagines them, they are meant to convey lessons or examples of Roman ideals based on the great deeds of their lives.[126] These lessons were, of course, in line with the projected virtues of the Augustan political program of the time and reinforced Rome's greatness through Augustus, who implicitly embodied these ideals.

The images of the garden statuary would have had the same effect on their viewer as the shades did to the reader of Lucretius and an individual well versed in Epicurean philosophy would certainly recognize their latent potential for imparting lessons. Timothy O'Sullivan's compelling arguments presented in his article, "Walking with Odysseus: The Portico Frame of the Odyssey Landscapes," echoes some of Lucretius's ideas on the power of images. He explains how imagery, particularly Greek artworks, could represent and relate moral lessons to Romans

[125] *DRN* 4.24-44.
[126] Fratantuono 2015, 250.

through an examination of the famous "Odyssey Landscapes." The viewer departed on a metaphorical voyage mirroring Odysseus's journey.[127] Likewise, the process of taking in the sculpture at the Villa of the Papyri would have been facilitated through walking from image to image and the far-flung origins of the subjects depicted would have taken the viewer on their own journey.

To demonstrate the sort of lessons a Roman might take away walking from statue to statue in the peristyle garden, let us turn to a specific example. One of the herms that we are able to positively identify in the Villa of the Papyri is of Philetairos of Pergamon, a Hellenistic king. He was the king of Pergamon in the late third century BCE, but was able to expand his sphere of power and he founded the Attalid dynasty. One reason he might make an excellent figure to inspire contemplation is the example he set as a benefactor of the people. Indeed, it was his very fame as a benevolent benefactor that was one of the main attributes attesting to his ability to consolidate and maintain power so effectively. He provided food, troops, and money to a neighboring city in its defense against the Gauls and built many works benefitting the public both in his home city and throughout the region.[128] Thus, the great deeds intimately associated with his life would provide excellent guidance for an Epicurean seeking to earn the goodwill of the people, a virtue of leadership, as we are about to see, that was highly esteemed by the Epicurean political philosophy espoused by Philodemus.

Philodemus wrote a political treatise entitled *On the Good King according to Homer,* which relied heavily on the previous tradition of texts on Hellenistic

[127] O'Sullivan 2007.
[128] Hansen 1971, 18-9.

kingship. Philodemus's text and its dedication to Piso are known to us through its fragmentary discovery at the Villa of the Papyri. The sponsorship of Philodemus by "Piso" is significant in explaining the function of the ruler portraits as visual exemplars. The connection between the numerous herms depicting Hellenistic rulers in the peristyle garden would otherwise come across as an odd choice for an Epicurean. Philodemus'*s On the Good King* provides an intellectual context for the function of "Piso's" statues and demonstrates the point that these statues were likely not chosen arbitrarily. They each provided exemplary models for a leader wishing to inform his political career with the political Epicureanism of Philodemus.

Foundational Epicurean philosophy counseled a retreat from public and political life, so Philodemus's writings on the merits of kingship may appear to break from these teachings. However, in his work on Homer, Philodemus uses Epicurean thought on the avoidance of suffering to logically reconcile political activism with the traditional disdain for such activities. A Roman aristocrat living during the final decades of the Republic, such as Piso, would have witnessed the proscriptions resulting from the civil wars and would have equated potential suffering with the very real and ever-present threat of loss of property and even life.[129] Philodemus argues that the love of the people overseen by a ruler could help ensure that ruler's safety. Therefore, building a client network and base of public support would potentially buffer the ruler from such a fate and make political activism a legitimate method of avoiding suffering.[130] Philodemus summarizes this point when he argues that providing for the prosperity of people under the leadership of a given ruler will

[129] Warren 2002, 156-7.
[130] Fish 2011, 75-6.

make them inclined to provide that ruler with aid in times of need, listing the Trojans giving assistance to their beloved Hector after his wounding by Ajax as a Homeric example.[131]

To this end, Philodemus pulls from the traditional genre of biographies on Hellenistic kings to provide lessons on how successfully to conduct oneself as a political leader in a philosophical treatise on kingship. Accordingly, it should come as no surprise that an adherent of Philodemus's teaching might utilize images of famous Hellenistic leaders to inspire ruminations on the characteristics of good leadership. Philodemus details several of these personal characteristics that he suggests will enable one to navigate most effectively the political sphere.

First, Philodemus covers a very Epicurean topic, moderation. He argues that no kingly figure in Homer's poems is shown to be drunk. Even at *symposia* one should not drink to excess but maintain decorum.[132] In general, during free time one should "practice something worthwhile and useful, or take counsel, or train themselves in athletics…" and not engage in undignified activities, such as those suitors of Penelope who play dice and rape the maids.[133] Telemachus is held out as the opposing embodiment of proper princely behavior.[134] The mental and physical training referenced in this passage speak to the fact that these types of activities were much more linked in Greek and Roman consciousness than in modern times and, as was established in the previous chapter, the *gymnasion* embodied that

[131] *On the Good King According to Homer,* F4-5b.
[132] *On the Good King,* F 17.
[133] Philodemus *On the Good King,* col. 4; translation from Murray 1965, 167. I will be relying on Oswyn Murray's 1965 translations and interpretation of the text, as its fragmentary and decayed state have made copies of the original text problematic.
[134] Philodemus *On the Good King,* col. 4.

conceptualization.[135] The large peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri appears to consciously reference *gymnasia* in the layout of its surrounding *cryptoporticus*, a link commonly alluded to in Roman sources, as well as in the inclusion of the two nude male athletes.[136] By referencing *gymnasia,* "Piso" is setting up an ideal space for the sorts of activities Philodemus counsels a good leader to practice in their leisure.

Athletics and physical exercise may also be pertinent to Philodemus's discussion of physical beauty and vanity. Philodemus comes off as somewhat conflicted in his opinion on the pursuit of physical attractiveness. He begins by drawing parallels between Demetrius Poliorcetes, a Hellenistic king of Macedon from the Antigonid dynasty, and Paris as examples of men whose love for their own appearance led them astray. On the other hand, Philodemus recognizes that Homer depicted the stunning handsomeness of his heroes to great effect.[137] The practical political advantage of a pleasing appearance is recognized, but to be balanced with the avoidance of vanity. The athletic exercise of *otium* as part of one's program of self-improvement can be seen as the consummate version of the non-prideful pursuit of physical perfection.

The moderation of personal ambition was another characteristic Philodemus associated with good political practice. The pursuit of glory was noted by Epicurus to be fraught with danger and in this aspect Philodemus agreed with the founder of

[135] Leen 1991, 240.
[136] Zarmakoupi 2014, 104.
[137] *On the Good King,* col. 18.

this philosophical branch.[138] A good king should not seek conflict or war, according to Philodemus, though they should always be prepared for it. The use of war and personal glory is what leads to civil strife and violent disunity, a topic of obvious significance to the civil war torn state of the late Republic.[139] Alternatively, the good leader will spread glory and honor to those who support him. Agamemnon displays such prudence in his bestowal of honors upon Odysseus and Nestor for their wise counsel.[140] The accumulation of political support was to Philodemus's mind a tactic more defensive in nature. Atticus, an Epicurean himself, famously avoided choosing sides during the civil wars and survived them admirably unscathed.[141] According to this line of reasoning then, building support was less about actively outmaneuvering your opponents, but buffering yourself from any foe's machinations.

The final major area of advice Philodemus had for the would-be politician is the reliance on counsel. He places great emphasis on the counsel taken by the key figures in Homer's *Iliad* as exemplary precedents. Alcinous and Telemachus both receive commendation for their reliance on wise bodies of counsel.[142] Diomedes as well is praised for his choice of Odysseus as his companion on patrol over Ajax, based on their respective wisdom over their physical prowess.[143] Philodemus stressed that a group of advisors having attained wisdom from experience and education is vital for the decision making of any successful political figure.[144]

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[138] Murray 1965, 171.
[139] *On the Good King,* col. 9.
[140] *On the Good King,* col. 13.
[141] Strauss 2015, 194.
[142] *On the Good King,* col. 8.22-9.10.
[143] *On the Good king,* col. 15.
[144] Murray 1965, 170.

Naturally "Piso" would desire a counsel schooled in the philosophical teachings he so valued, but where would "Piso" find such advice?

Before addressing a final piece of evidence in answer to this question, there is one last point regarding "Piso's" ownership of the villa that I would like to make. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the question of who exactly was the owner has been a point of contention for well over a century and may well be impossible to settle definitively. Despite this long-running debate, it is not necessary to prove Piso's stewardship of the Villa of the Papyri for the purposes of the arguments in this paper. What we can say about Piso is that he was an extremely wealthy Roman citizen of the uppermost echelon of society who was a sponsor of Philodemus, which is corroborated by the fact that Philodemus dedicates the text of *On the Good King* to Piso. The owner of the Villa of the Papyri is also clearly at the very least an adherent of Philodemus's teachings, but likely a sponsor as well, based on the evidence from the library. The fact that the Villa of the Papyri is reflective of great wealth is self-evident. Given these strong similarities in status, culture, and philosophical worldview, the unidentified owner of the Villa of the Papyri and Piso, whether or not they were actually one in the same, would have shared extremely similar worldviews. At the very least, Piso can serve as a stand in for the owner of the Villa of the Papyri, whoever he may have been.

With that in mind, there is one more extremely fascinating piece of evidence to examine. Calpurnia, the famous wife of Julius Caesar, was Piso's daughter and there is strong evidence that she also was an Epicurean. If so, then an education in Epicureanism was shared throughout Piso's immediate family and including the

women. Further, Calpurnia herself acquired leadership responsibilities such as the ethical and instructional oversight of her household, including the "staff." There is the epigraphic evidence that Calpurnia's freedwomen and freedmen were educated in Epicurean philosophy. As David Armstrong very persuasively argues, a funerary inscription written by Calpurnia's freedwoman Calpurnia Anthis for her son Ikadion, whose name references a traditional celebration held on Epicurus's birthday, displays a distinctly Epicurean worldview.[145] This situation reflects the cosmopolitan complexion of Epicurus's original school, which included women and slaves.[146]

The answer to our question of where "Piso" turned for counsel then would appear to be, at least in part, within his household. By educating his *familia,* which would have included his immediate family and the considerable household needed to manage property holdings including the large Villa of the Papyri, "Piso" created a homegrown source of wise counsel. The education of his *familia* would also have fallen in line with the Epicurean ideal of benefaction. Epicurus himself willed his estate, including "The Garden," the famed location of his school, for the betterment of his people.[147]

It is also clear that the garden was designed for outsiders who visited as well. If "Piso" followed Philodemus's advice, he built up a political circle of support as a bulwark against political upheaval. It would also be crucial that the members of this circle be educated in order for them to provide the wise body of counsel

[145] Armstrong 1993, 203.
[146] Long 1986, 15.
[147] Long 1986, 17.

emphatically recommended by Philodemus. It does not seem a far stretch to envisage the presence of Philodemus himself at the Villa of the Papyri. After all, we know he was in the Campania region contemporaneously with the villa.[148] Taking this speculation one step further, it is possible that "Piso" created a reformulated version of Epicurus's prototypical garden school around the teachings of Philodemus in the large peristyle garden of the Villa of the Papyri. This school could have served the purpose of a center for the education of "Piso" and his entourage of clients and political allies.

Framed in this light, the role of statues becomes clear as a part of the ongoing education of "Piso's" *familia* and the garden served partly as a tool for the contemplation of philosophical and moral lessons even for "Piso" himself. First, the statues' location in the secluded garden setting would immediately set them apart as being of some significance to anyone with a firm background in Epicureanism, as has been demonstrated by the garden's strong historical link to the philosophical school, by the library holdings of texts by Philodemus, and as a place of intellectual retreat in the eyes of Roman culture. Further, the immense power of imagery as conceptualized by Epicureans and poetically expounded upon by Lucretius lends to the appeal of the statues and herms of the villa's peristyle as tools for contemplation and rumination. The great deeds associated with the lives of the individuals, whose identities would have been known to ancient viewers, came part and parcel with the images of those included in the statue collection and these representations imparted innate concepts and lessons gleaned from those deeds. The political nature of many

[148] Warren 2002, 156.

of the subjects combined with the sculptures of philosophers displayed virtuous models of leadership enlightened by and grounded in philosophical thought, particularly in the teachings of Philodemus.

That continued philosophical learning would have been important to someone with such profound philosophical leanings as "Piso" is clear from the library at the Villa of the Papyri, but the education of one's *familia* would have been of especial concern to an Epicurean. The need to procure educated counsel and the desire to earn the love and good will of those people who benefit from this guidance were of noted concern for an adherent of Epicureanism. Based on the subject matter of so many of the herms found in the garden at the Villa of the Papyri, it is not a stretch to suggest that "Piso" may have even fashioned himself after a Hellenistic ruler who benevolently bettered his people through philosophical enlightenment. In his peristyle, with its secluded naturalistic environs and replete with impressive works of art, "Piso" crafted the quintessential space for Epicurean life: the "Philosophical Garden."

Chapter Four

The Garden Sculptures

This chapter will seek to clarify the role of the individual sculptures in defining a philosophical garden within the context of the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri. The discussion up to this point has focused on the theoretical arguments for the existence of a broad organization of the statues discovered in this garden at the Villa of the Papyri. This chapter will narrow that focus and situate the individual statues within the context of the sculptural program of the philosophical garden. As argued in the previous chapters, this philosophical garden provided a setting designed to facilitate the contemplation of philosophical lessons in line with the politicized Epicureanism espoused by Philodemus of Gadara. Members of "Piso's" *familia,* friends, and political entourage would have been the primary visitors to the garden, along with "Piso" himself. Through education in Epicurean philosophy, of which he was clearly a proponent, "Piso" could have acted as benefactor to these groups while also establishing a certain alignment of political thought within his faction.

The contributions of the peristyle garden setting and tenets of Epicureanism towards the creation of the philosophical garden have been detailed respectively in the preceding chapters and now this paper turns the contributions of the sculptures. As the subject of each statue is examined, the impressions created ideally by the statues and the corresponding lessons they bestowed will be elucidated. Some of the statues, particularly the *peplophorai,* were not meant to represent specific

individuals and, even in the cases of portraiture, not all of the identifications have been greeted with universal consensus among the scholars. This uncertainty over identification is particularly true for the thinkers depicted as herms. However, it is quite clear that the statues depicting unidentified philosophers rely upon the tropes that present wisdom in their appearance, and that their identities would have been apparent to contemporary viewers. Each herm is almost certainly a portrait of a specific person, not a generalized image, and each would have been famous enough in his own time to have had his countenance immortalized in marble.[149] Their significance as a group is also influential in defining the purpose of the garden, given the link between the philosophical texts discovered at the villa and the portraits of philosophers. Ultimately, they all fit within the scheme of the philosophical garden, providing lessons in the application of Epicurean ideals, with a particular concern for political practice.

The preoccupation with political practice, the desire to configure an intellectual and physical world around public leadership, is understandable. As a male Roman aristocrat, "Piso" was *de facto* a politician. Furthermore, the bedrock of political practice in Roman society was oration. Any successful politician would thus have to have a mastery of oration and rhetoric.[150] The method used by skilled orators to remember a broad range of subjects within long speeches would necessarily have been familiar through to "Piso" through his education. This method also raises compelling points that are relevant to the discussion on the sculptural images in the west peristyle garden concerning their ability to prompt erudite

[149] Mattusch 2005, 183.
[150] Connolly 2007, 1-2.

speech by triggering an individual's consciousness. Mental images were used to recall facts and arguments over the course of a speech, the practice of which is detailed in three surviving texts: Cicero's *De oratore,* Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria,* and the anonymous *Ad C. Herennium libri IV*. According to these works the orator would construct a building within his mind with a series of rooms, which he would then navigate during the course of his speech. These rooms would contain images, which would call to mind the various points he needed to make. The organization of the rooms would reflect that of his speech and lead him along its logical path.[151]

The images placed within those rooms as envisioned in the orator's mind could be of any subject matter that had inherent associations with certain facts or emotions, but both Cicero and *Ad Herennium* suggest human visages to be the most evocative. Cicero suggests *singulae personae* will make a particularly strong imprint on the mind and *Ad Herennium* suggests using famous individuals who had engaged in well-known deeds and events, even listing specific examples involving members of the Domitian and Marcian gentes.[152] That these authors and experts in the field of oration understood the powerful utility of not only images in general, but portraits in particular, further reinforces the proposed theory that the statues in the philosophical garden at the Villa of the Papyri had the profound ability to impart lessons derived from the individuals featured. "Piso," as a politician and thus an orator, could very likely have chosen these specific statues as cues to represent various Epicurean ideals in his public role as a political figure and for his political entourage. This is a slight variation for the memory theatre used by orators in that

[151] Yates 1966, 2-3.
[152] *De Oratore,* 2.88.359; *Ad Herrenium*, 2.74.299-300.

the statues are not meant to recall a specific speech, but rather are keyed to topics of discussion for "Piso" and any visitor to his garden.

The selection of these sculptures brings us back to the question of their thematic organization or lack thereof. Many attempts have been made to determine the logic behind the selection of the sculptures in the west peristyle garden.[153] One of the main areas of contention is the apparent conflict between representations of the military and political figures with those depicting intellectuals. However, this conflict fades away once their dual presence has been reconsidered by reference to the text of Philodemus' *On the Good King according to Homer.* Philodemus makes it clear that a successful ruler must surround himself with philosophers and seek the counsel of trusted and experienced advisors and must, while not inviting conflict, always be prepared for it. The inclusion of figures from both sides of this equation, political and intellectual, provides balance. Each group of statues included in the Villa of the Papyri garden cohered around a theme that promoted certain exemplary characteristics to be cultivated within an individual. There is evidence that these areas did not conflict with each other, but that they complemented each other and came together into an overarching framework that functioned as a guide for personal conduct. The varied subjects each provided unique, yet equally integral, exemplars for contemplation. From their contemplation on these exemplars, members of "Piso's" circle, including "Piso" himself, would find lessons on

[153] For the most prominent of these attempts see: Mattusch 2005, 190, Zarmakoupi 2014, 44, Wojick 1986, 259-84, Neudecker 1988, 147-57, Warden and Romano 1994, 235, Pandermalis 1971, 209, and Stewart 2003, 254-5.

philosophies of politics, governance, and the pursuit of knowledge that they could incorporate into their own lives.

Turning to the analysis of individual statues, the question arises of how best to begin a discussion of the pieces. As previously demonstrated in a discussion of O'Sullivan's treatment of the "Odyssey Landscapes," the act of walking while undertaking philosophical conversations was a critical activity taking place in designed landscapes featuring statues or other works of art.[154] Gardens and porticos afforded the spaces to stroll and conduct intellectual discussions. For example, Pliny the Younger writes about studying texts and dictating letters while leisurely ambling through the open areas of his Tuscan villa.[155] The emphasis on movement through a space while deep in contemplation or in learned conversation provides a context in which to understand the layout of the Villa of the Papyri's peristyle garden itself, suggesting that the statues would have been experienced in sequence with the viewer moving in repeated circuits while walking through the garden. Therefore, I will present the statue groups in the order they would likely have been encountered by an ancient visitor in the garden, starting with the entrance through the *tablinum* and working around the longitudinal axis of the garden as formed by the central pool (fig. 34).

Orators and Rhetoricians

Four statues depicting orators and rhetoricians, including at least one stretching out an arm as if in the middle of a speech, flanked the eastern entrance

[154] O'Sullivan 2007.
[155] *Ep.* 9.36.3.

through the *tablinum* and would have been the first group of statues encountered by an ancient visitor to the villa's garden (fig. 34). Their location here is logical in terms of framing the owner's eloquence, since the entrance was through the *tablinum*, where the *pater familias* would have traditionally addressed gatherings.

The theme of erudition to support exemplary rhetorical performance is echoed in the subject matter of the statues flanking the *tablinum*, whose identification as orators is indicated in part by the stance of each figure. Three of the statues in this group survive mostly intact, although only a foot and arm survive of the fourth. Of those three, two have unique identities confidently ascribed to them: Aeschines and Isocrates (fig. 7 and 8).[156] They were both superb and renowned Greek orators, both were included in the famous list of the ten Attic orators, and both portraits would have inspired impressions of restraint and dedication to an erudite lifestyle.[157] It is also possible that in antiquity the third statue depicted a specific individual, but his identity is unknown to us today, even though his arm outstretched as if in the middle of a speech makes his status as orator clear (fig. 9).[158] Obviously, the fragmentary remains from the fourth statue prevent identification.

While there was a purpose to installing portraits of orators close to the *tablinum* in order to designate the villa's owner as accomplished in Greek rhetoric as an adjunct to the traditional role of the *pater familias,* the rhetoricians would have also had direct ties to Roman ideals of education. Rhetoric was the ultimate

[156] NM 6126, NM 6018.
[157] Mattusch 2005, 143.
[158] NM 6210.

culmination of a Roman student's years of education studying a diverse range of subjects, including philosophy. In traditional Roman education the *pater familias* was considered the main educator of his sons, although, based on the epigraphic evidence previously covered from the tomb of Calpurnia's freedman, it is likely women were highly educated to a greater extent in this and other Epicurean households of the Roman world than what was the societal norm.[159] However, for aristocratic youths, several levels of education culminated in studying under a *rhetor;* starting with the *litterator* and then the *grammaticus.* A pupil would have to demonstrate a cohesive understanding of the various areas of mastery through eloquent and persuasive public speech. The ability to effectively communicate and debate was vital to the public careers to which youths of noble birth aspired. In order to be effective orators, Romans believed that they needed to be able to incorporate the knowledge gained form the entirety of their education into speeches.[160] Therefore, the statues flanking the *tablinum* placed a large emphasis on the pursuit of higher learning as it contributed to a successful political career.

Hellenistic Dynasts and Generals

The portraits of Hellenistic leaders form the major grouping of sculptures along with those depicting intellectuals. There is a strong link between these herms depicting Hellenistic leaders as presented in the Villa of the Papyri and the political philosophy of Philodemus. Though it may seem that political activism is at odds with the philosophy of retreat championed by Epicurus, Epicurean philosophy in general

[159] For discussion see above p. 48; Smith 1955, 184.
[160] Bonner 1977, 3-65.

and that of Philodemus in specific expressly reconciled the two notions, legitimizing such aspects as civic engagement in public life by framing them as useful in the ultimate goal of avoiding suffering. Philodemus's *On the Good King According to Homer,* which is known to us mostly through textual discoveries from the library at the Villa of the Papyri, refers to kings who played roles in Homeric poetry to provide lessons on the best practices to mitigate suffering. Likewise, "Piso" evidently used the herms of this group in the peristyle to provide instruction on exemplary rulership, only using Hellenistic as opposed to Homeric royalty. The previous chapter considered the herm of Philetairos of Pergamon and how the track record established by this Hellenistic dynast of winning popular support through civic benefactions proved him to be an appealing model for Epicurean political philosophy.[161] By turning to the remaining rulers depicted in the villa garden, similar points can be established. These herms depict Hellenistic individuals, as determined from their mode of dress, and several can be securely identified; their lives and deeds can be examined for philosophical lessons.

The following herms offered specific lessons on wisdom in rulership. The herm of Demetrius I of Macedonia, indicated at location 14 (figs. 35 and 36), is identified mostly through comparison to numismatic evidence (fig. 14).[162] Like Philetairos he founded a lineage that lasted for generations. The descendants of Demetrius sat on the throne of Macedonia until it was finally conquered by Rome in 168 BCE. Not everything about his life was ideal for an Epicurean lifestyle, most notably the accusations of his licentiousness, but there are certainly highpoints that

[161] See above p. 42.
[162] Mattusch 2005, 161.

serve as superb examples of political behavior Philodemus would have approved of. Demetrius liberated Athens not once, but twice and was welcomed officially with the title *soter* (savior). After his second liberation of Athens, he even magnanimously forgave the entire city for having denied him its support in his previous conflict that had been provoked by several of his Athenian rivals. This forgiveness demonstrated the virtue of clemency praised by Epicurus.[163] Furthermore, he earned the title *Poliorcetes* (seizer of cities) through his innovative engineering of siege equipment. While laying siege to Rhodes, he commissioned a siege tower in excess of 125 feet in height and a battering ram necessitating over 1000 men to operate.[164] His use of engineering may imply either a reliance on his own wits for a military advantage or at the very least his having surrounded himself with brilliant thinkers to devise his siege equipment. Either of these situations would indicate meditative thought on the value of education and wise council for an effective politician.

The next herm is generally considered to feature a portrait of Pyrrhus of Epirus based on the type of helmet and laurel oak that he wears (fig. 15), indicated at location 16 (figs. 35 and 36).[165] He would be well known to any Roman due to his semi-legendary status in Roman history. Apart from Hannibal, no foreign general came as close to challenging Rome's supremacy in the Italian Peninsula. He won a series of battles against Rome in southern Italy during the early 3rd century BCE and was considered a brilliant military tactician. His victories however came at steep costs, both monetarily and in terms of human life. It is from him that the term

[163] *On the Good King,* col. 6.8.
[164] Martin 2010.
[165] NM 6151; Mattusch 2005, 163.

"Pyrrhic Victory," denoting a victory whose cost is so high that it is unsustainable, was derived. Both in his war with Rome and ultimately his aborted rule of a kingdom in Sicily, Pyrrhus realized when his situation was untenable and, after reevaluating his circumstances, smartly chose to withdraw. Being far from his source of wealth and manpower, he could not afford to take the significant losses of soldiers that his steadfast opponents had the luxury of absorbing. Seeing this situation unfolding, he withdrew his forces despite numerous military victories and successes.[166] It could be said then that, in addition to his exemplary brilliance on the battlefield, he had the wisdom to restrain his ambition. The opportunistic but cautious approach falls in line quite well with Philodemus's suggestions in *On the Good King.*[167]

The identification of the next herm is more tenuous then the others, but Wojick suggests that he is Alexander the Molossian (fig. 16).[168] If this identity is valid, then he strikes a similar figure to Pyrrhus in Italian history. Alexander cut a swath through southern Italy, defeating the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttii before Rome had conquered the region. He is probably best known from the famous passage of Livy comparing him to his cousin of the same name, Alexander the Great, in which the Roman author speculates about how history would have played out if their choices of regions for conquest had been reversed.[169] Alexander the Molossian perished at the battle of Pandosia after a purported betrayal by some Lucanian turncoats. Besides his battle acumen, he formed a number of successful alliances,

[166] Franke 1989, 460-80.
[167] *On the Good King,* col. 9; Murray 1965, 171.
[168] Wojick 1986, pl. 32; NM 6151.
[169] Livy *ab Urbe Condita,* 9.19.

including one with Rome itself and another with King Philip the Second. Alexander the Molossian's ability to build support and navigate the political arena through coalition building was yet another skill Philodemus emphasized.[170]

The herm at location 15 (figs. 35 and 36) has been identified as Archidamos of Sparta (fig. 17)[171]. The basis of this identification lies solely in the partial painted inscription, which no longer survives and was almost certainly added after its discovery in the 18th century. This identification is extremely tendentious, since there is no comparative numismatic or statuary evidence to call upon. [172] Furthermore, even if this herm is accepted as representing an Archidamos, there are still multiple Spartan kings who went by that name and who could be the intended subject. Therefore, it is impossible to say exactly what lessons were offered by this sculpture.

The final herms arranged around the circumference of the central pool can be categorized as a Hellenistic generals or dynasts, but their identities are extremely speculative, thus rendering any analysis of their specific philosophical lessons likely unproductive (fig. 18).[173] Their headwear confirms at least that they are Hellenistic. They are indicated at locations 18 and 22 (figs. 35 and 36).

Intellectuals and Philosophers

As was previously discussed, specific identities for individual herms of the intellectual philosopher type in the west peristyle have received little agreement

[170] *On the Good King,* col. 12; Murray 1965, 172.
[171] NM 6156.
[172] Mattusch 2005, 172-3.
[173] NM 6158; Mattusch 2005, 174.

amongst scholars. Amongst the most commonly suggested figures are Demosthenes, Panyassis, Anakreon, and Karneades. However, different scholars have applied these identities to different herms amongst the collection and there are many other less commonly proffered suggestions. While the exemplary men depicted were likely paragons for the intellectual life "Piso" envisioned for his political entourage and *familia,* pursuing potential lessons from individual lives would be quite difficult, for our purposes, without certainty as to their intended identification.

Taken as a whole, the herms of the philosopher type offer the obvious implication that "Piso" held intellectual acumen in high regard, setting these men on equal footing to kings and generals within his garden. What reveals their general identity as intellectuals are several quirks of their features. Their generally unkempt appearance, featuring beards and scraggly hair, as well furrowed brows and strained complexions indicate their vocation. The expressions often portray them as being lost in thought, wrestling with some philosophical conundrum. The Romans believed that the appearance of these men was instructive, that they could read personal characteristics from their countenances. Consequently, many of the herms found in Roman collections are busts copying the heads of full-bodied Greek originals.[174]

We can also turn to their visages to try and understand what exemplary characteristics might have been gleaned by the ancient visitor to the philosophical garden of the west peristyle. Even a cursory glance reveals that all the figures of this group display evocatively emotive expressions. Three individuals, often described

[174] Zanker 1995, 10, 108-110.

as frowning or glowering, are depicted with particular consternation (figs. 10, 19, and 20).[175] They are indicated at locations 20, 26 and 29 (figs. 35 and 36). They peer out from underneath brows creased by a lifetime of contemplation. It is apparent that these men have considered weighty quandaries and tackled complicated questions of ethics and principles. By the early Hellenistic period the model citizen was expected to follow the lead of intellectuals and devote consideration to thorny philosophical topics, as demonstrated by a shift in honorific statuary from depicting bodies in athletic and handsomely proportional poses to those echoing the internal struggle of deep contemplation.[176] The ideal of the model citizen constantly considering the ethical dilemmas and consequences of their actions was presented as exemplars before audiences and is represented in the faces of these intellectuals depicted in the herms of the west peristyle. No doubt "Piso" was intentionally importing the Hellenistic concept of what it meant to be a model citizen into his own world.

The remaining three individuals may not be as strained in their appearance, but their expressions are still powerfully vivid. The herm at location 27 (figs. 35 and 36), whom Italo Sgobbo suggests is the poet Panyassis, also bears the marks of wizened old age (fig. 21).[177] His heavy brow is creased, adding gravitas to his stern gaze, and his beard is comparatively long to the others of this group. Another figure, at location 21 (figs. 35 and 36), has his head turned sharply to the right with his

[175] Mattusch 2005, 166-7, 169-70, 176-7; NM 6152, NM 6154, NM 6162.
[176] Zanker 1995, 90-3.
[177] Sgobbo 1971, 115-42; Mattusch 2005, 170-1; NM 6155.

mouth open, as if addressing a crowd or responding to debater (fig. 22).[178] It is from this observation that some see the famed orator Demosthenes in this man.[179]

At location 17 (figs. 35 and 36) is the portrait of a man who seems to stare off into the distance with a look of deep contentment, especially in comparison to the wracked expressions of the other figures of this group (fig. 23).[180] What is most interesting in regards to this individual is the possibility that it bears similarities to the expressions of satisfaction and inner peace composed on the faces of the surviving copies of the portraits of Epicurus and his immediate disciples shortly after their.[181] To be clear, this portrait herm from the west peristyle garden certainly is not the face of Epicurus, but his expression gives the impression of the state of "*ataraxia"* sought by Epicureans. His peaceful countenance seems to reflect an inner peace of the sort Epicurus described as "*ataraxia,"* yet he still displays the telltale academic scruffy beard and hair. The passion for knowledge is evident in the faces of all the herms of this group and together they represent different approaches to erudition: intense inner contemplation, dialogue, and the pursuit of internal tranquility.

Gods and Nature

Much of Chapter 2 was dedicated to a discussion of the naturalistic setting and how that environment set up the visitors for philosophical contemplation by divorcing them from the surrounding context and transporting them to a mythic

[178] NM 6153.
[179] Mattusch 2005, 168-9.
[180] NM 6147.
[181] Zanker 1995, 114.

landscape. Within that discussion the role of the statuary in the creation of this effect is explained, but will be reiterated here.[182] Statues of various deities and animals were aligned along the east-west axis of the central pool (fig. 34). The divine figures include Hermes (fig. 6), Pan copulating with a she goat (fig. 4), a drunken Satyr and one fast asleep (figs. 24 and 25), an archaistic herm of Apollo (fig. 26), and another herm of what is likely some female deity (fig. 27).[183] There are also the statues of a female piglet and two deer at the east end of the pool (fig. 5 and 28).[184] Cumulatively, these statues set the scene for the garden as a natural and mythological landscape. This setting was crucial as garden groves were associated with sacred spaces, as demonstrated by an inscription from the villa garden at Casale Maruffi:

> You behold the monuments of ancient men worthy of poets' verses,
> You behold the vines and groves and secluded gillyflower beds.
> Lilies, fruit-trees, roses, vines, and plantations
> Crown the faces of Greeks and temples dedicated to the muses.
> The face and character of Socrates and Cato's living spirit
> Are revealed by sculptures, enough that from them you might know their kind.[185]

This inscription indicates the sense of reverence an ancient visitor to a secluded garden, such as the one present at the Villa of the Papyri, would have experienced. A divine aura permeated the garden environment. Particularly, it invokes the muses as

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[182] See above p. 19.
[183] Mattusch 2005, 216, 225, 236 318-21; NM 4893, NM 2709, NM 5624, NM 5625, NM 5608, and NM 5592.
[184] Mattusch 2005, 327-8; NM 4886, NM 4888, NM 4893.
[185] Translation from Stewart 2003, 255-256; for original text see Paribeni 1926, 282-286: *vatum digna m[odis veterum] monumenta virorum/vites [aspicis et l]ucos violaria tecta./Graiorum vultus et musia dedita templa/lilia poma rosae vites arbusta coronant/Socratis os [habitumque] et vivida corda Catonis/produnt signa satis ut genus [india scias.]*

sources of inspiration inherently present in a natural setting. This is an important observation, because it is instructive to the Roman association of natural landscapes with intellectual and artistic inspiration as embodied by the muses.

The inscription from Casale Maruffi explicitly states that through the divine inspiration of the muses inherently present in the naturalistic setting, visitors to the garden is placed in a mindset where they are able to contemplate the character of figures depicted through sculptures.[186] In the instance of the inscription the subjects are Cato and Socrates. While Cato was a politician and Socrates was a philosopher, they were both renowned for their rhetorical abilities. There is no reason the same effects of the garden and statues of Casale Maruffi should not apply equally as well to the various subjects of the sculptures in the peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri. It is the notion of the sacro-idyllic landscape demonstrated in this inscription as understood by Romans that contributed to the realization of the philosophical garden and facilitated for a visitor the contemplation of philosophical lessons based on the statuary in the west peristyle.

The obvious example of a natural landscape associated with muses is the Valley of the Muses located in Boeotia, Greece. This open-air sanctuary is located on the slopes of Mount Helicon. Several aspects of its landscape have interesting parallels, albeit in truncated form, with the west peristyle at the Villa of the Papyri. First, there is a preponderance of springs in the area and we know that the muses were closely associated with sites of running water. The west peristyle garden has a very prominent and very large fountain that dominates its internal landscape,

[186] Stewart 2003, 255.

bringing to mind associations with the muses for any Roman. Second, the altar in the Greek valley itself was located on a high point overlooking the Permessus River. The cliff top setting of the villas garden certainly has echoes of this vista. Third, directly adjacent to the altar in Greece was a *stoa.* The association of *stoai* and *gymnasia* with intellectual pursuits has already been laid out in this paper, as has their reference in the architecture of the villa's west peristyle. The topographical siting overlooking the Bay of Naples along with the garden sanctuary environment, including the pool, divine statuary, and surrounding *porticus*, directly referenced this valley. By constructing a garden so reminiscent of the Valley of the Muses, "Piso" created a space with a deep-seated ability to inspire philosophical contemplation.

The links between this prototypical *mouseion* and the west peristyle garden are therefore numerous.[187] However, there are also references to the more general type of *mouseia* that began to appear within Greek cities. These garden sanctuaries were often seated within *gymnasia*, the design of which the west peristyle already references. The most famous *mouseion-gymnasion* sanctuary may be the Academy at Athens, highlighting their use as places of philosophical education and contemplation.[188] *Mouseia* were also often associated with libraries, such as the great Library of Alexandria and even private libraries.[189] Water features, like the central pool of the west peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri, were common features of spaces dedicated to the Muses. By the second century BCE, Roman generals brought the design of the *gymnasion* to Rome in the guise of porticoes and

[187] Wallace 1974, 22-4.
[188] Hardie 1997, 23.
[189] Fraser 1972, 312-19; Hardie 1997, 29.

used them innovatively for the display of foreign art won by conquest. The *gymnasion* was the ideal display context for Roman leaders wishing to create powerful impressions and win popular support, due to the air of intellectual refinement exuded by its exotic origin and its ability to isolate the visitor physically from the hustle and bustle of the surrounding city.[190] The west peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri combines the inspirational natural environment of a *mouseion-gymnasion* sanctuary and the display of foreign art from the porticoes of Republican Rome to create a philosophical garden that utilized sculptures as catalysts for contemplation and education.

Peplophorai

A total of five bronze *peplophorai* were found within the west peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri. Four of these were found closely grouped together in the south-east portion of the *porticus* surrounding the garden and the fifth was found close by, likely displaced from the main group by the volcanic event of 79 CE that buried the villa (figs. 35 and 36).[191] *Peplophorai* were traditional Greek votive figures of women wearing the archaic *peplos*, a simple woven wool garment pinned at the shoulders and synched at the waist (fig. 29). For Greeks these figures represented conservative cultural values ascribed to women: modesty, subservience, and household management. As a scholar well versed in Greek culture (as demonstrated by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the known texts

[190] Zanker 2010, 48-50.
[191] NM 5604, NM 5605, NM 5619, NM 5620, and NM 5621.

from the library are in Greek), "Piso" was likely aware of these traditional connotations.[192]

Their inclusion in the garden could be interpreted as an odd choice for an Epicurean, considering that Epicurean philosophy was open to women and socially inclusive, as has been covered previously, and the ideals communicated by the *peplophorai* in general seem to exclude them form the world of erudition. Alternatively, the *peplos* could be seen to be setting up a dichotomy with men. Perhaps there is an explanation in the association of the *peplos* with the production of garments and with weaving to feminine cunning. Clytemnestra, for instance, used a *peplos* to kill king Agamemnon. Weaving was also the main labor production of women in classical Greek culture. Perhaps the *peplophorai* were meant to represent female agency or perhaps their quintessential "Greekness" was enough to warrant their inclusion in the garden.[193]

These *peplophorai* are commonly identified as the "Herculaneaum Dancers," yet it is unlikely that the figures depicted are dancing. Their stances and the angles at which they hold their limbs are more likely explained through the previous presence of now lost implements. There is a possible votive aspect to their activities. At least one was potentially carrying a water bucket (fig. 13), an item used in purification rituals, and their dress, the eponymous *peplos,* is typical attire for Greek priestesses, such as those depicted in the Parthenon frieze.[194] If indeed they are priestesses, they could offer ideals of female participation in public life as a parallel

[192] Lee 2005, 63.
[193] Lee 2005, 62.
[194] NM 6504; Hallett 2015,133-4; For a summary of theories on the content of the frieze see Connelly 1996, 54-55.

to the male role models represented in the Athenian orators, since working as a priestess was one of the few roles available to women in the public sphere. Women's presence in Roman civic life could be considered transgressive by their culture. For instance, the presence of women in the *forum Romanum* was abnormal, except for the very prominent presence of the priestesses of Vesta.[195] Additionally, the expressions of the five women appear emotionless and it is tempting to see them as presenting *ataraxia*, roughly translated as tranquility and the ideal Epicurus held as life's ultimate goal. In sum, the *peplophorai* are almost certainly addressing a female audience. Their message is on the ideal public life of a woman, wherein she fulfills her culturally accepted role in religious ritual. Through both the lifestyle of moderation that goes along with religious devotion to a goddess such as Vesta and the avoidance of societal friction that adhering to a culturally approved role provides, women could hope to achieve the state of *ataraxia* apparent in these *peplophorai.*

Reconstruction

The reconstruction of display location put forward by this paper posits four main groupings within the garden of the west peristyle (fig. 34). These groupings consist of the statues depicting orators, those depicting deities and other naturalistic imagery typical to a Roman garden, the herms depicting Hellenistic leaders and thinkers from Greek antiquity, and the *peplophorai.* This reconstruction takes into account the destructive forces of the pyroclastic flow that buried the villa.

[195] Boatwright 2011, 109.

By and large the side of the garden north of the pool seems to have been subject to less displacement than that of the south side (fig. 36). This may be due to the fact that the flow would have proceeded roughly from the north, based on the location of the Villa of the Papyri relative to Mt. Vesuvius. In this scenario it is conceivable that the pyroclastic flow could have pinned the herms along the north wall of the pool. Additionally, the south wall of the peristyle may have caught and subsequently reflected the flow, causing a great deal of turbulence on that side of the pool. The reconstruction symmetrically recreates the display locations of the southern herms by analogy to those discovered along the northern edge of the pool (fig. 35).

It should be noted that only 14 marble herms were recovered from the west peristyle garden, even though 16 are expected, based on the reconstruction in the paper. The North side of the pool clearly demonstrates the organization of the herms in 4 pairs and the South side of the pool should have the same organization. This pattern would necessitate 8 herms per side of the pool, but only 6 herms have been recovered from the South side. I assert that this is due to the incomplete nature of Weber's tunneling. His plan indicates that several areas of the west peristyle garden were left unexplored by the tunnels and their offshoot pockets of excavation, indicated by shaded paths and blank outlined units (fig. 3). Further excavation in this area would likely yield the missing two herms whose original display spots I hypothesize at locations 24 and 25 in figure 35.

On the subject of difficulties in the reconstruction of sculptural programming, there is one set of statues which have been not been covered by this paper. The two busts and small *peplophora* from the northwest corner could possibly represent a

family unit, but their disparate size and style bestows a lack of the group cohesion in these sculptures that is present in the other groupings (figs. 30, 31, and 32).[196] It would seem that perhaps they existed outside of the larger scheme of the sculptures in the west peristyle garden, either as later additions or temporary placements belonging to some other context within the villa.

Based on the reconstruction of display locations, a clear pattern emerges for the remainder of the sculptures organized around the subject matter of the individual pieces. The sculptures belonging to any given one of the groups mentioned above are all located in close proximity to each other, to the exclusion of other types. One notable exception is the spatial intermixing of the Hellenistic leaders and the classical intellectuals. Although I treated these two types separately in this chapter for the sake of analyzing the potential lessons on offer, they are clearly of a unified group. This claim is based not only on their spatial relationship to each other, but also on the fact that are made of the same material, most likely came from the same workshop, and were probably purchased all at once.[197] At any rate, the extreme length of the garden's east-west axis and the dominance of the similarly oriented pool implies a path through the garden around the circumference of the pool, along which each sculpture could be viewed and considered.

The centrality of the herms and the location of their display around the pool suggests their prominence within the scheme of the garden art collection of the west peristyle. However, each group of statuary from the west peristyle contributed to the coalescence of the philosophical garden at the Villa of the Papyri. The statues of

[196] NM 4896, NM5590, and NM 5603 respectively.
[197] Mattusch 2005, 183.

deities and naturalistic figures complemented and enhanced the natural setting of the garden, setting the stage for the visitor. The orators, Hellenistic rulers, and intellectuals all depicted exemplary figures whose portraits provided catalysts for the contemplation of philosophical lessons. Each of these groups contributed characteristic parts towards a cohesive whole. The ideal politician of Philodemus's teachings embodied aspects of each of these men: wisdom, clemency, and benefaction. Walking amongst the august and revered figures, when combined with the isolating sensory context of the garden, the effect of the statues surrounding the monumental pool must have been quite profound.

Chapter Five

Conclusions

The Villa of the Papyri, as any Roman villa, was much more than simply a residence. It was culturally constructed as a status symbol, an intellectual retreat, and even as a museum. Indeed, its ability to serve as a powerfully inspirational display context has not been lost in modern times. A famous replica of the Villa of the Papyri once again today houses an impressive art collection, immortalized in the form of the Getty Villa in Malibu (fig. 33). J. Paul Getty chose the villa as the design template for his new museum, which opened in 1974, for its opulence and evocative ability to transport visitors to another place and time.[198] With that in mind, what exactly makes the Villa of the Papyri such an effective museum design? Before that question can be answered it is instructive to consider what it means to be a museum, in both modern and ancient incarnations.

The very word museum comes from the Greek word *mouseion,* or sanctuary of the muses. From this we can understand that museums are not meant to be mere repositories of artifacts, but places of inspiration and learning. The modern notion of a museum reaches us in large part through the filter of Renaissance era collectors and scholars rediscovering and attempting to mimic antiquity.[199] An ideal museum should display collections in a way that provides the viewer with the opportunity to gain deeper and more comprehensive knowledge that goes beyond the mere facts

[198] Lapatin 2010, 129-37.
[199] See Findlen 1989 for the history of the development and etymology of the museum.

and details of particular pieces. A visitor to the Getty Villa who admires the Landsdowne Herakles should also learn about how it fits within the development of classical sculpture and the Roman reception of Greek art. Less traditionally, someone who visits the National Air and Space museum can gawk at the sound barrier breaking Bell X-1 of Captain Charles E. Yeager, but one should also come away with a grasp of the development of air and space travel, especially as it relates to American history.

The ancient *mouseion* likewise had implications of inspiration and education. *Mouseia* were ostensibly sanctuaries for the muses. Being places that welcomed the gods of inspiration, the sacred places naturally became sites of artistic and intellectual pilgrimage. While initially located in countryside settings, such as the valley of the muses, they came to be located within settlements and found homes in *gymnasia* and gardens. The Academy at Athens is one such famous example of the *mouseion-gymnasion* that exemplifies their use as spaces for intellectual and philosophical pursuits.[200] *Mouseia* also became associated with libraries, including the greatest library of antiquity: the Library of Alexandria.[201] There is additional evidence for private libraries boasting *mouseia*.[202] Together, these elements develop the image of the ancient *mouseion* as a setting for artistic, intellectual, and philosophical activity, but not necessarily as a context for the display of large art collections.

[200] Hardie 1997, 23.
[201] Fraser 1972, 312-19.
[202] Hardie 1997, 29.

In the second century BCE victorious generals began building victory sanctuaries at Rome in the form of porticoes, combining the design of the *gymnasion* with the art brought back to Rome as war booty. These porticoes attempted to reconstruct Hellenistic urbanity in the city of Rome through the importation of the quintessentially Greek design of the *gymnasion* garden sanctuary and were often designed by Greek architects.[203] As discreet spaces in the urban topography of Rome, they separated the visitor from the hustle and bustle of the surrounding context of the city. They could be powerfully transportive, their evocative nature aided by their exotic origin. These conditions made them ideal display contexts for foreign artworks meant to impart political and cultural statements about their sponsors. These Republican gifts of benefaction for the people were later developed by the emperors into their ultimate forms in the imperial *fora*.[204]

"Piso" constructed the west peristyle garden at the Villa of the Papyri as a benefaction for his own *familia,* friends, and political entourage fulfilling his role as their *pater familias* and patron. In the west peristyle he incorporated all of the elements of a *mouseion* in a conscious effort to recreate a space of philosophical inspiration and contemplation. As has been argued previously in this paper, the design of the west peristyle imitated the architecture of the *gymnasion* and contained a likely sumptuous garden, ideal settings for a *mouseion*. The discovery of the villa's library containing a comprehensive collection of Epicurean texts provides a literary and philosophical association that lends additional credence to this interpretation. Last but not least, the impressive sculptural collection from the

[203] Zanker 2010, 48-50.
[204] Zanker 2010, 57-9.

garden recalled the displays set up in the porticoes of Rome and provided the catalyst for the contemplation of philosophical ideals of Epicurean political thought commended by Philodemus of Gadara. From these constituent parts arose a philosophical garden in the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri.

The garden of the west peristyle is historically situated within the tradition of the luxury gardens that began to flourish in the villas of the Roman elite during the second century BCE. Like the villas that contained them, gardens were closely bound up with image of their owner. Practical kitchen gardens were often given pride of place due to their association with traditional Roman values of rustic self-sufficiency. Ornate villas and luxurious gardens were sometimes open to criticism for the abandonment of these values, as is attested from the writing of Cicero and others. However, the villa's owner could frame the gardens in a way that emphasized their utility for intellectual *otium* and thus exculpated them from such negative charges. Aspects of their design could be utilized to make the association with Hellenistic centers of intellectualism: *gymnasia, mouseia,* and the philosophical academies.

The west peristyle garden accomplishes this feat in a number of ways. The very design of its long peristyle, which is essentially a garden enclosed by a surrounding *porticus*, is highly reminiscent of the *gymnasion* and the garden contained within echoes the naturalistic environment of the *mouseion.* When a Roman visitor experienced the inspirational setting of this garden, it would have a profound impact on their state of mind. There would have instant associations with intellectual study. In his *Silvae,* Statius wrote vividly of these very sort of private

luxury villa gardens and how they symbolized their owners' erudition and dedication to a philosophical lifestyle. His patrons were principally Epicureans, which fits with that philosophical school's close association with garden spaces. It also further reinforces the deep philosophical implications of the garden in the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri, given the owner's assured status as an avowed Epicurean.

Exploring Epicurean teachings on intellectual retreat, the nature of reality as it relates to our senses, and the ideal life elucidates how a follower of that school would experience, interpret, and utilize the garden of the west peristyle. Epicurus recommended physical and mental retreat from the outside life and the environment he identified for the ideal setting of this retreat was the garden. He set up his school in the garden of his own house at Athens, which became known as "the Garden." In his garden school people of all sorts, including women, were encouraged to separate themselves from the trivialities and stress of daily life, so that they could focus their minds on the contemplation of philosophical quandaries. In doing so, followers of his precepts could move closer to the state of *ataraxia,* or contentment, he held up as the ultimate goal. The garden space of the west peristyle would have provided "Piso" with the ideal environment for the pursuit of this state.

Epicureans were atomists who believed in the power of the senses, particularly sight, to interpret the reality of the world. Their stance on sight can be defined as intromission. According to this understanding all objects release films representing their inherent nature that make physical impressions on the eyes of the beholder. The impressions are interpreted by the mind and words are attached

to these impressions. However, words are therefore arbitrary labels one step removed from the true nature of something. By this logic, true understanding can only be ascertained through the scrutiny of the senses. Lucretius writes at length on the primacy of sight in *de Rerum Natura*. According to him, through our sight we can intrinsically understand abstract concepts and creatures that do not even exist in the real world, such as minotaurs.[205] Based on the profound abilities attributed to sight by Epicureans, it is plain to see how statues might be useful tools to supplement the written word in the imparting of philosophical lessons.

The development of Epicurean thought on political conduct also informed the statue collection of the philosophical garden in the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri. Epicurus's guiding principal in life was the avoidance of strife. Consequently, part of the lifestyle Epicurus stressed in the quest for *ataraxia* was a retreat from political life. Despite Epicurus's objections towards participating in politics, Epicureanism had become a popular school of thought within the Roman elite of the last century BCE. This phenomenon was largely due to the reconciliation of Epicureanism with political involvement. Epicureans like Philodemus of Gadara argued that building a political base endeared to you through benefaction and good will protected you from the intensely unpredictable political upheaval of the Late Republic. Therefore, actions taken towards this goal actually reduced risk and were therefore in line with an Epicurean lifestyle. With that in mind Philodemus set out to write a guide for ideal Epicurean leadership entitled *On the Good King According to Homer*. In fact, the fragments we have of this work come from the library at the Villa

[205] *DRN* 4.129-140.

of the Papyri. The herms of Hellenistic leaders and classical thinkers united in the west peristyle garden represent the two halves of Philodemus's ideal: pragmatic political leadership coupled with wisdom, philosophy, and council.

The reconstruction of the original display locations suggested in this paper clarifies the spatial organization of these sculptures (figs. 34 and 35). The reconstruction is based on the relatively firm locations of the sculptures on the north side of the pool and supplies locations for the clearly displaced pieces on the south side through symmetrical analogy (fig. 36). What emerges is a clear thematic organization around the subject matter of the respective pieces. Orators are located at the monumental entrance through the *tablinum*, naturalistic subjects are placed at either pole of the east-west axis of the pool, herms of Hellenistic leaders and classical intellectuals are paired along the circumference of the pool, and *peplophorai* are grouped along the southeast section of the peristyle's portico. When the locations of these groupings are considered along with the extreme length of the garden's east-west axis, a path along the circumference of the similarly oriented pool is logical.

Timothy O'Sullivan's seminal work on the "Odyssey Landscapes" demonstrates how ancient visitors along a portico in Rome could have taken in the pieces of each group sequentially and pulled lessons from their subject matter.[206] In Herculaneum, likewise, these exemplary lessons range from the benefaction of Philetairos of Pergamon to the scrupulous pursuit of wisdom depicted in the wracked face of a philosopher. Through understanding the intent of the west

[206] O'sullivan 2006, 2007.

peristyle as a philosophical garden, the guiding logic of the sculpture collection becomes clear. Each group of sculptures contributed to the program of the philosophical garden in the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri, either through specific lesson or setting the stage and transporting the visitor to a landscape referencing various sites conducive to philosophical contemplation, such as "the Garden" of Epicurus, the Valley of the Muses, and *gymnasia*.

In the west peristlye of the Villa of the Papyri "Piso" established a philosophical garden through the coalescence of all of these various elements. The architecture echoed the quintessentially Greek *gymnasia* that housed academies. The garden environment provided the inspirational setting of a *mouseion*, aided by the naturalistic sculptures depicting deities and wildlife frolicking along either end of the pool. The sculptures of famous leaders and thinkers provided catalysts for the contemplation of the philosophical teachings of Philodeumus of Gadara. Ultimately, the provision of this philosophical garden was an act of benefaction by "Piso," providing a setting for a philosophical education of his entourage that allowed for the formation of political unity under his guidance.

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Appendix

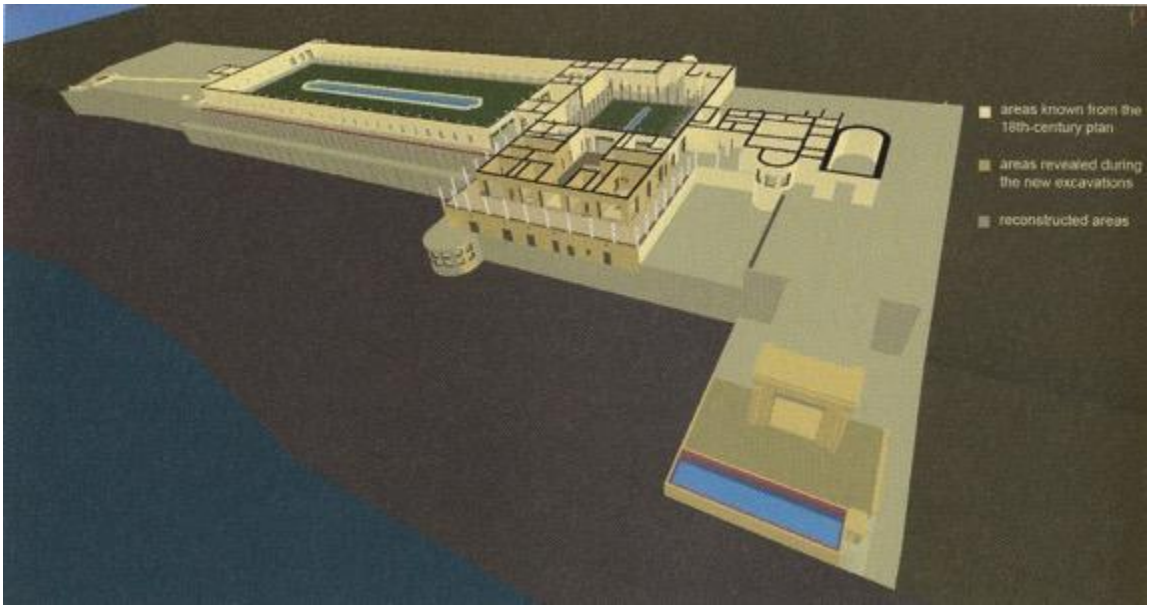

Figure 1. Reconstruction by Mantha Zarmakoupi showing areas known from 18th century and modern excavations (2010).

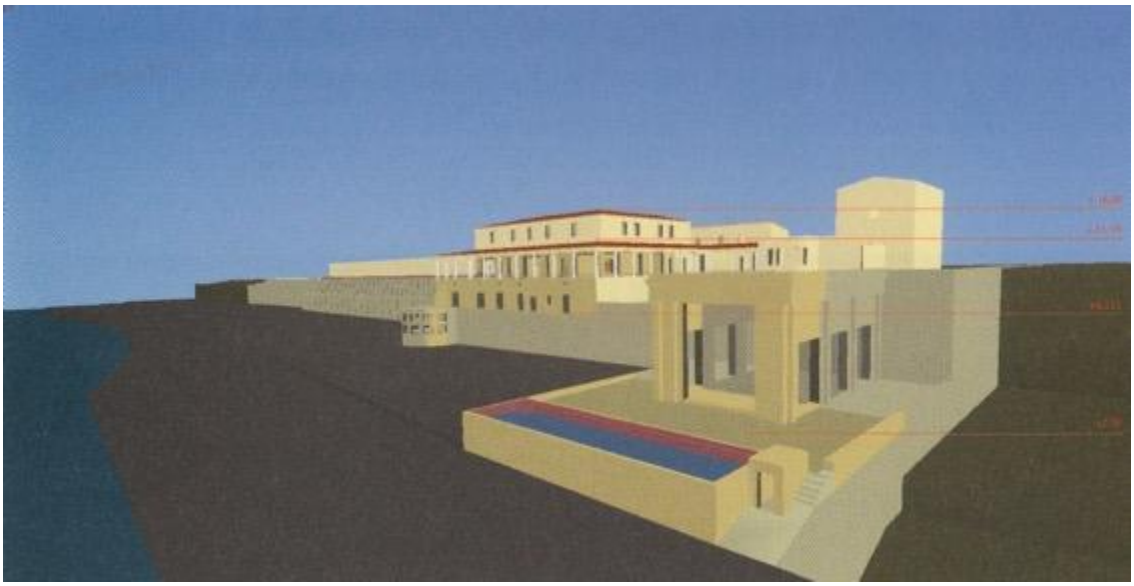

Figure 2. Reconstruction by Mantha Zarmakoupi showing elevation (2010).

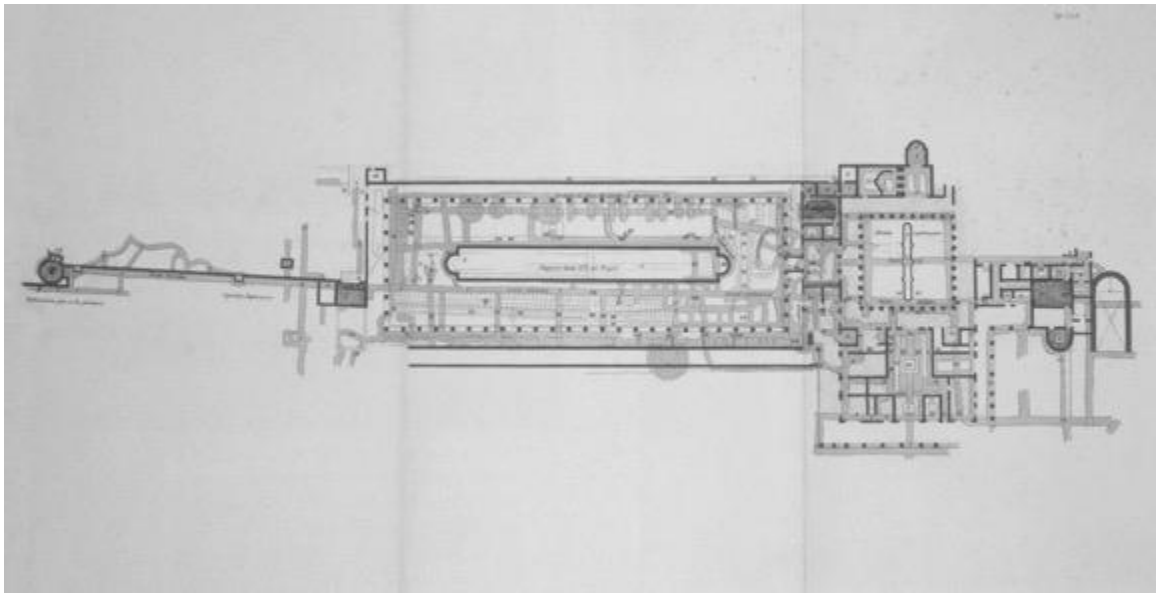

Figure 3. Plan of the Villa of the Papyri including the find spots and excavation tunnels from Karl Weber.

Figure 4. Pan copulating with she-goat (NM 2709).

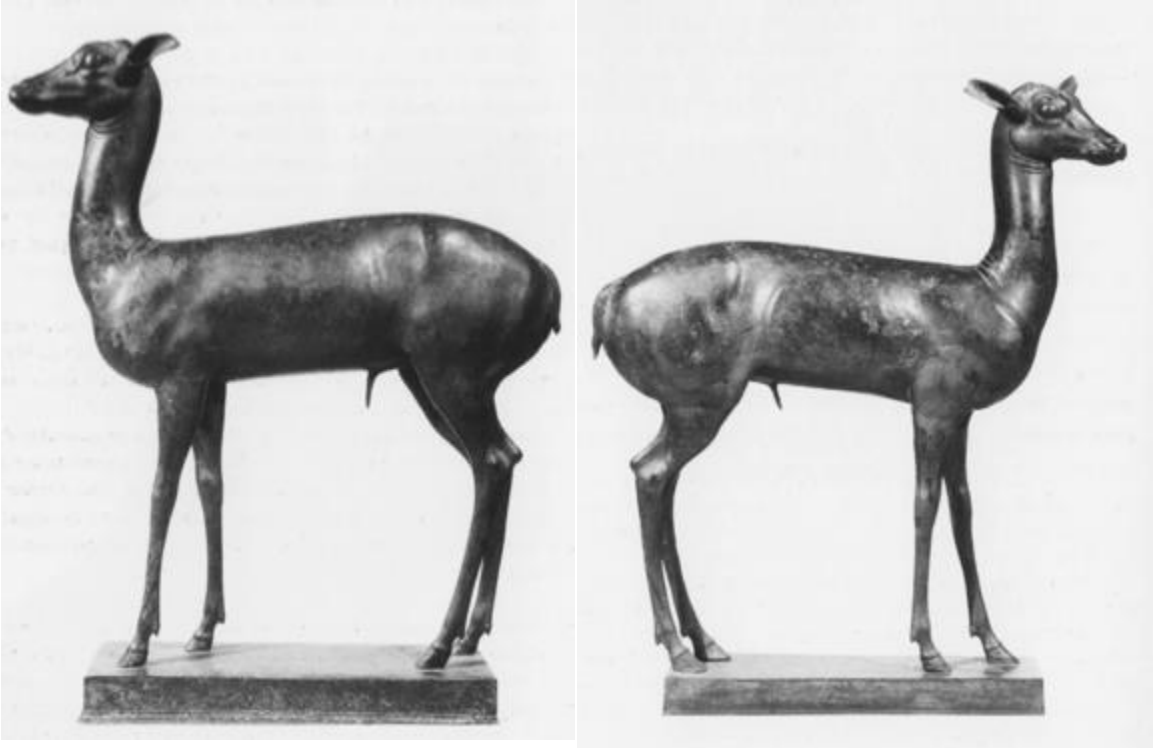

Figure 5. Two male deer (NM 4886 and NM 4888).

Figure 6. Seated Hermes (NM 4893).

Figure 7. Aischenes (NM 6126).

Figure 8. Isokrates (NM 6018).

Figure 9. Unidentified Orator (NM 6210).

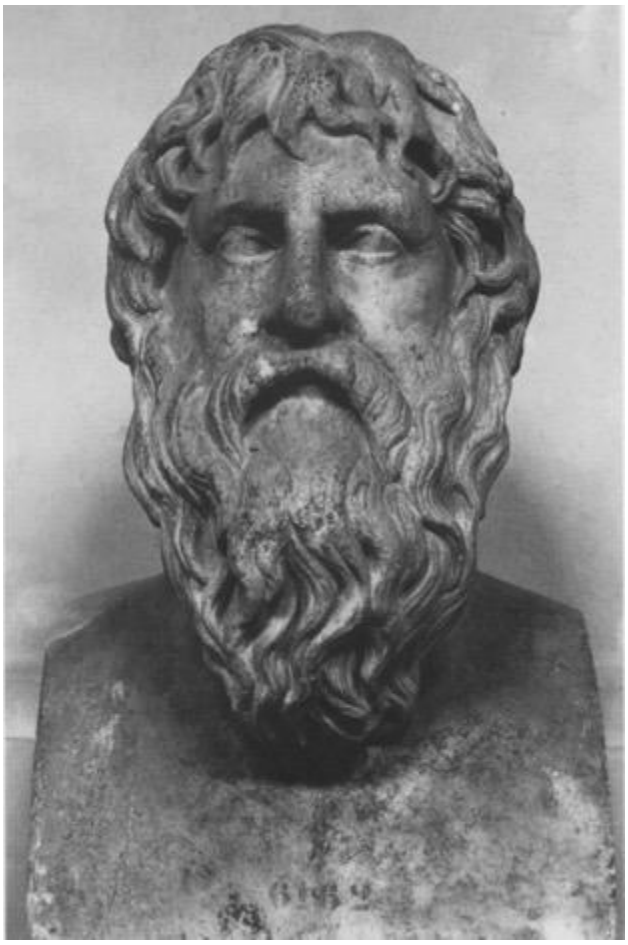

Figure 10. Anakreon, 6th century BCE poet (NM 6162).

Figure 11. Philetairos of Pergamon
(NM 6148).

Figure 12. Young athletes (NM 5626 and NM 5627).

Figure 13. *Peplophora*, possibly carrying a water jug in her original state (NM 6504).

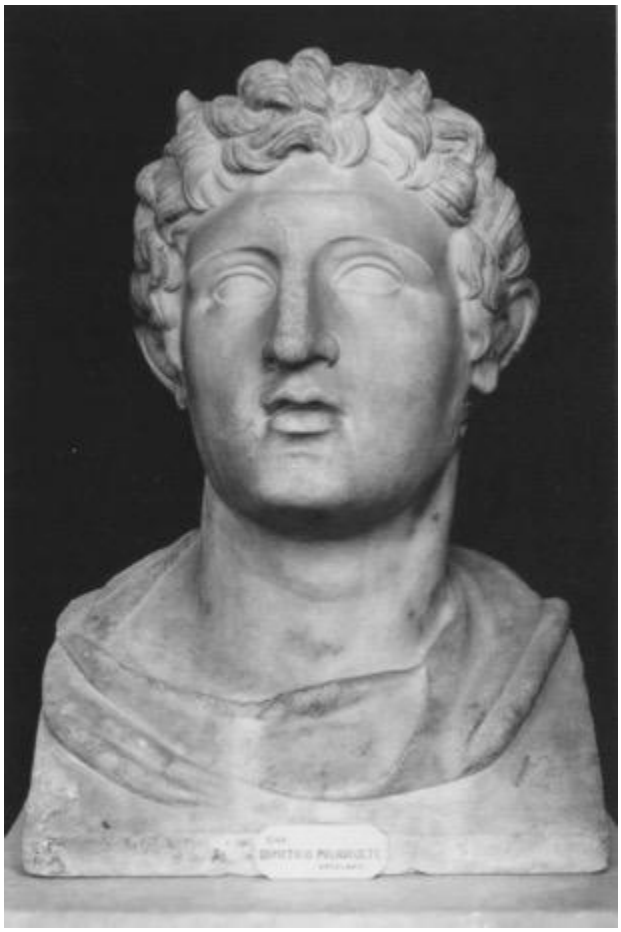

Figure 14. Demetrius I of Macedon (NM 6149).

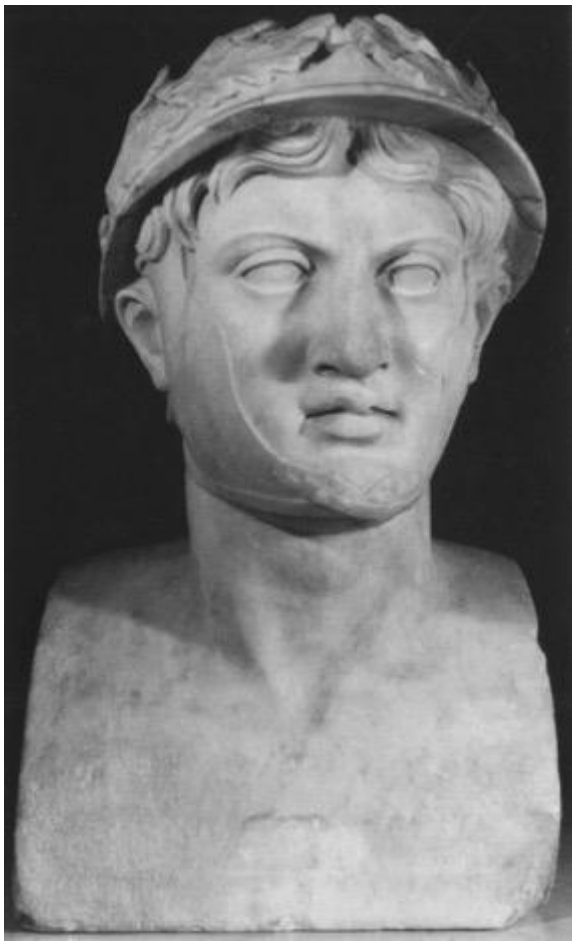

Figure 15. Pyrrhus of Epirus (NM 6150).

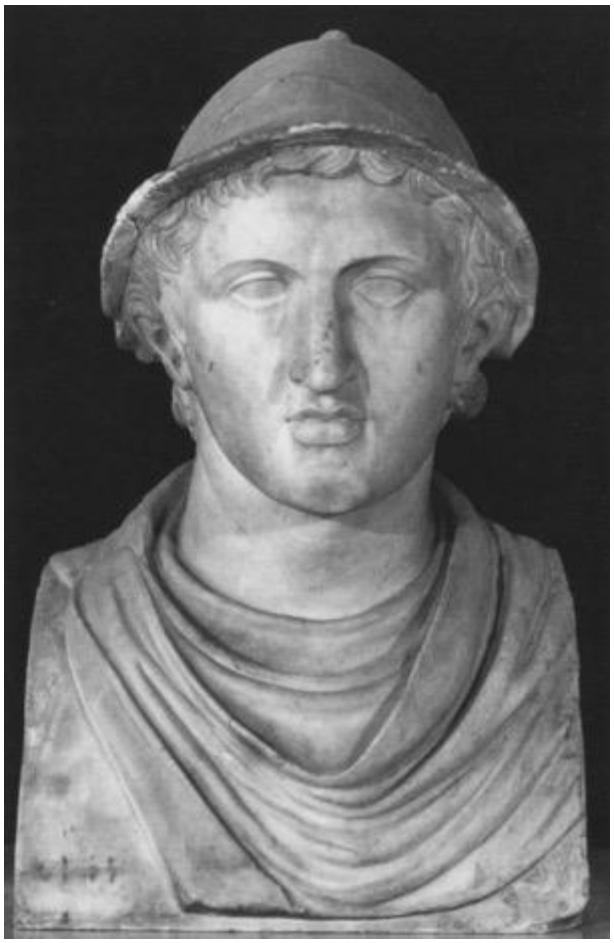

Figure 16. Alexander the Molossian
(NM 6151).

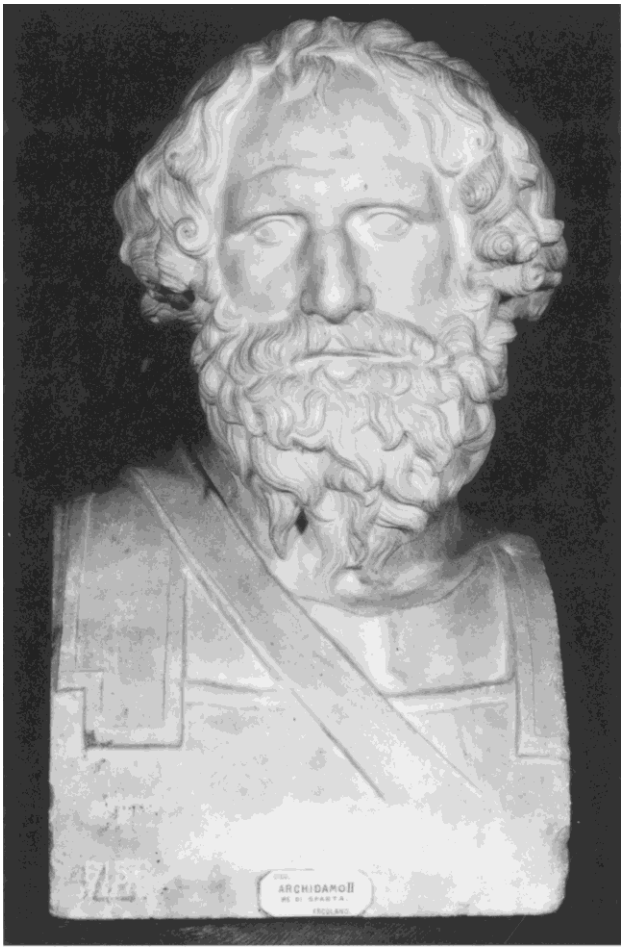

Figure 17. Archidamos of Sparta? (NM 6156).

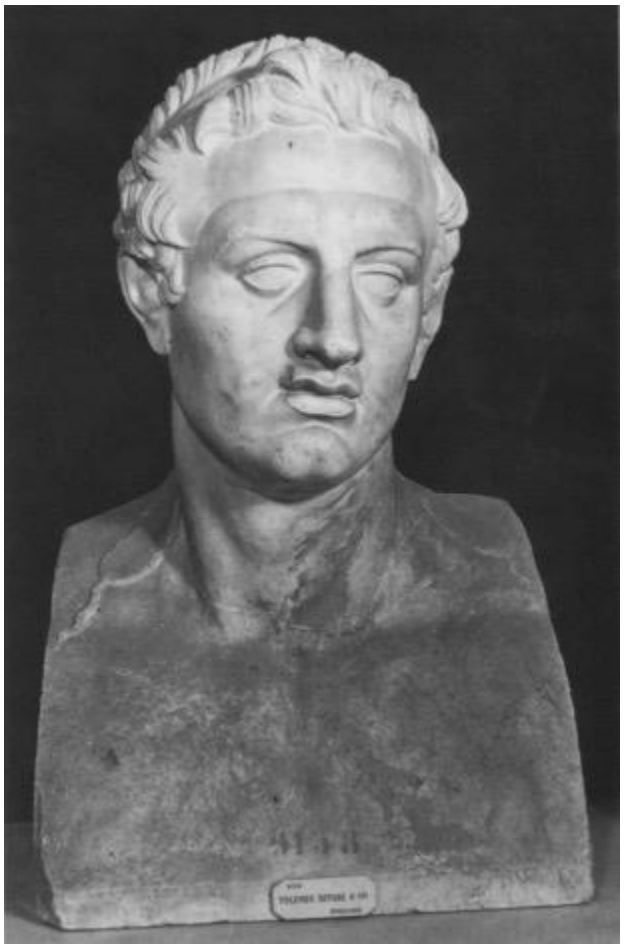

Figure 18. Unidentified Hellenistic Dynast (NM 6158).

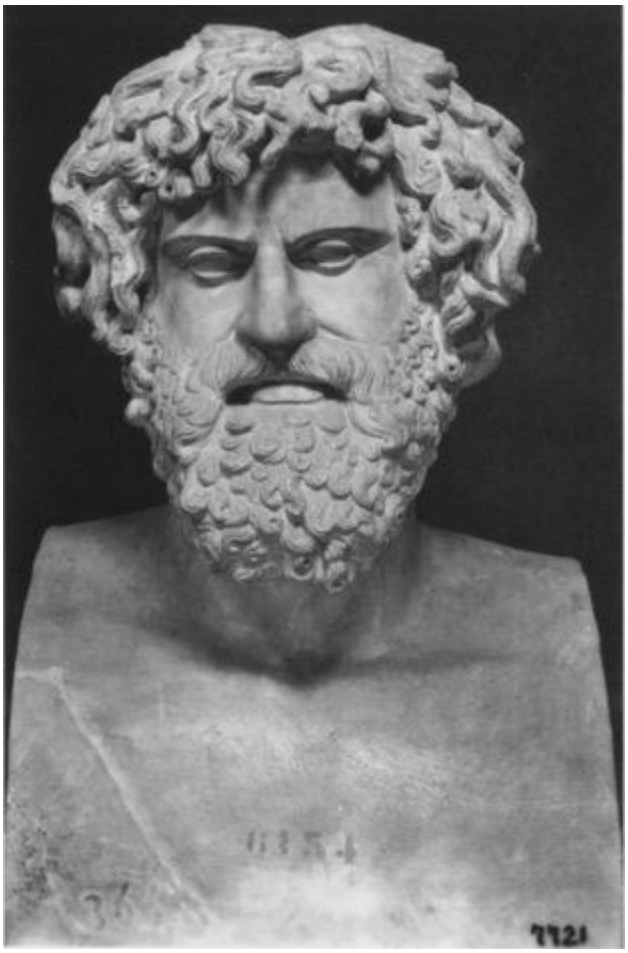

Figure 19. Bearded Glowering Man with Bushy Hair (NM 6154).

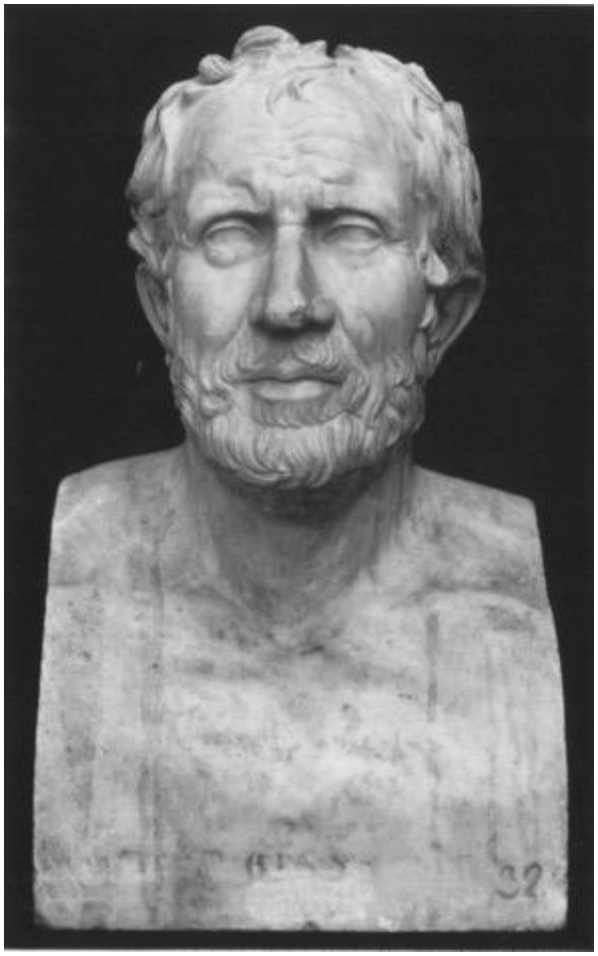

Figure 20. Frowning Man with Short Beard (NM 6152).

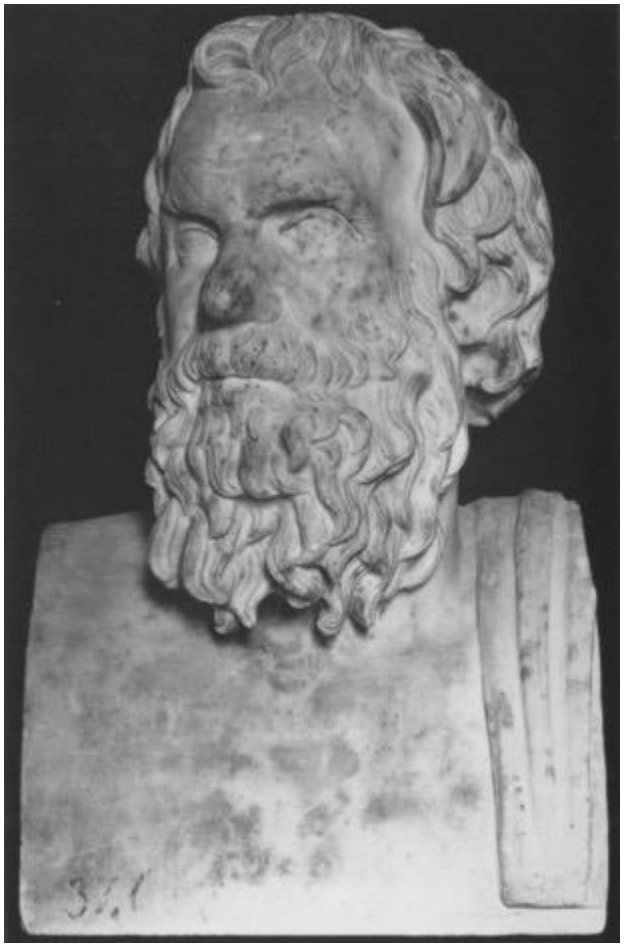

Figure 21. Panyassis (NM 6155).

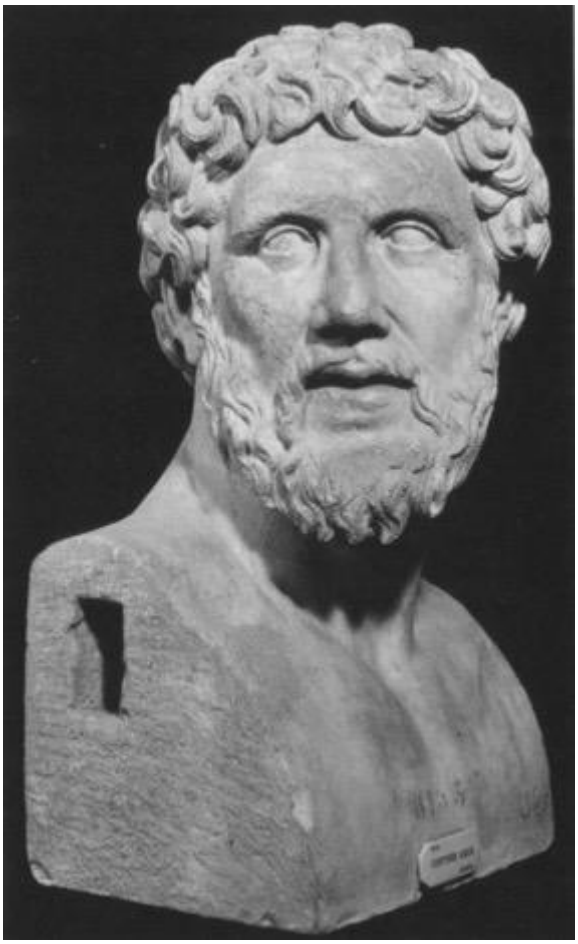

Figure 22. Demosthenes (NM 6153).

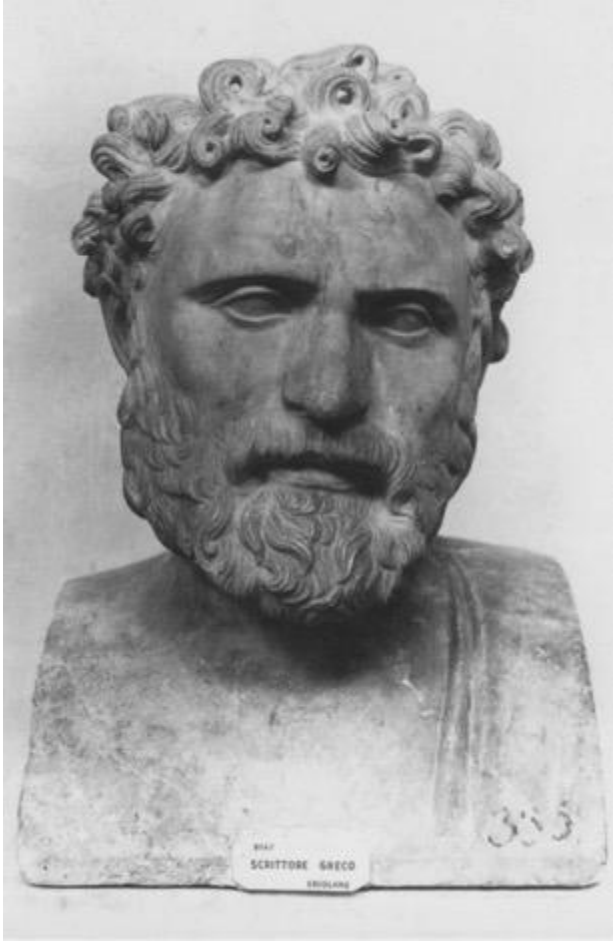

Figure 23. Bearded Intellectual (NM 6147).

Figure 24. Drunken Satyr (NM 5624).

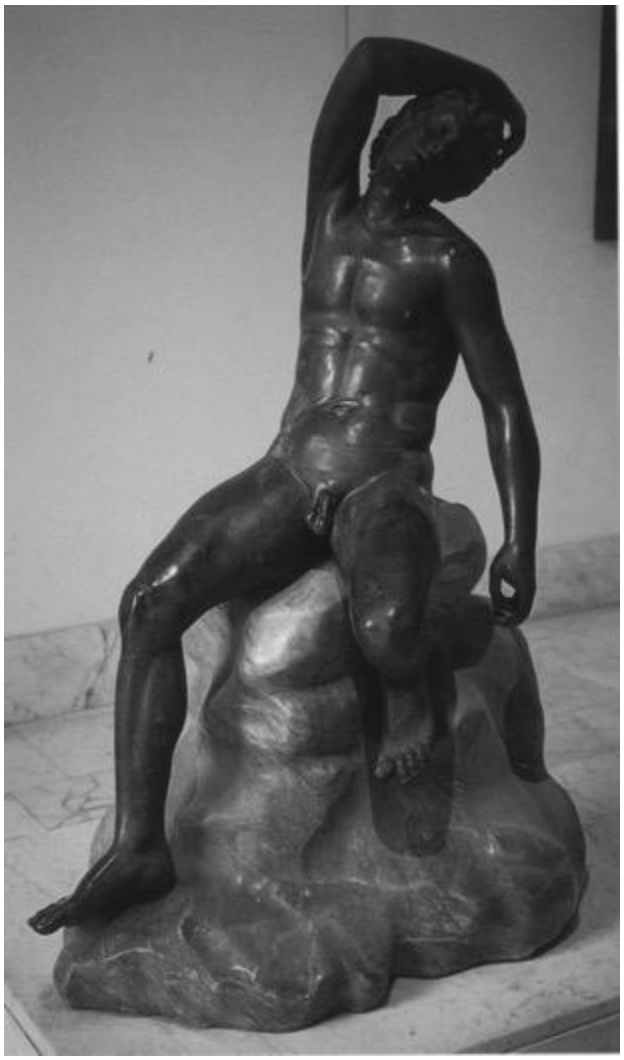

Figure 25. Sleeping Satyr (NM 5625).

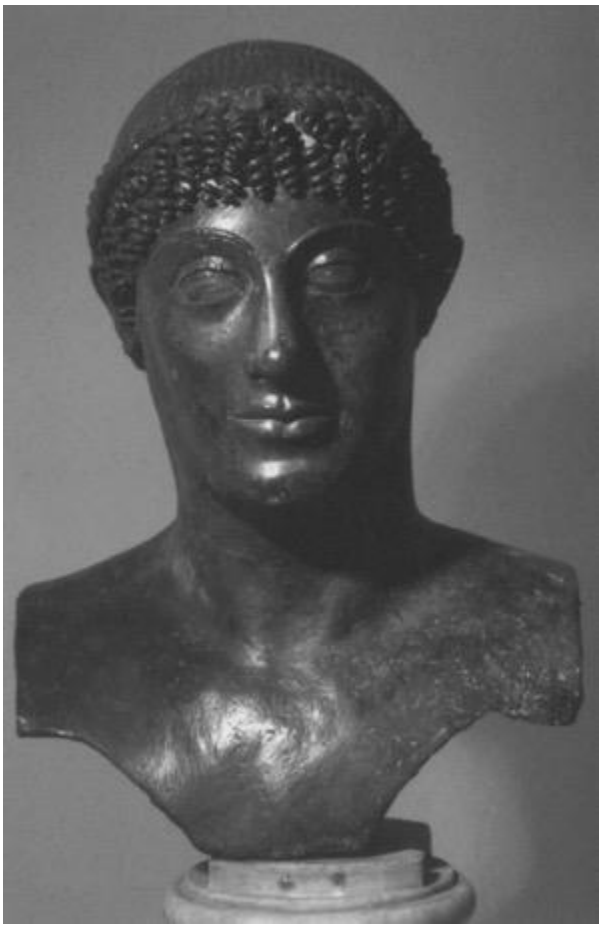

Figure 26. Archaistic Apollo (NM 5608).

Figure 27. Goddess (NM 5529).

Figure 28. Piglet (NM 4893).

Figure 29. *Peplophorai* (NM 5604, NM 5605, NM 5619, NM 5620, NM 5621).

Figure 30. Bronze Bust of Woman (NM 4896).

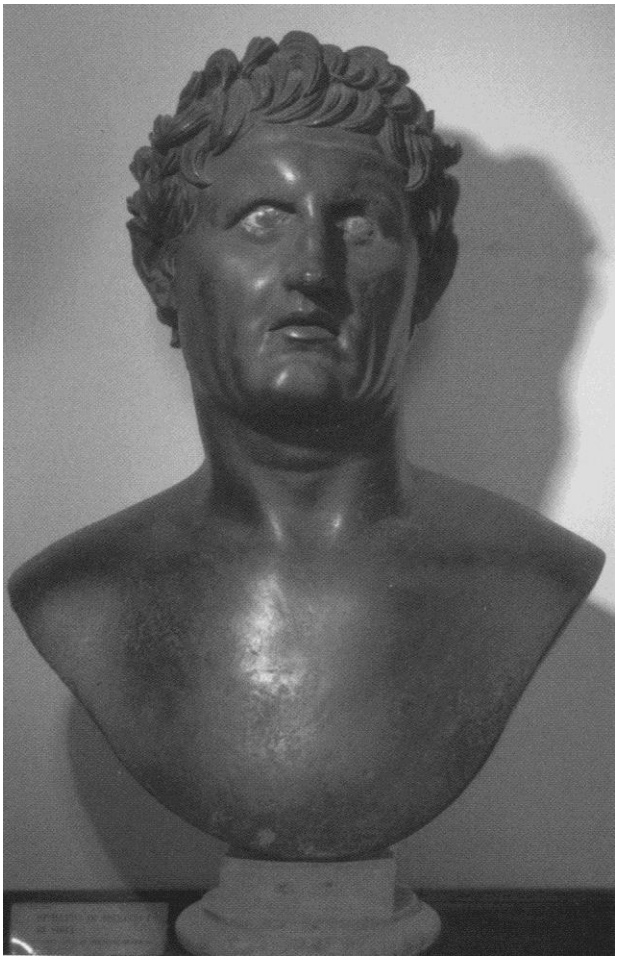

Figure 31. Bronze Bust of Hellenistic Dynast (NM 5590).

Figure 32. Small *Peplophora* (NM 5603).

Figure 33. Getty Villa reconstruction of the west peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri from Zarmakoupi (2010).

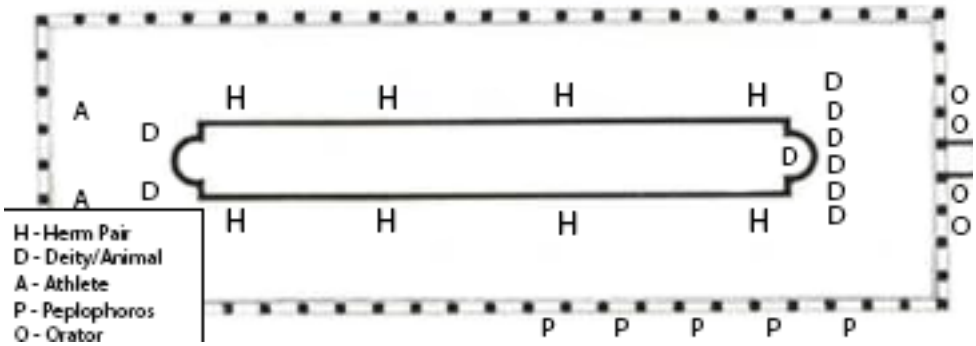

Figure 34. Reconstructed original display locations.

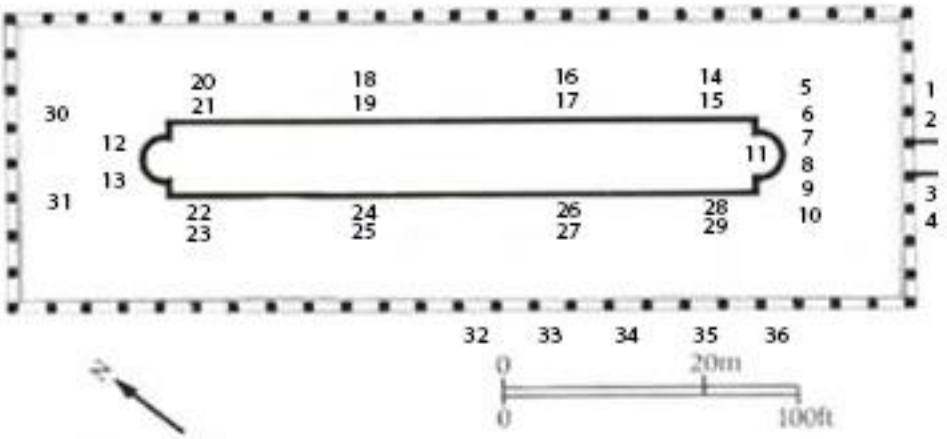

Figure 35. Reconstructed display locations with specific identifications.

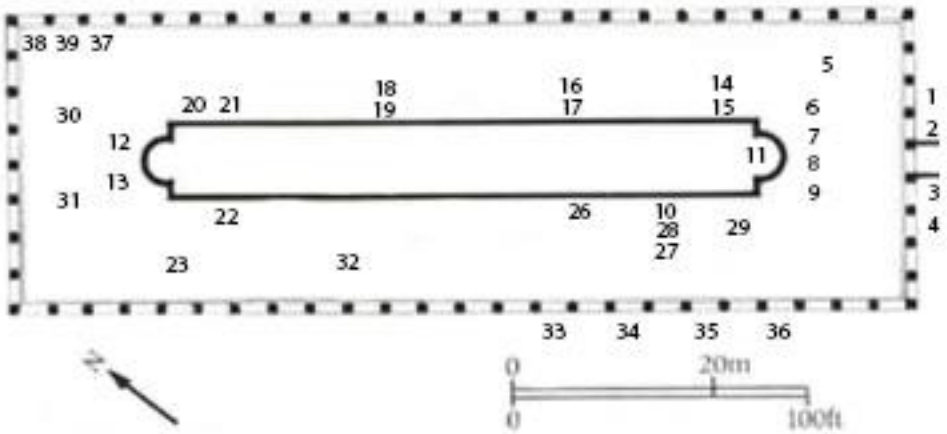

Figure 36. Findspots based on Weber's annotations.

Table 1. Table of Identifications (where generic terms are used, the exact identification is unknown).

Number	Identification
1	Orator
2	Aischenes
3	Isokrates
4	Orator
5	Piglet
6	Apollo
7	Goddess
8	Deer
9	Deer
10	Pan Copulating with She-Goat
11	Sleeping Satyr
12	Seated Hermes
13	Drunken Satyr
14	Philetarios of Pergamon
15	Archidamos of Sparta
16	Pyrrhus of Epirus
17	Bearded Intellectual
18	Hellenistic Dynast
19	Bearded Intellectual
20	Bearded Intellectual
21	Demosthenes
22	Ptolemaic Dynast
23	Alexander the Molossian
24	Missing
25	Missing
26	Anacreon
27	Panyassis
28	Demetrius Poliorcetes
29	Bearded Intelectual
30	Bronze Athlete
31	Bronze Athlete
32	*Peplophora*
33	*Peplophora*
34	*Peplophora*
35	*Peplophora*
36	*Peplophora*
37	Bronze Bust of Dynast
38	Bronze Bust of Woman
39	Small *Peplophora*

VITA

Antonio Robert LoPiano started his academic career at Washington College in Chestertown, MD, where he graduated with a B.A. in Anthropology with a focus in Archaeology and minor in History**.** While there he fostered an interest in classical civilizations and decided to pursue the study of Mediterranean Archaeology. This decision led him to enroll in the Post-Baccalaureate program in Classical Languages at Georgetown University while continuing to work on excavations in Italy during the field season. After completing the Post-Baccalaureate program, Antonio began his M.A. studies in the Mediterranean Archaeology Program within the Department of Anthropology at the University of Tennessee. During his time at the University of Tennessee he accepted a Graduate Teaching Assistantship in the Art and Archaeology of Ancient Greece and Rome, excavated at the 'Ayn Gharandal Archaeology Project, and conducted research that ultimately culminated in this thesis. In the fall, he will pursue his Ph.D. in Classical Studies at Duke University.