

STUDIUS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ROMAN LANDSCAPE PAINTING *

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(Plates I-VII)

I

Non fraudando et Studio divi Augusti aetate, qui primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam, villas et porticus (portus?) ac topiaria opera, lucos, nemora, colles, piscinas, euripos, amnes, litora, qualia quis optaret, varias ibi obambulantium species aut navigantium terraque villas adeuntium asellis aut vehiculis, iam piscantes, aucupantes aut venantes aut etiam vindemiantes. Sunt in eius exemplaribus nobiles palustri accessu villae, succollatis sponsione mulieribus labantes trepidis quae feruntur, plurimae praeterea tales argutiae facetissimi salis. Idem subdialibus maritimas urbes pingere instituit, blandissimo aspectu minimoque inpendio. (Pliny, *NH* xxxv, 116-17)¹

Studius too, of the period of the Divine Augustus, must not be cheated of his due. He first introduced the most attractive fashion of painting walls with villas, porticoes (harbours?), and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-pools, canals, rivers, coasts—whatever one could wish, and in them various representations of people strolling about, people sailing, people travelling overland to villas on donkey-back or in carriages, and in addition people fishing, fowling, hunting, or even gathering the vintage. His pictures include noble villas reached across marshes, men tottering along with women, trembling burdens, on their shoulders, carried for a wager, and very many such lively and witty subjects besides. It was the same man who introduced the practice of painting seaside cities in open terraces, producing a charming effect with minimal expense.

The Augustan painter Studius, the 'famous enigmatic Studius' as von Blanckenhagen calls him,² is mentioned only in this passage in Latin literature. He clearly played an important, possibly a pioneering, role in the history of landscape painting in the Roman age; and for that reason it is particularly frustrating that he remains such a shadowy figure. Not only do we lack biographical information (even his name is disputed), but also the true

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Abbreviations used for periodicals follow the list in *American Journal of Archaeology* LXXIV (1970), 3-8. Other abbreviations are as follows:

Andreae-Kyrieleis = B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (1975).

Beyen I = H. G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil I* (1938).

Beyen II = H. G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil II*, I (1960).

Blanckenhagen 1962 = P. H. von Blanckenhagen and C. Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase* (*Röm. Mitt. Ergänzungsheft VI*) (1962).

Blanckenhagen 1963 = P. H. von Blanckenhagen, 'The Odyssey frieze', *Röm. Mitt.* LXX (1963), 100-46, pls. 44-53.

Dawson = C. M. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting* (*YCS IX*, 1944).

Grimal = P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains* (1943).

Lehmann = P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1953).

Lessing-Mau = J. Lessing and A. Mau, *Wand- und Deckenschmuck eines römischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus* (1891).

Maiuri = A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* (1931).

Peters = W. J. T. Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (1963).

Rizzo 1936 a = G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture dell'Aula Isiaca di Caligola* (*Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia III. Roma*, II) (1936).

Rizzo 1936 b = G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della 'Casa di Livia'* (*Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia III. Roma*, III) (1936).

Rostovtzeff = M. I. Rostovtzeff, 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft', *Röm. Mitt.* xxvi (1911), 1-186, pls. I-XI.

Spinazzola = V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza* (1953).

¹ The text follows the Codex Bambergensis, except that I prefer 'porticus' to 'portus' since an architectural feature provides a slightly better balance with 'villas' and gives us three man-made items at the head of the list, while 'portus' would make 'litora' somewhat pleonastic. 'Portus' is a natural scribe's error for 'porticus'. The opening clause is a gerundival ablative absolute, tacked on loosely to a preceding main clause: Pliny seems to be contrasting the ancient painter Marcus Plautius with the modern (Augustan) Studius. For Pliny's use of this construction cf. xvi, 170: 'hinc erant armamenta ad inclutos cantus, non silendo et reliquo curae miraculo'; xxxvi, 106: 'non omittendo memorabili exemplo...'; see A. Önnersfors, *Pliniana* (1956), 113.

² Blanckenhagen 1962, 60, n. 111.

nature of his contribution is the subject of a long-standing scholarly controversy. It is the object of the present paper to review the evidence, both literary and archaeological, which bears upon Studius, and to seek to draw some firmer conclusions about his place in the history of Roman painting. Such conclusions, it must be stressed from the outset, are only possible because of the great progress which has been made in the chronological analysis of Roman painting over the last thirty or so years. If it will be found necessary to disagree in some respects with the views of Rostovtzeff, published in 1911, that should take away no credit from what was, for its time, a remarkable and fundamental study.³

First his name. The manuscripts give two alternative readings, 'Studio' and 'Ludio'. Dissatisfied with both, German editors of the nineteenth century emended to 'S. Tadio', a reading which has recently been supported by J. J. Pollitt on the grounds that 'Tadius' is at least a known Roman name.⁴ In fact, the correction is unnecessary. Both Studius and Ludius occur in Latin epigraphy, albeit very rarely. Ludius appears as a *nomen gentilicium* in three inscriptions from Trebula Mutuesca (Monteleone) in the hills north-east of Rome;⁵ Studius is found as a *cognomen* in an imperial-age inscription at Aequum Tuticum (near Ariano) in southern central Italy, and, in the form 'Istudius', in an early Christian inscription in Rome itself.⁶ Of the two readings 'Studius' is to be preferred, since it is given by the oldest and best of the manuscripts, the tenth-century Codex Bambergensis, whose readings are generally more convincing than those of the later manuscripts.

Whichever reading is adopted, there seems to be no ground for saying that the name 'smacks of a non-Roman origin':⁷ for 'Studius' Kajanto suggests a derivation from the noun 'studium' or its cognate verb 'studere'.⁸ Our painter may, in fact, to judge from the epigraphical parallels, have come from somewhere in central Italy—an interesting detail in an age when so many of the known artists seem to have been of Greek or east-Mediterranean extraction.⁹

Secondly the dates of his career. Pliny's definition 'divi Augusti aetate' allows a broad range of possibilities. His *floruit* might have been as early as the third quarter of the first century B.C., or as late as the first two decades A.D. Thus Virgil (active from about 42 to 19 B.C.) and Ovid (active from 16 B.C. to about A.D. 17) are both Augustan poets, though there is a clear gap between their careers. It is unlikely, however, that Studius remained active long into the reign of Tiberius, else Pliny might be expected to have added 'et Tiberii'. We may infer that Studius's career falls sometime between about 45 B.C. and about A.D. 20. Further precision can be provided only by the archaeological evidence (see below).

One other biographical detail may be postulated as a strong possibility: that is, that Studius spent at least part of his career in the emperor's employment. Any eminent artist from the time of Augustus onwards was likely to receive commissions from the emperor, or conversely to owe his eminence to imperial patronage. Of the five other early-imperial painters recorded by Pliny, only three seem to be mentioned for their artistic importance rather than their social interest, and all three worked in the service of emperors. Famulus (or Fabullus) owed his fame to paintings in Nero's Golden House; Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus painted in the temples of Honos and of Virtus for Vespasian.¹⁰ Moreover, the paintings which they executed in the said buildings were clearly murals rather than panels. In the case of the two Vespasianic artists this is shown by the fact that the verb 'pinxerunt' directly governs the noun 'aedes'; and in the case of Famulus by Pliny's story that he painted wearing a toga, 'quamquam in machinis'—which can only mean 'even among the scaffolding'. (One may add that the Golden House would not have been the

³ Rostovtzeff.

⁴ J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome* (1966), 115, n. 44. Cf. L. Urlichs, *Chrestomathia Pliniana* (1857), 367. 'S.' would presumably be a scribal corruption for the normal abbreviations for Sextus (Urlichs) or Spurius (Pollitt).

⁵ *CIL* IX, 4884, 4887, 4921. Cf. x, 8043 (65) (Cora).
⁶ *CIL* IX, 1430; G. B. de Rossi and others, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* n.s. III (1956), 6574. There is also a female name 'Studium' at Aesernai (Isernia): *CIL* IX, 2720.

⁷ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World* (1951), 40. The context shows that 'non-Roman' means, more generally, 'non-Italian'.

⁸ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965), 116, 259.

⁹ Toynbee, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁰ Pliny, *NH* xxxv, 120. The other two painters are Turpilius and Titedius Labeo, who are mentioned primarily because of their high social status: xxxv, 20. Q. Pedius, who died before maturity, is a similar case (xxxv, 21).

'prison' of Famulus' art if the latter had consisted of movable panels.) For murals the emperors obviously had to call in contemporary artists, whereas for the portable works of art, both panel-paintings and statues, with which they decorated their buildings they preferred (as all our literary sources make clear) to collect 'old masters'. The fact that Studius was a wall-painter rather than a panel-painter therefore is consistent with the possibility that he carried out imperial commissions.

That is as much as we can conjecture about Studius's life. The more important question concerns his work: what precisely did he paint? Pliny's passage makes it clear, as just stated, that he was a wall-painter rather than a panel-painter: 'primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam', 'subdialibus . . . pingere instituit'. It also leaves no doubt that he painted (1) landscapes with architectural elements and staffage figures, (2) seaside towns. Further, Pliny clearly believed that he was the originator of such paintings: 'primus instituit'; 'idem . . . instituit'. We do not have to believe that Pliny was literally right here, since the personalities credited with being pioneers in any field have rarely started wholly from scratch; but we can, I think, believe that Studius was the first great name in his field, the personality who brought together previous developments and fused them into a vivid and individual style which assured his fame—in other words he was the *first major figure* in a particular genre of landscape painting.

Can we identify this genre? It is clearly not the mythological landscape painting known from the Odyssey landscapes of the Esquiline (Pl. I. 1), and from the tableaux studied by Dawson and, more recently, von Blanckenhagen (Pl. VII. 2).¹¹ The architecture is every-day architecture: villas and porticoes (if we accept the reading 'porticus'), with gardens like those in rich men's estates containing fishpools and canals. The human figures are everyday people engaged in everyday activities: walking, sailing, riding donkeys, travelling in carriages, fishing, fowling, hunting, gathering the vintage. Furthermore (a point which has often been overlooked) these figures are portrayed with a strong element of humour. Whatever may be meant by the words 'succollatis sponsione mulieribus labantes trepidis quae feruntur' (whether indeed the manuscript tradition has come down to us correctly), it is evident from the following phrase, 'plurimae praeterea tales argutiae facetissimi salis', that some whimsical subject is being described and that such subjects were typical of Studius's work.

Nor can Studius's genre be the style of garden painting known from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta and, later, from Pompeian houses like the House of the Floral Chambers.¹² Here the background is blotted out by a natural paradise of trees and shrubs; there are no human figures, no buildings and no distant vistas; the room is translated into a kind of open pavilion set in the middle of a magic forest peopled by birds of every species and enriched by the fruit and flowers of every season. Studius's landscapes, however, contain buildings, various natural or quasi-natural features, and human actors, often apparently present in some numbers. All this clearly requires distant views.

Grimal suggests an uneasy compromise: he thinks that the Pliny passage can cover both the Prima Porta type of garden painting and the open landscape with figures and buildings.¹³ He rightly interprets 'topiaria opera' as motifs in landscape gardening and, plausibly, regards the list 'lucos, nemora, colles, piscinas, euripos, amnes, litora' as in apposition to, in other words expanding upon, 'topiaria opera'. Where he seems to go wrong is in taking items in the list in isolation and treating them as independent genres: thus 'nemora' are for him groves of the Prima Porta type, and 'luci' can be interpreted as 'sanctuaires rustiques du type de ceux de la Maison de Livie' (that is, the pictures in the so-called 'triclinium'). But, if whole walls or whole pictures were devoted to 'nemora' or 'luci',

¹¹ Odyssey landscapes: Blanckenhagen 1963; A. Gallina, *Le pitture con paesaggi dell' Odissea dall' Esquilino* (1961); Beyen II, 260–350, figs. 102–6. Tableaux: Dawson; von Blanckenhagen, 'Daedalus and Icarus on Pompeian walls', *Röm. Mitt.* LXXV (1968), 106 f., pls. 27–47.

¹² As suggested by K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (1896), 147. Livia's Garden Room: M. M. Gabriel, *Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta* (1955).

The garden paintings in the House of the Floral Chambers are unpublished apart from a few illustrations: A. Maiuri, *La peinture romaine* (1953), 124; H. von Heintze, *Römische Kunst* (1969), fig. 114; B. Andreae, *Römische Kunst* (1973), fig. 48; T. Kraus and L. von Matt, *Lebendiges Pompeji* (1973), pl. 297. For further examples of garden paintings, Grimal, 479–96.

¹³ *ibid.*, 100–2 (especially 102, n. 2), 229 f., 303, 354, 457.

how, one wonders, does Grimal think that the painter represented 'colles', 'piscinae', 'euripi', 'amnes', or 'litora'? There are certainly no extant paintings which treat these other 'topiaria opera' as autonomous units. The fact is, the whole ethos of Livia's garden paintings at Prima Porta is at variance with the style suggested by the rest of Pliny's description: to link them with Studius (and Grimal actually writes of them and of a painting in the Auditorium of Maecenas: 'il faut peut-être faire remonter l'exécution à Ludius lui-même') is to deny the painter a unitary style. Pliny's language certainly suggests a unitary style: Studius 'primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam' (not 'amoenissima genera picturae' or the like). It also suggests that the 'topiaria opera' are normally peopled: in 'varias ibi obambulantium species aut navigantium . . .' the adverb 'ibi' surely refers back to all the foregoing items, which have indeed already been summarized by the phrase 'qualia quis optaret'.

The absence of human figures also enables us to rule out large-scale perspectives of buildings and grottoes like those in the Boscoreale bedroom (Pl. I. 2), which are surely, despite Lehmann, inspired by stage-sets,¹⁴ as well as those pictures of rustic shrines which consist basically of a close-up of a sacred column or baetyl set against a single, twisted tree. Fine examples of the latter survive on the Palatine, in the 'triclinium' of the so-called 'House of Livia' and in the recently excavated Room of the Masks (Pl. I. 3).¹⁵ Though they may contain statues and offerings, birds and perhaps a few grazing animals, they have only the barest elements of architecture, and they lack the pedestrians, sailors and riders, the anglers, fowlers, huntsmen and grape-pickers, and above all the humorous groups, which appear to have been a trade-mark of Studius's work.

We are left with a series of paintings which fit Pliny's description rather better. They show distant or relatively distant views of landscape, in which buildings of various kinds feature prominently, while tiny figures, both human and animal, are liberally sprinkled around, the humans walking, conversing, riding, sacrificing, or engaged in other everyday activities. In the landscape we see selections from the elements mentioned by Pliny, such as clumps of trees, hills, lakes, rivers or sea-shores. Among the best examples are the Yellow Frieze from the 'House of Livia' (Pls. III. 2; IV. 1-3), the landscapes from the Farnesina house (Pl. V. 1-2), the tableaux from the Red Room in the villa at Boscotrecase (Pl. VI. 2-3), and the various pictures of seaside villas from Pompeii and Stabiae (Pl. II. 1).¹⁶ Here surely lies the genre for which Studius won renown.

But can Studius's field be defined any more closely? Some have argued, for instance, that he favoured a particular range of buildings to the exclusion of others. How valid is this point of view?

Here Vitruvius's reference to landscape painting becomes important. Writing in the early Augustan period (about 30-20 B.C.), he traces the development of wall-painting down to his own time. The ancients, he tells us, first painted imitation marble veneering (in other words the so-called 'First Pompeian Style'); they then proceeded to imitate illusionistic architectural forms (the Second Style), while in open spaces like *exedrae* they reproduced theatrical scenery, and 'in corridors because of the length of the surface they created decorations with varieties of landscape, drawing images from specific characteristics of

¹⁴ Lehmann, 82-131. In support of inspiration from stage scenery, Beyen I, 141-208; idem, *Mnemosyne*, ser. IV, 10 (1957), 147 f.; Peters, 15-19. So too, in his various articles, K. Schefold: e.g. in *Andraea-Kyrieleis*, 54 f., 57. For a compromise interpretation, R. Winkes in H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* I, 4 (1973), 935-8. The similar painting at the centre of a Second Style wall in Naples (Nat. Mus. 8594; A. Mau, *Geschichte der dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (1882), pl. VII b) contains human figures, but is dominated by the architecture (a *tholos* and the wall of a temple in the background) in a way which ill accords with Pliny's description. It can certainly not be called a 'landscape'.

¹⁵ House of Livia: Rostovtzeff, 6 f., figs. 1, 2; Rizzo 1936 b, 57 f., 60, figs. 37, 38, 42, pl. XI; Peters, 42-5, figs. 33, 34. Room of the Masks:

G. Caretoni, *BdA* XLVI (1961), 194-6, figs. 4-6, 8, 12, pl. II b; Beyen, *BdBesch.* xxxix (1964), 142. These are the 'sanctuaire rustiques' which Grimal links with Studius (see above). Similar examples, here with odd human figures, in the Farnesina white *cubiculum* E: Lessing-Mau, pls. III-IV; Blankenhagen 1962, 27 f.; Peters, 53. Slightly more elaborate versions appear in the House of the Cryptoportico at Pompeii (Spinazzola, 492; Beyen II, 99) and in the apse of the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine (Rizzo 1936 a, 26-31, pl. VIII; Andraea in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* 4 II (1966), 874).

¹⁶ Yellow Frieze, Farnesina landscapes, Boscotrecase: see below, pp. 8f. and bibl. in nn. 32, 36, 37. Seaside villas: Rostovtzeff, 50-2, 72-7, pls. V (1), VII-IX; Peters, 110 f. (passim), 148 f. (passim).

places; for they paint harbours, promontories, shores, rivers, springs, canals, shrines, groves, mountains, cattle, shepherds.' The Latin of the crucial passage reads:

ambulationibus vero propter spatia longitudinis varietatibus topiorum ornarent a certis locorum proprietatibus imagines exprimentes; pinguntur enim portus, promunturia, litora, flumina, fontes, euripi, fana, luci, montes, pecora, pastores (Vitruvius VII, 5, 2).

Although the subject of the sentence remains 'antiqui', it is clear that Vitruvius is now referring to a period much nearer his own date. There was in fact virtually no place in wall-painting, in corridors or elsewhere, for landscape of any form before the second quarter of the first century B.C. when the 'closed-wall' type of decoration characteristic of the earliest Second Style was partly opened up (Beyen's Phase Ib, dated by him at Rome about 75-60 B.C.).¹⁷ Similarly the megalographic paintings, Trojan battles and 'Ulixes errationes per topia' mentioned in Vitruvius's next sentence are all characteristic of the generation before he was writing: the first must be recognized in large-scale figure-scenes like those of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii and the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale; the second occur in the House of the Cryptoportico at Pompeii; the third are well-known from the Esquiline frieze now in the Vatican Museum (Pl. I. 1).¹⁸

In other words, Vitruvius's characterization of landscape painting is written from a near-contemporary viewpoint (indeed the present tense 'pinguntur' implies that the genre was still practised): the author must have been personally familiar with what he was describing and can be expected to have summarized its features accurately. That being so, the differences from Pliny's passage on Studian landscapes do seem to acquire a special significance. Although both writers are apparently describing landscapes with broad vistas and staffage figures, that is, subjects suitable for extensive surfaces, there are clear divergences in the motifs listed. Vitruvius does *not* mention villas, porticoes and gardens; while he *does* mention shrines, cattle and shepherds. Pliny, on the other hand, *does* mention villas, porticoes and gardens (villas, indeed, three times); while he does *not* mention shrines, cattle and shepherds.

Most modern writers, starting from Rostovtzeff, have therefore accepted that the two passages refer to somewhat different things. They believe that Vitruvius is describing landscapes in which the sacred and pastoral element predominates (the so-called 'sacro-idyllic' landscapes), while Pliny is talking about landscapes focussed round villas and parks, a slightly later development. Studius, then, will have created the genre of 'villa landscapes'. The seaside cities which he painted in open terraces belong to the same context: such representations must have developed out of, or parallel to, the representations of villas.¹⁹

The main problem with this interpretation is that villa landscapes—or at least what we normally understand by villa landscapes—begin *too* late. They are most common in the Fourth Style, when they take a fairly standard form, featuring luxurious villas with colonnaded façades, often of more than one storey, looking out on to a garden, or more commonly fronting a lake or the sea. Parks extend behind them, while by-standers and fishermen normally provide a human interest in the foreground (Pl. II. 1). The first examples, which interestingly lack staffage figures, belong to the later Third Style and cannot be dated before

¹⁷ Beyen I, 61-88. The landscapes in the *atrium* of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii (see below) are thought by Maiuri (198 f.) to be earlier than the remaining decoration of the room and are accordingly ascribed by Beyen (I, 55) to his Phase Ia; but examination of Maiuri's drawing (fig. 83) and of the remains *in situ* have not convinced me that there is more than one phase of decoration present. Beyen's other suggestions as to possible roles of representational painting in Phase Ia of the Second Style (see especially Beyen I, 55 f., 58) remain conjectural.

¹⁸ Megalography: Beyen I, 81-3; cf. F. L. Bastet, *BABesch.* XLIX (1974), 216 f. Villa of the Mysteries: Maiuri, 121-81, pls. G-U, 1-xvi; recent bibl. collected by Bastet, art. cit., 240. Boscoreale *oecus*: Andreae and K. Fittschen, in Andreae-Kyrieleis, 71-100, figs. 59-71. Trojan battles: Spinazzola, 905-70, figs. 901-88. Odyssey landscapes: see above, n. II.

¹⁹ Rostovtzeff, 139-45. Among writers to have accepted Rostovtzeff's differentiation are Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana* (1929), 72 f.; Grimal, 100-2; Dawson, 78; Scheffold, *Pompejanische Malerei* (1952), 79 f. (cf. *La peinture pompéienne* (1972), 117-19); Blanckenhagen 1963, 134. Others, by linking Studius specifically with villa paintings, imply a similar acceptance: Beyen I, 170 and n. 3; Peters, 118 f. G. Becatti, *Arte e gusto negli scrittori latini* (1951), 136 f., 230 f., links Studius with villa paintings but does not regard these as totally separate from the type of landscape described by Vitruvius. Cf. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (1923), 884 f., 888. E. Aletti, *Lo stile di Ludio* (1948), seems to regard Studius's originality as lying in his development of a vital, impressionistic style.

about A.D. 40, virtually a generation after the death of Augustus.²⁰ Admittedly these examples come from Pompeii, which may have lagged a little behind artistic developments in the capital; but it is unlikely that a development of the importance implied by Pliny's language and the length of his passage could be in existence in Rome for a generation or more before the first echoes began to reach Campania. After all, decorative motifs painted in Nero's palaces in Rome entered the repertory of decorators at Pompeii within a decade.²¹

We are left with only one conclusion: that Studius did not specialize in this type of villa and park painting, and that Pliny's passage has in that respect proved misleading. One might argue, indeed, that Pliny himself was labouring under a delusion, that he was guilty of anachronism. Writing at the time of the Fourth Style, when villa landscapes were a familiar feature of wall-decoration, he may have associated the Augustan painter with a sub-genus of landscape painting which was, in fact, developed after his time. It is unlikely, however, that Pliny was so badly informed about such a recent period. He must personally have seen many landscapes painted in Augustan times and have known full well what they looked like; and he must have realized that villa landscapes (which, after all, seem to have developed in his own lifetime) were a later, more restricted genre.

Another possibility is that Rostovtzeff was right to differentiate between the types of landscape described by Vitruvius and Pliny, but that his interpretation of Pliny's words is too narrow. Pliny is certainly writing about a type of landscape in which villas and parks bulked large, but it may well be that sacred and idyllic elements also played a part; thus Studius's contribution was to graft villas, porticoes, parks, travellers, fishermen, etc. on to pre-existing pure sacro-idyllic landscapes of a type described by Vitruvius. This seems to be the viewpoint of those modern authorities who, while accepting a distinction between Vitruvius and Pliny, have nonetheless linked Studius's name with paintings which, so far from conforming to Rostovtzeff's idea of villa landscapes, actually belong to the class which he associates with Vitruvius's passage—that is, the paintings of the 'House of Livia' and the Farnesina house.²²

The trouble with this interpretation is that there is no clear tradition of purely sacro-idyllic paintings which fit Vitruvius's passage and *precede* the hybrid landscapes in question. Even the earliest landscapes (see below) contain as many secular buildings and figures as sacred. By taking away the material which formed the basis of Rostovtzeff's antithesis, his followers have shown that his position is now untenable.

The real answer is, surely, that the differences between Vitruvius and Pliny are not significant: they are both writing about the same sort of thing. While Vitruvius, who was after all giving only a very brief synopsis of wall-painting down to Augustus, has picked out one series of facets (perhaps those that were pre-eminently used 'ambulationibus'—though this may be doubted, since villas and parks would be no less suitable for corridors than would sacro-idyllic scenes), Pliny has, perhaps inadvertently, concentrated on another. Pliny, indeed, may have been influenced by his own age in so far as he saw the essence of Studian landscape in somewhat different terms from Vitruvius. But that does not mean to say that he is describing anything fundamentally dissimilar from what Vitruvius described. Both writers, in other words, may be revealing only half the truth. We are warned, as so often elsewhere, of the danger of forcing the archaeological evidence to fit the literary evidence, when it should rather be used as a *corrective* to the literary evidence.

In short, I believe that we must associate our painter with all forms of architecture and all forms of staffage figures. The mere invention of villa landscapes hardly seems in itself an important enough moment in the history of Roman painting to have merited the comparatively lengthy notice which Pliny gives to Studius. Villa landscapes may well have evolved out of Studius's work, but Studius himself probably never painted them. He

²⁰ Villa landscapes: Rostovtzeff, 50-2, 72-7, figs. 42-4, pls. v (1), vi-ix; Peters, 110 f. (passim), 148 f. (passim); cf. Rostovtzeff, 'Pompeianische Landschaften und römische Villen', *JdI* xix (1904), 103-26, pls. 5-7. For their beginning in the late Third Style cf. Blanckenhagen in *Gnomon* xxxix (1967), 182. The earliest examples are the paintings Naples 9406: L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*

(1929), figs. 209, 210; for their date Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (1957), 345.

²¹ See e.g. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (1962), 104. Cf. A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance* (1947), 205-7.

²² Dawson, 78; Blanckenhagen 1962, 60, n. 111; Blanckenhagen 1963, 134.

deserves a more important role; and that role can only be the bringing to perfection of the whole genre of peopled architectural landscape in wall-painting.

Once we admit this possibility it becomes much easier to reconcile Pliny with the archaeological evidence. It is precisely in the Augustan period—the early Augustan period—that architectural landscape painting seems to reach its maturity, for instance in the Yellow Frieze and the Farnesina White Corridor. Moreover, these Augustan landscapes are less at variance with Pliny's description than at first sight appears. For one thing they are, as implied above, less overwhelmingly sacro-idyllic than Rostovtzeff believed: among the shrines appear both villas and porticoes. For another, they contain most of the staffage figures mentioned by Pliny, and, above all, put a special emphasis on figures engaged in unusual or humorous activities ('*argutiae facetissimi salis*').²³

II

We may best see the emergence of these Studian features by reviewing the relevant landscapes which survive from the Second and early Third Styles.

Probably the earliest example (c. 60 B.C.) is the frieze or series of panels of which fragments remain on the upper wall of the *atrium* in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii (Pl. II. 2).²⁴ In its treatment of space and perspective, this derives from the Hellenistic tradition of 'chorography', that is the drawing of maps illustrated with views of characteristic places within the country concerned.²⁵ The tradition, which may well have developed in Egypt, also inspired the famous Nile mosaic at Palestrina,²⁶ which is closely analogous to the Villa of the Mysteries fragments, both in its manner of representing landscape elements at different levels in a kind of bird's-eye view and in its choice of subject. (Palm-trees, building-types and the broad expanse of water show that the Pompeian painting, too, represented a Nile landscape.) Here without question is one of the strands which contributed to the formation of Studian landscapes. The combination of buildings seen from a distance and of small figures from everyday life (a goatherd, worshippers, people on a bridge, people in boats, passers-by) clearly foretokens the type of painting described by Pliny.

The monochrome landscapes from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale mark the next stage in the development. The purple monochromes in Mariemont, which are derived, like the Nile scenes in the Villa of the Mysteries, from an upper-wall frieze or series of panels, are too fragmentary to merit much comment; but they again show small buildings interspersed with human figures, including people standing on a bridge.²⁷ More informative is the yellow monochrome, painted as if adorning a low screen-wall, beneath the window in the back-wall of the *cubiculum* (Pl. III. 1).²⁸ As in the Villa of the Mysteries, the subject is a river landscape and the mode of representation is map-like, more distant buildings being shown at a higher level with very little reduction in scale. But the river now becomes less dominant and the resemblance to Pliny's description grows stronger. The staffage figures include people fishing, sailing and strolling, and even one doing something which might be construed as 'lively and witty': running on to the bridge at the bottom left corner and gesticulating wildly to an angler below. The buildings are certainly not all sacred. In the background there are colonnades (Pliny's 'porticus'); in both foreground and background there are tower-like structures of a type frequently found in domestic contexts (see further below). Although a building with an altar before it in the right foreground is certainly a temple, the overwhelming impression is that we are dealing with domestic structures, whether those of a town or those of the country (as Lehmann believes).²⁹

And yet the Boscoreale paintings are dated to the years before 40 B.C.³⁰ In other words,

²³ Peters (118) aptly comments, 'The large variety in the action of the figures and the witty note Pliny further refers to apply better to the Second Style sacral-idyllic landscapes than to the pictures of villas from the Third and Fourth Style known to us.'

²⁴ Maiuri, 197-9, fig. 83; Beyen I, 55; Peters, 7-9. The dating of the paintings discussed in the text generally follows the scheme established by Beyen. For a convenient catalogue of early landscapes (all types) see Blanckenhagen 1962, 24 f. Cf. (monochromes) M. and A. De Vos, in *Meded.* xxxvii (1975), 73, 76, 82 (n. 81).

²⁵ Blanckenhagen 1962, 56 f.

²⁶ G. Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina* (1956), pls. I, XIII-XXVIII.

²⁷ Rostovtzeff, 30 f. and fig. 9; Beyen I, 310, figs. 86 a, b; Lehmann, 15 f., 161, figs. 12, 13; Peters, 10 f.

²⁸ Beyen I, 309 f.; Lehmann, 118, 161 f., 205 f., pl. xxv; Blanckenhagen 1962, pl. 47(1); Peters, 13 f.

²⁹ Lehmann, 118, 161 f., 205 f. Cf. Peters, 13 f.

³⁰ cf. Andreae in Andreae-Kyrieleis, 83 and n. 49.

a type of landscape which is getting close to the idiom of Studius and which does not bear out the apparent sacro-idyllic emphasis in Vitruvius's passage was in existence at the height of the Second Style and at least a decade before Vitruvius wrote his book. Indeed it may have been in existence even earlier, since the role of the yellow monochrome as decoration of an illusionistic screen-wall hints at the pre-existence of such forms of decoration on real wall-surfaces.

Slightly later than Boscoreale is a series of yellow monochromes in room 14 of the recently excavated villa of Oplontis.³¹ Originally six in number, now reduced to five, they occupy the orthostates in a scheme of illusionistic marble veneering painted on the side-walls of the front part of the room. The tall, narrow fields again dictate a vertical development of the landscape, which is here presented in the form of three or four architectural vignettes placed one above the other, each with its own ground-line; but there is a clear hint of spatial recession in the treatment of the topmost vignette, which is smaller in scale and less distinct in its modelling. In content the religious aspect (temples, figures at altars, a statue of Victory) plays a more important role than in the Boscoreale panel; but buildings such as towers and porticoes for which no sacred interpretation is necessary are also present. The few figures that occur are mostly stiff and doll-like.

For the period of the late Second and early Third Styles we have evidence from three houses whose decorations were clearly in the forefront of artistic development at the time: the so-called 'House of Livia' in Rome, the house in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina, also in Rome, and the villa at Boscotrecase, just north-west of Pompeii. These three monuments belong precisely to the Augustan period (they span the first thirty years of Augustus's principate) and they contain landscape paintings which seem to embody, better than any other surviving examples, the features which we would associate with Studius.

The 'House of Livia' almost certainly came to form part of Augustus's property on the Palatine; its decorations can be dated between about 30 and 25 B.C.³² In the Yellow Frieze, which runs along the upper edge of the middle zone of the decoration in the so-called 'right *ala*', we have a monochrome landscape similar to those of Boscoreale and Oplontis (Pls. III. 2-IV. 3). Here, however, the landscape unrolls in a narrow strip only 26.5 cm high, which originally continued right round the room, interrupted only by the painted columns of the architectural scheme; so the painter was forced to abandon the map-like technique of the earlier, taller fields in favour of a more realistic treatment of space. Depth is indicated not so much by the use of higher levels (though this technique is still exploited within the limits of the field available) as by the use of a smaller scale and more wishy-washy colours (aerial perspective) for the more distant buildings.

The repertory of the frieze, painted at much the same time as Vitruvius was composing *De Architectura*, certainly contains sacred and pastoral elements (Vitruvius's 'fana . . . pecora, pastores'): temples, statues of divinities, sacred gates, sacred columns, *scholae*, worshippers, a herdsman and his goats.³³ But at the same time there is a strong admixture of Studian buildings and figures. Not all the foreground buildings, for instance, are necessarily religious. The complexes focussed round a tower-like feature that we find in each of the first three sections of the left wall belong, as Grimal has shown, to a common type of Mediterranean country dwelling-house.³⁴ The figures associated with them, moreover, are merely standing about, going indoors, or conducting conversations; none is marked out as a worshipper. What we have, in fact, are villas: not the lavish colonnaded affairs found in the later 'villa landscapes', but the modest country-houses, perhaps working farm-houses, for which the term 'villa' is no less appropriate. Even Rostovtzeff has to admit such a domestic function for one or two of the buildings in the frieze. The central complex in the second intercolumniation of the left wall he attributes to his type 'Haus mit

³¹ Unpublished. On the dating, Schefold in *Ant. K.* XIX (1976), 118.

³² On Augustus's Palatine property see N. Degrassi, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* xxxix (1966-7), 77 f. On the Yellow Frieze, Rostovtzeff, 12-22, pls. I-III; Rizzo 1936 b, 43-51, fig. 33, pls. v-x; Peters, 35-42, figs. 26-32.

³³ On sacred column, *porta sacra* and *schola* see e.g. Peters, 43-5 (with bibl.).

³⁴ Grimal, 'Les maisons à tour hellénistiques et romaines', *Mél. Rome* LVI (1939), 28 f. (especially, for the Yellow Frieze, 34 f.). Cf. Lehmann, 99 f.; J. H. Young, 'Studies in south Attica: country estates at Sounion', *Hesperia* xxv (1956), 122 f.; J. Pečírka, in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (1973), 123-8 (with further bibl.).

Garten' (Pl. iv. 1); and the 'tower' building in the third intercolumniation he describes as 'Haus am Flussufer'. For the others the chief factor militating for a religious interpretation is their conjunction with sacred columns or gates. But one has only to look at the altars and religious paintings outside houses in Delos and Pompeii³⁵ to realize that there would have been nothing unusual in a shrine or dedication to a deity being set up outside a residential building in the classical world.

In addition to villas, the Yellow Frieze presents examples of the second architectural type linked with Studius—porticoes. One is dimly visible in the background to the right of the central complex in the second intercolumniation of the left wall (Pl. iv. 1); another, this time semi-circular, can be seen above the camel in the third intercolumniation (Pl. III. 2).

The human figures in the frieze include several of Studius's types. People strolling about and people on donkey-back (or driving donkeys) appear in several sections. 'People sailing' are represented by three boats in the second intercolumniation of the left wall (Pl. iv. 1); 'people fishing' by three men hauling in nets just to the left of the boats. Further references to the same two themes are provided by a boat in the fourth intercolumniation of the right wall and by a fisherman mending a net (watched by passers-by) in the third intercolumniation of the left wall (Pl. iv. 3). Humorous, or at least nicely observed, details ('argutiae facetissimi salis') crop up in various places. A horseman turns in the saddle to shake hands with a traveller on foot; a dog chases another traveller, who fends it off with his stick (Pl. iv. 2); a man on a ladder, with assistant below, carries out repairs on a temple (Pl. iv. 3).

Our second Augustan monument, the Farnesina house, was decorated about 20 B.C. and, according to a recent theory, belonged to Augustus's daughter Julia and her husband Agrippa.³⁶ Panoramic landscapes of the type which interest us occurred in the wall-paintings of at least three rooms, as well as in the stucco decorations of three vaults.

Much of the painting was clearly sacro-idyllic. The unframed landscape frieze of which snatches appeared at mid-height on alternate panels in Cryptoportico A is now virtually indecipherable, but a drawing published by Mau shows details of at least one section, where we see a sacred column, a worshipper before a statue, a grazing goat, trees, and little shrines or tombs set in a rocky terrain. The black-ground landscapes of room C contained mostly elements of a similar repertory, though here at least some of the buildings were domestic rather than sacred: for instance the complex at the left of the second section of the south wall, which consists of a hut with storks on the roof and a two-storeyed 'tower' with a ladder against the upstairs terrace. So, too, many of the white-ground frieze-panels in corridor F-G include only sacro-idyllic motifs: temples, statues, *scholae*, worshippers at altars, herdsmen, sheep, goats, etc.

But one or two of the F-G panels call Studius unmistakably to mind. One landscape, unfortunately incomplete, is dominated by a great four-sided portico (Pl. v. 1). Whether this portico was a purely secular structure or enclosed a holy precinct is uncertain but in any case matters little, since Pliny says nothing of the function of Studius's 'porticus'. In another panel we see a villa and various other Studian details (Pl. v. 2). The villa is at the centre, raised on a platform overlooking a bay. A sailing-boat is visible in the water; an angler plies his rod and fishermen haul up their nets on the beach; a donkey-rider approaches from the landward side. As in the Yellow Frieze, some of the figures, if not exactly 'lively and witty', are at least very finely observed: a man bending over some task on the rock at the left; two men, one on either side of the bay, waving to the boat; a woman cleaning, or tying something to, one of the columns of the villa's porch. It is interesting to note that Studian features are here found in the decoration of a *corridor*, precisely the location of the landscape described by Vitruvius. Once more one wonders whether Vitruvius's list is an exhaustive résumé of the landscape motifs of his time.

Landscape panels in a similar manner, but executed in stucco relief rather than painted, occur in the Farnesina vault-decorations. Here again *scholae*, sacred gates, columns carrying

³⁵ See e.g. M. Bulard, *Mon. Piot* XIV (1908), part I; Spinazzola, 163-242.

³⁶ Beyen, 'Les *domini* de la villa de la Farnésine', in *Studia varia Carolo Guilielmo Vollgraff a discipulis oblata* (1948), 3 f. I am not entirely convinced by

Beyen's arguments. For the Farnesina landscape paintings, Lessing-Mau, pls. I, IX, XI; Rostovtzeff, 22-5, 31-3, pl. IV; Blanckenhagen 1962, pls. 50, 51 (1). For the stuccoes E. L. Wadsworth, *MAAR* IV (1924), 25 f., 28 f., 30-2, pls. III, IV (2), V (1), VIII.

epithemata, worshippers and grazing animals dominate the repertory. But some of the buildings are surely villas. For example, the tower-and-portico complex in the field with the Zeus *telamones* lacks clear religious attributes, while the figure-group adjacent to its doorway, a woman petting a dog, suggests rather a domestic context. Similarly the tower with a thatched canopy roof at the left of the panel shown in Pl. v. 3 may well be a dwelling house: the Priapus herm outside the entrance proves nothing about the building's function. Further Studian echoes are the anglers in the same panel and whimsical figures like the woman leaning disconsolately against a wall (also in the same panel) and the water-bearer stopping on a bridge to give a drink to a kneeling beggar (Pl. vi. 1).

Last of our three principal Augustan monuments is the villa at Boscotrecase, which seems to have been built by Agrippa and bequeathed to his son Agrippa Postumus.³⁷ Its early Third Style decorations, painted soon after 11 B.C.,³⁸ include the three landscape panels of the Red Room, which contain staffage figures and distant buildings, here subordinated to a simple rustic shrine like those in the 'triclinium' of the 'House of Livia' (Pl. vi. 2-3). Although the keynote is sacro-idyllic, we can again detect the influence of Studius. The picture on the east wall, for example, has a portico in the background, while the humorous detail of a shepherd talking to his dog, which raises a forepaw in response, is manifestly in the tradition of the 'argutiae facetissimi salis' (Pl. vi. 3).

Other Augustan landscapes are less important. The yellow monochromes in a bedroom in the House of Obellius Firmus at Pompeii, showing figures on the steps of a temple and a herdsman and his charges, are provincial and poor in quality.³⁹ The sacro-idyllic scenes from the *columbarium* in the Villa Pamphili in Rome, though much more competent, are clearly simplified versions of the sort of work being produced by the leading painters of the day (one should note that they contain both porticoes and fishermen).⁴⁰ Slightly more interesting is one of the two bluish-green panels from a villa near Herculaneum (Pl. vii. 1).⁴¹ Two sets of buildings, both probably domestic, are represented one above the other, the upper complex reduced in scale and painted in less bold tones to suggest distance. Figures in both restful poses and animated movement people the composition. Though slightly harder and more mechanical than its metropolitan counterparts, this panel has something of their spaciousness and atmospheric quality, and is evidently a reasonable reflection of the works being produced by artists like Studius.

III

To draw together the conclusions suggested by the foregoing survey. Peopled architectural landscapes appear in Roman wall-painting during the late Republic and seem, in general, to develop from map-like representations with buildings dotted about at various levels to more perspectively consistent treatments in which distance is indicated by reductions in scale and changes in atmosphere. From the beginning there are details which call to mind Pliny's account of the Augustan landscape-painter Studius, and these details become especially common in three monuments of the Augustan period: the 'House of Livia', the Farnesina house, and the villa at Boscotrecase. Villas, porticoes, strolling figures, figures in boats, donkey-riders, fishermen, and novel or humorous episodes, all link the landscapes in those three houses with the Pliny passage. It is thus unnecessary to argue that, because the Augustan writer Vitruvius does not mention these details and talks only of sacred and pastoral elements, the Studian type of landscape did not exist in his time. Rather must we argue that the landscape artists of the late Second Style, pre-eminent among whom must have been Studius himself, had a much broader vocabulary than Vitruvius suggests: they painted secular buildings as well as sacred, fishermen and passers-by as well as shepherds and their flocks. In short, as postulated above, Studius is to be connected with the bringing to maturity of the whole genre of peopled architectural landscape murals.

³⁷ Blanckenhagen 1962, 9-11. For the landscapes, *ibid.*, 20-37, pls. 32-9, C.

³⁸ So *ibid.*, 11. Contrast Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji*, 59 (A.D. 4-7); Bastet, in *Andreae-Kyrieleis*, 197 (A.D. 1-20).

³⁹ Spinazzola, 358-63, figs. 408-11; Peters, 32 f., fig. 25. Now almost totally destroyed.

⁴⁰ G. Bendinelli, *Le pitture del columbario di Villa Pamphili (Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia III. Roma, v)* (1941), *passim*; Peters, 55-8.

⁴¹ Naples 8593. See Blanckenhagen 1962, 24, 28, pl. 49 (1); Peters, 51 f., fig. 42. Its companion-piece (Naples 9413) is a mythological landscape rather than a genre landscape. On their provenance, A. Allroggen-Bedel, in *Andreae-Kyrieleis*, 115 f.

This much established, I think that we can go further. There is a strong possibility that, more than just reflecting Studius's manner, the decorations of the three Augustan houses are directly linked with the painter himself. It has already been suggested that he carried out imperial commissions, and all three houses may with greater or lesser confidence be connected, as we have seen, with the imperial family, either with Augustus himself, or with Agrippa, his wife and son. Certainly the quality of the paintings is such as to imply that we are dealing with the leading artists of the day, men who could, in von Blanckenhagen's words, 'boast working "by appointment of the court"'.⁴² Could these men have belonged to one *atelier*? And could the leading spirit in this *atelier*, perhaps its founder, have been Studius? These are bold conjectures, and there is no question, of course, of saying which, if any, of the surviving landscape paintings may have come from the hand of the master himself and which from the hands of his pupils and associates; but I would venture to suggest that all of them are the work of Studius's circle, or at least of men who were strongly influenced by Studius's circle.

Whatever the case, I believe that we can use the paintings in question, in conjunction with Pliny's comments, to reconstruct some sort of picture of our painter's style.

This style is dominated by one over-all characteristic: it is charming. It is not profound, or beautiful, or forbidding; it is, to use Pliny's phrase, 'amoenissima pictura'. This quality is achieved mainly by the painter's attitude to nature and to the function of man within it. The human element, whether in the form of figures or in the form of buildings, is always an essential ingredient, even the dominant ingredient. Trees tend to be grouped with buildings, often hidden behind them; rocks serve merely as platforms for shrines or statues; water seems to be introduced almost as an excuse for representations of boats or fishermen or people on bridges. There is not, as in many modern landscapes, a desire to represent natural features for their own sake, to show the loneliness and vastness of the wilds. As in virtually all Roman landscapes, it is man and his works which form the focus of interest.

And man is shown involved, not in dramatic or momentous happenings, not in any of the repertory of situations familiar from history and mythology, but in the activities of everyday life. He is travelling, strolling about, or talking with a friend; he is plying his trade, be it as fisherman, goatherd or whitewasher; he is practising his religion, whether by laying an offering on an altar or doing obeisance before the statue of a god. All this is portrayed with quiet humour and a marvellous sense of naturalness. Even the scenes of worship, though sympathetically treated, are far from being solemn and mysterious; the relaxed, true to life postures of the figures and the gentle rhythm of the setting give them something of an air of cosy intimacy.

And yet, despite this air of intimacy, the landscape is not without its share of exotic elements. In fact this may be one of the secrets of its charm. Late Second and early Third Style wall-decorations often include Egyptianizing features, for example symbols and holy vessels of the cult of Isis, and representations of Egyptian deities such as Horus and Sobk;⁴³ and Studius and his followers seem to have been no less anxious to leaven their landscapes with allusions to Egypt. In the Yellow Frieze we find a tower tapering in the Egyptian manner, a palm-tree, a camel, a statue of Isis-Tyche (Pl. iv. 3), and a statue of a winged sphinx; in the Farnesina black wall there is a *porta sacra* carrying a figure of a bull (Apis?), another statue of Isis, and the aforementioned straw hut with two storks perched on the roof, a motif found in Egyptianizing pygmy pictures of the same period.⁴⁴ The Farnesina stuccoes contain palm-trees (Pl. v. 3) and, among the framing elements, bearded sphinxes with the lotus-bud of Isis on their foreheads; the panels of the Farnesina corridor F-G include further palm-trees and a further statue of Isis-Tyche (Pl. v. 1). There is, however, no intention to reproduce precisely the scenery of the Nile; the hilly terrain, the abundance of sheep and goats, the infrequency and narrowness of water-courses, all speak to the contrary. Rather are we dealing with an idealized landscape into which Egyptian motifs,

⁴² Blanckenhagen 1962, 59 (suggests a link between the Farnesina and Boscotrescase workshops).

⁴³ e.g. Rizzo 1936 a, 32 f.; Blanckenhagen 1962, 14, pls. 5, 6; Maiuri, 202 f., fig. 87.

⁴⁴ e.g. Maiuri, *Mem. Linc.* 8, VII (1956), 73 and pl. I (1).

perhaps inspired ultimately by decorative 'chorographies' like the Palestrina mosaic (cf. p. 7), have been inserted in response to a specific demand on the part of educated patrons—the same sort of demand as prompted the fashion for *chinoiserie* in the decorative arts of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁵

It is certain, indeed, that the blend of everyday life with a slightly exotic setting was as appealing to the Romans as it is to us now. The cultured owners of the 'House of Livia' and the Farnesina house clearly had a fondness for this landscape of people and buildings, hospitable rather than savage, cosy rather than mysterious. So, too, did Pliny. His loving description, pregnant with superlatives ('amoenissimam', 'facetissimi', 'blandissimo'), leaves no doubt as to his personal familiarity with the manner of Studius and his deep-felt enthusiasm for it.

What of the actual technical devices used in the creation of Studian landscapes?

First, the treatment of space. As we have seen, the Yellow Frieze and the Farnesina paintings are the first landscapes to break fully away from a cartographic style and develop a more visually consistent treatment. This may have been one of the great steps forward which won for Studius the reputation of 'inventor' of genre landscapes. Background features are still shown at a higher level, but they are no longer simply placed above foreground features with little, if any, diminution in scale. They are shown on a smaller—often much smaller—scale in accordance with the laws of perspective. At the same time distance is expressed atmospherically. The more remote trees and buildings are painted in lighter colours and with less bold contrasts of tone, while, conversely, foreground figures and objects are firmly modelled and often stand out in dark tones, rather like silhouettes, against the background. The exception to these rules is, of course, the Farnesina black wall, where a totally different colour-scheme prevails (see below), and the treatment of perspective, as if in sympathy with the unreality of the impenetrable black ground, becomes purely decorative, as it were 'archaizing', with figures and buildings scattered loosely over the whole available field. This, however, is a special, *recherché* effect: the mainstream of landscape painting, monochrome or white-ground, shows a full awareness of the possibilities of expressing spatial recession.

This is not to say that the painters have achieved any consistency in the use of *linear* perspective. Rather each building is a law unto itself. Often we seem to look at foreground structures more or less from a horizontal viewpoint, while background structures are shown as if viewed from above. This is true, for instance, of the Farnesina panel with the great four-sided portico (Pl. v. 1): the entablature of the sacred gate in the right foreground slopes obliquely downwards, as if we are looking at it from below, while the side-wings of the portico slope obliquely upwards, as if we are looking down from a high vantage-point. This visual incoherence characterizes the Boscotrecase landscapes, too, where it has been brilliantly analyzed by von Blanckenhagen.⁴⁶ Whether it is a deliberate technique or the result of an imperfect understanding of perspective,⁴⁷ is immaterial: the artistic effect is an essential part of Studian landscapes and contributes in no small way to their overall charm. The fact that the spatial recession of the scenes is immeasurable and the visual relationship of the different elements to one another is ambiguous gives them an imprecise, almost dream-like quality which seems strangely at variance with the everyday activities and natural movements of the figures. But it is this very quality which prevents our landscapes from becoming mundane. Were all the lines in the composition to converge on a single vanishing point, the result would be much less evocative and much less interesting.

Secondly, the relative scale of figures and setting. Here again, if we apply strictly the standards of reality, we shall often detect examples of illogicality and inconsistency. On the one hand the figures are on a small scale in proportion to the painted fields in which they

⁴⁵ But *chinoiserie* was deliberately emphasized, whereas Egyptianizing elements are here used discreetly. Contra Rizzo 1936 b, 45, there is no need to look for the inspiration of our landscapes in Asia Minor or Syria (or in any specific place). For another view on Egyptian elements in Roman landscape, Schefold, *Ath. Mitt.* LXXI (1956), 216 f.; *Röm. Mitt.* LXXII (1965), 119–21.

⁴⁶ Blanckenhagen 1962, 32–4.

⁴⁷ On perspective in Pompeian painting see e.g. J. White, *Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting* (1956), 43–87. I suspect that vanishing-point perspective was used for stage-painting (*scaenographia*) and was thence translated, not always successfully, to II Style wall-decorations, but that the principle of applying it to isolated buildings or objects within a representational picture was never fully understood (pace White, *op. cit.*, 82 f.).

occur; they must be seen to inhabit a vast, unfolding landscape of hills, trees, streams, buildings, etc. On the other hand they are rarely as small as they would be in nature: in the Yellow Frieze, in particular, most of the figures are disproportionately large in relation to the buildings. A man crossing a bridge is nearly half the height of an adjacent two-storeyed 'tower'; a woman seated on a *podium* in front of a building would, if she stood up, dwarf that building. Similarly, in the Boscotrecase paintings, figures adjacent to a distant portico are grossly too big for their surroundings. The artists have obviously chosen this device to achieve the required emphasis on man and his activities. The buildings and trees are there to provide an environment and to create a visual continuity between one figure or group of figures and the next; they must never overshadow or distract attention from the human element.

Thirdly, the use of colour. Here it is clear that our painters exploited a broad range of possibilities, from monochrome to black-ground to the more naturalistic white-ground technique. In the Yellow Frieze, the pre-Augustan monochrome style is taken over and developed, with the aid of the spatial devices already described, into a wonderful vehicle for atmospheric effects. Once more the activities of the everyday world acquire a semi-dream-like aspect. On a background of uniform yellow, figures and buildings are picked out in shades from white to brown-purple, the contrasts between shadows and highlights being especially bold in the foreground and gradually becoming hazier in the background. It is as though we are looking on the world through a filter that distorts the natural colours and suffuses the air with an unearthly glow. At the same time the limitation of the painter's palette has the positive function of creating a unifying factor, a kind of *leitmotif* which emphasizes the continuity of the landscape and carries the eye along the frieze.

In the Farnesina black wall the colour-scheme is dream-like in a completely different way. Figures and buildings stand out, as it were, in negative against a solid black ground. In this technique, which was perhaps invented by Studius and his *atelier*, and which is reproduced in the vignettes of the Black Room at Boscotrecase, the possibilities of representing space and atmosphere are obviously limited: the black surface acts as a visual barrier to more than the simplest development in depth. Instead we have a network of fine sketches executed in brilliant colours: red, yellow, brown, orange, pink, pale blue, white. It is sad that these jewels of the painter's craft are now so badly preserved.

More natural colour-effects are achieved in the white-ground paintings of the Farnesina and Boscotrecase houses. But even here the painter's palette is deliberately restricted. The pictures in the Farnesina corridor, for example, are executed mainly in browns, purples and greens; the foreground figures and buildings adopt strong colours, generally purple and dark brown, while the distant elements are painted in weaker tones, often pale green. The latter is also used for ground-lines. In the Boscotrecase landscapes browns, yellows and greys predominate, with blues and greens in lesser roles. More striking than the limited range of colours, however, is the part played by the white background, which acts at once as a neutral wall-surface and as the space in which the scene develops. This equivocal role is best demonstrated in the Farnesina cryptoportico and at Boscotrecase, where the landscapes are almost or entirely surrounded by white plaster, and thus seem to float in a kind of white sea (Pl. v, 1-2; vi, 2-3); but it also appears in the Farnesina corridor-frieze, where the scenes rarely reach the edges of their fields. Sky thus merges imperceptibly with framing wall-surface. No attempt is made to paint the sky a different colour and thus distinguish it from the wall-surface; for that would have involved expressing space in more precise, realistic terms, just as would the imposition of a consistent perspective or a fixed horizon-line. It is a characteristic of our landscapes that they must suggest space and not define it too closely—that they should be sketch-like abstracts of the outside world rather than direct windows on to it.

This brings us, fourthly and finally, to the painters' brushwork. In all our landscapes, with the partial exception of the Farnesina black wall, where more careful effects are sought, the execution is distinguished by its quick, sketchy quality. The figures, in particular, are conveyed by a few suggestive, almost impressionistic strokes of the brush, often with bold juxtapositions of light and dark to give the effect of volume. This is in striking contrast with the traditional classical technique of painting mythological and similar subjects, as for example the Dionysiac frieze in the Villa of the Mysteries and even the Odyssey landscapes,

where figures are precisely formed and carefully modelled. A comparison between Pls. 1, 1 and v. 2 will illustrate the difference better than any description. The sketchy technique seems to have been a fundamental feature of Studian landscapes and is surely the reason for Pliny's phrase 'minimo impendio'. This could refer either to expense in terms of money or possibly to expense in terms of effort; but in either case it implies a form of painting which took less time and trouble than the traditional style.⁴⁸

A combination of Pliny's passage and the paintings which Pliny has enabled us to link with Studius permit, therefore, a general evaluation of the painter's style and techniques.⁴⁹ It is worth emphasizing, however, that the surviving archaeological evidence represents no more than the tip of the iceberg. We have seen no persons travelling in carriages, no one fowling, hunting or gathering the vintage. We have certainly seen no men carrying women on their shoulders, a subject which may well have appeared in a particular famous mural (if it is not the result of vagaries in the textual tradition). Nor have we seen any seaside cities.⁵⁰ Obviously the great bulk of the no doubt prolific *oeuvre* produced by Studius's *atelier* and its imitators, whether in imperial residences or in private houses, has been lost; in the case of the paintings of 'seaside cities', this would hardly be surprising, since they were allegedly preferred for open terraces and would thus have been particularly exposed to weathering. We are very fortunate that three monuments with possible remains of Studian paintings have survived at all.

The question arises as to who painted the rest of the walls in which our paintings are set. While subsidiary details could be executed by apprentices and assistants, other important figured representations, like the Bocchoris frieze in the Farnesina black room and the still lifes in the Farnesina white corridor,⁵¹ must have been carried out by leading painters in Studius's circle. It would be absurd to think that the circle specialized entirely in landscape: there is, indeed, no reason why Studius himself should not have painted themes other than landscape. It is landscape painting, however, for which he was famous and in which the importance of his contribution to the history of Roman art must be judged.

This contribution, I would submit, was of greater importance than even Pliny suggests. Pliny calls him the inventor of a certain kind of landscape painting on walls, and we have found reason to agree with him in so far as 'invention' implies bringing to perfection. It is possible, however, that the Studian type of landscape was new not only on walls, but also on painted panels and in all other media. This thesis is impossible to prove, owing to the lack of positive evidence one way or the other; but it is worth noting that Pliny, in his chapters on painting, mentions no Greek landscape-painter, although he lists artists 'minores picturae celebres' like Piraeicus, the painter of shop-scenes and still lifes.⁵²

If we review the evidence that has been adduced in favour of the existence of landscape painting in Hellenistic times,⁵³ we shall find that none of it need contradict our position. (1) Demetrios, the 'topographos' from Alexandria who was living in Rome in 164 B.C., was probably a landscape illustrator of some form; but there is no reason to suppose that he painted in the Studian idiom. His city of origin and Ptolemy's reference to 'topographia' might suggest that he was one of the artists who drew typical views of places inserted in the Hellenistic illustrated maps which we have already had cause to mention.⁵⁴ He may, alternatively, have painted stage-scenery, since Pollux employs the term 'topos' to describe the places portrayed in stage-sets.⁵⁵ (2) The use of Egyptian elements in Studian paintings

⁴⁸ D. Levi, *ASAtene* xxiv-xxvi (1946-8), 243, translates 'minimo impendio' as 'coi mezzi più semplici'. For possible deductions from Pliny's phrase see Pfuhl, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 884 ('es ist ein Kennzeichen für die tiefere Stufe, auf welcher die Landschaftsmalerei neben der vornehmen Gestaltenmalerei stand'); Beyen I, 170, n. 3 (the cheapness of Studius's paintings made them suitable for exposed positions).

⁴⁹ For a detailed analysis of the Boscotrecase landscapes, Blanckenhagen 1962, 30-5.

⁵⁰ The famous harbour painting from Stabiae (Naples, no number: Maiuri, *Peinture romaine*, 123) is perhaps a later echo of one of these.

⁵¹ *Mon. Inst.* xi (1879-83), pls. XLIV-XLVIII;

Lessing-Mau, pls. ix-xi; S. Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano* (1974), 141 f., 144, pls. LXXXII-LXXXVII, XCIII (2).

⁵² Pliny, *NH* xxxv, 112.

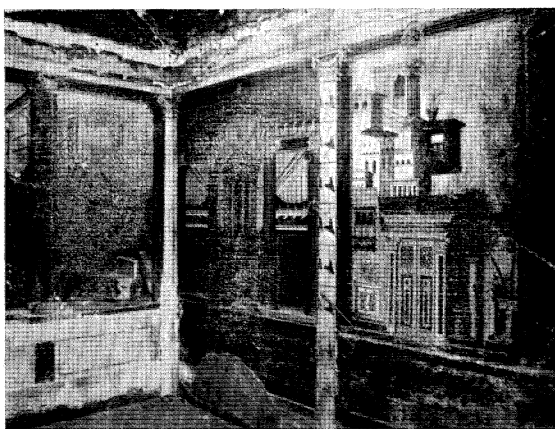
⁵³ For a good résumé of the different views on this controversial topic, Blanckenhagen 1963, 135-46. R. Bianchi Bandinelli in *EAA* v (1963), s.v. 'Paesaggio', 821-7, favours a Hellenistic origin for Roman landscape painting.

⁵⁴ Diod. xxxi, 18, 2; Val. Max. v, 1, 1. Cf. Ptol., *Geog.* 1, 5.

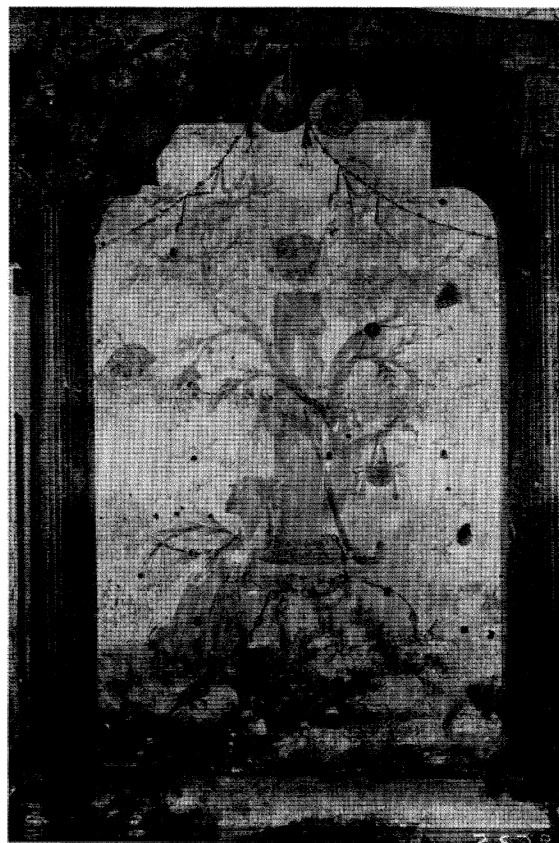
⁵⁵ Pollux iv, 126. But Demetrios may have been a *writer* rather than a painter: cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) II, 213.



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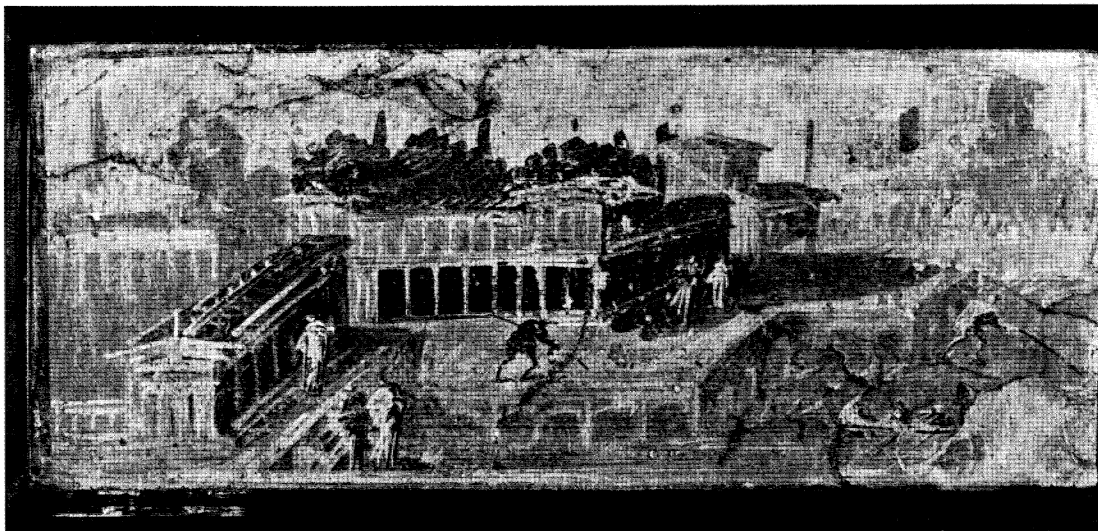


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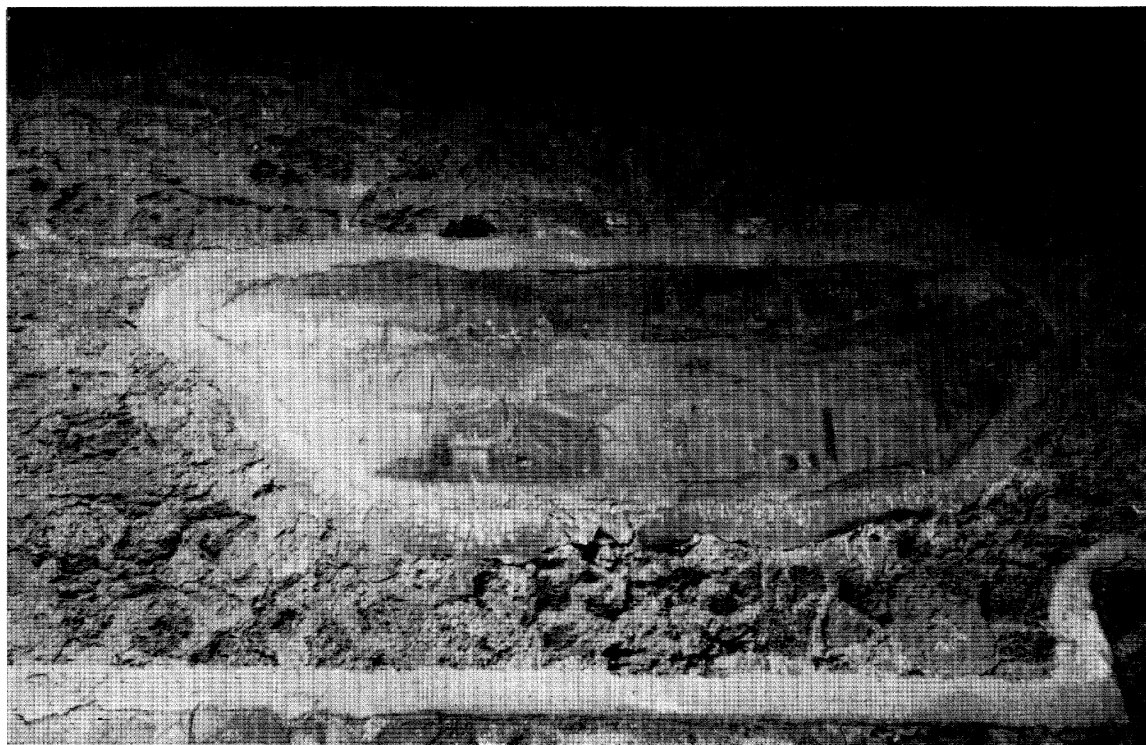


(3)

(1) ROME: DETAIL OF ODYSSEY LANDSCAPE FROM A HOUSE ON THE ESQUILINE; NOW IN VATICAN MUSEUM. *Photograph by Alinari.* (2) BOSCOREALE, VILLA OF P. FANNIUS SYNISTOR: CORNER OF PAINTED BEDROOM. NOW IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK. *Photograph after F. Barnabei, La villa pompeiana di Fannio Sinistore.* (3) ROME, PALATINE, ROOM OF THE MASKS: PAINTING ON WEST WALL. *Photograph by Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale Rome. Copyrights reserved.*



(1)



(2)

(1) VILLA LANDSCAPE FROM STABIAE, NOW IN NAPLES MUSEUM. *Photograph by Anderson.* (2) POMPEII, VILLA OF THE MYSTERIES: FRAGMENT OF PAINTED LANDSCAPE ON UPPER WALL OF ATRIUM. *Photograph by the author. Copyrights reserved.*

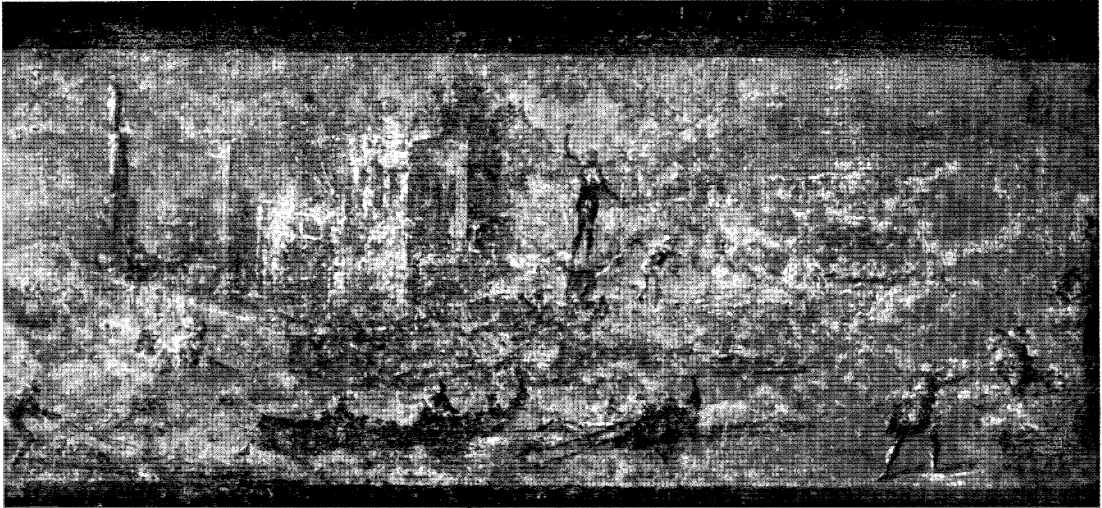


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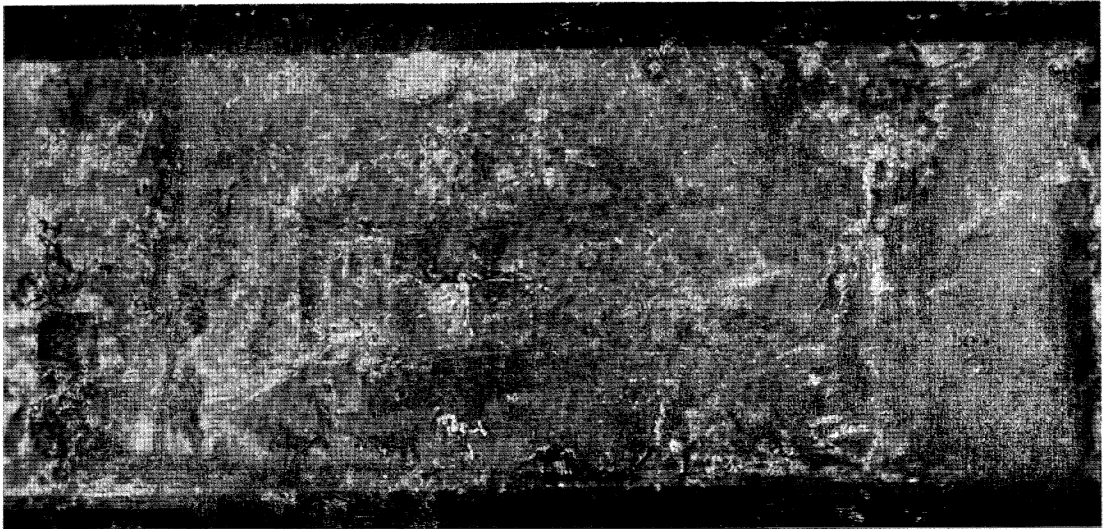


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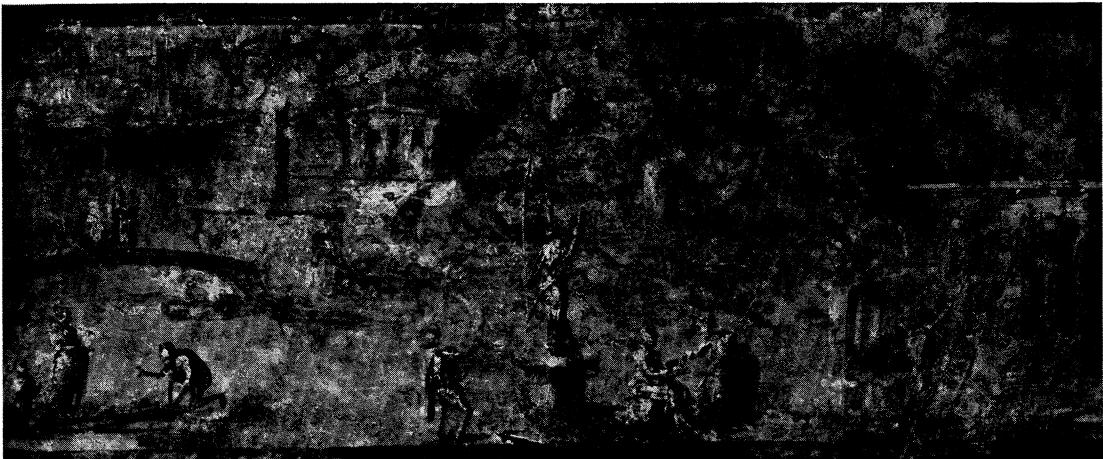
(1) BOSCOREALE, VILLA OF P. FANNIUS SYNISTOR: MONOCHROME LANDSCAPE IN BEDROOM. NOW IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK. *Photograph by Metropolitan Museum.* (2) ROME, 'HOUSE OF LIVIA': DETAIL OF DECORATION OF 'RIGHT ALA', SHOWING PART OF YELLOW FRIEZE (LEFT WALL, THIRD INTERCOLUMNIATION). *Photographs by Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Copyrights reserved.*



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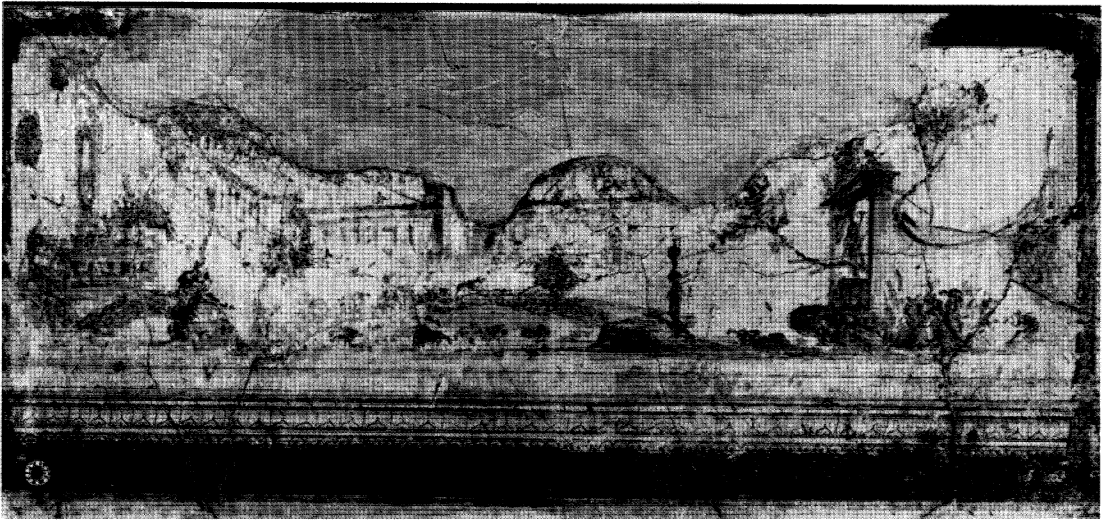


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(1)–(2), ROME, HOUSE OF LIVIA: DETAILS OF YELLOW FRIEZE (LEFT WALL, SECOND INTERCOLUMNNIATION). (3) IBID. (THIRD INTERCOLUMNNIATION). *Photographs by German Archaeological Institute, Rome. Copyrights reserved.*



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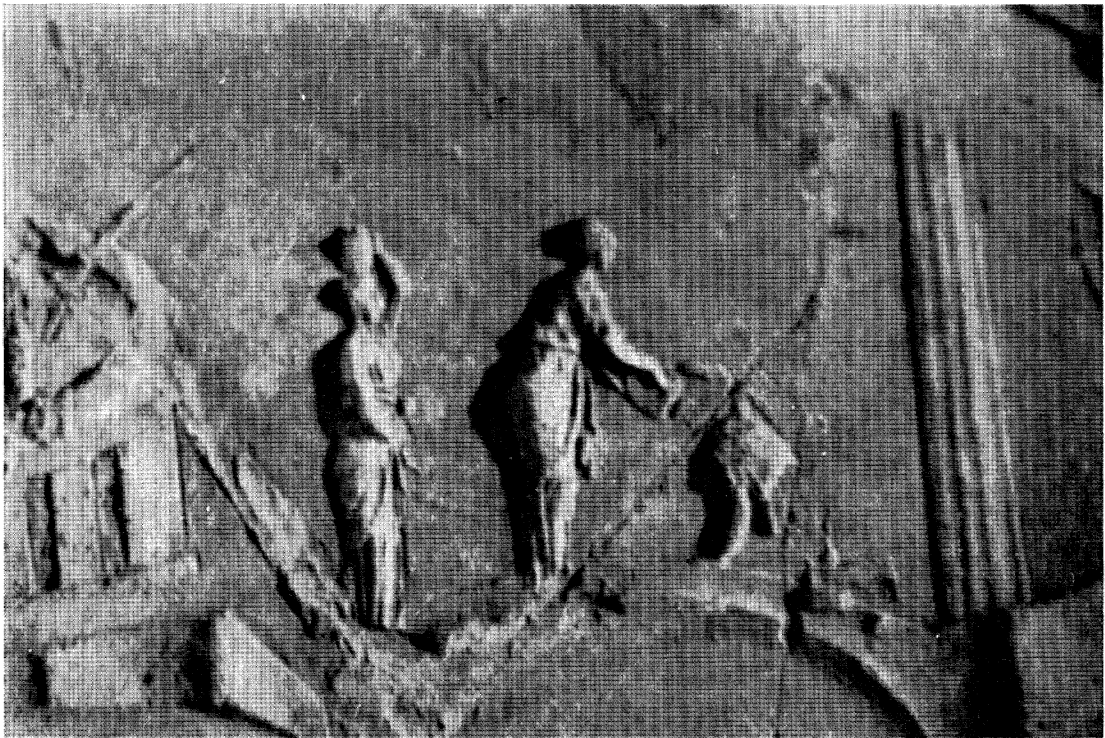


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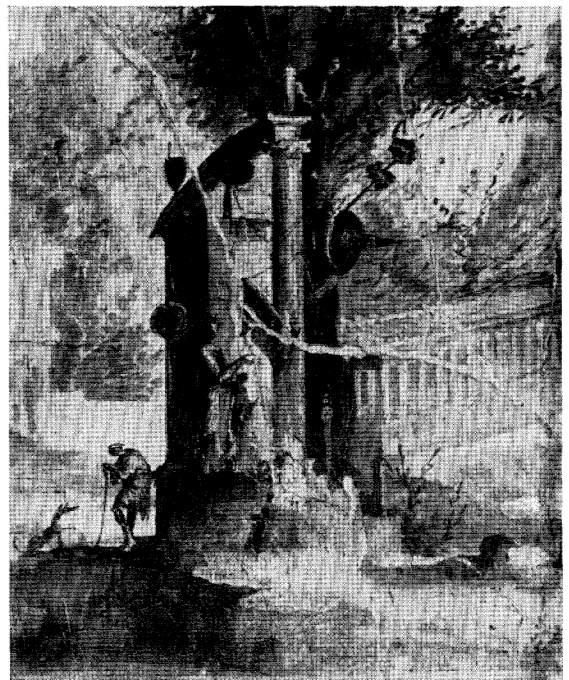
ROME, FARNESINA HOUSE: (1)-(2) LANDSCAPES FROM CORRIDOR F-G. (3) DETAIL OF STUCCOED VAULT IN ROOM B. NOW IN MUSEO DELLE TERME. Photographs by Anderson. Copyrights reserved.



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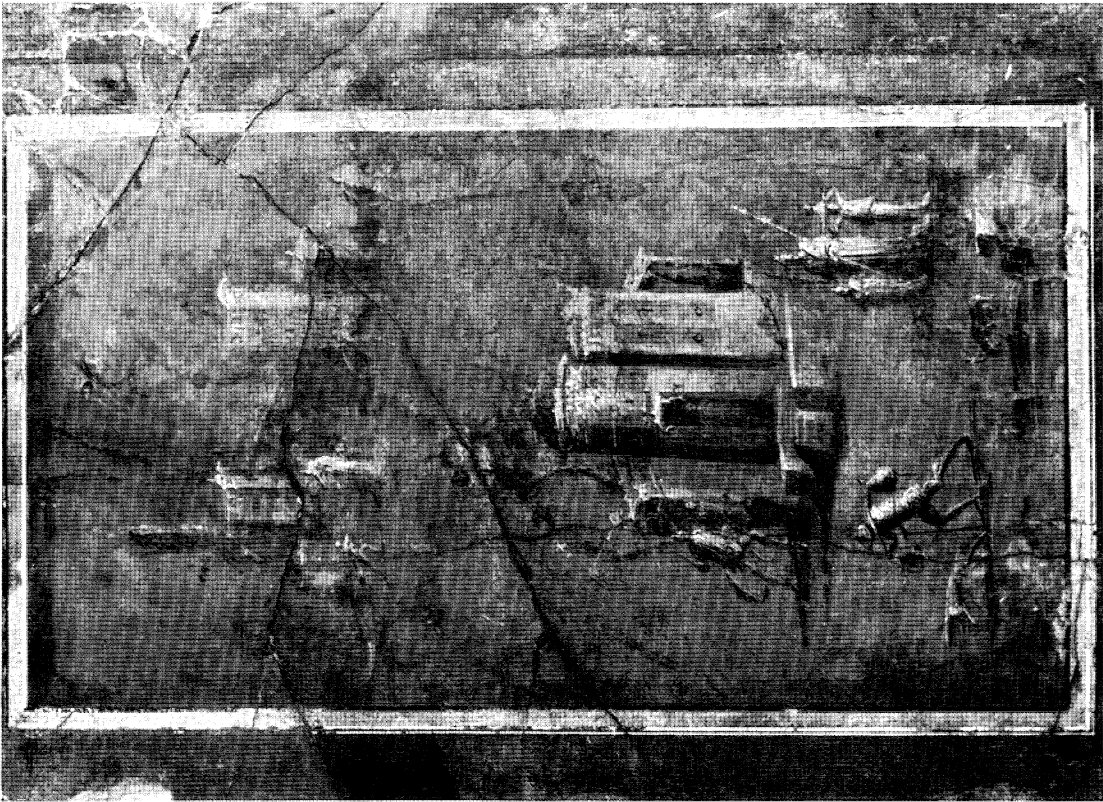


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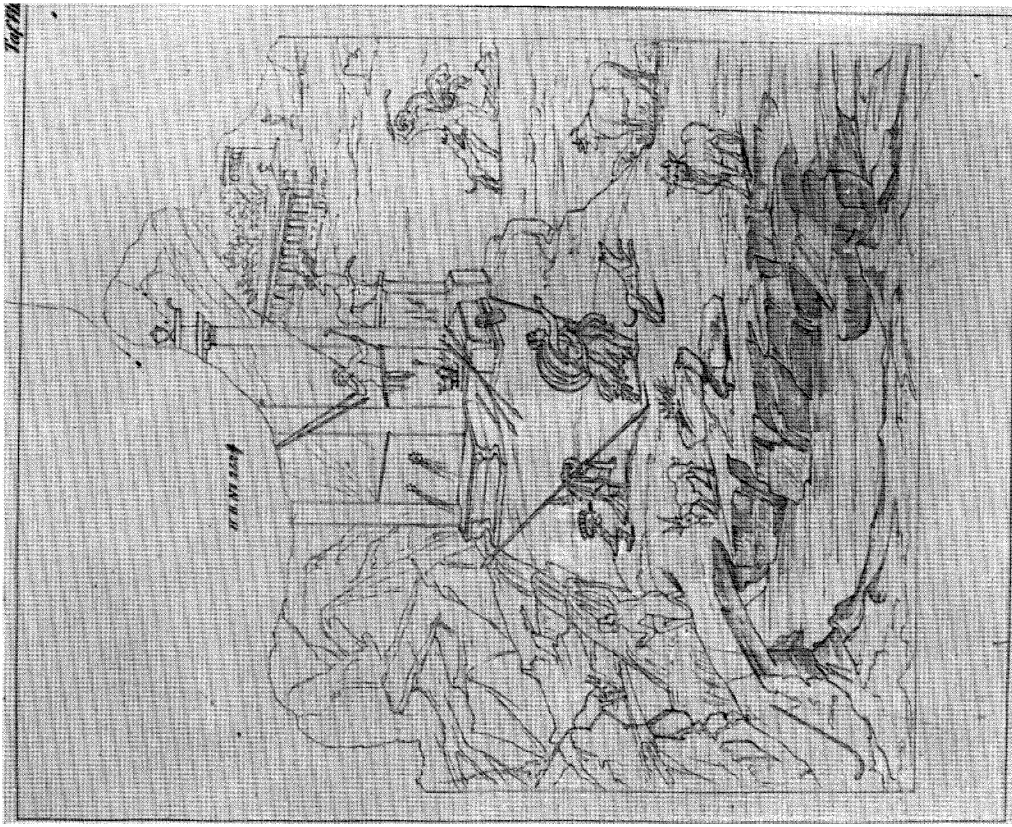
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(1) ROME, FARNESINA HOUSE: DETAIL OF STUCCO LANDSCAPE FROM VAULT OF ROOM B. NOW IN MUSEO DELLE TERME. Photograph by the author. (2) BOSCOTRECASE, VILLA OF AGRIPPA POSTUMUS: PAINTED LANDSCAPE FROM NORTH WALL OF RED ROOM. NOW IN NATIONAL MUSEUM, NAPLES. (3) IBID.: DETAIL OF LANDSCAPE FROM EAST WALL OF RED ROOM. Photographs by German Archaeological Institute, Rome. Copyrights reserved.



(1)

(1) VILLA NEAR HERCULANEUM: LANDSCAPE PAINTING FROM WALL. NOW IN NAPLES MUSEUM. (2) POMPEII, 'HOUSE OF EPIDIUS SABINUS' (IX, 1, 22). PAINTING OF DIANA AND ACTAEON (AFTER A DRAWING). Photographs by German Archaeological Institute, Rome. Copyrights reserved.



(2)

does not show that they are copies of Alexandrian prototypes, such as the pictorial book-rolls postulated by Schefold; on the contrary, the selectivity with which Egyptian elements are used, and indeed the non-Egyptian appearance of the terrain, argues against direct copying and suggests rather that we are dealing with original, eclectic creations. The Yellow Frieze, in particular, gives every appearance of having been devised for its specific decorative context.⁵⁶ (3) Landscape-painting was certainly used in stage-scenery, specifically for satyr plays, as Vitruvius tells us: 'satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topeodi speciem deformati' (v, 6, 9).⁵⁷ But this sort of landscape was surely painted on a large scale and without staffage, like the grottoes and arbours on the back-wall of the Boscoreale bedroom. A scenery of distant hills and buildings, populated by small figures, would have been singularly inappropriate as a back-drop for actors on a stage. (4) Certain reliefs of the Hellenistic period, such as the Telephus frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamum, the sacrifice relief in Munich and the Archelaus relief in the British Museum, show a limited use of landscape elements in the background of mythological or cult-scenes, but again they cannot be used to prove the existence of Hellenistic genre landscapes. The same applies to the south-Italian vase-paintings and Paestan tomb-paintings with landscape elements and to the reliefs on the bronze cup in Alexandria exploited by Adriani as the basis for his study of Alexandrian landscape art.⁵⁸ (5) The Odyssey frieze, if it is a copy of a late Hellenistic work,⁵⁹ would show landscape playing a major role in some Hellenistic painting, even reducing the figures virtually to the status of staffage. But nonetheless the figures remain those of Homeric epic: there is no hint of landscape paintings staffed with the anonymous personnel of everyday life.

It is impossible to deny, therefore, that Studius might truly have forged the genre of peopled landscapes more or less *ex novo*. Obviously he built on previous artistic achievements: as Curtius writes, 'jede Gattung grosser Kunstwerke (beruht) auf dem Zusammentreffen zahlreicher geschichtlicher Entwicklungslinien.'⁶⁰ The probability that Hellenistic chorography formed one of his sources has already been commented upon. Mythological landscapes, as exemplified by the Odyssey frieze, painted barely ten years before the decorations of the 'House of Livia', could also have exerted some influence on him: their treatment of space and use of small figures against a vast backdrop to some extent foreshadow the manner of the Yellow Frieze and the Farnesina landscapes.⁶¹ But the weaving of the strands into the essentially new species of painting which we find in Augustan times, the independent landscape of buildings and people, represented in a more or less visually consistent manner, with no specific narrative theme—this could be the achievement of one main artist, the Roman-Italian Studius.

If the question of Studius's originality and sources must remain somewhat contentious, there is much less doubt about the extent of his influence. The innumerable genre landscapes found in the Third and Fourth Styles of painting, including the villa landscapes, may all be supposed directly or indirectly to have developed from his work. We can even detect his influence in the so-called 'mythological landscapes', which from as early as Augustus begin to include the occasional portico or villa and the occasional figure from everyday life—a fisherman, a herdsman, a wayfarer—often inserted when their presence seems superfluous or quite irrelevant.⁶² One may cite the portico in the background of a picture of Diana and Actaeon in the so-called 'House of Epidius Sabinus' at Pompeii (c. A.D. 30) (Pl. VII. 2) or the herdsman pointing out the falling aeronaut in a picture of Daedalus and Icarus

⁵⁶ Blanckenhagen 1963, 106 (n. 24), 143 f. For a more recent statement of Schefold's view, *Röm. Mitt.* LXXII (1965), 119 f.

⁵⁷ cf. Poll. iv, 131.

⁵⁸ Telephus frieze: *Altertümer von Pergamum* III, 2; H. Winnefeld, *Die Friese des grossen Altars* (1910), 155 f., Beil. 6, 7, pls. xxxi f. Munich relief: Beyen, 'Das Münchner Weihrelief', *BABesch.* xxvii (1952), 1-12. Archelaus relief: D. Pinkwart, 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene', *Antike Plastik* iv (1965), 55-65, pls. 28-35. South-Italian vase-paintings: some of the best examples, including an *oinochos* in Malibu showing Callisto, are recent discoveries as yet unpublished (I am grateful to

Professor A. D. Trendall for showing me photographs of them). Paestan tomb-paintings: e.g. M. Napoli, *Il Museo di Paestum* (1969), pl. xxxi. Cup in Alexandria: A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria* (1959); and, for alternative views on the dating and interpretation, F. Matz, in *Gnomon* xxxii (1960), 289-97; C. Picard, in *RA* (1960) II, 63 f.

⁵⁹ Blanckenhagen 1963.

⁶⁰ Curtius, op. cit. (n. 20), 389.

⁶¹ But for the differences between the Odyssey frieze and the Yellow Frieze see Blanckenhagen 1963, 143 f.

⁶² Dawson, 118, 120, 121, 124.

in the British Museum (Fourth Style).⁶³ In a different medium, some of Theodor Schreiber's so-called 'Hellenistic reliefs' contain background trees, buildings and animals which may owe something to the popularity of landscape art in the wake of Studius's paintings.⁶⁴

Peopled architectural landscapes remained popular in the painting of the second century A.D., and continued to occur, though generally in simpler form, in both painting and mosaic during the third and fourth centuries.⁶⁵ In modern times the genre has enjoyed a major revival, especially since the work of artists like Poussin and Claude Lorrain in the seventeenth century. Such, in a manner of speaking, is the legacy of Studius. Although it would obviously be an exaggeration to call him the father of landscape painting, nonetheless we can claim that he occupies a not insignificant place in the history of western art. He may have been the first painter to realize and fully to exploit the potentialities of what has since become one of the most popular of all artistic forms.

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⁶³ *ibid.*, catalogue nos. 37, 58.

⁶⁴ e.g. T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* (1894), pls. LXXIX, LXXX. The majority of the reliefs are now generally dated to imperial times. For a convenient catalogue and supplement see J. Sampson, *PBSR* XLII (1974), 27-45.

⁶⁵ Paintings: see e.g. F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei* (1934), pls. 14, 16-18, 21, 41 a, 48, 51.

Recently published landscapes: H. Mielsch, in *Affreschi romani dalle raccolte dell'Antiquarium Comunale* (1976), 36 f., pls. c (1), x; F. Magi, *Il calendario dipinto sotto Santa Maria Maggiore* (*Mem. Pont. Acc.* XI, 1972), 32-40, pls. II-IV, VII-XIII, XLIII-XLVIII; cf. Mielsch, in *Gnomon* XLVIII (1976), 500 f. Mosaics: e.g. Rostovtzeff, 151-3.