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PARADEISOS. HORTI.
LOS JARDINES
DE LA ANTIGÜEDAD

Lluís Pons Pujol (ed.)



UNIVERSITAT DE
BARCELONA

Edicions



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PARADEISOS. HORTI.
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Col·lecció
INSTRUMENTA  71

Barcelona 2020

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PRÒLEG

JORDI SALA CASARRAMONA

President de la Institució Catalana d'Estudis Agraris (ICEA-IEC)

Per conèixer millor el passat i intentar reconstruir la història de la humanitat en cada una de les seves fases, disposem d'excel·lents cròniques de l'antiguitat que han arribat fins als nostres dies, com ara les d'Heròdot d'Halicarnàs, considerat el pare dels historiadors, o els *Annals* de Tàcit, per citar només dos representants de dues grans cultures.

A més, tenim també l'evidència del dia a dia, de la vida quotidiana, que amb lectures des de diverses disciplines, entre elles l'arqueologia, va completant un fresc sobre els temps pretèrits.

En aquest llibre trobareu un recull de textos científics que, amb el títol de «*Paradeisos. Horti*». *Los jardines de la antigüedad*, ha recollit i coordinat Lluís Pons, professor de l'Àrea d'Història Antiga de la Universitat de Barcelona, i en què han participat prestigiosos especialistes nacionals i internacionals.

Han col·laborat en l'edició d'aquest volum les institucions següents: el Grup de Recerca CEIPAC (UB), la Universitat de Barcelona, el CSIC i la Institució Catalana d'Estudis Agraris (ICEA-IEC) —als membres de la qual Carme Farré i Carme Hilario vull agrair la participació—, i també les empreses APEVEC, Massó, Moix, Santin, Sorigué i Urbaser.

Amb l'estudi del paper i la concepció de la jardineria en l'Egipte faraònic, Assíria i Pèrsia, Grècia i Roma, l'obra va més enllà del que podria considerar-se recerca d'interès paisatgístic o botànic i s'endinsa en el que constitueix l'hermenèutica de la història.

A través dels dissenys d'aquestes àrees humanitzades que són els jardins, podem albirar quins tipus de societats estem estudiant, quina estratificació social tenien, quins coneixements tècnics utilitzaven, quines rutes comercials seguien, si permetien o no l'arribada d'espècies al·lòctones, o quins usos en feien: recreatius, medicinals, religiosos o polítics.

Es tracta, per tant, d'un enfocament diferent del tradicional (més basat en fets històrics) que ajuda a completar el gran mosaic de les diverses manifestacions culturals que s'han succeït al llarg dels segles, i que també ens conviden a reflexionar sobre l'evolució del concepte i el rol del jardí al llarg del temps, des d'aquells grans imperis fins als que tenim avui dia.

THE AMAZING GARDENS OF NINEVEH: LANDSCAPED ASSYRIAN ROYAL PARKS AS EXPRESSION OF WORLD DOMINION

ARIEL M. BAGG

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

In one of the most famous arias of the baroque, *Ombra mai fu* (Never was a shade), the Persian king Xerxes admires the shade of a plane tree in the middle of a beautiful garden¹. It is the opening aria of Handel's opera *Serse* (1738), sung by the main character after a *recitativo*, in which he praises that tree². Actually, the shade of their trees was one of the most valuable features of Ancient Near Eastern gardens, considering that most of the region has an arid climate. The above-mentioned scene of Handel's opera is laid in a palace garden, where the king finds peace and rest. The Persian royal gardens, called by the Greeks *parádeisoí*³, were preceded and influenced by those of the Assyrian kings, who invented and developed the pleasure garden and the landscaped park. The influence of the Assyrian royal gardens extended up to the Middle Ages, as Persian gardens were further developed by

¹ *Ombra mai fu, di vegetabile, cara e amabile, soave più* (Never was a shade, of any plant, dearer and more lovely, or more sweet), *Serse*, first act, scene 1 (aria)

² *Frondi tenere e belle, del mio platano amato, per voi risplenda il fato. Tuoni, lampi, e procelle, non v'oltraggino mai la cara pace, né giunga a profanarvi austro rapace.* (Tender and beautiful fronds, of my beloved plane tree, let fate smile upon you. May thunder, lightning, and storms, never disturb your dear peace, nor may you by blowing winds be profaned), *Serse*, first act, scene 1 *recitativo*).

³ The term derives from Old Iranian *pairidaēza* meaning "enclosed area". The term, which originally referred to oriental, specifically Persian, gardens, was used in the Hellenistic period for large fenced royal parks. For Persian gardens see M. Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions*, London-New York 2013, T. S. Kawami, *Antike persische Gärten*, in: M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, Mainz 1992, 81-99, and Ch. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, Stuttgart 1996, 80-88.

the Sassanid kings (224-651 CE) and the Abbasid caliphs (750-1517 CE)⁴. Furthermore, the exuberant Assyrian royal gardens, with their manifold collections of aromatic plants and fruit trees, became indirectly the paradigm of the Jewish-Christian idea of the paradise⁵. The Septuaginta translates the expression “Garden of Eden” by *parádeisos*⁶, thus giving the Hebrew word *gan* “garden” the dimension of a landscaped park as the translator had the oriental royal parks in mind⁷. The Vulgata uses the term *paradīsus*, from which derives the word for paradise in English and other European languages.

The Assyrian royal gardens of the first millennium, namely the Neo-Assyrian period (934-608 BCE), have not only an important place at the beginning of the landscaped parks and their history, but also represent a valuable historical source for the Assyrian conception of world dominion. Concerning the sources the situation is particularly favourable, as Neo-Assyrian parks, and especially those in Nineveh, are not only rendered in written documents but also in the contemporary iconography. Therefore, both kinds of sources, the royal inscriptions written in a purely literary Akkadian dialect - the Assyriologists’ “Standard Babylonian” - using the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script, as well as the depictions on the reliefs which decorated the walls of the Assyrian palaces must be taken into account for the study of these exceptional gardens. In a second stage of research, the information from these sources can be combined with the topographical data of the corresponding ancient sites of the Neo-Assyrian capitals, Kalḫu (Nimrud), Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad) and Nineveh (Mosul), and with the plans of the palaces, which have been excavated more or less extensively, so that plausible localizations of the royal parks may be proposed.

Mesopotamian gardens fall into three categories according to their function: first, gardens with an economic purpose, principally orchards planted with fruit trees, vegetables and spices, and – in Southern Mesopotamia – palm groves; second, gardens mostly related to temples, where rituals were undertaken; and third, pleasure gardens, namely royal gardens and parks⁸. The term used in the Sumerian texts for orchard or garden, *ĝeškirī₆*, is already attested in texts from the middle of the third millennium, and a great number of administrative texts from the last century of that millennium, the

⁴ M. Novák, The artificial paradise – Programme and ideology of royal gardens, in: S. Parpola; R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East*, Helsinki 2002, 454-455; D. Stronach, The garden as a political statement: Some case studies from the Near East in the first millennium B.C., *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 4, 1990, 177-178.

⁵ For the Biblical paradise and its relation with Mesopotamia see M. Dietrich, Das biblische Paradies und der babylonische Tempelgarten. Überlegungen zur Lage des Gartens Eden, in: B. Janowski; B. Ego (eds.), *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, Tübingen 2001, 281-323.

⁶ Ge 2: 8-15. Books of the Old Testament are quoted after J. R. Kohlenberger; J. A. Swanson, *The Hebrew English Concordance to the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1998, xiv; further bibliographical abbreviations after M. T. Roth (ed.), *The Assyrian Dictionary Volume 20, U and W*, Chicago 2010, vii-xxix.

⁷ The term *pardēs* „Park“, which occurs in SS 4: 12-15 and in Ecc 2: 5 together with *gan*, derives also from Avestian *pairidaēza*, L. Kohler; W. Bumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, Leiden 2004, 907.

⁸ A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten* (Baghdader Forschungen 24), Mainz 2000, 154. General overviews about gardens in Mesopotamia are offered by J.Cl. Hugonot, *Le jardin dans le Proche-Orient Ancien*, Strasbourg 1986 (unpublished master thesis), 251-294, J.J. Glassner, À propos des jardins mésopotamiens, *Res Orientales* 3, 1991, 9-17, J.Cl. Margueron, Die Gärten im Vorderen Orient, in: M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, Mainz 1992, 45-80, D. J. Wiseman, Mesopotamian gardens, *Anatolian Studies* 33, 1983, 137-144 and D. J. Wiseman, Palace and temple gardens in the Ancient Near East, in: T. Mikasa (ed.), *Monarchies and Socio-Religious Traditions in the Ancient Near East* (Bulletin of the Middle East Center in Japan 1), Wiesbaden 1984, 37-43. For temple gardens see W. Andrae, Der kultische Garten, *Die Welt des Orients* 1, 1947-1952, 485-494 and M.-F. Besnier, Vegetation in Mesopotamian temple precincts: Gardens, “sacred groves” or potted trees?, *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 19, 2004, 59-88, and for royal gardens A. L. Oppenheim, On royal gardens in Mesopotamia, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24, 1965, 328-333, B. Lion, Jardins et zoos royaux, *Dossier Archéologie* 82, 1992, 72-79, and A. Amrhein, Neo-Assyrian gardens: a spectrum of artificiality, sacrality and accessibility, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 35/2, 2015, 91-114.

Ur III period, attest the economical relevance of this kind of gardens⁹. Gardens were often the setting of mythological works, thus we read in a Sumerian myth¹⁰ that, as Inanna, the goddess of love and war, lay in the shade of an Euphrates poplar in a vegetable garden, the gardener Šukaletuda had sex with her. In fact, as a place with cool shade, cold water and sweet fragrances, the garden was also an ideal setting for love affairs¹¹, just as the royal gardens were a pleasing place for the king's rest.

Beyond their economic significance, the richness and fertility of the garden had an important ideological meaning. As keeper of the world order and as guarantor of the fertility of the land, needed for the subsistence of his subjects, the king presented himself from the third millennium on as gardener and hunter¹². At the end of the second millennium, a new type of royal garden was developed in Assyria, the pleasure garden, which in the first millennium became an universal garden or landscaped park, symbolizing the victory of the king over peoples and nature and his role as king of the world¹³.

Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1076 BCE), who reigned at the end of the second millennium (Middle Assyrian period), was the first king who planted exotic trees in Assyria, creating a kind of botanical garden¹⁴. In the inscription on the famous octagonal prism that the Royal Asiatic Society used as test case by to prove that Assyrian cuneiform had really been deciphered, we read: "I took cedar, box-tree, Kanish oak from the lands over which I had gained dominion – such trees which none among previous kings, my forefathers, had ever planted – and I planted (them) in the orchards (*kirâte*) of my land. I took rare orchard fruit which is not found in my land (and therewith) filled the orchards of Assyria"¹⁵. The orchards are referred to as *kirû*, the Akkadian word for garden, which is also the term commonly used in the economic documents for vegetable and fruit gardens.

The second great innovation of Tiglath-pileser I was the creation of a palace garden¹⁶. In Nineveh, Tiglath-pileser I repaired the city wall and completed the palace begun by his father Aššur-rēša-iši I. Furthermore, he built a new palace with a garden: "Beside this terrace I planted a garden

⁹ For gardens during the Ur III period see the following comprehensive monographs: K. Focke, *Der Garten in neusumerischer Zeit* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 53), Münster 2015 and A. Greco, *Garden Administration in the Girsu Province during the Neo-Sumerian Period*, Madrid 2015.

¹⁰ Inanna and Šukaletuda, J. A. Black et al., *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, Oxford 2004, 197-205; for a critical edition see K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda*, Wiesbaden 1995.

¹¹ V. Haas, *Babylonischer Liebesgarten: Erotik und Sexualität im Alten Orient*, München 1999. For the sexual connotation of the garden see M. Novák, The artificial..., 443-444 with literature

¹² W. Fauth, Der königliche Garten und Jäger im Paradeisos, *Persica* 8, 1979, 1-53, M. Novák, The artificial... 444-445, K. Stähler, Der Gärtner als Herrscher, in: R. Albertz (ed.), *Religion und Gesellschaft* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 109), Münster 1997, 114-248.

¹³ M.-F. Besnier, In the shade of the Assyrian orchards..., in: Y. Heffron; A. Ston; M. Worthington (eds.), *At the Dawn of History: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J. N. Postgate*, Winona Lake 2017, 7-24, H. D. Galter, Enkis Haus und Sanheribs Garten, in: R.-P. Sieferle; H. Breuninger (eds.), *Natur-Bilder*, Frankfurt 1999, 60-68, M. Novák, The artificial..., 445-452.

¹⁴ A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 49, B. Meissner, Akklimatisationsversuche mesopotamischer Fürsten, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 15/5, 1910, 1-28.

¹⁵ A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2), Toronto 1991, 27, No. 1, vii, 17-27 = A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 299, No. 13. Translations follow the quoted editions; exceptions are explicitly indicated.

¹⁶ There are only few attestations of palace gardens before Tiglath-pileser I. A palace garden is mentioned in the epic of the Babylonian king Adad-šuma-ušur (1218-1189 BCE; A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto 1975, 64, i, 6). A modest garden was excavated in the royal palace of Ugarit dating from the end of the second millennium (J.-Cl. Margueron, *Die Gärten...*, 72-74; for the excavator's report see C. Schaeffer, *Bemerkungen zur Palastgarten Sondage* (Ugaritica IV), Paris 1962, 301-327). A palace garden is mentioned in letter A.486+M.5319, line 38 (J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari II* (Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient 17), Paris, 1998, 203, No. 579) from

(*kirû*) for my lordly leisure. I excavated a [canal] from the River Husir (and) [directed it] into this garden. I brought up the remainder of that water to the city plain for irrigation. Within this garden I built a palace¹⁷. This is not only the first attestation of a palace garden in Assyria¹⁸, but also of the expression *ana multa'it bēlūtiya*, “for my lordly leisure”, an expression used only in relation with gardens, palaces (or parts of them) and the royal hunt¹⁹. During the second half of the second millennium, namely the Middle Assyrian period (1414-935 BCE), the city included only the main mound Kuyunjik and a small lower town north of it²⁰. Tiglath-pileser's palace is said to have been built beside a terrace (Kuyunjik?) and in a garden irrigated from the river Ḫosr, therefore it was not located on Kuyunjik but rather in the lower city, probably as a summer residence²¹.

In the ninth century Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) revived Tiglath-pileser's ideas of acclimatization of exotic trees and of a pleasure garden and developed them in a much greater dimension. The ancient city of Kalḫu (Nimrud), located on the left bank of the Tigris about 8 km upstream of its junction with the Greater Zab, was chosen by Ashurnasirpal as the new capital of the growing Assyrian empire. He built there a new palace on the citadel, the so-called North-West Palace, as well as nine temples, and he dug a canal from the right bank of the Greater Zab (Patti-ḫegalli), which reached the city at its south-eastern side and irrigated the land between the Tigris and the canal²². Many texts mention that the king planted “orchards (*kirâte*) with all kinds of fruit trees in its environs”²³, but only in one text, the so-called Banquet Stele, he gives a full list of 41 different species of trees²⁴. Among the trees mentioned we find cedars, cypresses, date-palms, olives, oaks, tamarisks, terebinths, pears, quinces, and grapevines - all trees that Ashurnasirpal reports to have seen “in the lands through which I marched and the highlands which I traversed”. This unique enterprise of acclimatization expresses a new idea, namely that the king wanted to have in his capital exotic species of trees from the conquered regions, in order to expose them as expression of his power²⁵.

the royal palace in Mari dating from the reign of Zimrī-Līm (18th century BCE). For further attestations in the Mari archives see M. F. Besnier, *In the shade...*, 8, footnote 9.

¹⁷ A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early...*, 55, Nr. 10, 71-75; A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 51.

¹⁸ Earlier attestations of gardens in royal inscriptions, not related to palaces, date to the reigns of Aššur-uballit I (1364-1328 BCE; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1), Toronto 1987, 112, Nr. 3 = A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 290, No. 2) and Adad-nārārī I (1306-1274 BCE; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third...*, 145, No. 11, 5'-8' = A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 292-293, No. 5, A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third...*, 155, No. 19, 7', *idem*, 174, No. 42); A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 49.

¹⁹ CAD M/2, 192 s. v. *multa'itu* and *multa'ūtu*.

²⁰ For the topography of Nineveh see J. A. Ur, The topography of Nineveh, in: L. P. Petit; D. Morandi Bonacossi (eds.), *Nineveh. The Great City*, Leiden 2017, 58-62; for Nineveh in the second millennium, A. Tenu, Nineveh in the second millennium BC: The birth of an Assyrian city, in: L. P. Petit; D. Morandi Bonacossi (eds.), *Nineveh. The Great City*, Leiden 2017, 118-121.

²¹ J. E. Reade, *Ninive (Nineveh)*, *RLA* 9, 1998-2001, 411.

²² For this canal see A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 95-102.

²³ For instance A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early...*, 252, No. 17, v, 7-8 = A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 313, No. 23, see further attestations in A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 95.

²⁴ A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early...*, 290, No. 30, 41-48 = A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 314-319, No. 25 with a full discussion of the list of exotic trees.

²⁵ Administrative documents from the Governor's Palace in Kalḫu dating from the 8th century testify to activities related with the city gardens: J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2), London 1973, 156-157 (GPA 139) mentions 1,200 saplings of different trees (350 pomegranate saplings, 400 fig saplings, and 450 medlar saplings); J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's...*, 157-158 (GPA 140) lists essences of different kinds of trees; J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's...*, 197 (GPA 198) mentions also saplings.

After this list and before beginning with the description of the temples built in Kalḫu, a singular passage is inserted: “The canal cascades from above into the gardens (*kirātu*). Fragrance pervades the walkways. Streams of water (as numerous) as the stars of heaven flow in the pleasure garden (*kirû šihātu*). Pomegranates which are bedecked with clusters like grape vines ... in the garden ... [I,] Ashurnasirpal, in the delightful garden (*kirû rišāte*) pick fruit like ... [...]”²⁶. This pleasure garden is described in a poetical language²⁷, atypical of a royal inscription; it reminds one rather of the Song of Songs of Solomon, where gardens and vineyards are mentioned and which alludes permanently to fragrances, fruit trees and fresh water. Where was Ashurnasirpal’s pleasure garden located? We know from the texts and from the topography of Kalḫu that the irrigated fields and gardens lay between the canal and the Tigris. Considering the great effort put into the planting exotic trees it is plausible to assume that the gardens or at least some of them were planted near the western and southern sides of the citadel or even of the city itself, in order to integrate them into the new capital, thus forming part of the message that the king wanted to transmit (fig. 1)²⁸.

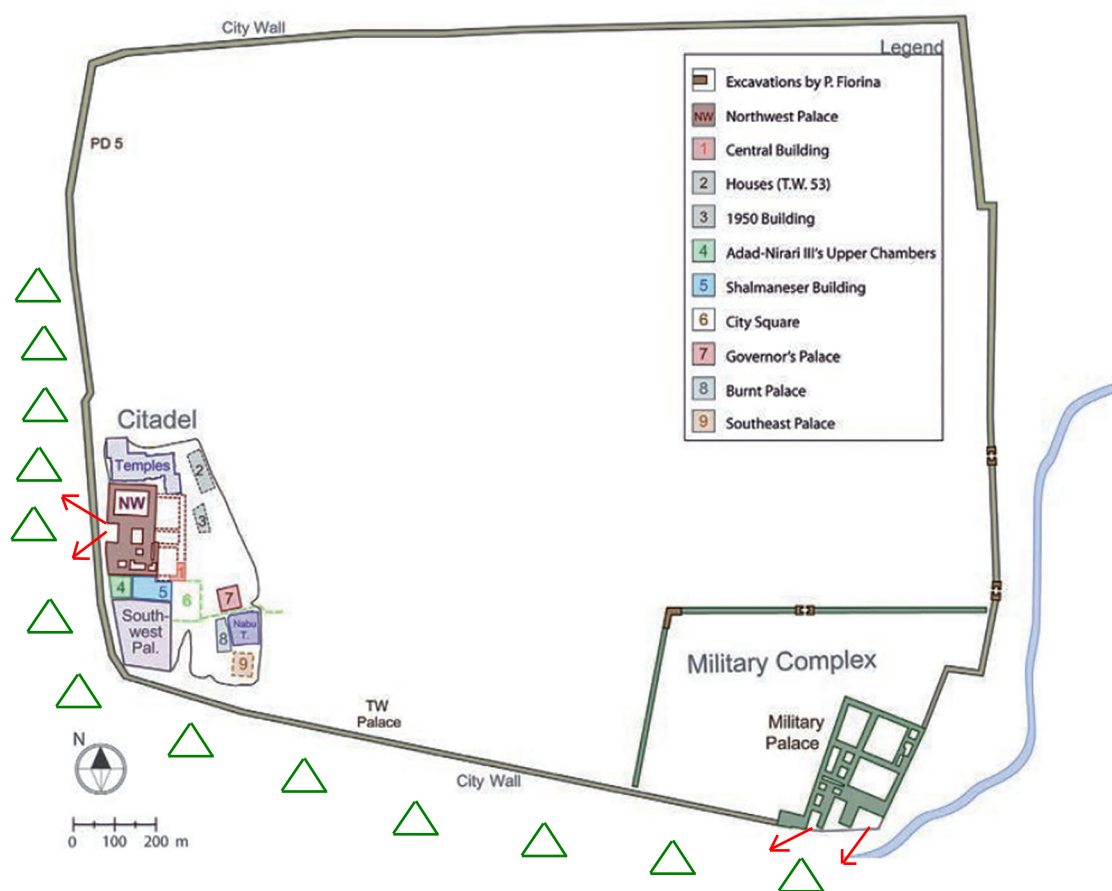


Figure 1. Probably location of gardens in Kalḫu
(after D. Kertai, *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, Oxford 2015, pl. 1B).

²⁶ A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early...*, 290, No. 30, 48-52 = A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 314-319, No. 25 (slightly different translation with proposed amendments).

²⁷ For an analysis of the quoted passage see A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 102-104.

²⁸ For the irrigated land, a maximum of 25 km² has been estimated. It is realistic to assume that not all this area was planted with gardens (contrary to M. Novák, *The artificial...*, 446), but only part, maybe one third of it, whereas the rest was used for barley, A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten...*, 98, A. M. Bagg, *Irrigation in Northern Mesopotamia*. Water for the Assyrian capitals (12th-7th centuries BC), *Irrigation and Drainage Systems* 14, 2000, 311-312, D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, Cambridge 1968, 47-48.

If we consider the location and layout of Ashurnasirpal's North-West palace, we can determine more precisely the place where his pleasure garden laid. The palace was built on the west side of the citadel²⁹. Room WK was an outwards oriented reception room that apparently had an open façade and was part of a double-sided reception suite located south-west of the throne-room suite³⁰. The adjacent terrace WT probably overlooked the plain below, if its parapet was low enough (fig. 2). If this reconstruction of this part of the palace is correct, terrace WT would represent the first case of a panoramic terrace in Mesopotamia³¹. It seems plausible to assume that the king wanted to see his pleasure garden from this terrace; the garden should therefore be located on the plain below the terrace³². Similar panoramic terraces are to be found at the south-western corner of Kalḫu, in the military complex and palace ("Fort Shalmaneser") built by Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE), Ashurnasirpal's son and successor³³. As in his father's palace, there is a double-sided reception suite adjacent to the throne-room suite. There are also open façades and two courtyards (S and T), panoramic terraces which provided a beautiful view over the surrounding plain and probably to the gardens in the southern part of the city³⁴.

Sargon II (721-705 BCE) who reigned one hundred years after Shalmaneser III decided to build a new capital for the empire. He chose a place some 50 km north-west of Kalḫu near the city of Magganuba, and called the new capital Dūr-Šarrukīn, "Sargon's fortress". It covered an area of about 300 hectares and its construction, which is well documented in the official correspondence, lasted for ten years. For his city and palace, a new concept of garden was developed: it was not only a garden, where all kinds of trees from the different conquered regions were planted, but the first landscaped garden, a park called *kirimaḫḫu*, a new term in Akkadian derived from the Sumerian word *ĝes³⁵kiri-maḫ* "lofty garden"³⁵. In Sargon's words: "I created a great park alongside it (i. e. the city), a replica of Mount Amanus, within which all kinds of aromatic trees from the land Ḫatti (i. e. Northern Syria) and all the fruit trees of the mountains are planted"³⁶.

²⁹D. Kertai, *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, Oxford 2015, 17-54 offers a comprehensive study of the palace (he handles the mentioned reception suite on pages 34-38).

³⁰D. Kertai, *The Architecture...*, pl. 22A.

³¹M. Novák, Der Landschaftsbezug in der orientalischen Palastarchitektur, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 23, 1996, 343.

³²According to J. E. Reade, The Rassam Obelisk, *Iraq* 42, 1980, 13, a depiction on the fragmentary Rassam Obelisk (fragments A3 and D3 on plate IV, described respectively on pages 11 and 12) may represent one of Ashurnasirpal's gardens in Kalḫu. The trees appear above the crenellations of a wall, meaning that some gardens were planted on a palace terrace (WT?).

³³D. Kertai, *The Architecture...*, 58-73.

³⁴D. Kertai, *The Architecture...*, pl. 9. For the analysis of this part of the review palace see D. Kertai, *The Architecture...*, 66-68; see also M. Novák, Der Landschaftsbezug..., 345.

³⁵The founder of the third dynasty of Ur, Ur-Namma, planted a *ĝes³⁵kiri-maḫ* for the god An and built for him a dais in a sacred place, D. R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 3/2), Toronto 1997, 27, No. 5. The term is attested in a lexical list (Kagal I, 273ff.) and only few times in the Ur III period (s. ePSD s. v.), and denotes a place where rituals take place (W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Berlin 1993, 110-111).

³⁶Author's translation. A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen 1994, 304, Stier 41-42; also *idem*, 309, XIV, 28-29 and Iraq 16, 197, viii, 7'.

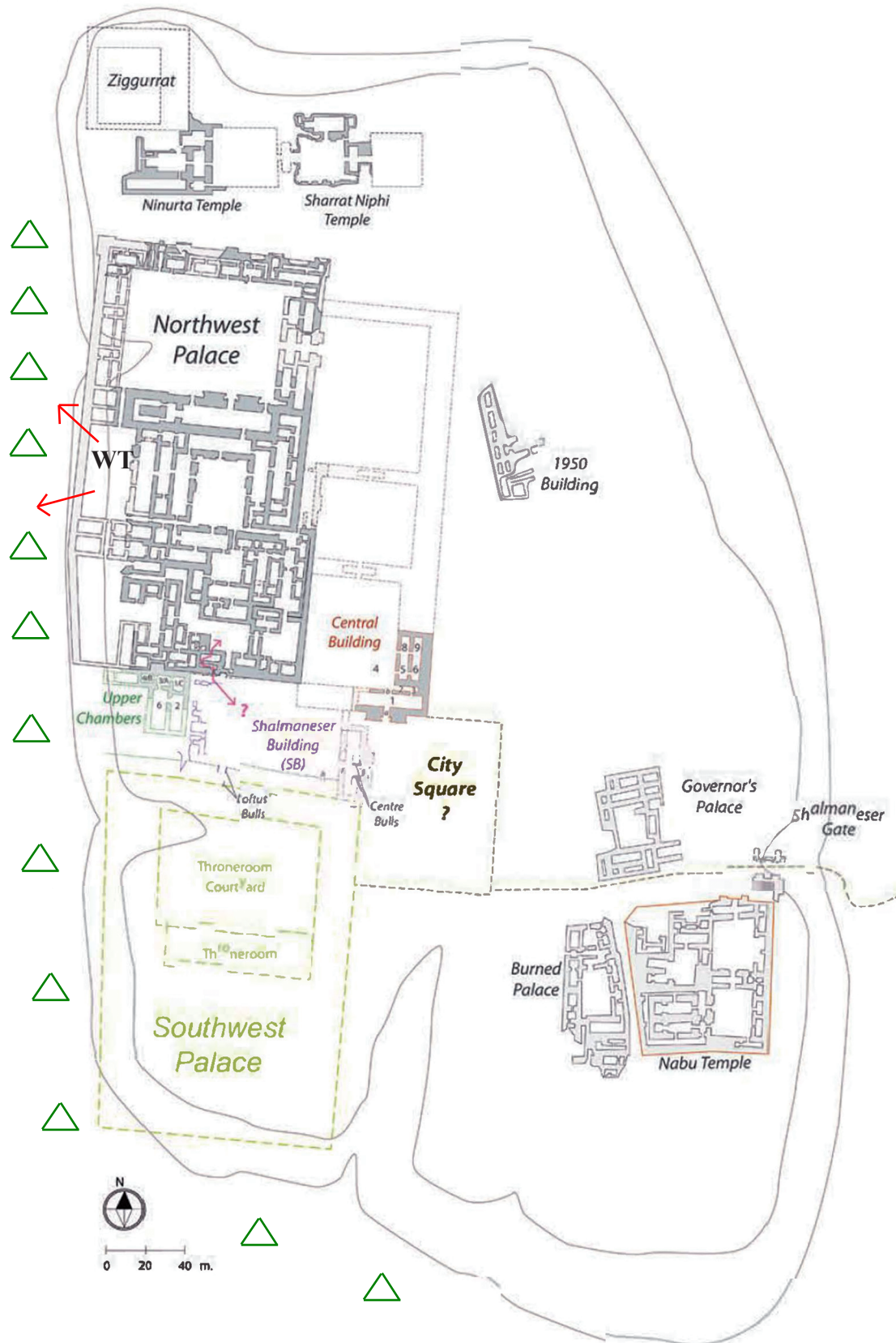


Figure 2. Probably location of the Ashurnasirpal's "pleasure garden" in Kalhu (after D. Kertai, *The Architecture ...*, pl. 3).

The land Ḫatti refers to the northern part of Syria³⁷ and Ḫamānu, the Mount Amanus of the classical sources, is the Nur mountain range (*Nur Dağları*) in southern Turkey near the Syrian border³⁸. Sargon's park became the archetype of a universal botanical garden, related to the king and shaped as the exotic mountain region where the Assyrians traditionally fell cedars needed for the beams and doors of their palaces and temples. North Syria was definitely incorporated into the Assyrian empire during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 BCE) after a great many military campaigns over more than 150 years since the time of Ashurnasirpal II.³⁹ For the first time, Sargon transformed the Assyrian landscape to make it look like a region conquered by the Assyrian kings that showed a great floral and faunal diversity⁴⁰. Sargon's park reflected the completeness and diversity of the Syrian landscape showing at the same time the king's dominion over countries as well as his control over nature⁴¹.

Sargon's successors Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal also created such kinds of landscaped parks, describing them with similar words, but referring to them not in connection with a city, but with their new palaces in Nineveh. Sennacherib (704-681 BCE) describes the creation of the park with the following words: "I created a great park alongside it (i. e. the South-West palace), a replica of Mount Amanus, within which all kinds of aromatic trees and fruit trees from the gardens (*šippātu*), trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and of Chaldea, are planted."⁴² Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) created another park for his military palace, the *ekal māšarti*, on Nebi Yunus, Nineveh's second mound: "I planted alongside it (i. e. the armory) a great park, a replica of Mount Amanus, with all kinds of aromatic plants and fruit trees."⁴³ Finally, Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE) set up a further park in Nineveh which is related to a palace referred to as *bīt redūti* "Succession Palace"⁴⁴: "I planted alongside it (i. e. the *bīt redūti*) a great park with all kinds of trees (bearing) various fruits"⁴⁵.

³⁷ A. M. Bagg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil 1: Die Levante* (Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 7/1), Wiesbaden 2007, 95-100 s. v. Ḫatti.

³⁸ A. M. Bagg, *Die Orts- und ...* 85-87 s. v. Ḫamānu 1.

³⁹ For the Assyrian conquest of the Levant up to Sargon II see A. M. Bagg, *Die Assyrer und das Westland* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 216), Leuven 2011, 187-244; for a short overview see A. M. Bagg, *Assyria and the West: Syria and the Levant*, in: E. Frahm (ed.), *A Companion to Assyria*, Malden 2017, 268-274.

⁴⁰ A. K. Thomason, *Representations of the North Syrian landscape in Neo-Assyrian art*, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 323, 2001, 63-96.

⁴¹ Many letters from the royal correspondence concerning the construction of Sargon's new capital mention great amounts of saplings: SAA 1, 222 (1,000 apple-tree saplings), SAA 1, 226 (thousands of saplings from different kinds of trees), SAA 1, 227 (cedars and cypresses); SAA 5, 27; SAA 5, 105, reverse 4-10; SAA 5, 268.

⁴² Author's translation. A. K. Grayson; J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1* (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1 = RINAP 3/1), Winona Lake 2012, 39, No. 1, 87; *idem* 47, No. 2, 64; *idem* 54, No. 3, 57; *idem* 102f., No. 15, vii, 10-13; A. K. Grayson; J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 2* (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/2 = RINAP 3/2), Winona Lake 2014, 51, No. 42, 42'-43'; *idem* 63, No. 43, 93-94; *idem* 87, No. 46, 153-154; *idem* 177f., No. 138, reverse ii', 17-19. Subsequent texts add "together with cotton trees" after "Chaldea": A. K. Grayson; J. Novotny, *The Royal... 1*, 121, No. 16, vii, 17-21; *idem* 142, No. 17, vii, 53-57.

⁴³ E. Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4), Winona Lake 2011, 25, No. 1, vi, 30-31. Subsequent texts have "I set up" instead of "I planted" *idem* 34, No. 2, v, 54-56; *idem* 40, v, 37'-38'.

⁴⁴ The term *bīt redūti* is interpreted as the residence of the crown prince (CAD R, 326-328, s. v. *ridūtu* in *bīt ridūti*) and Ashurbanipal's *bīt redūti* is often identified with his North Palace in Kuyunjik (S. Parpola, *The royal archives of Nineveh*, in: K. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Leiden 1986, 233 followed by R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden 1996, 14), but it is still a matter of debate which building is meant, see D. Kertai, *The Architecture ...*, 168-169. According to J. E. Reade, *Ninive*, 416-417 the *bīt redūti* was the forerunner of Ashurbanipal's North Palace which he entirely reconstructed.

⁴⁵ Author's translation. R. Borger, *Beiträge zum ...*, 74, A, x, 104-105 and F, vi, 58-59 (translation on page 256). The exemplars A2, A3 and 76-11-17, 2413 have "garden" (*kirū*) instead of "great park" (*kirimahhu*) and add "for my royal pleasure" after "fruits".