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25 years

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Modes of Viewing the Urban Landscapes and Public Gardens of Early Imperial Rome

GÜRKAN ERGİN*

Abstract

It has been claimed that with Augustus, the Roman Empire and its capital underwent a transformation that divided them into well-defined and controllable spaces based on a rational use of information. Emperors like Domitian established a sort of symbolic and physical domination over their subjects by creating a medium of surveillance which is observable in architecture and sculpture as well as in literature. Yet the functions of early imperial public gardens and urban landscapes like the Campus Martius and the plot on which the Domus Aurea rose have not been fully explored in this respect. This article aims to demonstrate how viewing, gazing and surveilling operated symbolically in these spaces through architecture and sculpture by using Foucaultian concepts such as "heterotopia" and "surveillance" as well as "imperial gaze." The gaze of the emperor was directed to the heterotopic microcosms created in public gardens and urban landscapes, and also to individuals - elite and commoners alike - within them. This is an "imperial gaze," a subjective, epistemological, juridical mode of viewing that tends to categorize the landscape, its constituents and its activities within from an elevated point.

Keywords: heterotopia, microcosm, imperial gaze, surveillance, Campus Martius, Domus Aurea

Öz

Augustus'la birlikte Roma İmparatorluğu ve Roma şehrinin rasyonel bilgiye dayalı, net şekilde tanımlanabilir ve kontrol edilebilir arazi parçalarına bölündüğü ileri sürülmüştür. Bu bağlamda şehir mimarisi ve uzamları gözetlemeye imkân verecek şekilde düzenlenmiş ve görünüşe göre Domitianus gibi bazı imparatorlar "her şeyi gören ve bilen" hükümdarlar olarak kitlelerin üzerinde sembolik ya da fiziksel tahakküm kurmuştur. Halka açık bahçelerle Campus Martius gibi kentsel açık alanlar ve Domus Aurea arazisinin benzer işlevleri ise pek tartışılmamıştır. Bu inceleme, Michel Foucault'nun "heterotopya" ile "gözetleme", ayrıca "emperyal bakış" kavramlarını kullanarak özellikle mimari ve heykeltıraşlık üzerinden böyle uzamlarda görme, bakma ve gözetlemenin sembolik olarak hangi yollarla gerçekleştiğini göstermek amacındadır. İmparatorun "bakışı" ve "gözetlemesi", şehrin ya da imparatorluğun söz konusu uzamlarda yaratılan heterotopik mikrokozmoslara ve bunların içindeki seçkin veya değil tüm bireylere yönelir. Bu aynı zamanda "emperyaldir", yani belli bir yükseklikten yönelen öznel, sınıflandırmaya eğilimli, epistemolojik ve hükmî bir bakıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: heterotopya, emperyal bakış, gözetleme, antik Roma bahçeleri, Campus Martius, Domus Aurea

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Introduction

Gardens and empires share qualities that produce metaphorically meaningful comparisons because of similarities regarding their way of management, since both gardening and politics are interested in organizing lives - one of plants, the other of people. In an organized garden, the gardener is ever-present as an absolute monarch, overseeing an always complicated and incomplete endeavor. As plants tend to overgrow, invade neighboring areas, or show signs of rot, the gardener must intervene to take control. Utopian literature too employs garden as an allegory for an orderly society. Yet Ferrari claims that when a garden is infused with political or other types of symbolism with the help of architectural elements, sculptures, activities - as the case with the Roman examples discussed in this article - then it is not really a garden. In a garden, grottoes, temples, statues and gazebos must serve the lives of the plants as settings. Otherwise, the gardener is not making garden art but creating a sculpture park or an outdoor museum exhibit. Gardens, of course, might be partially or fully symbolic, and symbolic meanings can be introduced via architecture and sculpture as observed in the Roman public gardens discussed here. But still they would not have an overall meaning as a garden. Furthermore, unlike Roman public gardens, real garden art does not seek an audience. Like a painting, although a garden welcomes visitors, it is not primarily created with them in mind, for a gardener works for himself. But visitors of gardens do not stroll in search of meanings supposedly produced by the gardener.[1]

Thus, a "garden," for example, the Gardens of Pompey with architectural and sculptural embellishments, is actually aiming at a narrative, not a work of garden art, since the lives of plants are deemed secondary in this type of arrangement. The use of their gardens by Pompey and Caesar as settings for political activities[2] or Nero's arrangements within the confines of the Domus Aurea mentioned here, therefore, inflict these spaces with symbolism. This distances them from Ferrari's definition of garden (or landscape garden). Whether subdivisions of gardens such as museum, literary, political or erotic should be considered requires a separate discussion. I argue that their heterotopic aspects made them spaces of symbolic surveillance and microcosms to view by emperors, who saw them as representations of the world they created.

That the early principate used architectural spaces as a means of monitoring and surveilling has been discussed in several works cited throughout this article. But little or no attention has been devoted to the role of early imperial urban landscapes and public gardens in this context. As microcosms of the city of Rome or the empire in general, they also served as spaces where many activities of the state and its citizens were symbolically monitored by the "all-seeing" rulers. Inspired by the visual and architectural codes of open public spaces like the Theater of Pompey (see below) and the Forum of Augustus,[3] the Augustan regime transformed the public

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1 Ferrari 2010.

2 Plut., *Pomp.* 44.4; Cic., *Phil.* 2.27.67; Vell. Pat., 2.60; App., *B. Civ.* 3.14; Cass. Dio, 51.23.1; Suet., *Aug.* 29.4-5; Val. Max., 9.15.1; Plut., *Caes.* 5.5, 55.2, 57.5; Suet., *Iul.* 26.2.

3 This Forum bears many qualities that are attested to heterotopias by Foucault (see below). It meant to demonstrate the extent of Augustus' *imperium* with numerous visual references of diverse origins - a comprehensive collection of Greek and Italian architectural and artistic styles from all periods, marbles from all parts of the empire, and important mythical and political figures of Rome. It also functioned as a focal point for an array of administrative and military activities: generals made dedications to the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum after a victorious war, governors publicly left for their provinces from the Forum, and the senate convened to discuss military matters in the temple of Mars Ultor. It was also used to accommodate increasing legal business and even hosted the games otherwise usually held in the Circus Maximus. Access to the Forum was possible from a limited number of carefully chosen entrance points in order to direct the public to the desired points of viewing (Galinsky 1996, 199-200). These heterotopic qualities were accompanied by an image of Augustus in a *quadriga* in the center to view his *imperium* and controlled access to the Forum are good examples of the new tendency (Geiger 2008, 73).

gardens and urban landscapes into spaces where the "imperial gaze" operated via new forms of spatial knowledge, surveillance and heterotopic qualities of these plots, that is, qualities belonging to a physical approximation of an imaginary utopia or a parallel space that makes utopia possible somewhere else (see below).

Wallace-Hadrill observed that one of the outcomes of the Augustan revolution was the transformation of the city itself and the empire into well-defined, knowable and controllable spaces. The capital was divided into 14 regions, then in turn into *vici*, or quarters, and finally detailed city plans were created by professional surveyors. The empire too was divided into *provinciae*, whose concept changed from a theater of war within which a magistrate was ordered to operate into an administrative unit with known boundaries wherein his jurisdiction took effect.[4] Rome was transformed into a city that pinpointed locations of bodies in space, regulated the relations between individuals, determined the hierarchical order, and organized the power channels. This new regime prioritised gaze and surveillance, and architecture was employed to that effect.[5]

The Augustan poet Propertius, for example, uses the setting of the temple of the Palatine Apollo, which Octavian in 36 BC had vowed to build if he was victorious over Sextus Pompey and dedicated in 28 BC, to give a sense of spying and monitoring on the poem's protagonist, Cynthia. These poems,[6] Bowditch argues, reflect the evolution of the disciplinary gaze of state control, thereby illuminating the Augustan social ideology and its relation to urban planning. The temple itself and the city continuously monitor Cynthia, urging her to watch her manners under the regulatory gaze of the centralized authority, which is represented by the Apollo statues in and outside the temple. The god's statue in the chariot atop the pediment commands the space as an all-seeing eye. One of these, said to bear the features of Augustus, bolsters the imminent presence of the state within its precinct.[7] This is not surprising considering Augustus' association of himself with Apollo on a number of occasions.[8] Their relationship is further reinforced by the fact that the house of Augustus bordered the temple, hence blurring the line between public and private space.[9]

Fredrick points out the surveillance functions of the Domitianic buildings and monuments like the Iovis Cenatio, the equestrian statue of the emperor in the Forum Romanum and the Forum Transitiorum, which were all designed to control the elite male body. He concludes that whereas the Augustan practice of surveillance was covert, the Domitianic spaces were designed to monitor and invade elite male bodies more openly.[10] It seemed as if the whole city was spying on the upper class:

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4 Wallace-Hadrill 2005, 76-78, 80.

5 Hölscher asks whether the Augustan building program can be defined as totalitarian and discusses the roles of other contributors such as the senate and the aristocracy in these projects. Yet the overall impression encourages the identification of a comprehensive and coherent vision from the mind of a single person. He claims that Augustus' omnipresence is observed especially in his early and private projects like the Mausoleum that will be discussed below (Hölscher 2017, 18-19).

6 Prop., 2.31 and 32.

7 Bowditch 2009, 422.

8 Suet., *Aug*. 70; *Mon. Anc*. 21-24; Plin., *HN* 36.36; Cass. Dio, 49.15.5, 53.16.4 (laurel trees associated with Apollo at the door of his house).

9 Bowditch 2009, 432.

10 Fredrick 2003, 212-20.

> The partners, whom I have mentioned, now discussed the means of ensuring that these conversations should have a wider audience. For the trysting-place had necessarily to retain an air of solitude; and, if they stood behind the doors, there was a risk of detection by sight, by sound, or by a casually roused suspicion. Between roof and ceiling - an ambuscade as humiliating as the ruse was detestable - three senators inserted themselves, and applied their ears to chinks and openings.[11]

The controlling gaze of Domitian is also evident in the increasing number of treason trials and informers during his reign:

> Under Domitian it was no small part of our sufferings that we saw him and were seen of him; that our sighs were counted in his books; that not a pale cheek of all that company escaped those brutal eyes, that crimson face which flushed continually lest shame should unawares surprise it.[12]

Another anecdote mentions the emperor's paranoid mood with a reference to architecture:

> As the time when he anticipated danger drew near, becoming still more anxious every day, he lined the walls of the colonnades in which he used to walk with phengite stone, to be able to see in its brilliant surface the reflection of all that went on behind his back.[13]

The openings and crevices of the city and the polished surfaces of specific stone, i.e. phengites or something very similar creating this effect, had also been utilized by Nero (see below). Therefore within the palace a medium was created where no senator or equestrian could escape from the risk of exposure and where the emperor was able to know everything, even when he was not looking.[14] Based on literary descriptions and use of space in the aforementioned buildings, Fredrick challenges Foucault's statement that "Antiquity had been a civilization of spectacle. 'To render accessible to a multitude of men the inspection of a small number of objects': this was the problem to which the architecture of temples, theaters and circuses responded... The modern age poses the opposite problem: to procure for a small number, or even for a single individual, the instantaneous view of a great multitude." According to

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11 Tac., *Ann*. 4.69.

12 Tac., *Agr*. 45.2.

13 Suet., *Dom*. 14.4.

14 This aspect of Domitianic architecture is further emphasized by Statius' description of Domitian in various contexts. His portrayal of the emperor is in the same vein of those of Suetonius, and Dio, who mention the emperor's reclusive nature. In *Silvae* the emperor is never subject to a physical description; he is the one who sees all, but who cannot be gazed at freely. His equestrian statue in the Forum Romanum captures this phenomenon (Stat., *Silv*. 1.1). He "shines above the temples"; he is watched by the gods in this Forum. But he also gazes back to the Romans, and his eyes even penetrate into the house of the Vestals. The Medusa head in his left arm again implies that he sees all, yet cannot be watched himself. In the Saturnalia feast, his eyes illuminate the light; nothing is left in the dark: "Scarcely was dim night advancing upon the world when a flaming ball ascends from the center of the arena shining in the dense gloom, surpassing the flare of the Cretan crown. The sky brightens with flames, allowing no license to night's obscurity" (Stat., *Silv*. 1.6.86). His new palace on the Palatine is presented as a microcosm with its marbles brought from faraway lands, but his presence surpasses the space (Stat., *Silv*. 4.2.-18-30; cf. Mart., *Spect*. 8.36.12). The poem presents the emperor as a benevolent divine being who does not abuse his penetrating gaze. Although this depiction of Domitian contradicts with Tacitus' portrayal and Frederick's interpretation, Statius' aim was to paint a favorable portrait to impress the Roman elite who was at odds with the emperor (McCullough 2008-2009).

Fredrick, the opposite is true: Augustus' marital legislation and Domitian's architecture were aimed primarily at a strategy of imperial surveillance of the elite.[15]

In other words, early imperial architecture was not for the masses to view a limited number of objects (gladiators, performances, rituals etc.), but for the few (i.e. the emperor) to view the many (elites, the wider population). I suggest that Augustus' bronze statue atop the Mausoleum (figs. 2, 3) effortlessly turned Campus Martius (fig. 1) into a symbolic space of surveillance for a single person. Nero's Domus Aurea served a similar purpose. Ancient sources invariably accuse Nero of bringing country into the city and making it his private space. Flaig claims that Nero intended to distance himself from the established tradition and eradicate the class distinctions.[16] Rather than creating a new concept of society, he was establishing a heterotopic landscape garden where he could both physically and symbolically monitor his subjects.

Monitoring Subjects, Viewing a Microcosm

In the above-mentioned excerpts and elsewhere in the *Annales*, Tacitus is particularly interested in the city of Rome, its buildings and rooms instead of landscapes and military geography.[17] Weight is given to domestic affairs and palace intrigues that include a fair amount of spying and monitoring. In conjunction with the remarks of Bowditch and Fredrick above, therefore, I quote Tacitus' passage about the Lex Pappia Poppaea of 9 BC. This was a marital law against adultery and celibacy that employed terms like "sentry" (*custos*) and "universal parent" (*parens omnium populus*) to underline the pervasive nature of Augustus' presence:

> At last, in his sixth consulate, Augustus Caesar, feeling his power secure, cancelled the behests of his triumvirate, and presented us with laws to serve our needs in peace and under a prince. Thenceforward the fetters were tightened: sentries were set over us and, under the Papia-Poppaean law, lured on by rewards; so that, if a man shirked the privileges of paternity, the state, as universal parent, might step into the vacant inheritance.[18]

Above all, the images of the emperor were overtly acting as the ultimate source of surveillance as Severian of Gabala stated:

> Since an emperor cannot be present to all persons, it is necessary to set up the statue of the emperor in law courts, market places, public assemblies, and theaters. In every place, in fact, in which an official acts, the imperial effigy must be present, so that the emperor may thus confirm what takes place.[19]

Augustus' statue atop his 40 meter-high mausoleum,[20] erected on the flat terrain of the Campus Martius, which itself is a vast "park" or "garden",[21] reflects this pervasiveness. He is an

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15 Foucault 1995, 216; Fredrick 2003, 209.

16 Flaig 2003, 254-59.

17 von Stackelberg 2009a, 605-6.

18 Tac., *Ann.* 3.28: "Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur. Acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret."

19 Quoted by Elsner 1998, 54, from Severian of Gabala, *On the Creation of the World* 5.5.

20 Suet., *Aug.* 100.4; Strabo 5.3.8.

21 The definitive borders of the Campus is debated, since in antiquity it was gradually filled with man-made buildings. Still, ancient references were occasionally made to its greenery and gardens rather than to its buildings (for

all-seeing emperor, unobstructed by the buildings around, commanding a space frequented by a multitude of people. The Mausoleum was surrounded by a park, and the mound itself was covered with trees:

> Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; behind the mound is a large sacred precinct with wonderful promenades; and in the centre of the Campus is the wall (this too of white marble) round his crematorium; the wall is surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within the wall is planted with black poplars.[22]

In his praise of Trajan for participating in person in the proclamation ceremonies of the newly-elected consuls, Pliny the Younger criticizes Lucullus for not having attended the elections in the Campus Martius. Instead he preferred to stay in his gardens on the Pincian Hill overlooking the field:

> Vile ambition, blind to the meaning of true majesty, for a man to covet honors which at heart he despised, to despise what he coveted, and although his gardens overlooked the election-field, to keep away as though the Rhine and Danube flowed between![23]

Lucullus' deceptive indifference to elections contrasts with the bronze Augustus atop the Mausoleum. In a sense, unlike the general whose gardens served as a hiding place, the Princeps is in the field, symbolically overseeing elections and other administrative activities from his gardens.[24]

To appreciate what the Mausoleum achieved, we need to turn to the Gardens of Pompey in the Campus Martius (fig. 4). Pompey, Caesar and Augustus opted for extensive spaces and gardens to commemorate their achievements rather than building individual monuments in the Campus Martius.[25] As Stackelberg points out, together with Augustus' garden on the Palatine and the groves of his grandsons Lucius and Gaius, they were accessible to the public.[26] More ambitiously, Nero connected his palace-cum-garden to various public spaces to extend his heterotopic space to the city.[27] Undoubtedly these were acts of euergetism and public amenity, but equally important was their symbolic function as spaces of monitoring and imperial gaze.[28]

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example Ov., *Pont.* 1.8.33-38; for Strabo see below). It was not a vast field, since it measured only 1.7 square kilometers (Jacobs II and Conlin 2014, 14).

22 Strabo 5.3.8.

23 Plin., *Pan.* 63.4.

24 There were other colossal statues of Augustus in the Campus not included here, such as the one erected after the princeps' death in AD 22 near the Theater of Marcellus (Tac., *Ann.* 3.64). Another, which Agrippa wished to place in the Pantheon, was rejected by Augustus himself (Cass. Dio, 53.27.3).

25 Spencer 2010, 11. Compare this, for example, with Pliny the Elder's remark (Plin., *HN* 36.112): "The highest distinction that these houses displayed was one accorded, for example, after his many services to Publius Valerius Publicola, the first of our consuls along with Lucius Brutus, and to his brother, who - also as consul - inflicted two crushing defeats on the Sabines. I refer to the additional decree which provided that the doors of their houses should be made to open outwards so that the portals could be flung open on to the public highway."

26 Suet., *Aug.* 50-51; Cass. Dio, 54.27.3, 54.29.4.

27 Royo 2007, 391, 395-96.

28 von Stackelberg 2009b, 78; Favro 1996, 178-79; Gleason 1994.

At the core of the complex was the theater, which was crowned by the temple of Venus Victrix. Behind the stage lay the gardens and a *curia* housing a colossal statue of Pompey,[29] so all the political and leisurely activities were carried out under the eyes of Pompey himself. Appian tells that games were held there, while the senate convened in the *curia*. Brutus and Cassius were fulfilling their duties as praetors at the portico in front of the theater.[30] The theater itself was a place of control through surveillance, thanks to the laws that regulated the assigning of seats according to classes.[31] Overall, the complex suggests an inward-looking plan, which enabled Pompey to regulate and monitor the movements within its boundaries. In the theater, similar surveillance and regulation were provided by the imposing temple, hence cult statue of Venus Victrix.[32] This regulatory layout was also evident in the gardens. Propertius speaks of the plane trees there as if they were architectural features.[33] The poet employs the architectural term *ordo* for the trees in the garden where Cynthia, or female sexuality in general, was publicly monitored and contained.[34] It might be of note that this perception of the gardens comes from an Augustan poet.

The gardens were also a miniature model of the Roman world.[35] Already in his triumphal procession held in honor of his victories in the east, Pompey had displayed the showpieces that would soon be placed in his gardens to make them a microcosm:

> Ebony was exhibited at Rome by Pompey the Great on the occasion of his triumph over Mithridates... In this triumph, then, there was carried in the procession a gaming-board complete with a set of pieces, the board being made of two precious minerals and measuring three feet broad and four feet long. And in case

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29 Augustus' arrangements in the Pompeian urban complex were deliberate in the sense that they sought to erase Pompey's achievements from collective memory. Even though the Princeps boasts of repairing the theater of Pompey, he did not hesitate to disturb the unity of the complex, hence the viewing experience, by building a stone *scaenae* in 32 BC to separate the temple of Venus Victrix and the theater from the gardens (*Mon. Anc.* 20). Suetonius says that he also removed the general's colossal statue (Suet., *Aug.* 31.5). He thereby significantly altered the gardens, which had directed the visitor's gaze from the *curia* to the temple (von Stackelberg 2009b, 60). This also disrupted the visual axis that established an eye contact between the statue of Venus Victrix and that of Pompey (Sauron 1987, 466-68). Interestingly, although it retained Pompey's name after Augustus' remodeling, contrary to the previous generation, contemporary literature does not refer to the complex as a unified structure but as a theater and a porticus. It is after these arrangements that the Augustan poets commonly refer to the gardens of Pompey as merely a place of licentious affairs and leisure (Gleason 1994, 24). Altering the effects of "imperial gaze" and related visual arrangements alone (but not removing the buildings themselves) was seen by Augustus as an effective way of establishing his sovereignty. The relationship between Pompey and his microcosm was thus severed, and the gardens were reduced to a pleasure zone just by rearranging the architectural space and visual axis. As a now-fragmented space, the gardens lost their unity that made them a heterotopia.

30 App., *B. Civ.* 2.115.

31 Liv. *Epit.*, 34.44.4; Plut., *Cic.* 13.3; Tac., *Ann.* 13.54. As a permanent theater it may have aimed at controlling and regulating the people in the tense political atmosphere of the late republic, especially after Pompey's return from the East, when he found himself in a troubling situation against the senate. By giving a permanent theater to Rome, he guaranteed the freedom of speech and thus enabled the politicization of the masses (previously limited due to the temporary nature of the theaters), which would give him the upper hand against the Optimates. It also had the effect of minimizing the effects of outbursts during such occasions, since it was easier to control the population concentrated in a single space instead of many across Rome (Frézouls 1984).

32 Russell 2016, 153-67.

33 Prop., 2.11.

34 Bowditch 2009, 426.

35 In literature, its best representation is Columella's Roman garden, where numerous plants from the conquered lands - Egypt, Achaea, Cappadocia, Spain, Cyprus, Armenia, Syria, Gaul - are found (Columella, *Rust.* 10.170-88, 404-22). Here a villa garden, which gathers species within a single space, just like the empire brings foreign nations under its control, becomes a microcosm for the empire itself (Pagán 2013, 30).

> anyone should doubt that our natural resources have become exhausted seeing that today no gems even approach such a size, there rested on this board a golden moon weighing 30 pounds. There were also displayed three gold dining couches; enough gold vessels inlaid with gems to fill nine display stands; three gold figures of Minerva, Mars and Apollo respectively; thirty three pearl crowns; a square mountain of gold with deer, lions and every variety of fruit on it and a golden vine entwined around it; and a grotto of pearls, on the top of which there was a sundial… It is a remarkable fact that ever since the time of Pompey the Great even trees have figured among the captives in our triumphal processions. The balsam tree is now a subject of Rome, and pays tribute together with the race to which it belongs… Varro relates also that it was Coponius who was responsible for the fourteen figures of the Nations that stand around Pompey's theater.[36]

It has also been claimed that Venus Victrix, Honos and Felicitas formed the Capitoline triad. The steps reaching the temple of Venus Victrix evoked the steps that reached the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The theater was a representation of the Roman people; the quadriporticus substituted the Roman forum. Pompey then would be the overseer, the *imperator* of this miniature Rome.[37]

Augustus, on the other hand, regarded gardens as private spaces where he could retreat (see below, n. 57). But compared to Pompey's statue in his complex, the Princeps' image atop the mausoleum operated on a grander scale. As the patron of all Romans, he could view his subjects in the Campus Martius that, as I am going to show below, was actually a miniature model of the city of Rome. Rehak describes the southern Campus Martius, where the Augustan monuments (i.e. Ara Pacis, Horologium, Mausoleum) stood, as "a utopia in its original… None of the political, military, commercial, or social functions of city life inside the *pomerium* or outside it in the southern Campus Martius took place here - just the keeping of time and funerary and commemorative rites. In this sense, the Augustan project in the northern Campus Martius fits M. Foucault's definition of a heterotopia - a place that is 'other' with respect to usual social spaces."[38]

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[36] Plin., *HN* 12.11, 26.41, 54; 37.6; cf. Suet., *Ner.* 46; Kuttner 1999, 345. It is evident from his choice of words that Pliny treats the trees as if they are captives or *nationes*. They were probably planted in Pompey's gardens (Östenberg 2009, 185). This is another testament to the heterotopic nature of the Gardens of Pompey. The association of military conquests with "capture" and display of exotic plants has a long history going back to Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Tiglath-Pileser. In this, Pompey might have followed Lucullus, who had introduced the sour cherry from Pontus to Italy (Marzano 2014, 206-10). An inscription celebrating the construction of Sargon II's (722-705 BC) palace in Khorsabad mentions "a park that is a replica of Mount Amanus," where "every tree from Hittite land and plants from every mountain" are exhibited. Also, artificial elevations seen on some reliefs appear to have imitated the forested foothills of the Taurus range. Golden vines were offered as gifts to the Achaemenid kings, who also used them as decorative elements. A wealthy Lydian named Pythius presented Darius a golden plane tree and a vine (Hdt., 7.27). Antigonus Monopthalmus discovered one such vine among the treasury of Susa (Diod. Sic., 19.48.6). Athenaeus reports golden vines and plane trees under which Persian kings sat and held court (Ath., 12.514f, 539d). Vines appear on a number of relief fragments from the North Palace of Asurbanipal at Nineveh, and from the reign of Sennacherib in the early 7th century BC. They were most probably associated with a fertility deity (Albenda 1974). The reliefs show vines entwined around a tree in the manner displayed in Pompey's triumph. The Assyrian practice of "wedding" vines to trees to train them was common in Roman times, and this technique of grafting vines and other plants in Roman literature and art may represent the zeitgeist of the Augustan era (Lowe 2010).

[37] Sauron 1987, 472.

[38] Rehak 2009, 171.

A more comprehensive definition of heterotopia than Rehak's is needed to clarify my argument. It is a space of other or otherness: neither an everyday space nor utopia, but for one reason or another a space of alternative possibilities. It "brings spaces and locations that are incompatible with each other together in a single real space," creating an illusionary or a perfect space where people can take a break from traditional time.[39] It is a display of quite separate things as a whole. As a heterotopia, gardens accommodate different plants from different climates in a compact space, which cannot be encountered in daily routine. It is a utopia in this respect, yet a tangible, real one that one can enter and enjoy (For example, movie theaters bring a two-dimensional world into a confined three-dimensional space where they also create a perception of time [i.e. cinematic] different from our daily experience of time. Also, museums exhibit objects from different eras and geographies in a single space). Foucault singles out the garden as the oldest heterotopia in the form of contradictory locations and takes Persian gardens as an example. The Persian garden was regarded as a "small picture of the cosmos."[40] Each of its four corners represented the corresponding corners of the world and its centre the world's center.

According to Foucault, it was "a space that was like the navel, the centre of the world brought into the garden (it was here that the basin and jet of water were located). All the vegetation was concentrated in this zone, as if in a sort of microcosm. As for carpets, they originally set out to reproduce gardens, since the garden was a carpet where the world in its entirety achieved symbolic perfection, and the carpet a sort of movable garden in space. The garden is the smallest fragment of the world and, at the same time, represents its totality, forming right from the remotest times a sort of felicitous and universal heterotopia."[41]

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[39] Foucault 1997, 332-36. The thinker lists six principal characteristics for heterotopias: 1) all societies have them; 2) a society can make an existing heterotopia function in different ways; 3) a heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing, in a single real place, several spaces or sites that are in themselves incompatible; 4) heterotopias are linked to slices in time; 5) heterotopias presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable; and 6) heterotopias create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory.

[40] It was the memory of the world as designed by Ahuramazda in the beginning and the promise that its perfection would be restored. When Ahuramazda created the world, he placed only a plant, an animal and a human in its center -Iran. However, this world of unity and perfection was assaulted by the Evil Spirit, who caused the diversification of sexes and species. Since the Evil Spirit was not omnipotent like Ahuramazda, he could not entirely destroy, but only ruin them. Every plant, animal and human species in the world carry a part of the original triad. Therefore, conquests of people and lands, hence plants and animals, are aimed at "Renovation," that is, restoring the perfect primordial state of the world by bringing all the species under Persian control. As a microcosm, the Persian garden represents this unity and harmony, but it is an everlasting process completed when history ends. It is telling that the Old Persian word for what we call empire is *bimu*, the earth (Lincoln 2007, 13, 19-67). This restoration would be carried out by a line of kings, whose founder would be chosen by Ahuramazda himself, by suppressing all rebels, lies and corrupting forces. In this view, the construction of a *paradeisos* was a "prefiguration of the world's ultimate salvation." It is this belief that lays behind the language of the royal inscription of Darius at Bisitun, where rebellion is seen as a form of corruption, a displacement of the rightful order of things. Rebels risk destroying the political order of the empire as a community unified by Ahuramazda, and it is the duty of the king to suppress such rebellions. That the empire is the natural order within which all the peoples of the world exist is implicitly stated (Provencal 2015, 132-33).

[41] Foucault 1997, 334. When the Arabs conquered Ctesiphon in AD 636/637, they found a carpet called "Springtime of King Chosroes," a 30 m^2 silk carpet reportedly used as a stage for banquets. It bore depictions of gardens bordered by waterways - an artificial garden for the king in winter. Garden paths were worked with pearls, trees and flowers with gold and silver strings, shrubs with precious stones, and streams with gleaming blue stones. Similarly, Athenaeus gives a description of Ptolemy II's pavilion, whose floor was strewn with heaps of flowers looking like a divine meadow. And Persian carpets with animal images covered the central area (Ath., 5.197). *Sahnama* and other Islamic sources tell that four jewel-encrusted carpets were laid on the lower parts of the Sassanian thrones and changed every day of the month. The king sat alternatingly on four seats on the top of the throne with the change of seasons (Canepa 2017, 147).

The Gardens of Pompey was a heterotopic microcosm per se, where the general's colossal statue at the Curia viewed the miniature Rome. The Mausoleum statue of Augustus, however, brought the entire Campus under its gaze, hence greatly diminishing the impact of Pompey's project by utilizing an open space instead of an extensive albeit enclosed one. First, I would like to emphasize particularly the range of activities and objects the field accommodated. It was an ideal place for leisure:

> Indeed, the size of the Campus is remarkable, since it affords space at the same time and without interference, not only for the chariot-races and every other equestrian exercise, but also for all that multitude of people who exercise themselves by ball-playing, hoop-trundling, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the Campus Martius, and the ground, which is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting.[42]

It was also a gathering point for assemblies, voting, military training and religious rituals:

> Thereupon Tullius, having completed the business of the census, commanded all the citizens to assemble in arms in the largest field before the city; and having drawn up the horse in their respective squadrons and the foot in their massed ranks, and placed the light-armed troops each in their own centuries, he performed an expiatory sacrifice for them with a bull, a ram and a boar.[43]

> When voting is done according to families of men, the assembly is called "curiate"; when it is according to property and age, "centuriate"; when according to regions and localities, "tribal." Further it impious for the assembly of the centuries to be held within the *pomerium*, because the army must be summoned outside of the city, and it is not lawful for it to be summoned within the city. Therefore it was customary for the assembly of the centuries to be held in the field of Mars, and the army to be summoned there for purposes of defence while the people were busy casting their votes.[44]

Although Dumser describes the Campus Martius as "a new city to rival the old in architectural majesty,"[45] it was not only the architecture that was replicated. In fact, the whole Campus became a heterotopia - a microcosm of Rome that brought together almost all the public, administrative, religious and private activities in the city;[46] people from different classes and soldiers from every rank; objects of art from different eras belonging to different places and contexts in a restricted space. And "at the same time," as Strabo observed (a "break from traditional time" in Foucaultian shorthand), they were "personally" overseen by Augustus in his new role.[47] His elevated gaze thus extended beyond his mausoleum garden and own

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42 Strabo 5.3.8; cf. Hor., *Sat*. 1.6.126, 2.6.49.

43 Dion. Hal., 4.22.1-2; cf. Liv. *Epit*., 1.44.1-2. Equestrian exercises were still being performed in Augustus' day (Hor., *Carm*. 1.8.3; Prop., 2.16.33).

44 Gell., *NA,* 15.27.4-5.

45 Dumser 2013, 143.

46 The microcosm also included Rome's wars. Claudius arranged representations of the sacking of a town and the surrender of the chiefs of the Britons (Suet., *Claud.* 21.6).

47 In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus tells how he removed eighty silver statues showing himself in various poses from the city to use them as dedications to the temple of Apollo (*Mon. Anc*. 24). This was an act to erase the unpleasant memories of the civil war and exemplify religious piety (Zanker 1988, 86).

heterotopia (i.e. the southern Campus) to the entire Campus Martius. Strabo's description of the field as a "stage-painting" evokes a space like a landscape garden or a permanent stage to view the Princeps with his subjects. This mode of viewing may be compared to the increasing popularity of landscape paintings under Augustus:

> Nor must Spurius Tadius also, of the period of his late lamented Majesty Augustus, be cheated of his due, who first introduced the most attractive fashion of painting walls with pictures of country houses and porticoes and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-ponds, canals, rivers, coasts, and whatever anybody could desire, together with various sketches of people going for a stroll or sailing in a boat or on land going to country houses riding on asses or in carriages, and also people fishing and fowling or hunting or even gathering the vintage. His works include splendid villas approached by roads across marshes, men tottering and staggering along carrying women on their shoulders for a bargain, and a number of humorous drawings of that sort besides, extremely wittily designed. He also introduced using pictures of seaside cities to decorate uncovered terraces, giving a most pleasing effect and at a very small expense.[48]

What is remarkable in Pliny's passage is the dominance of architecture and human figures.[49] There is a growing taste to view humans in architectural settings, in well-defined spaces instead of natural landscapes. The Campus itself was architecturally demarcated in the north and south, like a stage painting, by the Augustan edifices. In a sense the Princeps created and delineated his own heterotopia. To the north, one would inevitably notice the Mausoleum, and at the southernmost section of the field, the Theater of Marcellus built by Augustus counterbalanced the Mausoleum.[50] As is, the Campus Martius and the Gardens of Pompey actually formed a heterotopia within a heterotopia. The former served as a microcosm of Rome containing the latter as the microcosm of the empire - an arrangement which, I suppose, suits the concept of a city that is also a world empire ("The land of other nations has a fixed boundary: the circuit of Rome is the circuit of the world"[51]). Or, as Pliny repeatedly implied throughout his work, it is the ultimate microcosm.[52]

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48 Plin., *HN* 25.116-18.

49 Ling 2009, 142.

50 Jacobs II and Conlin 2014, 169.

51 Ov., *Fast*. 2.683-84.

52 Carey 2006, 85-88, 90-91, 100. Royo underlines the contradiction between Ovid's phrase and Pliny's description of the palaces of Caligula and Nero encompassing the whole city (Plin., *HN* 36.111). Whereas Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius considered their gardens as places of retreat, Caligula and Nero profoundly changed their nature. Caligula seems to have intended to separate the seat of imperial power from the urban area by creating a second palace in the gardens. Nero went further: he was criticized for not keeping private spaces separate from public ones belonging to the senate and the people. He redefined the urban center of Rome: instead of creating his own heterotopic microcosm in the city as his late republican and early imperial predecessors did, he transformed the entire city into his microcosm. Martial praises Domitian for restoring the land of the Domus Area to the people (Mart., *Spect.* 2). The heterotopic microcosm of Rome / empire, represented by the extensive palatial gardens, is now condensed into the Colosseum, a confined space (Royo 2007, 399-400). It is important to remember that, although the Campus Martius gradually underwent heavy development from the late Republic and included in the *pomerium* piecemeal by the emperors, it was not until the construction of the Aurelian Wall that it was entirely incorporated into the *pomerium* (Richardson Jr., 1992, 67). The ones in the urban center were confined spaces dispersed throughout the city or around its peripheries.

As mentioned in the beginning, Wallace-Hadrill sees the creation of well-defined, knowable and controllable spaces as primarily an Augustan innovation. He claims that Augustan segmentation, measurement and definition of city spaces are a result of the creation of a "professionalized" knowledge that retains the ultimate authority of the ruler.[53] In fact, the origins of this professionalized spatial knowledge and segmentation are already observed during the republic in the use of space in census and voting processes in the Campus Martius,[54] or in the layout of the Roman military camp as described by Polybius.[55] In Foucaultian terms these were the examples of a mechanism that enforces hierarchy through surveillance.[56] The Mausoleum statue, therefore, serves as a symbolic source of surveillance to oversee this hierarchical order.

It is worth noting that, in case of gardens, this rationalization of space, i.e. the art of topiary, was introduced to Rome by Gaius Matius, a friend of Augustus.[57] As Pliny the Younger's description of his villa garden shows,[58] in this art trees and other greenery were always planted in strict geometrical patterns as an "extension of architectural space." And they were shaped in the form of animals, landscapes and scenes of war.[59] Gordian's unrealized plan of an ostentatious *viridiarium*, a pleasure garden, in the Campus Martius demonstrates that the architecture and topiary were perceived as mutually applied practices:

> He had projected, however, a portico on the Campus Martius, just under the hill, a thousand feet long, intending to erect another of equal length opposite to it with a space of five hundred feet stretching evenly between. In this space there were to be pleasure-parks on both sides, filled with laurel, myrtle, and box-trees, and down the middle a mosaic walk a thousand feet long with short columns and statuettes placed on either side. This was to be a promenade, and at the end there was to be a basilica five hundred feet long.[60]

A striking example of an early imperial heterotopic microcosm created in a garden or private landscape would be, of course, Nero's Domus Aurea (fig. 5). Together with the surrounding lands, it represented a miniature Roman world:

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53 Wallace-Hadrill 2005, 57.

54 For elections an enclosure called *ovile* was used. Here the people were divided into compartments according to their class, tribe and century. Access to these compartments were provided by the *pons*, i.e. narrow passages (Cic., *Att*. 4.16.8; Serv., *Dan*. 1.33; Juv., 6.529; Liv., 26.22; Luc., 2.197; Auson., *Grat. act*. 3.13). The census of the urban and rural tribes, and the *pedites* took place in the open air of the Campus (Taylor 2013, 74, 153; Ziolkowski 2013, 396-98).

55 I have argued elsewhere that Polybius' description of the layout of a Roman camp (Polyb., 6.27-33) corresponds to the Foucaultian perfect military camp, in which "all power would be exercised solely through exact observation; each gaze would form a part of the overall functioning of power. The old, traditional square plan was considerably refined in innumerable new projects. The geometry of the paths, the number and distribution of the tents, the orientation of their entrances, the disposition of files and ranks were exactly defined; the network of gazes that supervised one another was laid down... The camp is the diagram of a power that acts by means of general visibility" (Ergin 2011).

56 Foucault 1995, 170-71.

57 Plin., *HN* 12.13. Augustus was among a few Roman emperors who seems to have genuinely interested in gardening. Juba, the king of Mauretania, who remained a loyal vassal to Augustus from 25 BC until his death, dedicated a botanical treatise to the Princeps' adoptive son Gaius Caesar (Plin., *HN* 12.56). He was encouraged probably by a suggestion from Augustus (Totelin 2012, 139). We also hear of a private place that Augustus called "Syracuse," where he retreated from time to time to be alone. The name evokes a number of associations with the titular city. Judging from the descriptions, it would not be a mistake to call it a garden shed (Gowers 2010, 74-75).

58 Plin., *Ep*. 5,6.

59 Hartswick 2018, 79.

60 SHA *Gord*. 33.

> Its size and splendor will be sufficiently indicated by the following details. Its vestibule was large enough to contain a colossal statue of the emperor 100 and 20 feet high; and it was so extensive that it had a triple colonnade a mile long. There was a pond too, like a sea, surrounded with buildings to represent cities, besides tracts of country, varied by tilled fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with great numbers of wild and domestic animals.[61]
>
> Nero turned to account the ruins of his fatherland by building a palace, the marvels of which were to consist not so much in gems and gold, materials long familiar and vulgarized by luxury, as in fields and lakes and the air of solitude given by wooded ground alternating with clear tracts and open landscapes. The architects and engineers were Severus and Celer, who had the ingenuity and the courage to try the force of art even against the veto of nature and to fritter away the resources of a Caesar.[62]

Bowditch notes that "the development of a gaze of social control wielded by a centralized authority, the cultural construct of the regulatory gaze as exercised by a community (if not an individual) has a long history for the ancients."[63] So a brief chronological comparison with some non-Roman examples will better illustrate my point. The earliest would be the gardens of Akhenaten at Amarna, Maru-Aten, built in ca. 1340 BC and located five kilometers south of the city (fig. 6). It was a sacred court, or *temenos*, which features architectural and decorative elements that suggest a heterotopic microcosm modeled by the king. The primeval water, the mound of creation, and abundant vegetation created a true microcosm of the universe, whose landscape reflected the Egyptian myths about the life-giving power of the sun. The symbolism of the sun - the focus of the new cult of the god Aten incepted by the king - pervaded the gardens. Reliefs show Akhenaton and his wife worshipping the sun god Aten. The word *maru* itself is about seeing, hence the *maru* of Aten is the "Viewing Palace of Aten" (originally Pa-Maru-en-Pa-aten). But this seeing went both ways - from the god to the people and vice versa - since the god himself was created by seeing.[64] Although the context is different, at least a similar mutual viewing experience based on hierarchy was apparently established between the Mausoleum statue and the Roman elite. Remains of a garden-theater, originally located in the Gardens of Lucullus, were discovered on the Pincian Hill, whose cavea in the terraced hillside was on the same axis with the Mausoleum to its west. Its alignment may be due to a deliberate display of elite allegiance to Augustus.[65] But it also shows that the Mausoleum's towering statue was regarded as a fixed point to which the gaze of the elites should be directed.

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61 Suet., *Ner.* 31. Compare with Louis XIV's gardens in Versailles: "The place where [the prince] resides seems to expand to the size of the universe. Garden and palace thus appear to be a miniature compendium of the entire world. This exemplary place contains the most beautiful and rare of what the outside world produces and transforms them into a sign. Versailles becomes the show-window of the world; exotic plants, Dutch flowers, wild animals, rare birds, and objects brought from the four corners of the universe are all perpetually found there. They are presented, they appear together, as a whole, without undergoing the ordinary constraints of merchandise, of payment, of tune and space. Not having succeeded in creating a universal monarchy, the kingdom conquered the world in the form of signs; he reconstructed the earth entire in his garden; he played with a scale model of the universe that he could alter as his whim desired" (Apostolidès 1981, 136-37).

62 Tac., *Ann.* 15.42

63 Bowditch 2009, 405.

64 Badawy 1956, 64; Wilkinson 1998, 154-59.

65 Coarelli 1983, 200-6.

Foucault's definition of *paradeisos*[66] as a microcosm divided into four quadrants to represent the four corners of the universe has not been convincingly demonstrated in the archaeological record, though gardens of Cyrus at Pasargadae had been interpreted as such before the recent work at the site.[67] In any case, both the Pasargadae and Roman gardens have strong central axes and visual arrangements to limit movement and provide a commanding gaze of the landscape.

Herod the Great's palace gardens offer another good case (figs. 7, 8). The palace at Wadi Qelt in Jordan, begun in 15 BC, is a variation of the Roman pleasure villa and features an amalgamation of Roman architectural traditions that the king may have noticed during his visit to Rome in 40 BC. The famous Sunken Garden, situated on the south side of Wadi Qelt, was clearly designed with the control and surveillance of visitors at certain chokepoints in mind, evoking the presence of the king among his subjects and guests. Based on the relation between the Sunken Garden and the adjacent theater-like exedra, it is tempting to speculate about its influence on the arrangement on the Pincian Hill mentioned above.[68] Herod's tomb and its gardens at the Herodium, positioned on a terrace constructed into the slope of the artificial hill, overlook the administrative complex (Lower Herodium) and a royal hippodrome.[69]

The concept of gaze in Maru-Aten, discussed above, can be also be compared to the heterotopic landscapes within the Domus Aurea, since both rulers associated themselves closely with the sun. Much has been written on the relationship between the palace and Nero's solar ideology, which cannot be discussed here in full.[70] I will therefore only summarize the aspects that are relevant to the topic. From AD 64 Nero identified himself (and was identified)[71] with Sol: the Achaeans greeted him as "New Helios"; his coins depicted him with radiate crowns; the Colossus and other statues associate him with the god. Gold objects and gilded architectural elements of the Domus Aurea[72] had a prominent place in the emperor's life.[73] The famous

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66 It should be noted that Foucault's description of gardens is by no means definitive. For the origins and other meanings of the term, see Tuplin 1996, 80-92.

67 Excavations have unearthed a stone throne placed centrally from which the king could supposedly admire the view - an all-seeing eye that watches over his dominions (Stronach 1990, 176). On the Cyrus Cylinder, the king designates himself as the "king of the universe, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world" (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1880-0617-1941, accessed May 14, 2020). When Tamerlane conquered India, he placed his throne at the center of his garden as a symbolic representation of his rule over the four quarters (McIntosh 2005, 37). In listing subject peoples, the Bisitun inscription follows the Perso-centric model, wherein the subjects are mentioned according to their location in the cardinal points with Persia at the center (Lincoln 2007, 24-25). Yet, at least in the case of Pasargadae, it now seems that the second axial division suggested by the central placement of the throne may have covered a much greater area (Benech et al. 2012, 13).

68 This garden-theater arrangement might have originated from the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. Diodorus Sicilus writes that the approach to the gardens "sloped like a hillside and the several parts of the structure rose from one another tier on tier, the appearance of the whole resembled that of a theater" (Diod. Sic., 2.10). The Sunken Garden was probably designed with this layout in mind (Taylor 2014, 150, 156-60).

69 Netzer 2009, 173-74; Patrich 2009, 198-99.

70 L'Orange's claim that Nero's rule turned into a solar theocracy (L'Orange 1942) was persuasively criticized by Toynbee (Toynbee 1947, 130-49), Boëthius (Boëthius 1960, 119), Fears (Fears 1976) and Griffin (Griffin 2001, 138). According to Champlin, it may have functioned both as a sun-palace and a villa. There is no reason to reject L'Orange's interpretation of the complex as a sun-palace, if we assume that Nero and his audience were concerned with metaphor (Champlin 2003, 132).

71 Luc., 1.45-65.

72 The Persian palaces are described as such (Arist., *Mund.* 398a15), and we are informed that some trees in festivals or parties were covered with gilded leather to liken them to imaginary or paradisiacal gardens (Ruggles 2008, 83-84).

73 Champlin 1998, 335-39.

passage of Dio, wherein Nero appeared in the coronation ceremony of the Armenian king Tiridates in Rome, was a clear demonstration of Nero's ideology: the main event was delayed due to overcast skies until the sun appeared. Nero and Tiridates entered the forum at dawn so that the rising sun could illuminate the togas of Nero and the senators, as well as the arms of the soldiers. Upon reaching the *rostra* to receive the crown from Nero, Tiridates said, "I have come before you, who are my god, adoring you as I adore Mithras. And I will accept the lot that you assign to me. You are my fate and my destiny." In Zoroastrian belief the sun was the "eyes" of Mithras, and the god was associated with, if not identified as, the sun.[74] Apparently, the Romans too perceived Tiridates' words as such, since the second part of the ceremony took place in the Theater of Pompey, which was covered by an awning that depicted Nero as the chariot-riding Sun surrounded by golden stars. The architectural features of the theater too were gilded with gold.[75] Seneca was aware that the new palace reflected Nero's solar ideology and denounced it.[76] Within this complex, the Colossus stood above the entrance of the Domus Aurea looking down on the microcosm of Rome or the Mediterranean.[77] A visitor approaching from the Via Sacra would first notice the Colossus and then a suburban villa, i.e. the Golden House, in a heterotopic park or landscape. The effect would be that of a painting,[78] not unlike the one that Strabo had in mind when describing the Augustan Campus Martius.

One aspect of the Domus Aurea deserves more attention in this respect. Pliny the Elder mentions a special type of stone which Nero used to build the temple of Fortuna[79] within the confines of his new palace:

> During Nero's principate there was discovered in Cappadocia a stone as hard as marble, white and, even where deep-yellow veins occurred, translucent. In token of its appearance it was called "phengites" or the "Luminary Stone." Of this stone Nero rebuilt the temple of Fortune, known as the shrine of Sejanus, but originally consecrated by King Servius Tullius and incorporated by Nero in his Golden House. Thanks to this stone, in the daytime it was as light as day in the temple, even when the doors were shut; but the effect was not that of windows of specular stone, since the light was, so to speak, trapped within rather than allowed to penetrate from without.[80]

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74 We need not to link Nero to Mithraism. Beck correctly states that the Mithraic image of the universe is not a unique invention. It is not that surprising to find a marked similarity between the Domus Aurea's famous dining room (Suet., *Ner.* 31.2) and a Mithraeum in terms of their orientation. But whereas a Mithraeum functions as a mediator for the initiators between the earth and the heavens, Nero's dining room presents him as a cosmocrat on earth (Beck 2006, 120-21).

75 Suet., *Ner.* 13.1; Cass. Dio, 63.4.

76 Sen., *Ep.* 115.12-13.

77 Champlin 2003, 131-32. Pliny the Elder reports that Nero ordered a 36.5 meter-high painting of himself to be hung in the Gardens of Maius (Plin., *HN* 35.51). Given its size and location, it is tempting to see it as an imitation of the Colossus again erected in a heterotopic space.

78 Champlin 1998, 339.

79 Whether the nature of the goddess and her connection to Nero played any part in the choice of the stone is hard to tell. For the birthday celebrations of Nero's daughter, the senate placed golden statues of Fortunae on the throne of Jupiter in the Capitol (Tac., *Ann.* 15.23). A statue of two female deities on a couch from Praeneste appears to have represented the cultic statues of the goddesses. Antium, the birthplace of Nero, housed a cult of Fortuna, but the evidence is very late and its Republican origins are not clear. Tacitus reports another temple of the goddess in the city with the epithet "Equistris." According to Suetonius (*Calig.* 57), the Fortunae Antiates had warned Caligula about a Cassius before his death. The attributes associated with the goddess are too diverse to reach a sound conclusion on the matter (Miano 2018, 56-58, 197).

80 Plin., *HN* 36.163.

This or a similar stone was used to line the walls of Domitian's palace (see above). Phengites could provide daylight even when the doors were shut. Its extraordinary - and much criticised[81] - qualities therefore made it a perfect choice for Nero's solar ideology. Nothing could stay in the dark; even the temples were subject to Nero's gaze as he identified himself with the Sun.[82] It illuminated the hidden interiors by making them visible as if they were in the broad daylight. The emperor shone on everything inside and outside. That Nero put Fabullus in charge of the palace's painting program then is no accident. Pliny describes his colors as serious and strict, but also florid, which undoubtedly suited Nero's tastes. But more importantly he was also the sculptor of a Minerva "who faced the spectator at whatever angle she was looked at."[83] Seneca the Younger was not enthusiastic about this carnival of colors and artificiality, which turned the eyes away from the physical realities of the world.[84] In fact, at its core, Nero, like Augustus before and Domitian after him, was creating a space of symbolic surveillance through more flamboyant means than those of his predecessors.

It is important to note that both the Colossus and Nero's image on the awning in the Gardens of Maius were displayed in heterotopic landscapes or gardens. Nero imposed himself on these heterotopias as the all-seeing sun god. His Colossus with radiate crown, which even Augustus did not dare dare to wear, overlooked a section of the Domus Aurea that was recreated as a part of the Campus. Recent discoveries have demonstrated that a section of his microcosm was conceived as a popular corner of the Campus: the Stagnum Neronis in Domus Aurea closely followed the Stagnum Agrippae. It intended to bring its pleasures into the heart of Rome.[85] He similarly rose above the heterotopic complex of Pompey, which included the images of the *nationes*.

Viewing towers in these gardens can be interpreted in the same light. An inscription from the gardens of the Alhambra Palace reads: "In this garden I am an eye filled with delight and the pupil of this eye is none other than my lord." This brings Tiridates' eye metaphor to mind. In Islamic gardens like that of Alhambra, miradors and viewing pavilions were built to appreciate the view and give the ruler "height and command" (see below) as an all-seeing eye in a heterotopic microcosm. The inscription explicitly identifies the ruler as a viewer in a mirador.[86] In his extensive urban landscape, Nero was the eye (or the pupil): previous Julio-Claudian emperors were the ones to be gazed at by the people and the Roman elite. Since they resided in definite and fixed spaces, they were the focus of the gaze. But with the Domus Aurea, which included most of, if not the whole, urban center, there occurred a reversal. They were now under the gaze of Nero.[87] We know a couple of garden towers from literary sources.[88] Nero watched the great fire of AD 64 in the Turris Maecenatiana in the Horti Maecenatiani (soon

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81 The ambiguous features of the stone were an assault on the traditional values of Roman morals, since they did not easily lend themselves to clear-cut definitions. *Candidus* and *fuluus* failed to express the stone's appearance. Here and in the case of Domitian's reflective palace surfaces, visual manipulation is presented as one of the trademarks of a corrupt ruler. According to Seneca, intricate patterns and spotty marble columns were the indicators of degeneration (Sen., *Ep.* 115.8-9). Marble platings and gilded surfaces are nothing but a lie since they cheat the eye (Bradley 2009, 91-93).

82 For the relationship between the Sun and seeing, see Parisinou 2017, 31-32.

83 Plin., *HN* 35.120.

84 Sen., *Ep.* 51.13.

85 Champlin 2003, 207-8.

86 Ruggles 1992, 169; Foster 2004, 210.

87 Royo 2007, 399.

88 Suet., *Ner.* 38.2; Cass. Dio, 42.26.3; Obseq., 71; Hor. *Carm*., 3.29.5-11.

to be added to Domus Aurea) from which he could view the valley between the Caelian and Oppian hills, the lands of his future microcosm. There was a tower in Caesar's gardens and another within the gardens of Sallust.[89] In one epigram Martial criticizes an elite Roman for his morally wrong use of gardens.[90] For the poet, who is happy to see the lands occupied by the Domus Area were restored to the people, the towers do not serve a purpose other than viewing a landscape consisting of useless plants. But they actually were elevated locations to gaze at and appreciate the heterotopic aspects of a garden, or in Nero's case, rather the landscape. Thus, putting the underlying distinctive ideologies of these gardens aside, one of the main features of the imperial horticultural heterotopias is elevation. The ruler is the one who watches this microcosmic landscape from an eminent point, the seat of surveillance. From this point of view, the early imperial gardens can be seen as a complementary phenomenon to the themes in contemporary Latin literature and architecture. In these gardens and urban landscapes, this act of watching becomes an "imperial gaze." I quote Wylie's definition of the term in full to illustrate my point:[91]

> First of all, recalling the landscape way of seeing's close association with Western sciences of observation and classification, it becomes possible to speak of landscape in non-Western contexts as an "objective", "scientific" and thereby peculiarly imperial gaze. It is important to remember here that landscape is being defined as a particular mode of looking and representing, and thus that when we speak of landscape we are referring to the gaze of a particular subject or self… In the first place the landscape gaze here connotes height and command, it is an elevated prospect, from which position observers are, so to speak, "masters of all they survey." The commanding prospect, offering objective, authoritative and wide-ranging vision, and establishing the viewer in a place of epistemological and juridical supremacy…

Although Wiley discusses the imperial gaze as a way of seeing the non-western geographies within the context of colonialism, Spencer uses it to define the gaze between Rome and Italy.[92] We can use therefore the concepts given in the above passage for a better insight. We see "observation and classification" at work in voting and military training processes in the Campus Martius, where Foucaultian spatial arrangement and discipline imposed on citizens' bodies render them susceptible to symbolic monitoring by Augustus ("the gaze of a particular subject or self") atop the Mausoleum ("height and command") in his garden. Indeed, we are told that Granius Marcellus was accused of placing his statue on a more elevated position than that of the Princeps, an act that Tacitus described as a religious offense.[93] And before Augustus, only a few republican statues of mortals (Pompey's statue in the Curia and probably another belonging to Caesar) stood above the heads of the spectators.[94] As for "establishing the viewer in a place of epistemological and juridical supremacy," the *Res Gestae* is a telling example. The original text was inscribed in bronze, a practice preferred for legal and other important

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89 Hartswick 2004, 9, 20-21.

90 Mart., 3.58.

91 Wylie 2007, 126-27.

92 Spencer 2010, 11.

93 Tac., *Ann.* 1.74.3. Caligula destroyed a large number of statues in the Campus Martius and forbade erection of images in the city without imperial consent (Suet., *Calig.* 34). Claudius too prohibited the private dedications without senatorial permission (Cass. Dio, 60.25.2-3).

94 Rehak 2009, 41-42.

documents,[95] and placed in the Mauseoleum. In doing so, Augustus elevated his achievements to legal status, and his words and acts became institutionalized. During a discussion in the senate following the riots of the stage, Tiberius claimed that "it would be blasphemy to contravene his words."[96] In another instance, the emperor said that he observed Augustus' every deed and word as law.[97] Whereas in the republic the references were to the *mos maiorum*, already under Tiberius, Augustus became the reference to the new source of validity.[98] Augustus atop the Mausoleum then, views the Campus as the supreme lawmaker, the ultimate source of law and legislation.

Conclusion

Beyond a display of personal power and prestige, late republic and early imperial public gardens symbolized the ideal conditions achieved after times of crisis or at the dawn of a new age. Akhenaten built Amarna and its gardens to declare a new era; Pompey built them after his triumph perhaps partly as a demonstration of the ideal relationship established between the East and the West after his campaigns.[99] The Mausoleum and its adjacent gardens were among the first projects Augustus initiated after Actium; Nero built the Domus Aurea and represented himself as Helios in its gardens as a harbinger of a Golden Age.[100] Vespasian erected the Templum Pacis and its gardens to commemorate the pacification of Judea and the end of the turbulent years of Julio-Claudian rule as well as the civil war.[101] The Chinese gardens of the Qin and Han dynasties are another example of this. Attention was drawn to the dates of their construction, that is, after great wars and crises, to symbolize the unity and prosperity ushered in by the new era.[102] That these gardens signal a break from traditional republican politics is evident, as Spencer notes.[103] By the mid-first century BC the shift at the Campus Martius from royal to public space, observed both in its architectural development and contemporary literary descriptions,[104] made it an ideal place (at least in the early imperial period when the field was still relatively uncluttered) for imperial surveillance and manifestation of the ruler. This resulted in an imperial gaze directed towards heterotopic microcosms in Rome, since the ruler was also the creator who must oversee his creation and ensure its perpetuity.

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95 Cooley 2009, 3.

96 Tac., *Ann.* 1.77.

97 Tac., *Ann.* 4.37.

98 Bhatt 2017, 80.

99 Kuttner interprets the Gardens of Pompey as a place "to heal the wounds of imperial civil war by elevating the image of 'good' Greek and Asian culture and history and preaching hegemonic national myths about fruitful interchange between the Asian and Greek east and the Greek and Latin west" (Kuttner 1999, 346).

100 Sen., *Apocol.* 4.1.

101 I did not include the gardens of the Templum Pacis in this discussion, since they mostly lack the features that others have and are perhaps better imagined as a garden museum. Like a museum (and a garden), they do function as a heterotopia, since they housed objects and plants from all over the Roman world in a single space (Joseph., *BJ* 7.158-62; Plin., *HN* 34.84, 101-2, 108-9, 36.58; Paus., 2.9.3). And also like Thutmose III's famous botanical gardens (Panagiotopoulos 2006, 404; Wilkinson 1998, 137-47), they reflected the notion of "botanical imperialism" that Pliny the Elder often implies throughout his work. The gardens also advertised a new era under the Flavians (Pollard 2009; Taraporewalla 2010). But in accordance with Vespasian's wish to emphasize a more moderate administration after the eccentricities and excesses of the Julio-Claudians, he preferred, for example, the Gardens of Sallust to the Palatine to conduct his business (Suet., *Vesp.* 12).

102 Qingxi 2010, 11.

103 Spencer 2010, 12.

104 Spencer 2018, 624-25.

Foucault claimed that before ideology and individual consciousness, political power operates on the physical bodies of the individuals. How spatial and physical distribution of humans are imposed pertains to a political technology of the body.[105] Foucault traced a shift in political practice from the display of power as spectacle to the exercise of power through making its target more thoroughly visible and audible:

> Hierarchized, continuous and functional surveillance...was organized as a multiple, automatic, and anonymous power… This enables the disciplinary power to be both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely "discreet," for it functions permanently and largely in silence.[106]

While Foucault had in mind the 18th century, the Roman Empire had already adopted some basic elements of this new practice. Moreover, unlike Marxism which advocates that power operates on and dominates only the proletarian classes, Foucault argued that this new form of power infiltrated all social organizations.[107] What Foucault said about the modern techniques of surveillance and discipline is visible in the above-mentioned examples: together they reversed the "principle of dungeon" by eliminating darkness and hiding while preserving practices of enclosure. No longer was surveillance operating in dark corners or indoors, but in daylight. Imperial gaze and resulting surveillance techniques targeted the Roman masses and the elite alike. Visibility was a trap.[108] In this, the heterotopic traits of the Roman public gardens combined with the concept of imperial gaze played part.

105 Foucault 1994, 522.

106 Foucault 1995, 176.

107 Downing 2008, 84.

108 Foucault 1995, 201.

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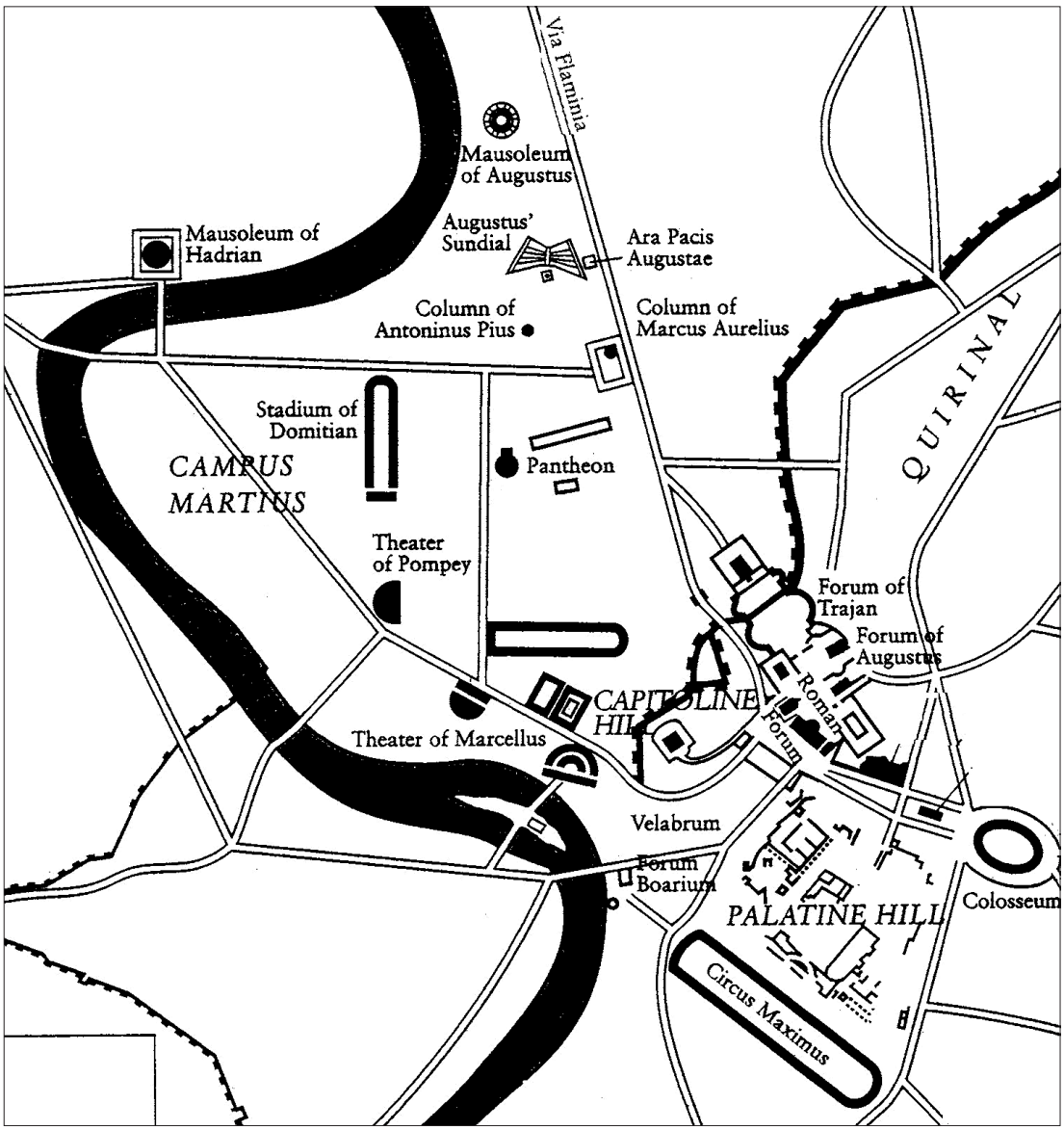

FIG. 1 Plan of the Campus Martius (Ramage and Ramage 2005, 11).

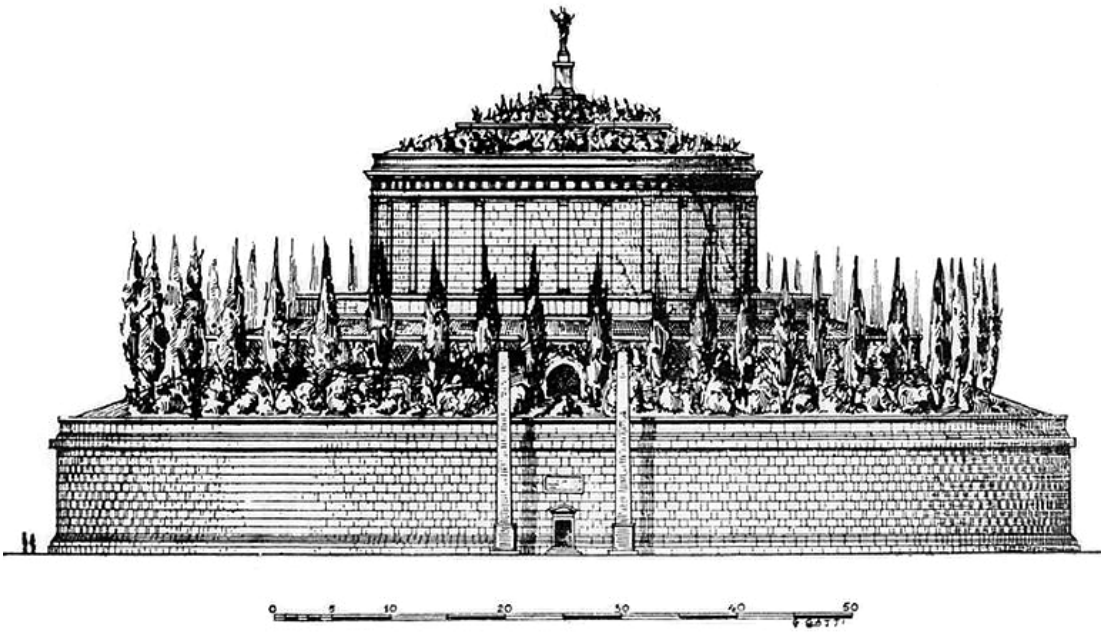

FIG. 2
Elevation reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus by Giacomo Gatti (https://go.shr.lc/2UlZPli, © Wikimedia Commons).

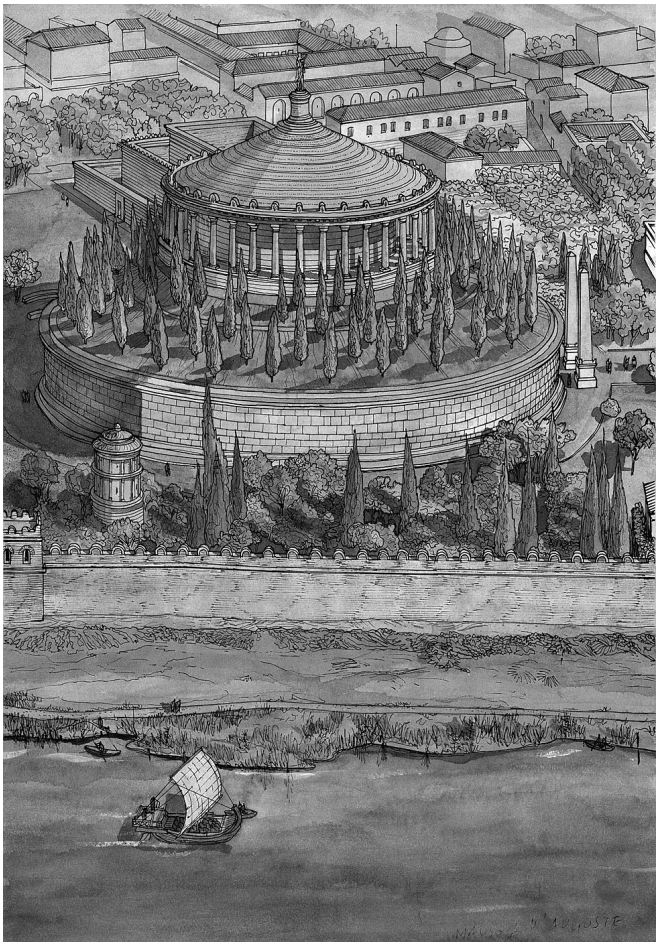

FIG. 3
Restitution of the Mausoleum (https://go.shr.lc/3lr1zp8, courtesy of Jean-Claude Golvin).

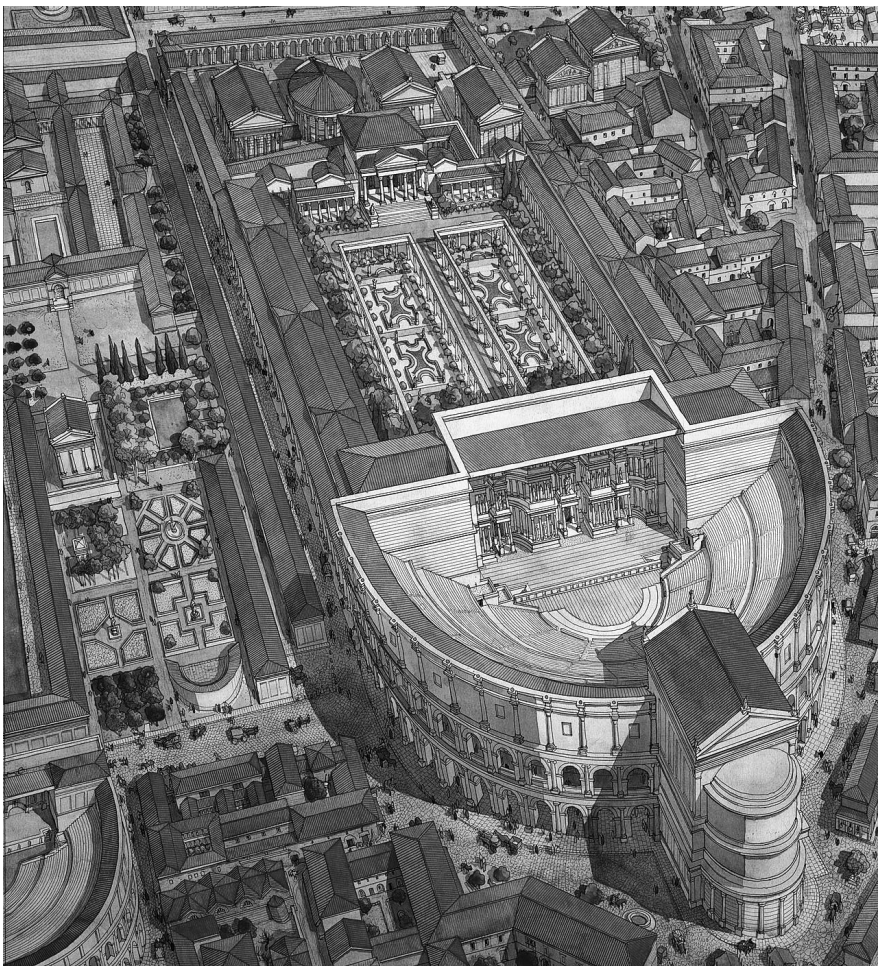

FIG. 4
Restitution of the Theater of Pompey (https://go.shr.lc/35oNCT5, courtesy of Jean-Claude Golvin).

FIG. 5
Digital reconstruction of the Domus Aurea (https://go.shr.lc/32Elaei, courtesy of Josep R. Casals).

FIG. 6 Model of Maru-Aten (https://bit.ly/317prWA, courtesy of Whetton & Grosch Modelmaking).

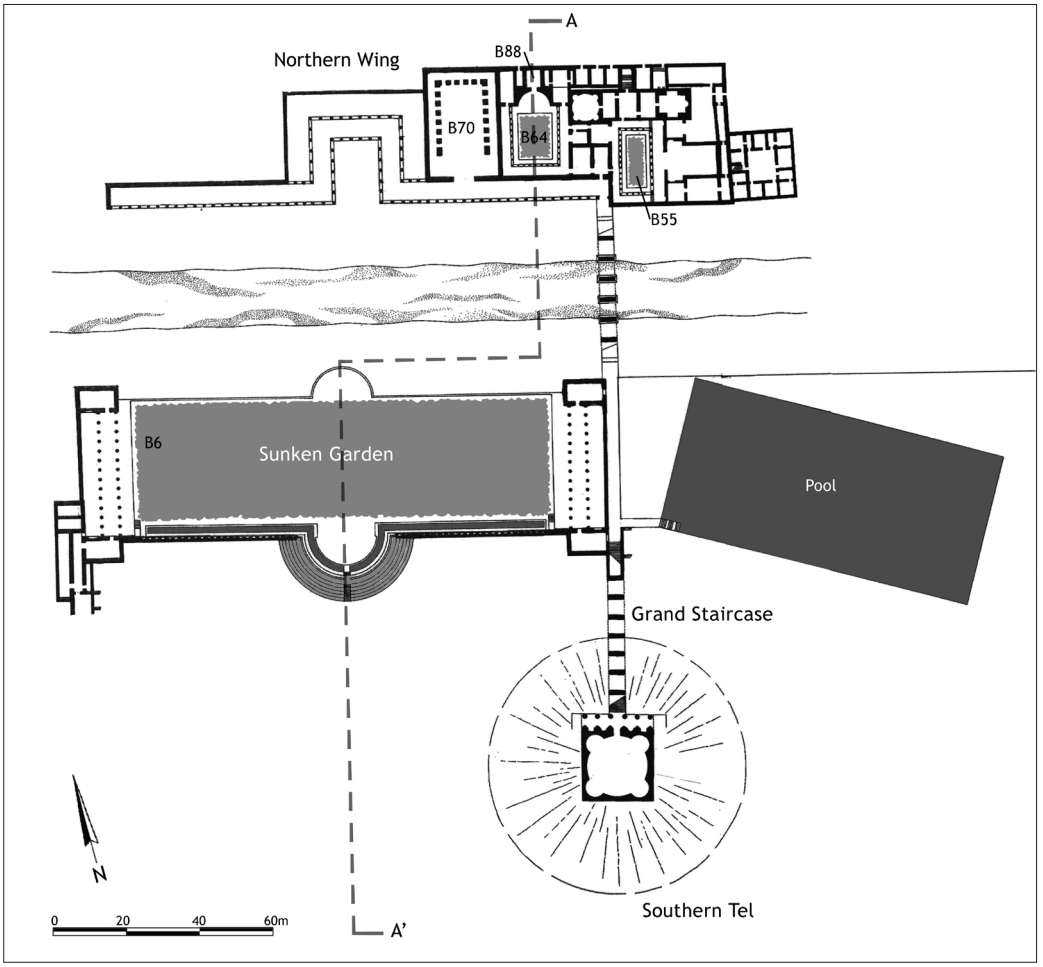

FIG. 7 Plan of the Herodium (https://bit.ly/3vScuxE, Gardens of the Roman Empire website).

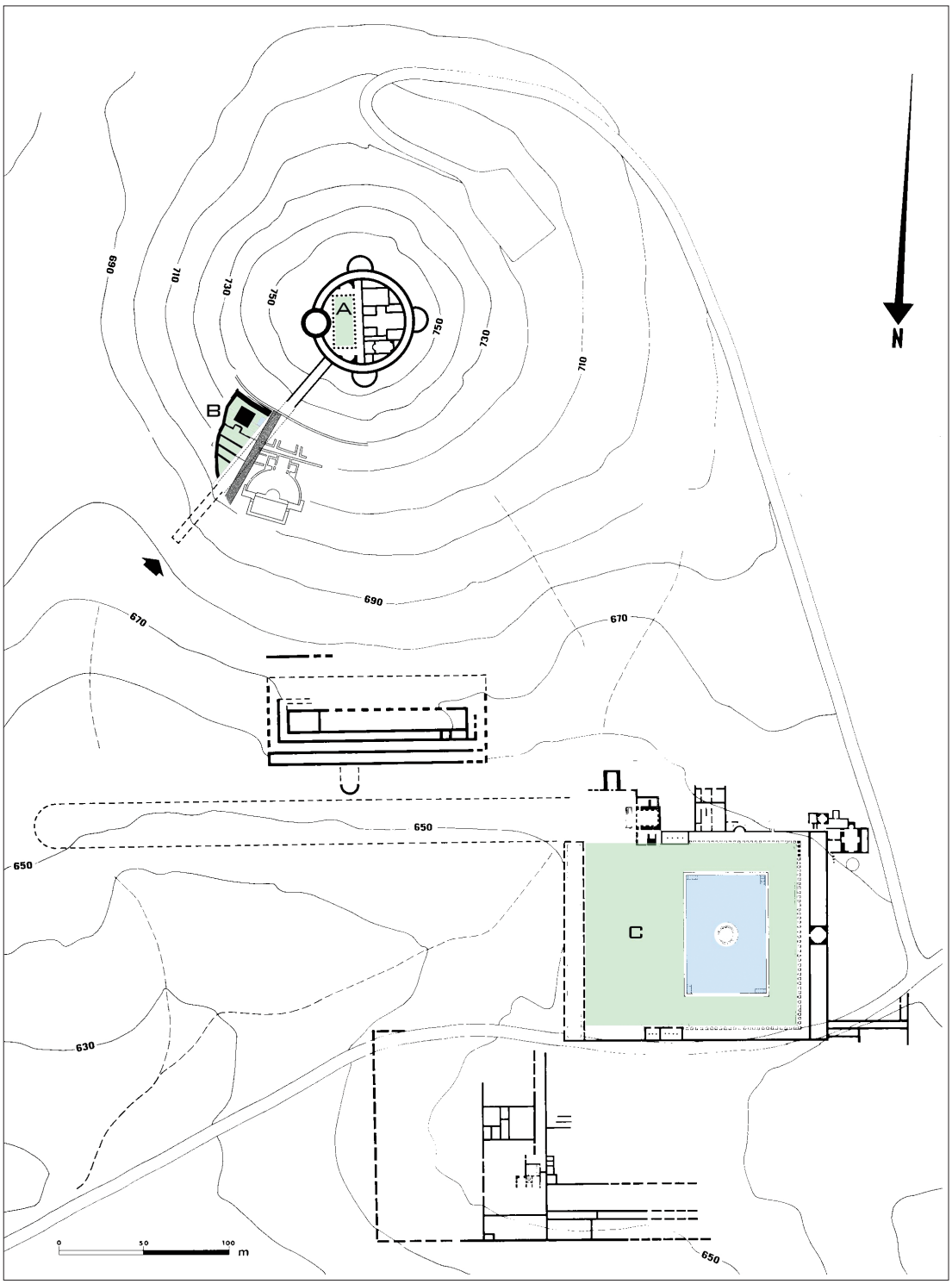

FIG. 8 Plan of Herod's tomb and palace; "B" indicates the tomb and surrounding garden (https://bit.ly/397Ln8l, Gardens of the Roman Empire website).

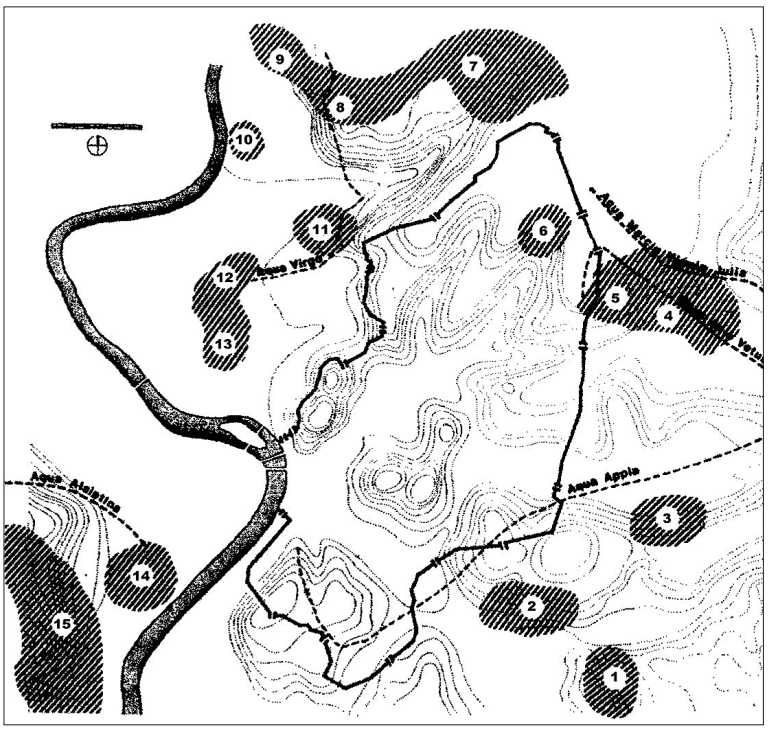

FIG. 9
Gardens of Augustan Rome:

1. Horti Asinii,
2. Nemus Camenae,
3. Horti Vectilii,
4. Horti Maecenati,
5. Horti Lamiani and Maiani,
6. Horti Lolliani,
7. Horti Sallustiani,
8. Horti Luculliani,
9. Horti Aciliorum,
10. Mausoleum of Augustus funerary gardens,
11. Campus Agrippae,
12. Stagnum and Horti Agrippae,
13. Horti Pompeiani,
14. Nemus Caesarum,
15. Horti Caesaris

(Favro 1996, 177, fig. 81).

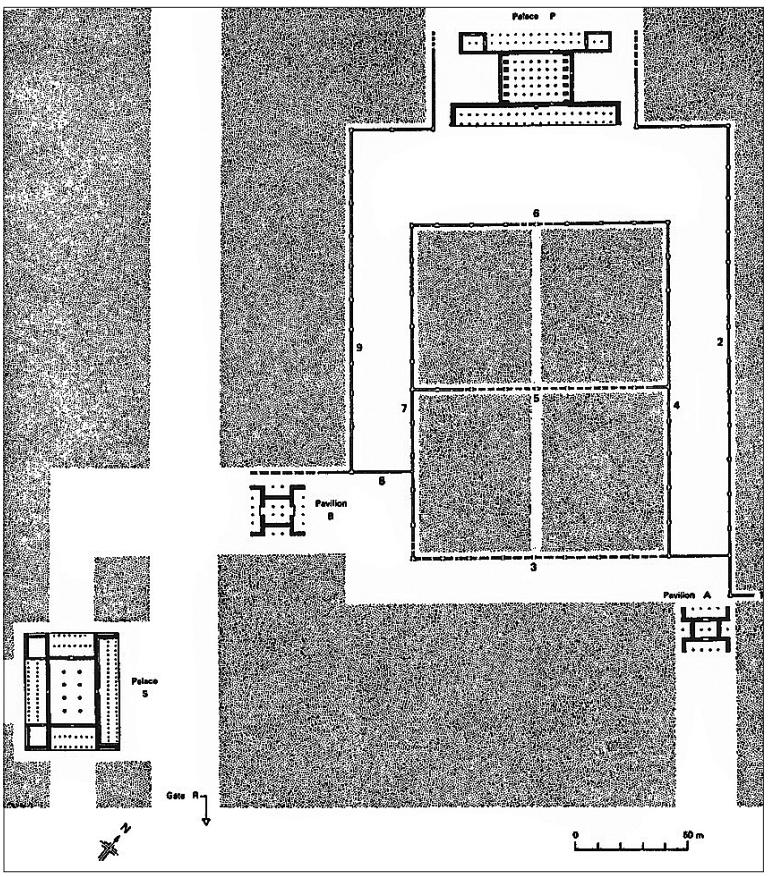

FIG. 10
Plan of the royal garden at Pasargadae
(Stronach 1990, 175, fig. 3).