



ALLISON L. C. EMMERSON

LIFE & DEATH  
*in the* ROMAN  
SUBURB

OXFORD

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*To my parents,  
for giving me the world*



## Preface

This book began with a question. As I was traveling through the Bay of Naples, gathering evidence for my dissertation on the tombs of Roman Campania, an idle thought lodged itself in my mind and refused to leave. “If the Romans feared pollution that radiated from the dead,” I wondered, “why do so many buildings for the living turn up in necropoleis?” At the time, I believed that gaining a better understanding of the ancient sources concerning death pollution would clarify whatever point I was missing; little did I imagine that sitting down to read through them would overturn countless ideas I had taken for granted, drawing me down a new path of research. You now hold the initial results of that work in your hands, my first answer to that persistent thought. Pursuing the question to this stage has been by turns surprising, challenging, frustrating, enlightening, exhausting, and one of the greatest joys of my life. Along the way, I have gathered many debts, only a portion of which I can acknowledge here, but which I hope to continue repaying as this project transitions to the next.

Recognition goes first of all to the institutions that have supported my work financially. I thank Tulane University for funding research and conference travel through the Carol Lavin Bernick Faculty Grant, the Faculty Networking Seminar Grant, and the Ernest Henry Riedel Fund in the Department of Classical Studies, as well as the American Council of Learned Societies for generously providing an extended teaching leave. Endless gratitude goes as well to the American Academy in Rome, where I spent the 2018/2019 academic year as the recipient of the Emeline Hill Richardson Post-Doctoral Rome Prize, and I thank the entire AAR community for a truly life-changing experience. From its first word to its last, this book is a product of the Academy, and of the ways everyone there—staff, fellows, fellow-travelers, residents, and visitors—inspired and expanded my thinking on both the past and the present. Thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

I owe special gratitude to my colleagues in the Department of Classical Studies at Tulane University for their support and generosity, and in particular to department chairs Tom Frazel and Susann Lusnia for working around my absence for three full semesters. Thanks also to Liz Reyna, Executive Secretary extraordinaire, for doing it all and making it look easy. I am likewise grateful for the staff at Oxford University Press—especially Charlotte Loveridge, Georgina Leighton, Hannah Chippendale, Karen Raith, Sarah Barrett, and Thomas Deva—as well as for the anonymous readers who provided instrumental feedback on the early chapters and who gave me the confidence to take the work in bigger and more impactful directions. Thank you as well to the many (many!) people who have

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During the course of this project, I have had the great pleasure of discussing my ideas and sharing early drafts with friends and colleagues in New Orleans, Pompeii, Rome, and many places in between. Their involvement was a highlight of the writing process, while their feedback has been vital to the final product. This list is in no way complete, but must begin with Lynne Lancaster, Tom Carpenter, Joe Farrell, Will West, Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, Ryan Boehm, and John Bodel, all of whom provided detailed feedback on chapters, and who improved the work through their advice and example. I also thank the AAR's fall 2018 writing group, as well as the participants in the 2017 Symposium Campanum at the Villa Vergiliana at Cuma. Mark Letteney and Liana Brent have been friends and cheerleaders through the most intense phases of writing, while Caroline Cheung, Mark Robinson, Cynthia Bannon, Ted Peña, Valentin Kockel, Dorian Borbonus, and John Humphries have inspired and uplifted my work for years. In Rome, I benefited greatly from conversations with Elizabeth Wueste, Simon Malmberg, Simonetta Serra, Massimo Betello, John Hopkins, Steven Ostrow, Mary Beard, Michele Salzman, Brian Rose, and Elizabeth Fentress; I also thank Jim Packer for all of his lessons on life and archaeology. Thanks go as well to Eeva-Maria Viitanen, Ivo Van der Graaff, and Michael Anderson, particularly for their generosity in sharing the ongoing results of their own research. I was lucky to enjoy time in Rome, Pompeii, Naples, and Bloomington with Ellie Leach, who has motivated my work in countless ways; I miss her and wish I could share this book with her. In New Orleans, Emilia Oddo, Mallory Monaco-Caterine, Chris Caterine, and Michael Brumbaugh have been wonderful colleagues and friends through early mornings, late nights, faculty meetings, and Mardi Gras parades. I can never repay my debt to Gina Tibbott, who brought her archaeological and artistic skills to creating the maps and plans included throughout this book, and whose friendship has enhanced so many years of work at Pompeii. My gratitude for Giacomo and Victoria Carter, the best research assistants and travel companions anyone could ask for, could fill a hundred Fiat Cinquecenti. Nor are there enough words to thank Jennifer Sacher, Shannon Lafayette-Hogue, Natalie Abell, and Emily Egan, who have walked every stage of this career by my side, even when we were far apart.

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you as a mentor and colleague, and hope that you can see your influence through the chapters that follow. Eric Poehler, you are a brilliant scholar, whom I trust to notice the details others might overlook. Thank you not only for your thoughtful feedback on this project, but even more so for the years in Pompeii and Corinth. Your impact on my approach to the past is incalculable. Steven Ellis, where can I begin? Thank you for believing in me as a student, for providing challenges and expecting me to rise to them, and for continuing to support me through all of these years working side by side. This book would not exist without you, and I hope it makes you proud.

Finally, I thank my entire family—Cartmells, Emmersons, Tindalls, Pressels, and O'Kanes—for your endless love and encouragement, and am grateful above all to my parents, Ohlen and Connie Cartmell, who taught me to work hard, choose happiness, and always pursue dreams. You have supported me through every stage of life, and I dedicate this book to you. Finally, to my husband, Nate Emmerson, thank you for truly living with this project, through all of its highs and lows. Even beyond uprooting your own life to move to Italy, tramping through endless archaeological sites in all varieties of weather, learning a new language, and dealing with less-than-comfortable dig accommodations, you keep our lives running in a million ways every single day. Thank you, I love you.



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# Abbreviations

I have abbreviated journals and epigraphic corpora following the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology*; for ancient authors, I follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Other works cited as abbreviations are:

- AAR = Carandini, A., and P. Carafa (eds) 2017. *The Atlas of Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- LTUR = Steinby, E. M. (ed.) 1993–2006. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Rome: Quasar.
- MAR = Haselberger, L. (ed.) 2002. *Mapping Augustan Rome*. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.
- PAH = Fiorelli, G. (ed.) 1860–1864. *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia*. Naples: Prid. Non. Martias.



# 1

## City and Suburb in Roman Italy

Domitius Beronicianus was a good son, at least following the death of his parents. In the early decades of the second century CE he founded a tomb for his mother and father somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The epitaph, the sole element to survive today, recalls the layout of the complex:

For Domitia Dione, his mother... and for Domitius Beronicianus his father... Domitius Beronicianus, Roman Equestrian, made [the tomb] for his most venerable parents. He also will give the **three shops** (*tabernas n. III*) that are joined to the right and left of the tomb, with the garden that is enclosed between **and the residences that are above the shops** (*cum horto qui est intra concluso et (h)abitationes quae sunt super tabernas*). Likewise, he will establish burial spaces for freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants as long as our original name pertains to them, but if our original name should be absent, [the tomb defaults] to the owner [of the land].

The inclusion of shops and residences within a funerary plot might seem incongruous, but Beronicianus's epitaph highlights an element of Roman urbanism that has long been underemphasized and misunderstood: the interweaving of structures for the living and the dead in urban zones outside the city proper. Undoubtedly, a Roman city was a bounded space. Defined by borders both physical and conceptual—fortification walls, customs checkpoints, sacred perimeters, and more—the city stood apart as a concentration of life and activity that was not only physically but also legally, economically, and ritually separated from its surroundings. A key area of control was death. The dead were excluded from the city center, with interment barred in every Roman law code from the *Twelve Tables* of the fifth century BCE to the imperial laws of Late Antiquity. Nevertheless, the Augustan and early Imperial periods saw the development of *suburbs*, built-up areas beyond the bounded center, where the dead and the living came together in environments that could become densely urban. Suburbs featured tombs both simple and elaborate, while also incorporating a dynamic assortment of other structures and spaces: from rubbish dumps to shrines and sanctuaries; from shops, inns, and restaurants to major entertainment buildings; from the shacks of

<sup>1</sup> CIL 6 13562 = 31852; for interpretation see Gassner (1985); Gregori (1987/1988: 179–80); also Caldelli et al. (2004: 314); Montanari (2014: 56–8). This and all translations are my own.



the humble to the villas of society's most powerful. Emerging across Italy, these neighborhoods were integral parts of the city, but even so maintained their own character, defined by a variety of factors but above all by the presence of the dead.

The suburbs of Roman Italy—their nature, history, and development—are the subject of this book. One more in an array of changes that shook urban life to its core in the first centuries BCE and CE, suburbs arose in response to a suite of stimuli not limited to growing populations. As I recount in the following chapters, additional forces entwined with that most straightforward catalyst, including the increasing prosperity of cities and their residents, contemporary emphases on the security and interconnection of the Italian peninsula, and the intense social competition, unprecedented in scope and scale, that accompanied those other changes. Intersecting at a crucial moment in Italy's history, such forces created a new ideal of cities that surpassed their boundaries to stretch towards their neighbors, making up a vast network united in peace and threatened by neither civil nor foreign conflict. Within this atmosphere, various resources drew development to the zone outside the city proper, not least of which was the presence of tombs. Beyond the official boundaries of the city, funerary monuments mingled with buildings of all types and themselves spurred further growth. The resulting suburbs were undeniably part of—but always distinguishable within—the city as a whole, neighborhoods where economic production, social interaction, and urban display transpired in ways unavailable in the city center.

This project is indebted to over half a century of interest in urbanism outside the formal boundaries of Roman cities. The subject, however, spent many decades at the margins of scholarship, and the vast majority of research conducted in the twentieth century retained a tight focus on city centers, and particularly on monumental public spaces. Economic arguments dominant in the later part of the century, moreover, most notably the consumer/producer city debate, assumed a strict divide between city and territory that left little room for suburbs.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, some valuable studies pointed towards greater complexity by highlighting extramural development.<sup>3</sup> The new generation of research on Roman suburbs that has emerged and intensified over the past two decades builds on that foundation.<sup>4</sup> Current approaches look beyond the old

<sup>2</sup> See esp. Finley (1973, revised 1999). For recent discussion and critique, see chapters in Flohr and Wilson (2017b); also Ellis (2018: 183–6).

<sup>3</sup> Scagliarini's work at Bononia is a notable forerunner to current research on Roman suburbs (Scagliarini 1969; 1978; 1991; 2005). Other essential work from the second half of the 20th c. includes Quilici (1974); Mansuelli (1978); Frézouls (1987); Purcell (1987a; 1987b); Ortalli (1997); Wiseman (1988); Patterson (2000); Sena Chiesa (2000); also the chapters in Bedon (1998); Antico Gallina (2000a).

<sup>4</sup> Three monographs have now been devoted to the subject: Goodman (2007), Annibaletto (2010), and Stevens (2017a). Key book chapters and articles include Witcher (2005; 2013); Goodman (2016a); Malmberg and Bjur (2009; 2011); Dally (2010); Desiderio Vaquerizio (2010); Garriguet (2010); Stevens (2017b; 2019).

division of city and country to argue that areas immediately outside cities brought the two zones together, combining urban with rural functions to create what has been designated an “urban periphery” or “borderscape.”<sup>5</sup> The prevailing idea sees the suburb as a hybrid that not only joined urban and rural but also merged “low” functions, like waste disposal, with certain “higher” roles, like the creation of an urban façade through the addition of major public buildings.<sup>6</sup> In this vein of scholarship, nothing encapsulates suburban duality better than the presence of tombs. Reasonably, those working on cities have followed specialists in funerary studies by interpreting the ban on interment as a result of both hygienic and religious concerns, maintaining that Romans recognized the practical dangers of contact with decomposing corpses while also fearing “death pollution,” a shadowy force that made the living somehow unclean, offensive to their own communities as well as to the gods.<sup>7</sup> Recent approaches to suburbs, therefore, have stressed that monumental tombs contributed to urban display, but even so remained ambivalent, separated conceptually from the larger lives of their neighborhoods.<sup>8</sup>

Definition is a chief difficulty for current work, which describes suburbs in negative terms, as zones that were neither truly urban nor fully rural, and continues to seek—as yet unsuccessfully—means to formulate a positive understanding, based on distinct characteristics.<sup>9</sup> This book takes up that challenge, using tombs as the prime means of definition. Previous studies, emphasizing the hybridity of the zone’s urban/rural character, treat tombs as the principal component of suburban rurality.<sup>10</sup> Since interment was the only activity explicitly banned from the city center, it becomes the best representation of non-urbanity for a culture that often incorporated seemingly rural functions, such as agriculture and animal husbandry, into the heart of the city.<sup>11</sup> I see this approach as a missed

<sup>5</sup> For the former, see Vega (1994); Goodman (2007; 2016a); for the latter, Stevens (2017a; 2017b; 2019).

<sup>6</sup> The concept of the urban façade—now widespread in Roman urban studies—relies especially on MacDonald’s (1986) idea of “urban armatures,” itself built upon Lynch’s (1960) work on modern cities.

<sup>7</sup> For death pollution, see esp. De Visscher (1963: 32–9); Toynbee (1971: 43); Lindsay (1998: 72–4; 2000); Retief and Cilliers (2006) Graham (2011); Sterbenc Erker (2011: 41–4); Lennon (2014: 136–66); Bond (2016: 68–70); Hope (2017: 89–90; 2018: 394–5).

<sup>8</sup> All three prior monographs on the topic made this point, if each in slightly different ways. Goodman (2007) saw tombs as the clearest example of paradox in urban peripheries, which were used for undesirable activities like burial but still tied to the city and even considered worthy of civic protection in their own right. For Annibaletto (2010), tombs were more explicitly negative, representing the impure or even sinister character of certain extramural zones. Stevens (2017a), meanwhile, argued that tombs intermixed with other types of space in the suburb because the dead had been present in the urban borderscape before the city expanded there, but contended that buildings intended for the living continued to avoid explicit association with the world of the dead.

<sup>9</sup> See discussion in Witcher (2013); Goodman (2016a). The same problem affects studies of modern cities and suburbs: see Harris (2010); Forsyth (2012); essays in Vaughan (2015).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Goodman (2007: 48–9; 2016a: 309); Stevens (2017a: 251–2; 2017b: 152–4). Against approaches that emphasize suburban hybridity, see already Witcher (2013).

<sup>11</sup> For intramural agriculture and husbandry, see Jashemski (1979: 22–4, 201–88; 2002: 15–27); Carandini (1985); Laurence (2007: 77–8); MacKinnon (2013).

opportunity. Many residents of Roman Italy did find their final resting places in the countryside, but the majority received simple graves without associated monuments. Funerary monuments, meanwhile, could appear in the country—most often on the grounds of elite villas—but they concentrated in urban areas, where they lined highways and clustered outside gates, announcing the approaching city while introducing some of its most notable citizens.<sup>12</sup> As distinguished from interment in general, the monumental tombs that dominated suburbs are better considered urban than rural features. Although relegated to outside the center, they were tied most closely to cities, not to the rural landscape.

Suburban funerary monuments provide the best means for formulating a positive definition of Italy's suburbs. Although tombs could be found in city centers, their presence was rare, and an ancient observer would have identified them immediately as special cases.<sup>13</sup> Monumental tombs, then, were the features that most clearly separated suburb from center. They made up what are often referred to in scholarship as cemeteries, necropoleis, or streets of tombs, but those terms obscure the extent to which suburban neighborhoods incorporated other structures and spaces, both humble and elevated. As we shall see, suburban development did not simply neighbor tombs, flowing passively around once-excluded funerary spaces as the city overspilled its original boundaries, but responded to and interacted with them. For example, the residents of suburbs honored particular funerary monuments, giving them new meaning by turning them into markers of local identity. Suburban shops and workshops, moreover, capitalized on both the traffic drawn by tombs and the prestigious atmosphere they brought to their neighborhoods, while major public buildings like amphitheaters used nearby tombs to reflect and amplify their own messages, advertising a city's urban amenities as well as the individuals most responsible for them. Interactions of this type can reveal diachronic changes in suburban development. As suburbs arose, funerary monuments and other structures expanded together, in a mutually reinforcing cycle that encouraged ever more suburban activity on behalf of both the living and the dead. For cities that continued to grow, funerary spaces adopted a different role, serving as place-holders for new development, which increasingly destroyed and supplanted them. Tombs took on additional aspects as they became spaces of communal worship for Italy's growing Christian population, encouraging the rise of a new type of suburb in Late Antiquity. I argue, therefore, that the suburbs of Roman Italy are best defined as parts of cities that incorporated

<sup>12</sup> See (e.g.) Eisner (1986); Von Hesberg (1992); Koortbojian (1996); Clarke (2003); Carroll (2006); Hackworth Petersen (2006); Wallace-Hadrill (2008a); Borg (2019); also the chapters in Von Hesberg and Zanker (1987); Heinzelmann et al. (2001).

<sup>13</sup> Intramural burial was an occasional honor granted in Republican Rome, but how often the construction of intramural tombs actually followed such grants remains unclear (see Verzár-Bass 1998). The practice likewise was rare outside of Rome, but a few Italian cities, including Patavium and Herdonia, maintained tombs for local heroes in the city center (see Mertens 1995: 172–6; Braccusi and Veronese 2014: 44–5, 82; Stevens 2017a: 204–6).

tombs, not creating some paradox or dichotomy, but indicating the relationship between the dead and the living as an enduring aspect of Roman life.

## 1.1 On Definitions and Methodologies

This book concerns what legal literature of the Imperial period calls the *continentia aedificia*, the area of continuous buildings, an urban agglomeration that was contiguous with, but located outside of, the boundaries of the city proper. The earliest known application of that term comes from the Augustan period, and it remained standard through the following centuries, when laws governing Rome explicitly applied both to the *urbs*, located within the “Servian” fortification wall of the fourth century BCE, and to the urban development outside it.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the legal concept of a city that included a bounded center as well as a more expansive suburb can be traced even earlier, to the *Tabulae Heracleensis*, a law code preserved on bronze tablets found near Heraclea on the gulf of Taranto.<sup>15</sup> Although recovered far from the capital, the law referred explicitly to the city of Rome, with text that likely reproduced the Caesarian *Lex Iulia Municipalis*. Several sections discussed the *urbs Roma*, presumably meaning the city enclosed by the fourth-century wall, as well as the area within one mile of it, as far as there was continuous inhabitation (*passus mille ubi continente habitabitur*).<sup>16</sup> The section regarding maintenance of streets, however, specified two separate boards to oversee service—the *quattuorviri* for cleaning city streets (*IIIvirei vieis in urbem purgandeis*) and the *duoviri* for cleaning exterior streets (*IIvirei vieis extra propiusve urbem Romam passus mille*)—indicating separate management of the two zones, even as both were governed by the aediles.<sup>17</sup> The fact that urban administration was divided into *vici* within the walls and *pagi* outside suggests a similar concept that both unified and distinguished the two areas.<sup>18</sup> Judging from the discovery of the *Tabulae* at Heraclea, moreover, cities outside the capital also adopted the idea of an urban zone that included both the city proper and an area of continuous exterior buildings. This surely was the case in the second half of the first century CE, when the Flavian *Lex Irnitana*, which governed an otherwise

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Marc. Dig. 50.16.87 (citing the Augustan jurist Alfenus Varus); see also Paul. Dig. 33.9.4.4–5, 50.16.2; Ulp. Dig. 50.16.139, 173; Clem. Dig. 50.16.147; Mac. Dig. 50.16.154. For discussion, see Frézouls (1987: 377–84); Panciera (1999: 927); Goodman (2007: 13–18; 2018: 79–80); Volpe (2019: 124–6).

<sup>15</sup> See Crawford (1996: 355–91).

<sup>16</sup> E.g. *Tabulae Heracleensis* 20–21, 24–8, 50–52, 62–5, 66–7, 68–72, 77–9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 50–52. See also discussion in Panciera (2000).

<sup>18</sup> At Rome itself, *vici* would expand outside the *urbs* proper with the Augustan reorganization of the city into fourteen regions that included areas both inside and outside the wall of the 4th c. BCE, but the *pagus/vicus* division continued in other Italian cities through the Imperial period (e.g. the *Pagus Augustus Felix* at Pompeii; see Castrén (1983: 81); Ling (1990: 205); Laurence (2007: 42)).

unknown *municipium* of Hispania, forbade the destruction of buildings both in the town proper and in the area of continuous buildings (*in oppido municipi Flavi Irnitani quaeque ei oppido continentia aedificia*).<sup>19</sup>

Additional evidence suggests that the *continentia aedificia* was not a concept limited to legal contexts. To be sure, texts produced by the elite of the capital often created a sharp divide between city and country; we might think, for example, of Horace's recounting of the parable—still repeated to children today—of the city mouse and the country mouse, or Varro's argument for two traditional modes of human life, rural and urban, with the rural being both more ancient and morally superior.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, other references suggest some recognition of the *continentia* as part of the city and separate from the country, even while distinct from the *urbs* proper. Writing in the third quarter of the first century CE, the elder Pliny noted that the cumulative distance from the milestone in the forum to each of city's gates was close to 21 miles, but if the same measurements were taken all the way to the edges of the built-up area (*ad extrema vero tectorum*), the total distance was over 60 miles, suggesting the separate but interconnected nature of the two zones as well as their relative sizes.<sup>21</sup> Several generations earlier, Varro had reported an anecdote indicating both residential development outside the walls and some idea of difference between countryside, *continentia*, and city center. Recalling an argument on the definition of villas, Varro implied that not everything outside the *urbs* could be considered country, repeating an acquaintance's quip that no one would consider the houses beyond the Porta Flumentana or in the Aemiliana (a neighborhood just outside the walls on the western side of the city) to be villas.<sup>22</sup> His contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus, moreover, said that although Rome seemed to stretch endlessly in all directions, the city remained defined technically by the wall, which retained its symbolic role even though it was visible only in certain areas.<sup>23</sup>

The *continentia aedificia* also appeared in Roman art. To be sure, most representations of cities showed them confined by a wall and lacking any exterior development; the "Città Dipinta" fresco discovered in the late 1990s under the Baths of Trajan, for example, depicts a city surrounded by its fortifications, with wall, towers, and gates emphasized.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, when Pompeian wall paintings include cities (most common in scenes of Troy or in the background of the Icarus

<sup>19</sup> *Lex Irnitana* 62; see González and Crawford (1986).

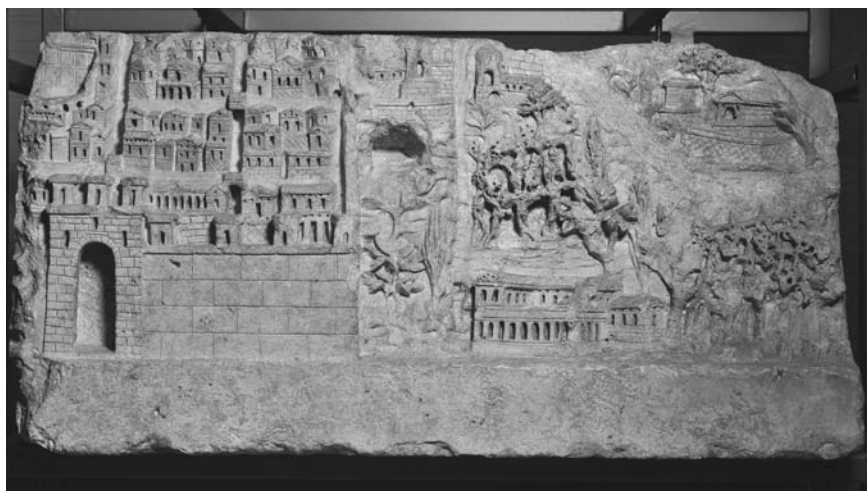
<sup>20</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.77–117; Varro, *Rust.* 3.1–5. See also Goodman (2007: 18–28).

<sup>21</sup> Plin. *HN* 3.5.66–67.

<sup>22</sup> Varro *Rust.* 3.2.6. By the Augustan period, at least two separate suburbs were called "Aemiliana," one in the southern Campus Martius and the other in the Emporium; see Aguilera Martín (2002: 72–4); MAR s.v. "Aemiliana (1)" 42 (Ö. Harmansah), "Aemiliana (2)" 42 (A. B. Gallia and E. J. Kondratieff).

<sup>23</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.13.3–5. Strabo (5.3.7) also noted the growth of the city beyond its wall.

<sup>24</sup> La Rocca (2000); Volpe (2016: 61).



**Figure 1.1** Relief from Lake Fucino. (Courtesy of Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo, Polo Museale dell’Abruzzo; unauthorized use, reproduction, or alteration is prohibited.)

myth), they consist of monuments tightly bounded by a prominent fortification.<sup>25</sup> Coins and maps feature similar images, sometimes even omitting the interior structures and using the wall alone as a shorthand for the city.<sup>26</sup> Occasional works of art, however, included extramural development. A sculpted frieze recovered in the course of the late nineteenth-century drainage of Lake Fucino in western Abruzzo is the most notable of these (Fig. 1.1). Dating to the first or second century CE, the frieze shows a walled city, possibly Alba Fucens or Marruvium based on its findspot.<sup>27</sup> The city’s fortifications are prominent, but the relief gives equal emphasis to extramural buildings, including a cluster of structures located immediately outside the wall, others on the far side of a river, and what seems to be a large villa in the foreground. Some of the structures appear to be funerary monuments, but others are represented much like the buildings in the city center. Of course, we should also consider what is in many ways the ultimate representation of a Roman city: the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae*.<sup>28</sup> The plan mapped *continentia* as well as *urbs*, but unfortunately no preserved pieces securely represent the city wall (still the nearly millennium-old “Servian” wall of the fourth century BCE at the time the plan was made), leaving unclear whether and how the map might have

<sup>25</sup> Goodman (2007: 30); Van der Graaff (2019: 158–60). <sup>26</sup> Goodman (2007: 28–30).

<sup>27</sup> Geffory (1878); Faccenna et al. (2003); Goodman (2007: 32–3); Annibaletto (2010: 114–15); Stevens (2017a: 76). For suburban evidence from these cities, see Campanelli (2000).

<sup>28</sup> See esp. Rodríguez Almeida (1981); Najbjerg (2016); Parisi Presicce et al. (2017).

indicated a divide between the two zones.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, development in the *continentia* was represented identically to that found inside the wall, suggesting the nature of both zones as integral parts of third-century Rome.

I use the English word “suburb” to represent the *continentia* for several reasons. The first is readability; the former term is shorter, simpler, and—I expect—more immediately comprehensible than the latter, while also maintaining some useful vagueness over the more technical Latin. I intentionally avoid the Latin *suburbium*, since that word, most common in its adjectival form, emerges in the ancient sources not to describe urban development outside the city center, but to indicate a type of elite lifestyle that was marked especially by participation in villa culture.<sup>30</sup> Various features, from tombs to sanctuaries to entire towns like Tibur or Antium could be described as *suburbanus*, but the word appeared most often as the substantive *suburbanum* (with *praedium* understood), meaning a luxury estate in the vicinity of Rome that combined the pleasures of the country with the comforts of the city.<sup>31</sup> Such estates were located beyond the *continentia*, in the wide band of territory that fell within a day’s journey from the capital. Nevertheless, the term tended not to designate a topographic zone, but a state of mind that was inevitably and invariably elite, relevant to the city of Rome and its most powerful (male) citizens.<sup>32</sup> *Suburbium*, therefore, is not a suitable term for my purposes. Its use in modern scholarship to describe the territory of Rome outside the Aurelian Wall introduces further problems,<sup>33</sup> that wall was not constructed until the 270s CE, meaning that for all of the Republican and much of the Imperial period the buildings of the *continentia* were located inside its later course.

Recent work has evaded the problems of *suburbium* by adopting the more neutral “urban periphery” or “borderscape,” terms I also bypass here.<sup>34</sup> Both concepts adapt from modern urban studies the idea of the peri-urban interface (PUI), a transitional zone at the edge of a city that combines urban and rural functions.<sup>35</sup> Modern PUIs vary globally, but all are home to complex and ever-changing

<sup>29</sup> One collection of fragments (538a–g) might show the former course of the wall in an area where it had been entirely subsumed by development (see Fig. 2.13). Legal sources confirm that the wall’s course remained a legal boundary until at least the late 2nd c. CE (see n. 14).

<sup>30</sup> Champlin (1982); Agusta-Boularot (1998); Panciera (1999: 929); Goodman (2007: 20–26); Garriguet (2010); Mandich (2015: 81–3).

<sup>31</sup> *Suburbium*, in contrast, appeared only once in a Latin source of the Republican or Imperial periods (Cic. *Phil.* 12.10.24), as well as a second time in a scholiast to Juvenal (*Schol. ad Iuvenalem* 4.7). See Champlin (1982: 97).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 99; Goodman (2007: 20–21). <sup>33</sup> E.g. in the *LTUR: Suburbium* series.

<sup>34</sup> Goodman (2017: 2016a); Stevens (2017a; 2017b; 2019).

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. Birley and Lock (1998); Rakodi (1998); Webster and Muller (2009); Simon (2008); Appiah et al. (2014); Woltjer (2014); Olajuyigbe (2016); Karg et al. (2019). The idea grows from the earlier concept of the “urban fringe belt”: see Louis (1936); Conzen (1960); Whitehand (1967); Conzen (2009).



mosaics of activity, with shifting and indeterminate inner and outer boundaries.<sup>36</sup> These zones are defined above all by the fusion of manufacturing and large-scale agriculture, a result of the twentieth century's expulsion of factories from city centers.<sup>37</sup> The ancient world, however, lacked such clear divisions between urban and rural activities, as well as between the types of enterprises that might generate wealth in each setting.<sup>38</sup> Industry of all types could be carried out in the city or outside of it, and although its scale might have differed in each setting, the industry itself defined neither zone. As for agriculture, both extensive estates and minor farmsteads occupied the countryside, but urban-dwellers also cultivated crops and kept animals, even in the very heart of the city. If the extra-mural zone combined urban and rural functions in the manner of a modern PUI, therefore, the city center did the same. Given this situation, burial—the only activity explicitly banned from the center—has taken on an outsized role in determining the peri-urban nature of the *continentia*, sometimes bolstered by other activities presented in modern scholarship as undesirable in the ancient city, like waste disposal.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the definition of such activities as rural, and of the zone that they occupied as thus combining rural and urban functions, remains open to question.

Rather than a periphery, I believe that the Roman *continentia aedificia* is better approached as a suburb, an area defined in modern urban studies as part of a city located on its outer edge.<sup>40</sup> Suburbs are inseparable from the rest of the city, but take on particular forms due to characteristics that distinguish them from city centers, often including greater availability and affordability of land, closer connections with neighboring cities and rural environments, and less stringent regulation.<sup>41</sup> While the concept of the PUI requires rural and urban to be identifiable and generally unchangeable designations, anchoring either end of a spectrum along which extramural development might slide, approaching the *continentia* as a suburb allows for greater flexibility. Like PUIs, suburbs are subject to regular and sometimes dramatic change, but that process need not draw them closer to the city in one direction or to the countryside in the other. Instead, current theorization emphasizes suburbs as distinct from both the center and the wider periphery, with unique features that persist even in the face of radical alterations through time.<sup>42</sup> Of course, adopting the English “suburb” also comes with some pitfalls;

<sup>36</sup> Note, however, that not every extra-urban zone can be considered peri-urban, nor are all PUIs necessarily located beyond the technical boundaries of the city (Simon 2008: 170; Jindrich 2010).

<sup>37</sup> Webster and Muller (2009: 281); Woltjer (2014: 6).

<sup>38</sup> See esp. Morley (1996); also Goodman (2007: 235–6).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Annibaletto (2010: 53–6); Stevens (2017b: 152–5).

<sup>40</sup> See Chakrawarti (1996); Vaughan et al. (2015).

<sup>41</sup> See also Malmberg and Bjur (2019: 110–11; 2011: 361). Note, however, that the urban edge was not a tabula rasa for growth, since earlier features like highways, rural settlements, and extramural monuments shaped many suburbs (see Dhanani 2015 for the modern world).

<sup>42</sup> Bourne (1996: 170–81); Vaughan, Griffiths, and Haklay (2015: 21).



readers might bring preconceived notions or pop-culture associations to the word, and it has spent over a century as a punching bag for scholars and urban planners alike.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, I find the term best suited to investigate and define an area of the ancient city that was intrinsically connected to, and yet always distinct from, the bounded city center.

## 1.2 Death, Pollution, and Roman Urban Boundaries

Various boundaries separated Roman suburbs from city centers. For jurists defining the *continentia aedificia*, the most significant was the physical border, typically a fortification wall for the cities of Italy.<sup>44</sup> Cities lacking walls outlined the center by other means, such as with the edges of orthogonal street grids, natural features like rivers and slopes, or alternate fortifications like defensive ditches.<sup>45</sup> These physical boundaries were essential to demarcating the city legally, and I use them as the key means of identifying centers and suburbs. Nevertheless, other confines also surrounded Roman cities, sometimes enclosing and sometimes excluding suburbs. Rome's imperial tax border, for example, is indicated by three cippi of the second century CE found near the Porta Flaminia, Porta Salaria, and Porta Asinaria of the Aurelian Wall; a fourth was recovered alongside the Porta Esquilina in the Republican wall of the fourth century BCE.<sup>46</sup> These markers recorded a perimeter attributed to Vespasian and Titus but which might have originated with Augustus. They confirm that the later wall incorporated earlier customs stations, and since three were recovered well beyond the Republican fortification that defined the *urbs*, indicate the incorporation of center and at least certain suburbs for the purposes of taxation. Whether Italian cities beyond the capital also had tax borders is unclear, but if so, they probably corresponded with their walls.<sup>47</sup>

Other urban boundaries were more conceptual than physical and remain difficult to understand fully. One of these is the *sulcus primigenius*, the "first furrow," a line legendarily plowed by Romulus to mark the limits of Rome and above which the city's first wall was raised.<sup>48</sup> The plowing ritual appeared on coins and was described by several authors, but the extent to which it actually was practiced,

<sup>43</sup> For negative attitudes towards modern suburbs, esp. those of the USA and the UK, see *ibid.* 20.

<sup>44</sup> Panciera (1999: 927); Goodman (2007: 45–50; 2018: 85); Stevens (2017a: 61–6); Van der Graaff (2019).

<sup>45</sup> Goodman (2007: 59–68). For the suburbs of unwalled cities, see Sections 2.4 and 6.4.

<sup>46</sup> CIL 6 1016a–d. Palmer (1980) remains essential reading on the customs boundary; see also Panciera (1999: 927–8); Goodman (2007: 60); Malmberg and Bjur (2009: 114–15; 2011: 374–5); Dey (2011: 81, 108); Stevens (2017a: 69–72).

<sup>47</sup> A 2nd-c. inscription from Saepinum (CIL 9 2348) might indicate a customs checkpoint at one gate, but evidence is lacking otherwise. See Corbier (1983); Pinder (2016: 38–9).

<sup>48</sup> Cibotto (2006: 28–31); Annibaletto (2010: 33–41); Stevens (2017a: 13–23).

such as for the foundation of colonies or the establishment of new walls, is unclear.<sup>49</sup> In Italy outside of Rome, evidence is limited to a series of cippi from Capua that record a plowed boundary (*qua aratrum ductum est*); beyond Italy, the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, a Caesarian charter governing the colony of Urso in Baetica, forbade the interment of the dead within the city as defined by the plow (*qua aratro circumductum erit*).<sup>50</sup> Closely related to the *sulcus* and apparently established by the same ceremony was the pomerium, which has been reconstructed as Rome's ritual boundary defining the sacred space of the city.<sup>51</sup> Unlike the *sulcus*, the pomerium did not coincide with the city wall, and already in the fourth century BCE the Republican wall enclosed the Aventine while the pomerium excluded it. Cippi of the Imperial period, furthermore, record several expansions of the pomerium outside the wall, during which it came to include large suburban areas. Pomerium and fortification came together only with the construction of the Aurelian Wall, an event that fundamentally reshaped Rome's suburbs and its urban space as a whole.<sup>52</sup> Functionally, the main role of the pomerium throughout most of Roman history was to define where a magistrate's powers began and ended, separating the *imperium domi* from the *imperium militiae*.<sup>53</sup> The boundary also served as an important propagandistic tool; crossing the pomerium for a triumph was the pinnacle of a public career, and in the Imperial period pomerial extensions were symbolic re-foundations that broadcast the expansion of the empire to the urban population.<sup>54</sup> As for the *sulcus*, the Capua cippi and the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* represent the chief evidence for pomeria outside of Rome, although Varro also reported the presence of pomerial cippi at Aricia (modern Ariccia, near Rome).<sup>55</sup>

The pomerium has long been taken as the boundary that excluded the dead from the city, preserving ritual purity by barring death pollution from the realm of the living.<sup>56</sup> The movement of Rome's pomerium into the suburbs, however, incorporated countless tombs, a circumstance that appears to have troubled neither those undertaking extensions nor the urban population in general. On the contrary, not only did burial continue in and around earlier tombs that had become intra-pomerial, but also new tombs—both simple burials and elaborate

<sup>49</sup> For descriptions of the ceremony, see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.88; Ov. *Fast.* 4.819–848; Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 11.2–5; Varro, *Ling.* 5.143.

<sup>50</sup> Capua: CIL 10 3825. Urso: *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* 73 (see Crawford 1996: 393–454; also Panciera 1999: 931).

<sup>51</sup> See esp. Frézouls (1987: 377–80); Simonelli (2001); Cibotto (2006); Sisani (2016); Goodman (2018: 75–9)—all with earlier bibliography.

<sup>52</sup> Here I follow Dey (2011: 80–82), although debates on the course of the Aurelian pomerium are ongoing (see Annibaletto 2010: 134; Goodman 2018: 85–6).

<sup>53</sup> Patterson (2000: 91); Sisani (2014: 371–9); Stevens (2017a: 41–51).

<sup>54</sup> Patterson (2000: 88–9); Stevens (2017a: 59–60); Goodman (2018: 77–8).

<sup>55</sup> Varro, *Ling.* 5.143.7–8; see also Panciera (1999: 931).

<sup>56</sup> For the most extensive recent discussion, see Lennon (2014: 136–66), with additional bibliography.

monuments—continued to be added to those zones.<sup>57</sup> Given this situation, the pomerium is unlikely to have determined the placement of the dead. The locations of burials point instead to the city wall as the chief barrier to interment, at Rome as in the other cities of Italy. Nevertheless, even walls did not fully separate the dead from the living. Suburbs hosted tombs as well as other buildings of all types, seemingly at odds with any Roman fear of death pollution. That concept, however, also deserves scrutiny.<sup>58</sup> No surviving text prior to Late Antiquity mentions death pollution; the idea emerges in the sources only with Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid*, written in the late fourth or early fifth century CE. Servius interpreted several passages as expressing concern with death pollution, inspiring modern commentators to reconstruct the (extremely scanty) evidence for Roman funerary practice as mitigating the same fear.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, Servius was separated from the period he studied by more than four centuries, and he wrote at a time when pagan intellectuals emphasized the polluting danger of corpses as an attempt to curb the growing cult of the martyrs.<sup>60</sup> References to death pollution appear for the first time in law in the mid-fourth century; these include a constitution of Constantius that penalized tomb destruction on the grounds that it both disrespected the dead and polluted the living, as well as Julian's edict requiring the dead to be removed at night to prevent the pollution of passers-by.<sup>61</sup> This latter example might indicate how contemporary life impacted Servius's interpretation of earlier antiquity; he believed that the Romans had once held their funerals at night, an idea that remains entirely unsupported.<sup>62</sup>

Indeed, many texts preceding Servius undermine the idea that Romans of earlier centuries had feared death pollution. Plutarch's Numa, for example, explicitly taught the first pontiffs that burial rites were *not* polluting.<sup>63</sup> When describing the laws surrounding death, Cicero did not mention pollution; instead he reported that the essential principle guiding both sacred and civil law was that rites for the dead be conducted in perpetuity.<sup>64</sup> Anecdotal evidence also points away from pollution concerns. Notable in this context are the many accounts of elite men who maintained their public duties following the loss of sons.<sup>65</sup> Authors almost universally praised the fortitude of such men, even when they had continued public activities prior to the funeral and any cleansing rituals that might have

<sup>57</sup> Coates-Stephens (2004: 60–61); Pultrone (2017a: 62–3); Stevens (2017a: 193–5, 246–8).

<sup>58</sup> Emmerson (forthcoming a) develops the following argument in detail.

<sup>59</sup> Serv. *Ad. Aen.* 3.64, 4.507, 6.216.

<sup>60</sup> Brown (1981: 4–7); Mathieu (1987); Thomas (2004: 55, 60–66); Cameron (2011: 350–51).

<sup>61</sup> *C.Th.* 9.17.4–5. See Rebillard (2009: 63–8); Paturet (2017: 11–17). For the lack of concern with pollution in earlier laws regarding death, see Robinson (1975).

<sup>62</sup> Serv. *Ad. Aen.* 6.224. See already Rose (1923) on the lack of evidence for nocturnal funerals.

<sup>63</sup> Plut. *Vit. Num.* 12.1.

<sup>64</sup> *Cic. Leg.* 2.19.47. See also Section 3.1.

<sup>65</sup> Prescendi (1995).

accompanied it.<sup>66</sup> A story from Seneca, meanwhile, suggests that Romans did not have a strict injunction against renewing normal social life while in mourning. When Augustus complained to Asinius Pollio that a mutual friend had held a dinner party while the emperor was mourning his grandson Gaius, Pollio responded that he himself had dined on the very day his son had died.<sup>67</sup> Seneca clearly contextualized the exchange in terms of grief and respect, not pollution and purity, since he questioned who would expect greater grief from a friend than from a father (*Quis exigeret maiorem ab amico dolorem quam a patre?*). We should note too that the only ancient sources discussing lengths of mourning dictated maximums rather than minimums, suggesting that their primary goal was to truncate excessive bereavement, not to require set periods in which death pollution necessitated mourners' separation from normal life.<sup>68</sup>

The idea that Romans feared death pollution has effectively separated tombs from their suburban neighborhoods, encouraging approaches that see spaces for the dead among buildings for the living as a paradox, the ultimate representation of the hybrid nature of Roman suburbs. The result has been a general exclusion of tombs from past work on suburbs; their presence has been noted, but any deeper analysis has been left to funerary specialists, whose interests rarely extend to non-funerary buildings. Ultimately, suburban tombs have been examined in a vacuum, removed from their larger settings, while studies of suburbs have underemphasized those neighborhoods' defining features. Here I aim to reconnect these threads, restoring tombs to their urban contexts. The archaeological remains of Roman cities indicate close relationships between the living and the dead, while suggesting that the lingering specter of death pollution has hidden a key element of Roman urbanism in plain sight.

### 1.3 The Shape of This Book

Suburbs developed outside cities across the Roman world, but I focus here on peninsular Italy. Even with their diverse histories and developmental trajectories, the cities of Italy shared a historical framework that allows them to be analyzed in terms of larger social, economic, and cultural trends.<sup>69</sup> The provinces could contribute valuable perspectives, but similar investigations of provincial suburbs are

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Dio Cass. 57.22; Liv. 45.40–41; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 35–36; Sen. *Ad. Marc.* 14.2; Sen. *Controv.* 4.6; Suet. *Tib.* 52.1; Tac. *Ann.* 4.8; Val. Max. 5.10.2–3.

<sup>67</sup> Sen. *Controv.* 4.5.

<sup>68</sup> Plut. *Vit. Num.* 12; Paulus, *Sent.* 1.21.2–5. This clearly differentiates the Romans from cultures with strong fears of death pollution, such as the Indonesian tribes famously examined by Robert Hertz (1960).

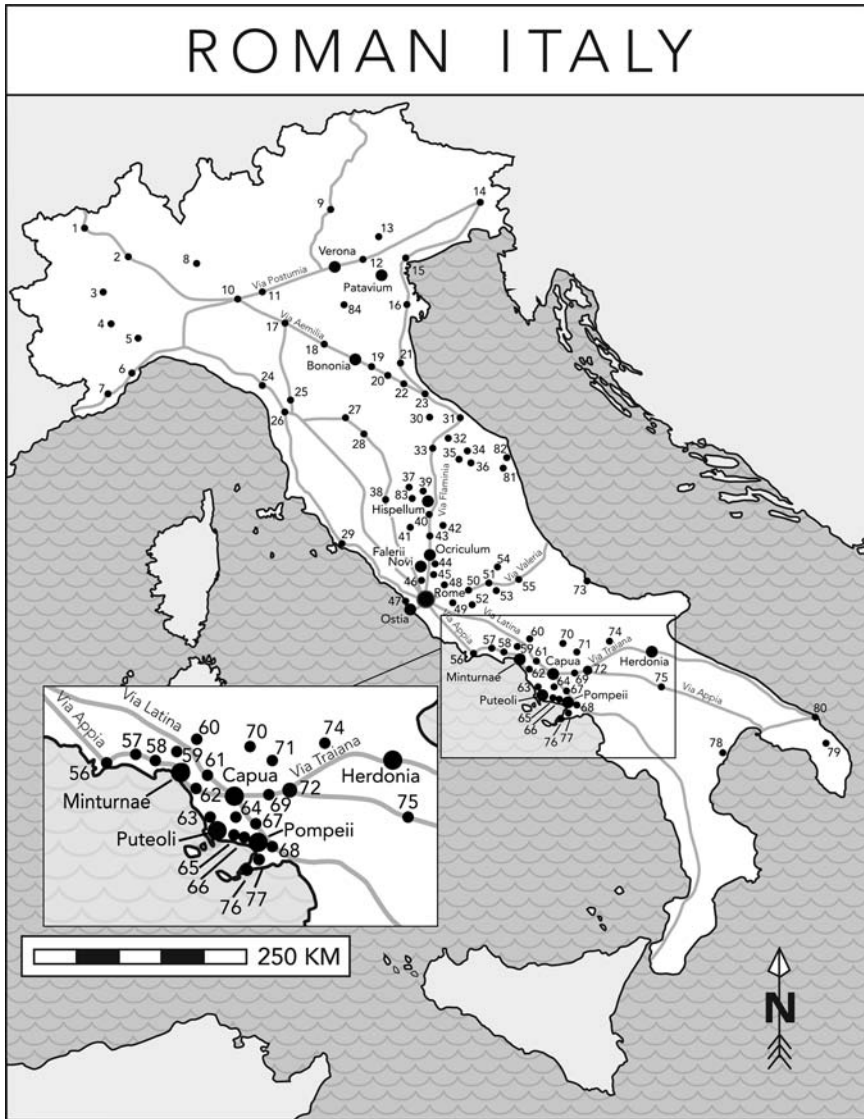
<sup>69</sup> Some recent and useful work on the cities of Roman Italy includes Conventi (2004); Patterson (2006); Gros and Torelli (2007); Morley (2011); De Ligt (2012); also the chapters in Cooley (2016a).

better left to future projects.<sup>70</sup> The chapters that follow are structured as a series of case studies, beginning with an examination of Roman Italy's best preserved and documented suburbs, located at Pompeii's Porta Ercolano, Ostia's Porta Marina, and a recently excavated neighborhood along the modern via del Tritone at Rome. Nevertheless, one of my chief goals has been to range beyond the standard trifecta of Pompeii-Ostia-Rome, which still dominates English-language scholarship on Roman cities, and to consider the evidence offered by other Italian sites from various regions, of different sizes, and with diverse histories. With that aim in mind, I include detailed analyses of suburbs at ten additional cities, with supporting evidence drawn from more than eighty others (Fig. 1.2). These cities range from Verona in the north to Herdonia in the south, from the massive metropolis of Patavium, which might have held as many as 50,000 residents in the early Imperial period, to the minor center of Oriculum, home to fewer than 2,000.<sup>71</sup> The discussion covers the *longue durée*; without following a strict chronological arrangement, I cross various periods, gradually moving through time from prehistory to Late Antiquity. Throughout, I rely especially on the results of recent and even ongoing survey and excavation projects, including those that I have been a part of at Pompeii, to find as much chronological specificity and range as is possible. Much of the evidence (and so the resulting narrative) settles in the Augustan and early Imperial periods, but the approach allows me to contextualize those decades within earlier as well as later developments, isolating essential factors in the history of Italy's suburbs.

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 investigates the rise and fall of suburbs, examining the three best-preserved examples to find patterns in their form and development, as well as to understand the forces that first shaped and later dismantled them. Incorporating more fragmentary remains from across the peninsula, I discover that cities stretched outside their walls beginning in the late first century BCE and early first century CE, responding to the growing populations, increasing wealth, improved security, and newfound unity that marked those years. Inseparable from those other factors, however, was a new vision of the ideal city that appeared in the same period. Rather than enclosed within fortifications, the model cities of the time were open and flexible, stretching along Italy's highways as material expressions of peace and prosperity. This new ideal emerged from the capital but spread quickly, propagated by local populations and particularly by the elites who had the most control over any city's physical form. Most suburbs survived through the mid-Imperial period, but a variety of changes encouraged their loss in the third and fourth centuries, above all the addition of the Aurelian Wall

<sup>70</sup> For past work on suburbs in the provinces, see e.g. Esmonde Cleary (1987) (Britain); Goodman (2007) (Gaul); Desiderio Vaquerizio (2010); Garriguet (2010) (Hispania).

<sup>71</sup> Wilson (2011) provides a good introduction to quantifying urban populations, still an area of significant debate. For Italy, see also Lo Cascio (1999); Morley (2011); De Ligt (2012).



**Figure 1.2** Map of Italy showing sites discussed in the text. (Map by G. Tibbott.)

*Key to Fig. 1.2:* 1. Augusta Praetoria 2. Eporedia 3. Augusta Taurinorum 4. Augusta Bagiennorum 5. Libarna 6. Albingaunum 7. Albintimilium 8. Mediolanum 9. Tridentum 10. Placentia 11. Cremona 12. Vicetia 13. Acelum 14. Aquileia 15. Altinum 16. Atria 17. Parma 18. Mutina 19. Forum Cornelii 20. Faventia 21. Ravenna 22. Forum Popilii 23. Ariminum 24. Luna 25. Luca 26. Pisa 27. Florentia 28. Arretium 29. Cosa 30. Urvinum Mataurense 31. Fanum Fortunae 32. Suasa 33. Iguvium 34. Trea 35. Septempeda 36. Urbs Salvia 37. Perusia 38. Volsinii 39. Asisium 40. Mevania 41. Tuder 42. Spolegium 43. Carsulae 44. Forum Novum 45. Capena 46. Veii 47. Portus 48. Crustumerium 49. Gabii 50. Tibur 51. Alba Fucens 52. Praeneste 53. Marruvium 54. Peltuinum 55. Corfinium 56. Tarracina 57. Fundi 58. Formiae 59. Interamna Lirenas 60. Venafrum 61. Cales 62. Sinuessa 63. Cumae 64. Atella 65. Neapolis 66. Herculaneum 67. Nola 68. Nuceria Alfaterna 69. Caudium 70. Saepinum 71. Ligures Baebiani 72. Beneventum 73. Histonium 74. Luceria Apula 75. Venusia 76. Surrentum 77. Stabiae 78. Heraclea 79. Rudiae 80. Brundisium 81. Helvia Ricina 82. Potentia 83. Urvinum Hortense 84. Hostilia



to Rome. With the capital once more enclosed, other cities followed suit, reconstructing old fortifications or adding entirely new ones, abandoning their former suburbs to decay outside the redefined city center.

Having identified the broad patterns that guided suburban development, the remaining chapters examine the topography of suburbs in more detail. I begin with the two substances that past studies have presented as defining the suburban paradox: garbage and the dead. Rather than assuming that these were repulsive materials rejected from the city center, however, I attempt to understand their roles within systems of urban life. Chapter 3 focuses on tombs, calling especially on evidence from Rome to argue that death had never been strictly separated from the city's life. The emergence of suburbs represented a new expression of longstanding relationships between the living and the dead, identifiable even in the earliest remains from the pre-urban settlements at the site. Chapter 4 also begins in the capital, reevaluating the infamous "puticuli" of the Republican Esquiline. I argue that these were not, as has long been believed, mass graves that marked the zone as a nightmarish no man's land, but public cesspits, part of a well-documented investment in urban infrastructure carried out in the mid-Republican period and installed in a busy and well-connected neighborhood outside the fourth-century city wall. The second section of the chapter moves forward in time to examine waste management at Pompeii and elsewhere, contending that the waste deposits commonly found within Italy's suburbs were not abandoned heaps of unwanted materials, but active sites in an intense economy of use, reuse, and recycling.

The following pair of chapters explores two broad categories of buildings that proliferated across the cities of Italy in the Augustan and early Imperial periods: dedicated commercial and entertainment structures. Shops, workshops, and major entertainment buildings—amphitheaters above all—were not restricted to city centers, and Chapters 5 and 6 consider the numerous benefits that cities and their residents might derive from placing such structures in suburbs. Land tended to be more available outside a city's official boundaries than inside them, but suburbs also brought opportunities for profit and urban display that were absent in the center, not least due the presence of monumental tombs. When placed alongside funerary monuments, shops and workshops benefited from incorporation into prestigious neighborhoods that stimulated traffic and activity while also encouraging visitors to linger. Moreover, a location among tombs invited non-elite owners and workers to participate in types of communication and monumentalization that often were unavailable to them in the city center. Amphitheaters also benefited from the open space of suburbs, communicating particularly well with the many travelers who passed through the zone outside the walls. Nearby monumental tombs reinforced an amphitheater's message, enhancing the urban façade while celebrating a city's most prominent residents. In some cases, the intersection of tombs and amphitheater could even recall the architecture of the capital and declare a local endorsement of imperial power.

Through all of these chapters, my analysis reinforces the pattern of suburban development in the late first century BCE and early first century CE, followed by decline in the third and fourth centuries. With Chapter 7 I turn to the foremost exception to that chronology, which comes with spaces dedicated to the gods. Religious structures appeared just outside certain Italian cities—most notably Rome's early colonies—already in the mid-Republican period, and some examples continued to thrive through the fourth century CE. Suburban shrines and sanctuaries functioned in various ways but indicate above all the enduring importance of gods in protecting and defining all parts of a city, both inside and outside its official boundaries and through sometimes dramatic alterations to urban space. Closely related to this chapter is a brief epilogue, in which I consider the changes and continuities of Late Antiquity, when religious spaces determined the rise of a new type of suburb, which grew outward from the shrines of Christianity's chief martyrs.

This book traces a wide arc across Italy's urban history, from the earliest moments of growth through the transformations of Late Antiquity. The route is by no means linear; I incorporate switchbacks and roundabouts, take an extended pause in the Augustan and early Imperial periods, and speed through both the earliest and latest evidence. My aim is not to cover all possible aspects of the topic—surely an impossible objective—but to build a narrative that is both chronologically sensitive and attuned to the inherent complexity of the subject.<sup>72</sup> The chapter organization according to building types serves this goal, and is not intended to imply that any one building was bound to a single function. The games held in amphitheaters, for instance, were the main events of religious festivals, and these buildings could also host markets, house squatters, or serve the city in a variety of other ways. Likewise, shops and workshops were almost always inhabited; sanctuaries could incorporate domestic, commercial, and entertainment spaces; and the anecdote with which I opened this introduction, describing the shops and residences incorporated into the Tomb of Domitius Beronicianus, underscores the many potential uses of funerary plots. My division of the argument is a tool and a shorthand, not a representation of ancient reality. The marriage of diverse functions created suburbs, and those districts retained their multiplicity even as they evolved through time.

Past work has confirmed the close relationships between Roman cities and their suburbs. Still missing, however, are frameworks for considering suburbs based on their own nature, means of describing them as something more than hybrids located somewhere on a spectrum between urban and rural. In undertaking an archaeological examination of the suburbs of Roman Italy, I seek to situate

<sup>72</sup> I give only limited attention, for instance, to suburban features like the agricultural and infrastructural fixtures (e.g. aqueducts, cisterns, quarries, lines of centuriation) that can be found outside city centers across the peninsula, or the military complexes located in certain suburbs at Rome. My discussion isolates aspects of the suburb that seem to me best able to indicate its particular character and complexities; I hope that future work will continue to fill the inevitable gaps.



these urban zones as historical phenomena while also isolating the characteristics that defined them. In this task, suburban tombs are essential. Despite the many changes that Roman suburbs underwent through time, the presence of the dead was an enduring feature that set them apart from city centers, while the interaction of the living with memorials for the dead contributed to a suburb's distinct—if ever-dynamic—character. This is, therefore, a book about cities, but I also aim to tell a story of life and death, and how those forces came together at a certain moment in time to build a particular type of city.

## 2

### Three Suburbs

A man and a woman stand outside Pompeii's Porta Ercolano, contemplating the sea. In the distance, broad sails punctuate the rolling hills of the Sorrentine peninsula; she gestures towards them as he gazes ahead. Behind the pair, whose ages suggest a mother and son, two figures chat on a bench while a man dozes alongside them, his chin nodding towards his chest. All are sumptuously dressed. The sixth member of the group sits apart, on the curb. His bare feet rest on the paved road, his shorn head is lowered, his shoulders slumped. Across his rough tunic, a painted notice, "M Holconii LXVIII," declares his enslavement and his household. A large parasol, striped blue and gold, lies across his lap; one person on the bench holds a walking stick. The company, it seems, has paused in the midst of a stroll outside the gate. They relax nowhere else than on a tomb, one of the so-called schola tombs that take the form of benches and commemorate the city's most elite citizens. A second tomb, inside an enclosure wall, towers in the background; a third is barely visible, but its plot is marked by a boundary cippus that records its owner and dimensions. Notably, the funerary setting disturbs neither the party on the bench nor the man on the curb. All go about their business—looking, talking, napping, waiting—breathing life into a landscape dedicated to the dead.

Lawrence Alma-Tadema's painting, "An Exedra" (1869), described here, imagines a day in the Porta Ercolano suburb (Fig. 2.1). Recalling the tourists who, until the recent addition of a fence, long stopped to rest among the tombs, his characters lounge in a real space; the monument of the public priestess Mammia is the main stage, but the altar commemorating Marcus Porcius appears on the edge of the scene, and the "Tomb of the Istacidii," made substantially larger than life, forms a backdrop. The painting is striking for a variety of reasons, not least the inclusion of the enslaved man on the curb, a damning figure who contextualizes the idle luxury of his companions in a manner unparalleled in other nineteenth-century depictions of Pompeii. All of the characters, in fact, are unusual. Rather than the lithe youths who lounge in similar settings in Alma-Tadema's later work, these men and women have weight and substance; they evoke reality rather than fantasy.<sup>1</sup> In this painting, the artist conjured a scene from Pompeii's

<sup>1</sup> Compare e.g. "A Declaration" (1883), "A Reading from Homer" (1885), "Fortune's Favorite" (1895), or even "Autumn (Scene in a Roman Garden)" (1879), the closest parallel to "An Exedra."



Figure 2.1 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, “An Exedra” (1869). (Courtesy Alamy.)

past, casting the Porta Ercolano suburb as a landscape suitable for a pleasant walk, where the city’s daily life, complete with all of its inequalities and injustices, could continue outside the gate.

Like Alma-Tadema, this chapter paints a picture of Roman suburbs. Italy’s three best-preserved examples—Pompeii’s Porta Ercolano, Ostia’s Porta Marina, and a recently excavated neighborhood on the modern via del Tritone, in the valley between the Pincian and Quirinal Hills at Rome—reveal conspicuous similarities as well as telling differences. In some ways, I open at the close, describing fully formed suburbs, considering the chronologies of their rise and the circumstances of their fall. This approach, however, highlights essential patterns in suburban development. Despite diversity in their particulars, all three neighborhoods appeared and expanded in the Augustan and early Imperial periods. Less complete remains of suburbs across Italy reinforce the pattern, indicating a phenomenon in no way limited to the largest and most successful cities. Inextricably tied to other changes of the time, suburbs emerged in response to a variety of forces, including growing populations, increasing wealth, and improved security, which came together at a critical moment to create new aspirations for the ideal city. Whereas the archetypical city of the past had been enclosed within a fortification wall, this new model broke free, stretching towards its neighbors, declaring peace and prosperity. The decline of suburbs—a process that began especially in the third and fourth centuries—likewise resulted from various changes, but above all from a substitution of ideals. Prompted especially by the refortification of Rome with the Aurelian Wall, cities across Italy abandoned their suburbs, encircling themselves

with new or re-established walls that created a clear separation between interior and exterior, city and all that stood beyond.

## 2.1 The Porta Ercolano Suburb at Pompeii

The eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE truncated a phase of intense suburban development at Pompeii, which began in the Augustan period and showed no signs of slowing prior to the disaster (Fig. 2.2). Today, the situation is best attested on the northwestern side of the city, where a relatively large area has been exposed beyond the Porta Ercolano (Fig. 2.3).<sup>2</sup> At the time of the eruption, this zone was packed with diverse structures and spaces, including over 30 monumental tombs, nearly as many shops and workshops, and four massive luxury villas (Fig. 2.4). The buildings lined two roads leading from the gate, the “via dei Sepolcri” to the south and the “via Superior” to the north, creating a rich and varied suburb. The earliest finds recovered here were non-monumental inhumations of the fourth and third centuries BCE, but by the Imperial period these lay forgotten, having been supplanted by new development.<sup>3</sup> Immediately outside the gate, six funerary monuments clustered between the city wall and the exterior ring road, five on the southern side of the via dei Sepolcri and one to the north. The earliest of these was an altar tomb dedicated to Marcus Porcius, likely the same man who, with his colleague Gaius Quinctius Valgus, oversaw the construction of the covered theater and amphitheater in the second quarter of the first century BCE; the tomb itself probably dates to the middle of the same century.<sup>4</sup> It was joined in the Augustan or very early Julio-Claudian periods by two schola tombs (one of which was the Tomb of Mammia that so inspired Alma-Tadema), a tholos (the “Tomb of the Istacidii”), and an additional altar across the street.<sup>5</sup> The final monument here, a niche with internal benches dedicated to the augustalis Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, was added to a small plot against the city wall in the final decade or so before the eruption.<sup>6</sup> Further from the gate, beyond the ring road, two or possibly three of the surviving monumental tombs belonged to the colonial and Augustan periods, but most were later, erected under the Julio-Claudians and Flavians.<sup>7</sup> Several might have been under construction or reconstruction at the time of the eruption.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For Pompeii’s suburbs, see also Sections 4.2, 5.3, and 6.2.

<sup>3</sup> Sogliano (1913); De Caro (1979); Zanella et al. (2016: 23–8; 2017: 28–33); Zanella (2017: 131–2).

<sup>4</sup> Kockel (1983), Tomb 3 South.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Tombs 2, 4, and 4a South, Tomb 1 North.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Tomb 1 South.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest are Tombs 3, 4, and 6 North; Tomb 16 South might also belong with this group (see Campbell 2010). For chronology, see Kockel (1983: 9); also Emmerson (2013: 92–7); Zanella et al. (2016: 2–6).

<sup>8</sup> Kockel (1983) concluded that Tombs 16 South, 35 North, and possibly 36 North were under construction in 79 CE. We should be cautious, however, since the common practice of quarrying the site for building materials—which continued up to the time of the Bourbon excavations—could give a false impression of ongoing construction.

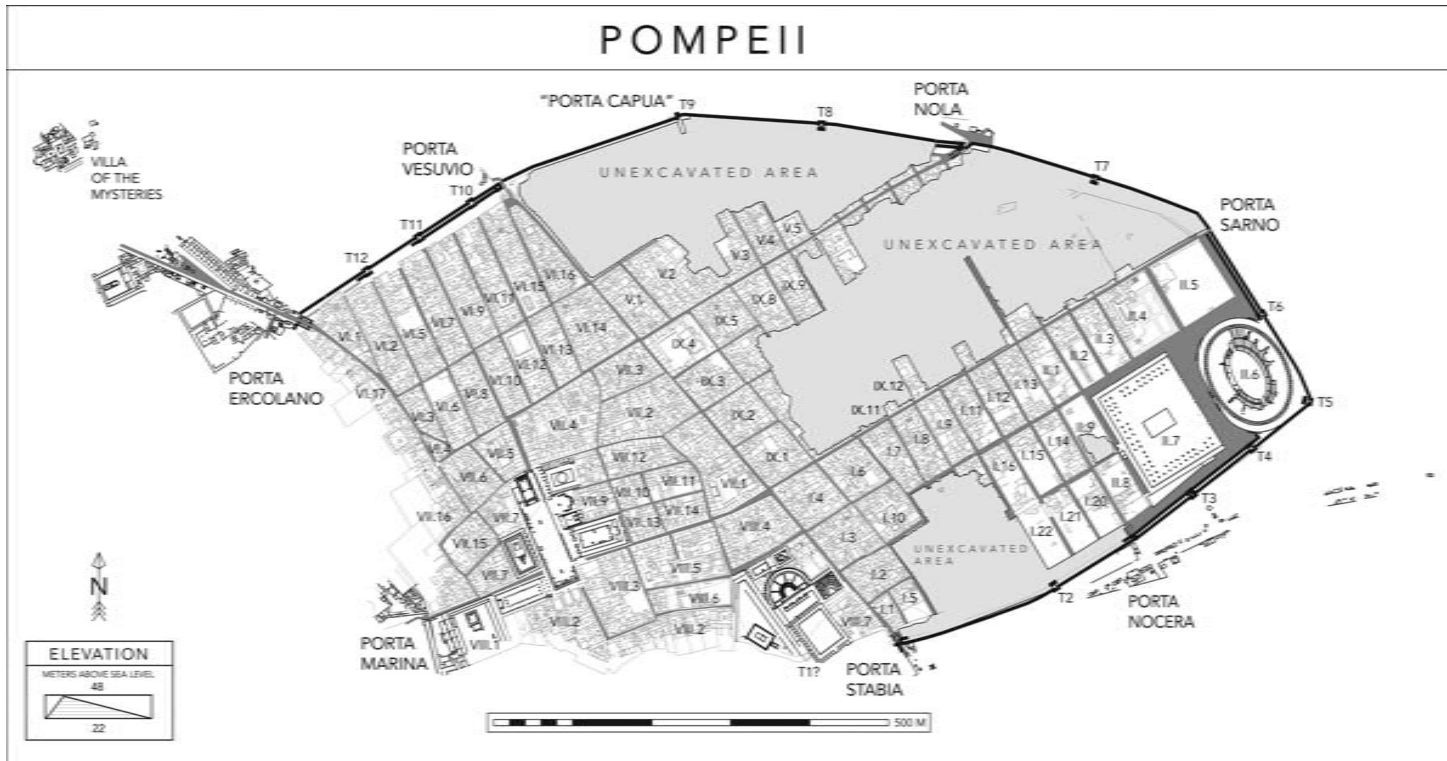


Figure 2.2 Plan of Pompeii. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Dobbins and Foss 2007.)



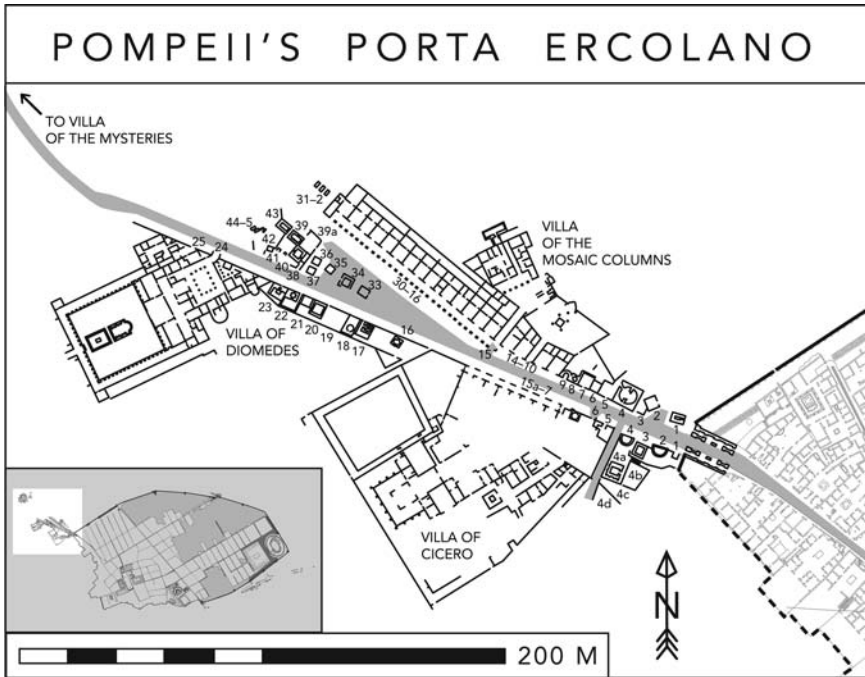


Figure 2.3 Plan of Pompeii's Porta Ercolano suburb. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Dobbins and Foss 2007.)



Figure 2.4 View of Pompeii's Porta Ercolano suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

Recent and ongoing campaigns of research—which include architectural analysis, geophysical prospection, and subsurface excavation—add significant data to our understanding of the Porta Ercolano suburb. Drawing together the preliminary results, I see a clear pattern in which the Augustan period initiated a phase of intense suburban development that continued unabated up to the eruption. Central to my interpretation is the dating of the neighborhood's road system. At the time of the eruption, the *via dei Sepolcri* forked northwards into the *via Superior* some 100m past the gate; although the two streets appear to have been paved at the same time, the *via Superior* is far less worn, suggesting that most traffic passed along the route to the south. Nevertheless, this arrangement hides an earlier, single thoroughfare that ran just north of the *via Superior* before curving to approach the gate at a slightly different angle from the ultimate *via dei Sepolcri*.<sup>9</sup> The Villa of Diomedes, located about 200m past the gate at the far end of the cleared area, predated the realignment, since the *via dei Sepolcri* truncated its façade.<sup>10</sup> Found about 100m beyond the cleared area, the Villa of the Mysteries also appears aligned with the earlier road.<sup>11</sup> These and the other large houses outside the Porta Ercolano—the Villa of Cicero just beyond the gate and the Villa of the Mosaic Columns across the street—traditionally have been dated to the second or even third centuries BCE, reconstructed as rustic farms that transitioned into extravagant retreats as the lure of eastern luxuries proved irresistible to the people of Italy.<sup>12</sup> That chronology, however, relies almost entirely on Amedeo Maiuri's reading of the standing architecture of the Villa of the Mysteries, and clearly is influenced by the hyperbolic laments of elite Romans on the evils of luxury.<sup>13</sup> Only one villa in the Porta Ercolano suburb has received targeted subsurface excavation, and its history differed radically from Maiuri's narrative. The Villa of the Mosaic Columns had no rustic phase; the entire structure was conceived and constructed as an elaborate residence no earlier than the end of the first century BCE or early first century CE, on much the same plan that it would retain until the eruption.<sup>14</sup> Although the villa might have been the latest example here, its date draws the traditional chronology into doubt, opening the possibility that all of the villas in the suburb arose substantially later than has been assumed.

As surprising as the revised date for the Villa of the Mosaic Columns is the revelation that the long row of colonnaded shops fronting it, at Entrances 16–29, arose together with the villa proper, with the commercial and residential complexes

<sup>9</sup> Varone (1988: 145–6); Zanella (2017: 132–3); Zanella et al. (2017: 13–24).

<sup>10</sup> Dessales et al. (2016: 8–9); see also Mingazzini (1949); Zevi (1982: 354–7).

<sup>11</sup> See Maiuri (1947: 38); *contra* Esposito (2007: 458).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Maiuri (1947: 41–2); Kockel (1983: 11); Kockel and Weber (1983: 60–62); Fontaine (1991: 295–6); Dessales et al. (2016: 8–9).

<sup>13</sup> Maiuri (1947: 42–45) assigned his absolute dates based on the unreliable evidence of wall construction typologies, associating e.g. Sarno limestone with the pre-colonial period and Nocera tuff with the arrival of the colonists. For attitudes towards luxury, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008b: 315–55).

<sup>14</sup> The project is still in an active phase of research and awaits full publication, but see Anderson (2018) for the most recent preliminary report.



**Figure 2.5** Colonnaded shops at Pompeii's Porta Ercolano suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

constructed as part of a unified project (Fig. 2.5).<sup>15</sup> Already in its earliest phase, the commercial complex featured an upper floor; accessible from a staircase in the colonnade rather than from the shops themselves, this area might have hosted separate rental rooms or apartments.<sup>16</sup> Likewise unexpected, the new structure of villa and shops originally stood not on the via Superior, but faced the earlier road. The beaten-earth thoroughfare curved around the colonnade; a guard stone that is now buried under the latest ground level protected the southernmost pillar against the wheels of carts making the turn.<sup>17</sup> The reorientation of the road system, therefore, occurred only following the construction of the villa and its shops in the late first century BCE or early first century CE. As discussed above, most of the tombs postdated the final paved road; the complex of shops that fronted the Villa of Cicero likewise appears to have been later, since it adopted the road's alignment at least in its final stage.<sup>18</sup> The shops at Entrances 10–14 on the northern side of the street, meanwhile, were some of the last buildings

<sup>15</sup> Zanella (2017: 133–4); Zanella et al. (2017: 3–12); Anderson (2018).

<sup>16</sup> A later reconstruction added individual staircases from the front rooms of the shops. See Zanella (2017: 133).

<sup>17</sup> Zanella et al. (2017: 17). For guard stones, see Poehler (2017a: 95–100).

<sup>18</sup> The Villa of Cicero and its shops were never fully excavated and had been reinterred already in the Bourbon period, problematizing any conclusions about their chronology. The new route, however, might have truncated the villa's façade in a similar manner to the Villa of Diomedes (see Zevi 1982: 355; Zanella 2017: 132).



added to the neighborhood, constructed along with a reorganization of the eastern area of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns in the Flavian period.<sup>19</sup> At least one of the shops, at Entrance 14, was still undergoing construction or reconstruction at the time of the eruption.<sup>20</sup>

The development of the Porta Ercolano suburb turns on the replacement of the original thoroughfare with the forked *via dei Sepolcri* and *via Superior*. This change postdated the addition of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns and its shops, but not necessarily by long. Continuing excavation will be essential for refining the chronology, but a sondage conducted in the 1980s suggested that the final road belonged generally to the same period in which the villa appeared—to the end of the first century BCE or early first century CE—a date in keeping with the city's other lava stone pavements.<sup>21</sup> Those decades, therefore, represented a key moment of change outside the Porta Ercolano, when the construction of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns and its commercial complex shortly preceded a total redevelopment of the zone. The Villa of Diomedes, and probably the Villa of the Mysteries and the Villa of Cicero, already stood outside the gate when the new roads arrived, but again, we cannot be certain that they predated the reorganization by many generations or even decades. Although far from a smoking gun, the earliest preserved wall paintings from both the Villa of the Mysteries and the Villa of Diomedes are Second Style, potentially indicating that the buildings should be placed in the first century BCE and could even postdate the rise of Augustus.<sup>22</sup> By the time of the eruption, the Porta Ercolano suburb was a dense and diverse urban neighborhood, defined by a variety of structures and home to a bustling urban life. Much room for future work remains, but a growing body of evidence points to the Augustan period as the crucial moment of development, when a variety of new buildings suddenly sprang up, triggering a phase of suburban activity that continued through the rest of the city's life.

## 2.2 The Porta Marina Suburb at Ostia

While the neighborhood differs from the Porta Ercolano in some particulars, the suburb at Ostia's Porta Marina also indicates the Augustan period as a key phase of growth. The Porta Marina was not Ostia's only suburb—at its greatest extent,

<sup>19</sup> Anderson (2015; 2016; 2017); Zanella (2017: 133–4); Zanella et al. (2017: 7–8).

<sup>20</sup> Zanella (2017: 134); Zanella et al. (2016: 11–30; 2017: 25–28).

<sup>21</sup> For the sondage, see Varone (1988: 146). Lava paving was rare at Pompeii before the Augustan period, having been restricted to the major thoroughfare of the *via del Vesuvio/via Stabiana*, but nearly every street on the western side of the city had been paved by the end of the first decade of the 1st c. CE (Poehler 2017a: 63–9).

<sup>22</sup> Note too that a more recent reconsideration of Maiuri's evidence places the Villa of the Mysteries in the 2nd quarter of the 1st c. BCE (Esposito 2007). For the decoration, see Maiuri (1947: 117–19); Dessales et al. (2016: 15–17). The few known paintings from the Villa of Cicero, preserved only as single elements, all appear to have derived from Fourth Style walls.

the city stretched outside its late Republican fortification wall on all sides and included an extensive suburb even on the right bank of the Tiber—but this area by the sea was always its front door and chief façade (Fig. 2.6).<sup>23</sup> The earliest structures still standing here are Augustan; they include two funerary monuments as well as a coastal levee, which protected existing buildings while encouraging further development.<sup>24</sup> One of the tombs was located about 25m outside the gate, on the northwestern side of the Decumanus Maximus as it exited the center and continued towards the sea (Fig. 2.7, *a*).<sup>25</sup> The largest funerary monument known from Ostia, the tomb incorporated a bench reminiscent of the *scholae* at Pompeii (Fig. 2.8). Only a portion of the superstructure survives, but associated fragments of architectural decoration in Carrara marble make clear that it belonged to a wealthy individual, even in the absence of an epitaph. Among the sculptural decoration that could belong to the tomb was a marble block carved as the prow of a warship, leading some to conclude that the deceased had been a leader in a naval war; one reconstruction assigns the tomb to Publius Lucilius Gamala, a magistrate of the Augustan period whose many contributions to the town are well-attested in the epigraphic record.<sup>26</sup> The second tomb is linked definitively to a similarly prominent magistrate of the same period, Gaius Cartilius Poplicola, who is named in the preserved inscription (Fig. 2.7, *b*).<sup>27</sup> His monument was located some 50m beyond the anonymous tomb, facing a secondary road (later removed) that angled south from the Porta Marina and continued towards the sea. Cartilius's tomb also was large and elaborate, likewise ornamented with marble sculpture declaring his public service (Fig. 2.9).<sup>28</sup>

Other structures still standing outside the Porta Marina began to join the tombs in the early Imperial period. The small sanctuary attributed to Bona Dea, located on the southeastern side of the road, has been dated to the mid-first century CE.<sup>29</sup> An elite residence, the *Domus Fulminata*, was constructed just south of the anonymous tomb slightly later, most likely in the early Flavian period.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For Ostia's extent, revealed in geophysical investigations that remain published only in part, see esp. Heinzelmann et al. (1997); Heinzelmann (1998a; 1998b; 2001; 2002); Heinzelmann, Mols, and McKinnon (2001); Martin and Heinzelmann (2000); Martin et al. (2002). For the suburb across the Tiber, see Germoni et al. (2018a; 2018b). For the Late Republican date of the wall (which traditionally has been called Sullan), see Zevi (1996/1997); Martin et al. (2002: 265).

<sup>24</sup> For the levee, see Becatti (1969: 49–51).

<sup>25</sup> For the tomb, see Squarciapino et al. (1958: 181–90); Meiggs (1973: 131–2); Von Hesberg (1992: 136–137, 208); Van der Meer, Stevens, and Stoeger (2005: 101–3).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 102; cf. Coarelli (2004). For Gamala, see Manzini (2014).

<sup>27</sup> On Poplicola, see Squarciapino et al. (1958: 209–28); Cébeillac (1971: 78–81); Meiggs (1973: 39–40).

<sup>28</sup> See Squarciapino et al. (1958: 171–81, 191–207); Panciera (1966).

<sup>29</sup> Calza (1942); Meiggs (1973: 352–3); Brouwer (1989: 63–7); Van der Meer et al. (2005: 93).

<sup>30</sup> For the debate over this building's function—guild seat or private residence—see *ibid.* 99–105. There is no reason to follow those authors, however, in interpreting the building as intended for funerary cult; instead, it appears to have been a forerunner to the Ostian *domus* of the mid- and late Imperial period, in which various reception rooms surrounded a peristyle on the ground floor and most living spaces were located upstairs. Supporting this interpretation are comparable residences of

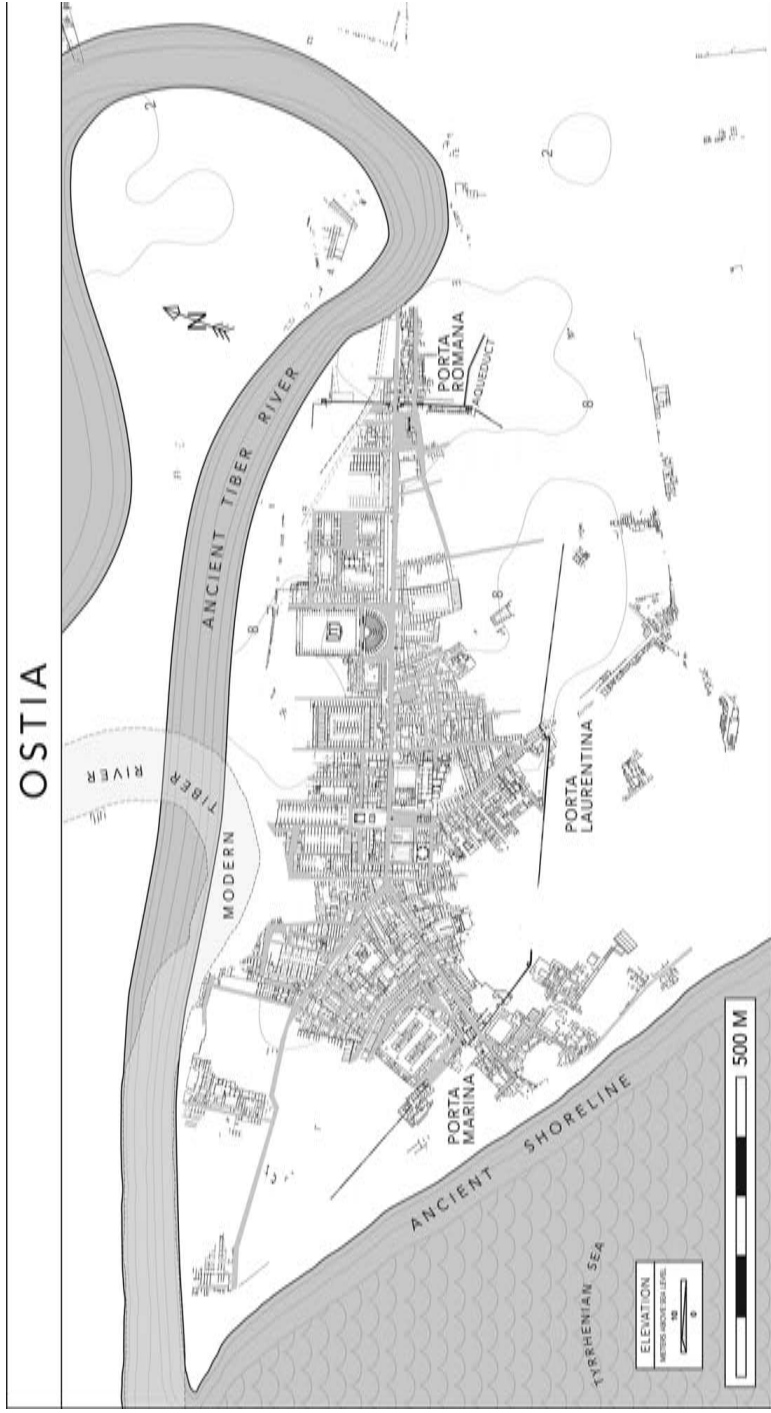
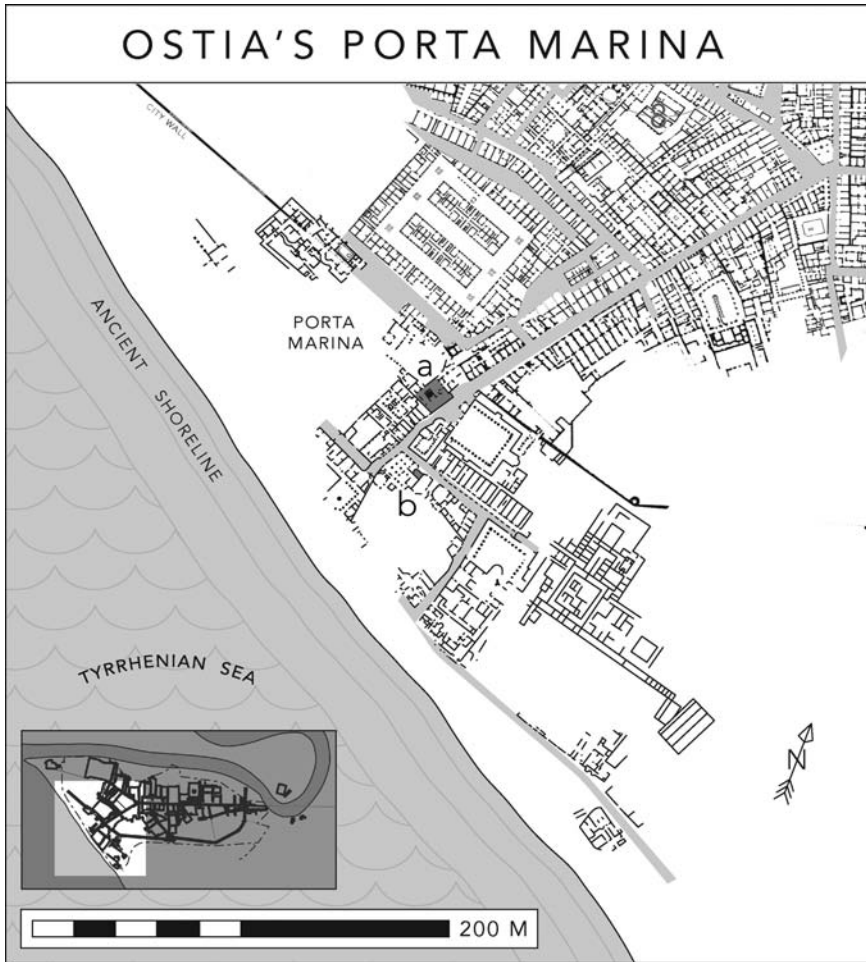


Figure 2.6 Plan of Ostia. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)



**Figure 2.7** Plan of the Porta Marina suburb at Ostia. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and Martin et al. 2002.)

An elaborate villa, positioned about 150m southeast of the gate, dates to the same period, as do the earlier two of three additional residences built to the north, between the gate and the mouth of the river.<sup>31</sup> The majority of the surviving

the early Imperial period revealed recently in peripheral areas of Regions III and V (both inside and outside the city wall); it seems that elite *domus* were most common on the edges of the city at this time, with the interior more intensively exploited by rental apartments (Martin and Heinzlmann 2000: 282–3; Heinzlmann 2001: 321–2).

<sup>31</sup> Villa: Heinzlmann (2002: 233–6); Martin et al. (2002: 265–9); Boin (2013: 62–4); residences north of the gate (two of which were later united): Heinzlmann (2001: 321–3); Martin et al. (2009: 269).



**Figure 2.8** Anonymous tomb in Ostia's Porta Marina suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)



**Figure 2.9** Tomb of Gaius Cartilius Poplicola in Ostia's Porta Marina suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)



buildings, however, belong to the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods: not only the latest of the residences to the north, but also the colonnaded public building just outside the gate, the roofed structure (possibly a covered market) abutting the Tomb of Cartilius, and most of the shops and other buildings.<sup>32</sup> At least three baths in the Porta Marina suburb also can be placed in the first half of the second century, an era of rapid development across the city: the large “Baths of the Porta Marina” along the coastal road, the smaller “Baths of Silenus” across the street, and the “Maritime Baths” that destroyed the city wall to the northwest of the gate.<sup>33</sup> Recent excavations indicate that Ostia’s synagogue, located on the coastal road about 300m from the gate, is best placed in the mid-to-late second century; another project carried out closer to the gate has explored a house (the “Caseggiato delle Due Scale”) that dates to the same period.<sup>34</sup> Several small baths and a residential building that incorporated a bar were inserted into earlier structures in the third century; a mithraeum joined them in the fourth.<sup>35</sup> The final major addition to the neighborhood came at the end of the fourth century, when a large and luxurious building ornamented with some of the finest *opus sectile* wall decoration known from the ancient world was constructed along the coast.<sup>36</sup>

Over the course of the Imperial period, Ostia’s Porta Marina suburb grew to incorporate a diverse mixture of buildings in a dense urban environment. Hidden under all of this development, however, are indications of an earlier neighborhood, developing already in the Augustan period and destroyed in the course of later urbanization. The first indication is the gate itself. Not long after the construction of the Augustan tombs, likely in the early first century CE, the Porta Marina was destroyed, with its passageway, towers, and a stretch of fortification to either side razed and covered by new buildings (Fig. 2.10).<sup>37</sup> Although the shops now exposed over the gate date to the second century and later, they almost certainly replaced earlier structures.<sup>38</sup> Excavation below the latest ground-level remains rare in the neighborhood, but work along the coast has uncovered earlier walls below the second-, third-, and fourth-century buildings.<sup>39</sup> The original clearance of the Tomb of Cartilius also revealed a wall that abutted the northern side of the monument; this might have been an enclosure added in a secondary phase, but is equally likely to have belonged to a neighboring building, dated only slightly later than the tomb itself.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Following Calza et al. (1953); Becatti (1969: 49–52), but note that most of these dates are derived solely from masonry styles, and subsurface excavation could alter current understandings.

<sup>33</sup> DeLaine (2006: 339); David et al. (2014: 7–22); David (2018a: 35–37).

<sup>34</sup> Synagogue: Boin (2013: 119–22); house: David et al. (2014: 23–39); David (2018a: 37).

<sup>35</sup> Turci (2014); David (2018a: 37–9; 2018b).

<sup>36</sup> As for the *Domus Fulminata*, debates have surrounded this building’s function as a guild seat or a residence; see Becatti (1969: 65); Guidobaldi (2001: 261); Boin (2013: 57–65).

<sup>37</sup> Calza et al. (1953: 87–8).

<sup>38</sup> The “Caupona of Alexander and Helix” covering the eastern side of the gate is Severan (see most recently Gering 2018: 311–13); the shops across the street are likely Hadrianic.

<sup>39</sup> David (2014: 34).

<sup>40</sup> Squarciapino et al. (1958: 171).



**Figure 2.10** View of the Porta Marina underlying later development. (Photo: author, courtesy Parco Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

The arrangement of the two known funerary monuments also argues for the presence of other buildings outside the Porta Marina in the Augustan period. If the entire zone had been open and available when the tombs were erected, we might expect them to stand nearer together, or at least along the same road, and in that case the distance from the gate to the monument of Cartilius—a tomb dedicated to one of Ostia's most renowned citizens and funded from the public purse—is difficult to explain.<sup>41</sup> We should note as well the disappearance of the original road in front of Cartilius's tomb, one more indication of an earlier organization that vanished in the course of later development.

Significantly, the destruction of the Porta Marina did not fully erase the physical division between center and suburb. Upon destruction of the gate, a new gateway arch, located about 5m south of the old wall, reconceived the entrance to the city.<sup>42</sup> Gateway arches—which appeared across Italy in the Augustan and early Imperial periods, including at Rome itself—marked urban boundaries without incorporating a closing mechanism, allowing for monumental display while also celebrating peace and security, a potent combination of ideas.<sup>43</sup> Ornamental arches added in the same period to certain unwalled cities, such as Augusta Bagiennorum, Libarna, and Carsulae, communicated similar messages, while underscoring a continued interest in delineating the center even as suburbs

<sup>41</sup> See also Stevens (2017a: 207–10).

<sup>42</sup> Calza et al. (1953: 88).

<sup>43</sup> See De Maria (1988: 78–85); Lomas (1998: 69); Goodman (2007: 65).

expanded and urbanized.<sup>44</sup> At the Porta Marina, the process of suburban growth began at the end of the first century BCE and in the early years of the first century CE with the construction of the tombs and levee, the destruction of the gate, and the addition of the gateway arch. The few surviving structures of the period suggest the presence of a larger neighborhood, now lost under the intense construction activity that began with Ostia's second-century building boom. As for many areas inside the city center, later construction replaced earlier development, as the thriving suburban neighborhood required ever more and larger buildings.

### 2.3 The Via del Tritone Suburb at Rome

A recently excavated suburb of Rome likewise indicates the Augustan and early Imperial periods as key phases of suburban growth. The recent construction of a large department store on via del Tritone between the Quirinal and the Pincian hills provided the opportunity for an unusually comprehensive study of a neighborhood in the heart of modern Rome; the project exposed a site of around 4,000m<sup>2</sup>, which was excavated stratigraphically between 2010 and 2015.<sup>45</sup> In antiquity, this area stood about 150m north of the Republican city wall and about 400m east of the via Flaminia, on the edge of the Campus Agrippae and near the border between Regions VI and VII (Fig. 2.11). To the northeast were the Horti Lucullani and Horti Sallustiani, two of the many massive estates formed as the wealthy bought up available property outside the walls in the late Republican and Augustan periods.<sup>46</sup> Long considered a “green belt” of luxurious leisure on the outskirts of the city, a closer look indicates the ubiquity of urban rental units, including high-density residences, shops, and workshops, in Rome's *horti*.<sup>47</sup> In addition to being lavish estates, these were also investment properties, by which the Roman elite controlled valuable and contested real estate on the edge of a rapidly expanding metropolis. Over time, the *horti* themselves, or at least large sections of them, disappeared under the inexorable expansion of the city. The project on the via del Tritone revealed the intensity of suburban development in one small pocket outside the wall, detailing five phases that ranged from the Augustan period to the sixth century CE (Fig. 2.12). Most of the original structures were removed in the course of intense redevelopment that began in the second half of the first century CE and continued through the second and third

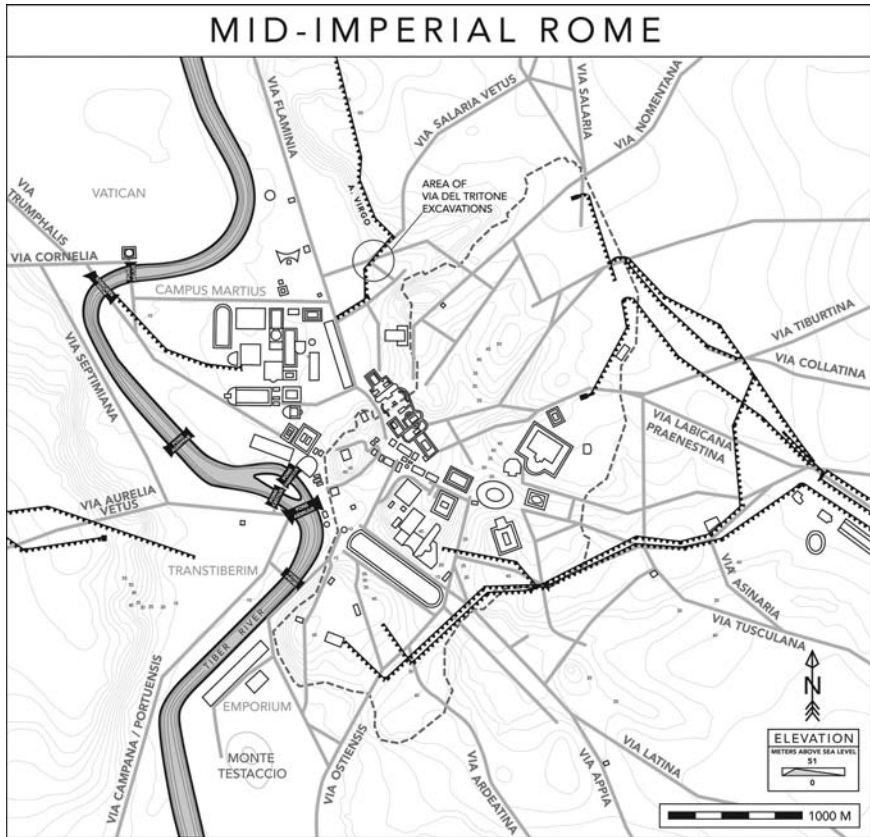
<sup>44</sup> De Maria (1988: 78); Conventi (2004: 88–90, 150–52). See also Goodman (2016: 312–13).

<sup>45</sup> Baumgartner (2017a).

<sup>46</sup> LTUR 3 s.v. “Horti Lucullani” 67–70 (H. Broise and V. Jolivet); “Horti Sallustiani” 79–81 (P. Innocenti and M. C. Leotta); MAR s.v. “Horti Lucullani” 144 (A. B. Gallia); “Horti Sallustiani” 146 (E. A. Dumser). For chronology, see AAR s.v. “The Horti” 74–8 (M. C. Capanna).

<sup>47</sup> Purcell (2007: esp. 296–7); see also Witcher (2013: 213).





**Figure 2.11** Plan of Imperial Rome with location of via del Tritone excavation circled. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after LTUR III.)

centuries, but traces of their presence survived, again pointing to the Augustan and early Imperial periods as pivotal moments in the rise of this suburb.

To be sure, the earliest suburban development at Rome predated the first emperor.<sup>48</sup> The Emporium district, located alongside the Tiber south of the Aventine, had begun to develop as early as the third century BCE and became Rome's primary port in the second century, as the city's needs outgrew the old port at the Forum Boarium.<sup>49</sup> The southern Campus Martius also urbanized early; beginning in the second century, development sprawled northwards from the Porta Fontinalis and eastwards from the public monuments of the Campus Flaminius, gradually extending along the via Flaminia and the extramural ring road

<sup>48</sup> See also Section 3.2.

<sup>49</sup> Rodríguez Almeida (1984: 28–33); Étienne (1987); Aguilera Martín (2002: 51–8); Gros and Torelli (2007: 136–7); Davies (2013: 444, 448); LTUR 2 s.v. "Emporium" 221–3 (C. Mocchegiani Carpano); MAR s.v. "Emporium" 118–19 (Ö. Harmansah).



Figure 2.12 Five phases of development at the via del Tritone. (Plans by Nicoletta Saviane, Courtesy M. Baumgartner and N. Saviane.)

known as the via Pallacinae.<sup>50</sup> Various *pagi*, administrative districts organized outside the city wall, also suggest enough extramural activity to warrant administrative oversight in the late Republican period; these included the Pagus Montanus outside the Porta Esquilina, the Pagus Sulpicius beyond the Porta Capena, and the Pagus Janiculensis across the Tiber.<sup>51</sup> In the course of the first century BCE, however, suburbs grew exponentially, utterly transforming Rome. By the time

<sup>50</sup> LTUR 4 s.v. “Pallacinae” 51–2 (C. Lega); MAR s.v. “Campus Flaminius” 73 (L. Haselberger); “Pallacinae” 187 (A. B. Gallia); “Pallacinae: Street” 187 (A. B. Gallia); see also Haselberger (2007: 18–19).

<sup>51</sup> LTUR 4 s.v. “Pagus Montanus” 10 (F. Coarelli); “Pagus Ianic(ulensis)” 10 (P. Liverani). LTUR 5 s.v. “Vicus Sulpicius” 192 (C. Lega). MAR s.v. “Pagus Ianicol(ensis)” 184 (Ö. Harmansah); “Vicus Sulpicius” 271–2 (D. Borbonus, Kevin Tracy, and Lothar Haselberger). See also Section 4.1 (Pagus Montanus) and 7.3 (Pagus Janiculensis).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote his history at the end of the century, the city seemed to stretch endlessly in all directions, and many portions of the old wall had disappeared entirely under new development.<sup>52</sup> Even assuming some poetic embellishment, we can be sure that the first century BCE saw intense urban growth. Around the middle of the century, the city's administration as recorded in the *Tabulae Heracleensis* included zones up to one mile outside the wall, as far as there was continuous inhabitation.<sup>53</sup> The law suggests that in some areas, Rome's suburbs might have extended up to or even beyond the circuit of the later Aurelian Wall. In the Augustan period, the legal construct of the *continentia aedificiae* took this idea even further, including any continuous suburban development, no matter how far from the center, within the definition of the city.<sup>54</sup>

Located along a secondary highway some 350m from the nearest gate, the neighborhood at the via del Tritone was not isolated from Rome's suburban expansion.<sup>55</sup> The earliest structure present here was an aboveground aqueduct of the late Republican or very early Augustan period that was later incorporated into the Aqua Virgo, itself completed by 19 BCE in order to feed the Baths of Agrippa, the Stagnum Agrippae, and the Euripus in the Campus Martius.<sup>56</sup> Standing along the road in front of the aqueduct were three monumental tombs, the earliest of which is best placed in the Augustan and the second in the Tiberian period, while the third might be as late as the time of Domitian.<sup>57</sup> Like the tombs that survived a long history of development outside Ostia's Porta Marina, however, these were not isolated in their earliest phases. Traces of walls found between and behind the tombs suggest the presence of other buildings, all of which were destroyed in the course of later construction.<sup>58</sup> The walls were too poorly preserved to determine building types or plans, but they can be dated broadly from the second half of the first century BCE through the beginning of the first century CE.<sup>59</sup> Some, like an example along the road that incorporated *opus reticulatum* and a travertine block, probably belonged to additional funerary monuments. Others, however, could represent nearly any structure, and we cannot dismiss the possibility that here, as outside the Porta Ercolano and likely the Porta Marina, tombs mixed with shops and residences from nearly the earliest phase of extramural development.

Across Rome, both inside and outside the fourth-century wall, structures belonging to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods are difficult to find. While we might point to individual monuments like the Forum of Augustus, the Domus

<sup>52</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.13.3–5.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. *Tabulae Heracleensis* 20–21, 24–8, 50–52, 62–5, 66–7, 68–72, 77–9.

<sup>54</sup> See Section 1.1.

<sup>55</sup> The highway was likely that called the via Salaria Vetus in sources of the 4th c. CE; whether the name was in use earlier is unclear. See Baumgartner (2017a: 44–5); also MAR s.v. "Via Salaria Vetus" 263 (E. A. Dumser).

<sup>56</sup> Baumgartner (2017a: 44–5); Pracchia, Pultrone, and Saviane (2017). For the Aqua Virgo, see LTUR 1 s.v. "Aqua Virgo" 72–3 (S. Le Pera).

<sup>57</sup> Pultrone (2017a: 61–3).

<sup>58</sup> Baumgartner (2017a: 45–6).

<sup>59</sup> Pultrone (2017a: 58–60).

Tiberiana, or the aqueducts now incorporated into the Porta Maggiore, the vast majority of the spaces where as many as a million inhabitants carried out their daily lives have vanished entirely.<sup>60</sup> This situation is not—at least not primarily—due to the encroachment of modern development, since even subsurface excavation rarely uncovers buildings earlier than the Flavian period. It was an ancient—not modern—event that played the greatest role in obscuring Imperial Rome’s earlier form. The “Great Fire” of 64 CE burned for nine days at the end of July, spreading outwards from the eastern end of the Circus Maximus to affect nearly every part of the city.<sup>61</sup> Countless buildings went up in flames; others were destroyed to create firebreaks in an attempt to control the conflagration. In the end, we are told that three regions burned to the ground, while seven others fared little better. Even allowing for exaggeration, the fire must have been devastating. The disaster, however, also brought opportunity. Guided by building codes meant to limit the risk of future fires, the reconstruction effort reshaped Rome into the city later represented in the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae*: defined by broad streets, long rows of colonnades, and above all, the combined commercial and residential buildings now known as *insulae*.<sup>62</sup> These buildings, which hosted shops and apartments arranged on several stories, often around a central courtyard, dominated Rome in the second and third centuries.<sup>63</sup> We can be sure that they replaced earlier rental properties that brought together commercial and residential space, but the massive versions of the mid-Imperial period effectively erased the buildings that had preceded them. Beginning with the Great Fire and continuing through regular reconstructions of the following two centuries, early Imperial Rome gradually faded away.

These urban processes are well represented at the via del Tritone. Beginning in the second half of the first century and continuing through the early third century, *insulae* took over the neighborhood.<sup>64</sup> The new buildings covered the excavated area, obscuring earlier remains and leaving the site’s first phase to be indicated only by the three preserved funerary monuments and a few fragments of the structures that once neighbored them. This situation repeats itself across the wider zone west of the via Flaminia, both north and south of the Aqua Virgo. Subsurface excavations have revealed second- and third-century *insulae* in nearly every area exposed, and the massive remains of those structures hide any earlier development (Fig. 2.13). Examples include a complex of Hadrianic *insulae* uncovered in the early twentieth century along the eastern side of the via Flaminia, facing Piazza Colonna; the buildings lined several urban roads and occupied an

<sup>60</sup> For Rome’s population in this period, see most recently Lo Cascio (2018: 144–5).

<sup>61</sup> The essential ancient source is Tac. *Ann.* 15.38–44; see also Cass. Dio. 62.16–18; Plin. *HN* 17.1.5; Suet. *Ner.* 38.

<sup>62</sup> See Gros and Torelli (2007: 215–17); Beste and Von Hesberg (2013: 314–15); Aldrete (2018: 371); Ellis (2018: 207–11).

<sup>63</sup> For “*insulae*” (surely a misnomer), see Packer (1967); Storey (2001; 2002; 2004); Priester (2002); Ulrich (2014); DeLaine (2018).

<sup>64</sup> Buonaguro (2017: 97–9).





earlier *insulae* were converted to large houses; at the via del Tritone, *insulae* were replaced with a luxurious *domus* as well as an elaborate bath.<sup>68</sup> Life continued in the neighborhood into the sixth century, when pavements were replaced in a number of rooms, but by the seventh century inhabitants had departed. At this point, the buildings were spoliated and their land given over to cultivation.<sup>69</sup> The earliest developments of the late first century BCE thus initiated a long history at the via del Tritone, which developed in step with the rest of Rome. Here as elsewhere in the city, the intensity of mid-Imperial construction obscured earlier buildings, but enough evidence remains to indicate that in this neighborhood, the first half of the first century CE was a key period of growth.

## 2.4 Other Suburbs: Bononia, Falerii Novi, and Elsewhere

Looking past the triad of Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii, other sites suggest the growth of suburbs in the Augustan and early Imperial periods. Supporting evidence comes, for example, from Bononia (modern Bologna), one of the most prosperous centers of Roman Cisalpinga. The sprawling modern city hides much of the ancient layout, but a few points are clear.<sup>70</sup> Bononia's city center was orthogonal, and the via Aemilia, an extension of the via Flaminia, ran through it from east to west (Fig. 2.14).<sup>71</sup> The city was unwalled, and a series of natural and man-made ditches defined the boundaries of the center, as did the edges of the orthogonal grid and noticeable shifts in the orientation of the via Aemilia as it entered and exited.<sup>72</sup> Rescue excavations in the modern city have revealed structures surrounding the ancient center on all sides, and although fitting these together into a cohesive plan is still impossible, the remains point towards the presence of extensive suburbs.<sup>73</sup> The data is far from ideal—the practice of recovering building materials by spoliating earlier walls has been particularly damaging here—but where dates can be assigned, they indicate two suburban building booms, the first in the Augustan period and the second in the early second century CE. By the mid-Imperial period, Bononia's city center was surrounded by a variety of buildings, the remains of which suggest houses both simple and elaborate, as well as shops, workshops, tombs, public monuments, and garbage dumps.

Ancient Bononia, like modern Bologna, lacked easily accessible quarries; as a result, many of the Roman buildings survive only as pavements, with walls removed to their foundations to be reused elsewhere as building material. Such pavements can be difficult to interpret, but they are present in large numbers

<sup>68</sup> Buonaguro (2017: 102–3); Saviane (2017); Buonaguro and Rinaldi (2017).

<sup>69</sup> Acampora (2017).

<sup>70</sup> See Sommella (1988: 165); Ortalli (1996: 32–40; 2000; 2005); Conventi (2004: 69–71).

<sup>71</sup> For the via Aemilia, see Purcell (1990: 12–14); Laurence (1999: 23–5).

<sup>72</sup> Scagliarini (1969: 140); Ortalli (1993: 268–71; 1996: 33); Goodman (2007: 62–4).

<sup>73</sup> See Scagliarini (1969; 1978; 1983; 1991; 2005); also Ortalli (1996: 41–3).



Figure 2.14 Plan of Bononia. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Ortalli 2005.)

outside the city center, indicating various suburban structures. Complexes that include multiple rooms with mosaic floors likely represent elite housing; some of the best-studied examples include two structures discovered just southwest of city center.<sup>74</sup> The buildings featured simple pavements in *opus signinum* and hexagonal terracotta tiles as well as elaborate mosaics; one included a massive mosaiced room measuring 11 × 8m. Based on the style of the mosaics as well as some associated finds, both buildings have been placed in the Early Augustan period. Smaller suburban buildings with mosaic floors might have been

<sup>74</sup> Bergonzoni (1965); Scagliarini (1969: 146–7, 177–9; 1991: 93; 2005: 542–5); Gelichi and Ortalli (1987: 51–2); Ortalli and Pini (2002: 14–15, 40).

residential or commercial.<sup>75</sup> An example of this type was excavated recently about 300m south of the city center, during preparations for the construction of an underground parking garage. In its earliest phase, dated to the beginning of the first century CE, the building had a pebble pavement; its walls were preserved only ephemerally.<sup>76</sup> It was remodeled several times, including in a subsequent phase of the late first or early second century, when a room with a mosaic floor was added to the south.<sup>77</sup>

Mosaic pavements are not the only suburban finds from Bononia, and buildings of various types populated the city's suburbs. Less ornamental floors could represent shops, workshops, or simpler residences. Some of these have fixtures like vats or tanks that point towards production; a potential *fullonica*, for example, has been recovered immediately east of the city center, and a building that incorporated a massive basin, over 20m long, stood alongside one of the houses in the southwestern suburb.<sup>78</sup> One complex in the northern suburb, meanwhile, included a kiln, and another to the south has been interpreted, on somewhat unreliable evidence, as a workshop for the manufacture of gemstones.<sup>79</sup> The majority of such finds are preserved too poorly to associate with any specific activity, but those that can be dated likewise indicate origins in the late first century BCE or early first century CE, often with a phase of reconstruction in the early second century CE.<sup>80</sup> Tombs, moreover, including both monumental constructions and simple burials, emerged along the roads surrounding Bononia beginning in the time of Augustus—a period also marked by the development of suburban garbage mounds that ranged in size from small deposits to dumps so massive that they altered the city's suburban topography.<sup>81</sup> Major public buildings too stood outside the center; these include a bath that was sponsored by Augustus himself and located in the southern suburb, as well as the city's amphitheater and sanctuary of Isis, both placed in the eastern suburb.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, the fragmentary and scattered nature of the finds impedes any reconstruction of

<sup>75</sup> Scagliarini (1969; 1983; 2005) prefers to see all buildings with mosaic pavements as residences and those without as shops or workshops, but this division could be misleading. Shops with mosaic floors existed, for example, in the suburb outside the Porta Laurentina at Ostia (e.g. the shop associated with Tomb VL H1: see Heinzelmann 2000: 288; also Fig. 5.2).

<sup>76</sup> Curina et al. (2010: 33–6).

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. 36–9.

<sup>78</sup> Fullonica: Scagliarini (1969: 170–74); basin: Bergonzoni (1965: 60–62); Scagliarini (2005: 543).

<sup>79</sup> Gemstones: Ortalli and Pini (2002: 155); Scagliarini (2005: 544, 553). Kiln: Ortalli (1993: 264–7); Scagliarini (2005: 554). Dumps containing ceramic wasters and concentrations of amphorae also have been interpreted as relating to suburban shops and workshops (e.g. Genito Gualandi 1973; Scagliarini 2005: 554–5; Ortalli 1993: 259–63), but we should be cautious, since wasters need not have originated nearby, and amphorae were stockpiled and deposited for any number of reasons in many types of spaces.

<sup>80</sup> Scagliarini (1969: 148–50; 1983: 301; 1991: 93–4; 2005: 545–53).

<sup>81</sup> Tombs: Brizzolara (1983: 216–17, 221; 2005). Dumps: Ortalli (1993: 268–72). See also Section 4.2.

<sup>82</sup> Bath: CIL 11 720; see Ortalli (1996: 36–7); Lippolis (2000: 137–9); Scagliarini (2005: 538–9). Amphitheater: Scagliarini (1969: 144; 2005: 539–41); Capoferro Cencetti (1983: 277); Ortalli (1996: 42). Sanctuary of Isis: ibid. 42–3; Scagliarini (2005: 541).



the precise development or particular character of any given neighborhood, but the widespread jumble of both well-decorated and simpler structures, intermixed with garbage dumps, tombs, and public monuments, suggests that dense and diverse suburbs surrounded the city. Even with its shortcomings, the evidence indicates one moment that initiated all of this development: Bononia's suburbs appeared beginning in the Augustan period.

The pattern grows wider still. Similar chronologies can be detected at sites across Italy, and are particularly evident in Cisalpinga, where much research on Roman urbanism has concentrated. At Mediolanum (modern Milan), suburbs appeared in the late first century BCE; construction was especially dense to the south of the city along the highway that accessed the *via Aemilia*, as well as to the west—where the city's amphitheater and likely its port were located—but surrounded the center to all sides.<sup>83</sup> Suburban buildings emerged during the same period elsewhere in Cisalpinga as well, from Altinum to Cremona, Aquileia to Placentia, Augusta Praetoria to Mutina.<sup>84</sup> Even looking beyond these major centers, smaller sites continue the pattern. The minor city of Eporedia (Ivrea) developed an eastern suburb in the early first century; by the end of the century the city's amphitheater was inserted into the same area, destroying earlier structures.<sup>85</sup> At Tridentum (Trento), moreover, which was among the smallest towns in the region, excavations carried out over the past several decades have revealed suburban remains to all sides of the city center.<sup>86</sup> Emerging initially at the end of the first century CE, extramural structures included shops and workshops, an amphitheater, and both elaborate and simple residences, all of which intermixed with tombs, cultivated gardens, and undeveloped lots.<sup>87</sup>

Our view is less complete outside of Cisalpinga, but several sites imply that suburbs were widespread in the Augustan and early Imperial periods. The mid-sized town of Florentia (Florence) in Etruria grew outside its wall around the end of the first century BCE, as did the far smaller Umbrian settlement of Urvinum Mataurense (Urbino).<sup>88</sup> At other sites, residences moved outside the walls earlier, but remained rare and scattered until the second half of the first century BCE and later. At the major Umbrian center of Iguvium (Gubbio), for instance, a few extramural houses have been dated to the second century BCE; other buildings, including additional houses and the city's theater, joined them around the middle

<sup>83</sup> Airoldi and Locatelli (2000); Antico Gallina (2000b: 115–17); Sena Chiesa (2000: 42–4); Rossignani and Cortese (2005: 266–8).

<sup>84</sup> Altinum: Tombolani (1987: 335–6); Cremona: Cera (2000: 131–2); Aquileia: Verzár-Bass and Mian (2001: 612–14, 620–22); Verzár-Bass (2003: 74–5, 82); Sotinel (2005: 13–14); Maggi and Oriolo (2009: 169–70); Tiussi (2009: 66–9); Placentia: Scagliarini (1983: 302); Pagliani (1991: 55, 67); Augusta Praetoria: Mollo Mezzena (2000); Mutina: Giordani (2000: 426–7); Conventi (2004: 72–4) (all with further bibliography).

<sup>85</sup> Mercado (1990: 452–8); De Ligt (2012: 295).

<sup>86</sup> Ciurletti (2003); Bassi (2007). For the city, see Sommella (1988: 182–3); Conventi (2004: 141–3).

<sup>87</sup> Ciurletti (2003: 37–8); Bassi (2007: 55). Investigations carried out in 2003 suggest that the amphitheater was a later addition, constructed at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd c. CE (Bassi 2006).

<sup>88</sup> Florentia: Sommella (1988: 168–9); Conventi (2004: 129–31); Urvinum: Agnati (1999: 25–6).

of the first century BCE.<sup>89</sup> The structures, however, were dispersed up to the final decades of that century, when both public and private buildings spread across the terrace south of the city, knitting it together into an unmistakably urban neighborhood.<sup>90</sup> The situation recalls the neighborhood outside Pompeii's Porta Ercolano, where the earliest houses might have emerged by the mid-first century BCE, but the neighborhood around them urbanized only under Augustus. On the western side of Capua, moreover, a recent excavation has revealed a house even earlier than those at Iguvium and Pompeii, located along the via Appia and dated to the late fourth or third century BCE.<sup>91</sup> This period represented a peak in the pre-Roman city's power and influence, and the find suggests that the elite of Capua, like their rivals in Rome, had begun to invest in luxurious residences outside the city wall and along a major highway.<sup>92</sup> Capua's first amphitheater, possibly the earliest permanent example in the Roman world, arose near the house in the middle of the first century BCE.<sup>93</sup> Most of the surrounding area remains hidden under modern construction, but at least one piece of evidence suggests that the arrival of the amphitheater initiated a phase of wider development: at the end of the first century BCE, a new elite villa, complete with colonnaded garden and fish pond, replaced the earlier residence.<sup>94</sup> The villa remained in use through the next century, as a second amphitheater—the world's largest next to the Coliseum—supplanted the first, attracting additional monuments to the zone.<sup>95</sup>

Of course, we might question the degree to which finds made outside city centers can be considered suburbs equivalent to the dense neighborhoods recovered at Pompeii, Ostia, and Rome. In many cases, sites have been exposed in rescue excavations and remain incompletely published, and structures could represent occasional extramural construction rather than true suburban neighborhoods. Recent projects at the small town of Falerii Novi, located in the Tiber Valley roughly 50km north of Rome, help to complete the picture, demonstrating that suburbs were not restricted to Italy's largest and most successful cities. Falerii Novi was founded together with the construction of the via Amerina in the mid-third century BCE, and the highway—which ran directly through the city center—contributed to its status as one of the larger towns of the Tiber Valley.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, it was never a major center, and its population probably stood between 3,500 and 4,000 people at most.<sup>97</sup> A few areas of the site have been excavated, but with the exception of a handful of tombs, all are located inside the walls

<sup>89</sup> Sisani (2006: 62–6).

<sup>90</sup> Gaggiotti et al. (1980: 178–85); Braconi and Manconi (1982/83: 99–102); Marcattili (2007: 50–52); Cante (2008: 63–4).

<sup>91</sup> Zevi (2004: 890); Sampaolo (2005: 671).

<sup>92</sup> See Section 3.2.

<sup>93</sup> See Golvin (1988: 24–5, 42–4); Tosi (2003: 130).

<sup>94</sup> Sampaolo (2005: 671–3).

<sup>95</sup> See Section 6.2.

<sup>96</sup> The old idea that the city was founded as a punitive measure against rebellious Faliscans probably should be abandoned; see Terrenato (2004); McCall (2007: 166–220); Millett (2007).

<sup>97</sup> Keay and Millett (2016: 536).

and most are poorly documented.<sup>98</sup> More profit has derived from non-invasive methods of research, which have taken advantage of the city's location on an open plain that is largely free of overlying development. Campaigns of geophysical and fieldwalking surveys, considered alongside a re-examination of aerial photographs taken in the mid-twentieth century as well as more recently, have revealed much of Falerii Novi's plan, which included an extensive suburb on the plain to the north of the center (Fig. 2.15).<sup>99</sup> In addition to monumental tombs and an amphitheater, at least one large house was located here, along with smaller structures that might represent shops, workshops, infrastructural fixtures, and simple residences. The remains indicate the diverse uses of this suburban

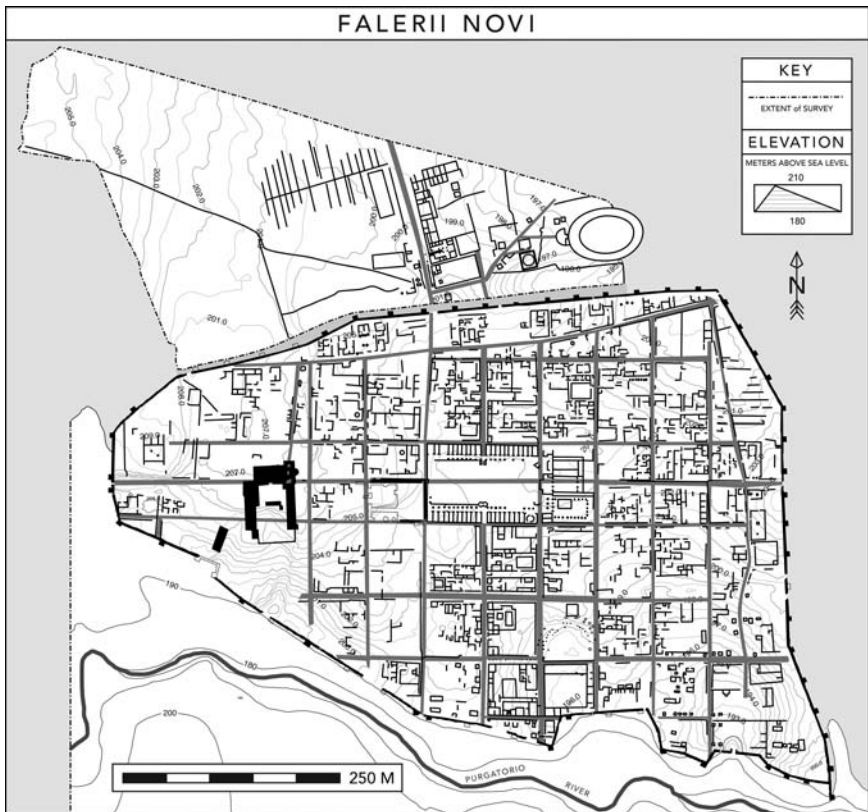


Figure 2.15 Plan of Falerii Novi. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Keay *et al.* 2000 and Hay *et al.* 2010.)

<sup>98</sup> For history of excavation, see Di Stefano Manzella (1979: 25–47); De Lucia Brolli (1999); McCall (2007: 8–18).

<sup>99</sup> For these projects, see Keay *et al.* (2000); Scardozi (2003; 2004); Opitz (2009); Hay *et al.* (2010); Mastroianni (2016); Launaro *et al.* (2017; 2018).



**Figure 2.16** The northern suburb of Falerii Novi today, with city wall at right, amphitheater in background, and two tombs in foreground. (Photo: author.)

neighborhood, and make clear that suburbs could arise at relatively minor towns just as they did at regional centers like Pompeii, major metropolises like Ostia, or in the capital itself.

Today, all that survives in the plain north of Falerii Novi are the ruins of the city's small amphitheater, as well as the humped concrete cores of monumental tombs (Fig. 2.16). These unimpressive remains recall many other Italian sites. Whether Cisalpine Luna, Umbrian Asisium, Urbs Salvia in Picenum, or Venafrum on the border of Latium and Campania—to name just a few—Roman cities across Italy preserve only the occasional tomb or ruin of a major entertainment building outside their walls, giving the impression of open landscapes punctuated by a handful of monuments, in no way reminiscent of urban space. The recent work at Falerii Novi has shown how misleading this appearance might be. Here, a variety of structures once stood alongside those still visible outside the gate, indicating the existence of a suburb that stretched northwards along the *via Amerina*.<sup>100</sup> Development was densest on the eastern side of the highway. Besides various monumental tombs, the building that emerges most clearly from the survey evidence appears to be a large atrium house with a rear garden, located about 50m beyond the gate (Fig. 2.17, *a*). Like the villas found outside the Porta Ercolano at Pompeii, its scale is massive, rivaled only by the largest houses inside the wall. What seems to be a colonnaded sidewalk runs in front of the house; a feature

<sup>100</sup> Scardozzi (2003; 2004); Hay et al. (2010).

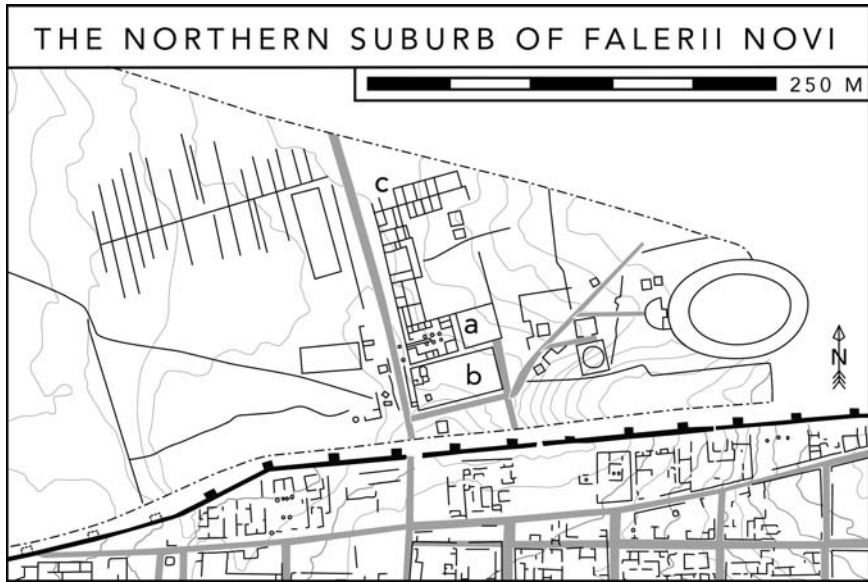


Figure 2.17 Plan of the northern suburb at Falerii Novi. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Hay et al. 2010.)

at the southern end of the colonnade might represent a fountain or a small monument. To the south of the house is an enclosed space with interior features along the street (Fig. 2.17, *b*); the building resembles certain market gardens from Pompeii, such as the restaurants found just inside the Porta Nocera.<sup>101</sup> A shop, furthermore, might have been incorporated into the southern façade of the atrium house. Further up the street, the remains are more difficult to interpret, but likewise indicate dense development. The buildings probably represent assorted types of commercial and/or residential space; a series of paired rooms at the far end of the surveyed area, for instance, recalls the commercial complexes outside the walls of Pompeii, Ostia, and Rome (Fig. 2.17, *c*; see also Fig. 5.3).

The work at Falerii Novi demonstrates the potential of non-destructive survey techniques to shed light on Italy's suburbs. Ongoing geophysical prospection at Potentia and Helvia Ricina, similarly sized settlements of Roman Picenum, show the same; projects in both cities have revealed extramural structures, although additional work is necessary to determine whether these were isolated or came together to form true suburbs.<sup>102</sup> The obvious downside of such surveys, however, is their lack of chronological frameworks. Current proposals for a relative

<sup>101</sup> E.g. I.20.1, II.8.1, II.8.2–3. Alternately, the remains could represent one or more funerary monuments within a tomb garden.

<sup>102</sup> Vermeulen et al. (2003: 75; 2005: 43); Vermeulen (2017: 184–6).

chronology of Falerii Novi's urban development remain subject to debate, and in any case do not include the northern suburb.<sup>103</sup> Regarding absolute chronologies, the only suburban building that has been dated is the amphitheater, which has been placed in the Augustan period, but that building provides little guidance for the suburb as a whole.<sup>104</sup> That being said, the pattern observed elsewhere is strong enough to suggest that the late first century BCE and early first century CE were decades of suburban growth at Falerii Novi as well. Future work will do much to clarify the situation; for now, the site provides a valuable indicator of the types of suburban development we might expect even at minor towns.

## 2.5 Beyond Demography: Prosperity, Peace, and the Ideal City

Undoubtedly, the Augustan period saw dramatic growth in the populations of many Italian cities.<sup>105</sup> We might be tempted, therefore, to attribute the contemporary flourish of suburbs to passive processes of demographic expansion and urban saturation, but that conclusion oversimplifies the evidence and obscures a far more interesting story. Roman cities could expand in population without extending in area; densification of the center always remained an option over suburbanization.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, some cities developed suburbs even while space remained available in the center, complicating any simple relationship between suburban expansion and demographic necessity. In fact, at both Pompeii and Falerii Novi—the two Italian cities with the best-known intramural plans, given that so much of Ostia is still unexplored—suburban neighborhoods developed even while land remained available inside the walls. At Falerii Novi, at least one zone in the eastern part of the city center was devoted to agriculture throughout the city's life.<sup>107</sup> The exceptional preservation and extent of subsurface excavation at Pompeii signals an even more complex situation. Excavations carried out in Region II on the eastern side of the city have revealed rowhouses of the late third and early second centuries underlying market gardens in use at the time of the eruption; the houses had been destroyed for the creation of the gardens in the

<sup>103</sup> With the exception of the amphitheater. See Keay et al. (2000: 82–5); McCall (2007: 39–41); Hay et al. (2010: 29–34).

<sup>104</sup> Tosi (2003: 409–10).

<sup>105</sup> Precise counts remain a thorny subject, but whether estimates are high, low, or somewhere in between, there is a general agreement that urban populations grew through the 2nd half of the 1st c. BCE, and Luuk De Ligt has argued convincingly for continuing expansion through the early Imperial period. See Lo Cascio (1999: 164–6); Wilson (2011: 192); De Ligt (2012: 29–30); also discussion in Ellis (2018: 177–8).

<sup>106</sup> See discussion in De Ligt (2012: 214).

<sup>107</sup> Keay et al. (2000: 28–9). The complexities of gathering and interpreting geophysical data mean that other areas that appear open on the plan might have been occupied by buildings in the Roman period.



early first century CE, precisely the time when new development was expanding outside the city's walls.<sup>108</sup> Complexity is evident at other sites as well. For example, one well-studied suburb on the western side of Mediolanum emerged in the Augustan period and declined quickly in the second half of the second century; by the early third century, only funerary activity was detectable in the area.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, the later second century was a time of particular success for the city, which probably brought population growth.<sup>110</sup> Even the neighborhood's destruction attests to contemporary urban renewal; the buildings were intercut with quarry pits for the retrieval of sand and gravel, to be used for construction projects elsewhere in the city.<sup>111</sup>

Growing populations surely contributed to development outside city walls, but suburbs were not straightforward responses to a need for more urban space. A variety of forces came together in the Augustan and early Imperial periods to prompt their growth, among the most significant of which was a substantial increase in prosperity. The wealth that flowed into Italy at the end of the first century BCE and through the first century CE funded an unprecedented boom in urbanization, marked especially by improvement of civic infrastructure, construction of major public monuments, and investment in dedicated shops and workshops.<sup>112</sup> Local elites built both social and economic capital through such projects, fueling a rapid escalation of social stratification that gave them an ever greater hold on urban property as well as the profits derived from it.<sup>113</sup> Within this milieu, investment in land on the edge of the city made good sense. The zone outside the center was a reasonable place to add the public monuments and commercial structures that defined urbanism of the period, creating new opportunities for self-representation as well as for generating income. Available land outside city walls also invited the elite to build new houses, often on a scale impossible within the city center. We should not be surprised that some of the earliest suburban buildings at sites like Pompeii, Bononia, Mediolanum, and Iguvium were massive residences that often surpassed even the largest intramural properties, outfitted with the finest decorations and most modern amenities. Declaring wealth, taste, and power, such houses spread through the suburbs as markers of the period's growing wealth and expanding inequality.

Inseparable from the new prosperity of the second half of the first century BCE were the increasing connections between the cities of the Italian peninsula—and

<sup>108</sup> See Nappo (1993/1994; 1997); Esposito (2018: 163–5).

<sup>109</sup> Rossignani (1996); Airoidi and Locatelli (2000: 219–21); Cortese (2007; 2011).

<sup>110</sup> For Mediolanum in the 2nd and 3rd c., see Garnsey (1976); Cracco Ruggini (1996). For the correlation between prosperity and population growth, see De Ligt (2012: 35–6).

<sup>111</sup> Rossignani (1996: 313).

<sup>112</sup> The most recent treatments have focused especially on Pompeii; see e.g. Flohr (2013); Poehler (2017a); Ellis (2018); for the broader pattern, see Patterson (2006: 125–30); Gros and Torelli (2007: 243–70); Berry (2016: 301–4).

<sup>113</sup> Key sources for the relative distribution of Roman wealth in this period are Scheidel and Friesen (2009) and Maiuro (2012: 117–45); see also the discussion in Patterson (2006: 198–205).

especially between their wealthiest citizens—that came with the rise of the first emperor. Italian elites cycled increasingly into the equestrian and senatorial orders under Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors, encouraging competition on a peninsula-wide stage.<sup>114</sup> As they added new buildings to their towns, elites not only built their power locally, but also communicated with a network of peers at cities near and far, including in the capital itself. Suburbs were ideal for such communication. Augustan investments aimed at improving long-distance highway travel, not least the efforts of the emperor himself to suppress banditry, allowed Italians to travel between cities more easily and safely than ever before.<sup>115</sup> Rising outside city walls, suburban buildings were the first structures travelers encountered, and they provided powerful opportunities to ornament the urban façade. For cities with ring roads, suburbs became even more vital.<sup>116</sup> Various Roman laws forbade riding or driving within the center; these emerged first under Claudius and were restated regularly, including by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.<sup>117</sup> As a result, we can expect many long-distance travelers to have avoided city centers when possible, passing by on ring roads even when highways cut straight paths through the center. The laws, moreover, required even those who continued into the city by necessity or choice to stop in the suburb before continuing on, dismounting from horses or jumping down from carts, organizing their goods and possibly paying taxes. By placing new construction outside the official urban boundaries, therefore, elites engaged with a network that had suddenly grown far larger than any preceding it. For earlier generations, competing primarily on a local stage, the city center was the crucial zone for display, where they might communicate most effectively with fellow townspeople. Within the expanded world of the Augustan period, suburbs flourished as prime sites for communication with residents of the peninsula as a whole.

Of course, security was also a prerequisite for suburban development; no one would hurry to invest in a suburban building at risk of destruction in a civil war or foreign invasion. Structures outside urban defenses were more vulnerable than those within, and this vulnerability stymied large-scale extramural development prior to the reign of Augustus. We should, however, beware conflating the fact of security and the idea of security, both of which played roles in suburban development. There is no doubt that Italy

<sup>114</sup> Patterson (2006: 191–6); Cooley (2016b: 105–8).

<sup>115</sup> See esp. Laurence (1999: 177–81); Benefiel (2016: 441–2).

<sup>116</sup> Van Tilburg (2007: 160–67) has claimed that ring roads were rare for Roman cities, but based his conclusion on the mistaken idea that pomeria extended past city walls and precluded the use of the immediate extramural zone for traffic (*contra* see Stevens 2017a: 23–30). In arguing that Rome itself had no ring road, he appears to refer to the city enclosed by the Aurelian Wall; there is extensive evidence for roads connecting Rome's gates outside the Republican wall (see e.g. excavated portions marked on Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*), and the suburbs of most Roman cities have not been explored in enough detail to determine how common such roads were.

<sup>117</sup> Laurence (1999: 153–6); Van Tilburg (2007: 132–6); Kaiser (2011: 184–8); Poehler (2017a: 13–16, 238–9, 253).



under the rule of one man was a safer place than it had been in the century preceding Augustus's rise, but we might question the degree to which the major disruptions of the Late Republican period—the Civil Wars—threatened Italian towns beyond the capital, as well as the necessity of fortification walls even in the second century BCE. Whether cities had sided with Hannibal or Rome, walls were valuable for many during the Second Punic War, but less so in the 100 years between that conflict and the Social War.<sup>118</sup> Meanwhile, the considerable violence of the Civil Wars concentrated in the capital, or with rare exceptions—such as Caesar's siege of Corfinium in 49 BCE, the Battle of Mutina in 43 BCE, or the brief struggle fought between Octavian and Antony's supporters at Perugia in 40–41 BCE—in theaters beyond peninsular Italy.<sup>119</sup> Italian towns certainly suffered pains in these conflicts, but few that could have been ameliorated by fortifications; instead of battles and sieges, it was proscriptions, colonial settlements, confiscations, and the removal of rights that posed the major threats.

With the preceding points in mind, I would argue that the idea of security, as much as the fact of it, catalyzed suburban development. The unity and safety of Italy had become a primary point of Augustan propaganda even before the war with Antony and Cleopatra, and emerged more strongly afterwards.<sup>120</sup> Under the rule of the first emperor, Italy came to be conceived as the *tota Italia*, a unified whole made up of complementary pieces, in a privileged partnership with Rome that elevated it above provinces outside the peninsula.<sup>121</sup> The physical structure of Italian cities, not least Rome itself, manifested this idea. Under Augustus, the capital became an open city, a process that had begun with the earliest growth of suburbs two centuries prior, but which was made official with the urban reorganization of 7 BCE.<sup>122</sup> Augustus's fourteen new regions made Rome's suburbs administrative equals of districts within the wall, and several regions ignored the wall entirely to incorporate both intramural and extramural areas.<sup>123</sup> The change had pragmatic motivations, better organizing a city that had long since abandoned its former border, yet Augustus's reform was also symbolic, refounding Rome for his new age while indicating that the most powerful city in the world had no need of a defensive wall. In expanding their own cities outside their fortifications, the Italian elite echoed the Augustan message, celebrating the peace and security enjoyed by

<sup>118</sup> See Fronda (2010) for the diverse trajectories of Italian cities both during and following the war.

<sup>119</sup> Bispham (2016) provides a good overview, with further bibliography.

<sup>120</sup> The passing of the generation that had fought the Social War also facilitated integration; see *ibid.* 100–01.

<sup>121</sup> Treatments of this complex topic (each with further bibliography) include Dench (2005); Bispham (2007); Cooley (2016b); Emmerson (2017); cf. Gabba (1977); all responding to Syme (1939). The term *tota Italia* is best known from Augustus's *Res Gestae* 25, but appears as well in other contemporary authors.

<sup>122</sup> Frézouls (1987); Lott (2004: 98–106); Haselberger (2007: 222–37); Volpe (2019: 124–6).

<sup>123</sup> See LTUR 4 s.v. “Regiones Quattuordecim (Topografia)” 199–204 (D. Palombi); MAR s.v. “Regiones Quattuordecim” 215 (C. F. Noreña).

cities united under the *princeps*, threatened neither by their neighbors nor by foreign powers.<sup>124</sup>

These, therefore, were the forces that determined the rise of Italy's suburbs. The effects of prosperity, competition, connection, and security came together to create a new model of the ideal city, which spread rapidly across the peninsula at the end of the first century BCE. In the past, fortification walls had enclosed settlements within clearly defined limits while proclaiming their strength and (often illusory) independence. The changes that culminated under Augustus—some prompted directly by the rise of the first emperor and others the result of processes larger even than him—encouraged a new concept of cities that spread outwards, unfettered by fortifications, reaching towards each other, drawing the peninsula together into a single urban network. This ideal would prove persistent, remaining in place as suburbs continued to grow and develop through the centuries of the early and mid-Imperial periods. It would not, however, last forever.

## 2.6 The Decline of Suburbs and a New Ideal

In many ways, suburban decline is more difficult to track than suburban rise. Neither the Porta Ercolano, the Porta Marina, nor the via del Tritone suburbs make good case studies, since none represent typical situations. The Porta Ercolano never actually declined; the eruption destroyed the neighborhood in the midst of its early Imperial floruit. Life continued at the Porta Marina through the fourth century CE, but Ostia's relationship with the capital gave it a special role that separates it from other cities, while Rome itself was entirely atypical, and the situation of the via del Tritone suburb is complicated by its incorporation into the course of the Aurelian Wall in the 270s CE.<sup>125</sup> Given all of these factors, other sites provide better evidence for patterns of suburban decline. Dates are often difficult to pin down precisely—in most cases, more evidence attests to a building's construction than its final use—but where available, they show Italy's suburbs disappearing across the later second and especially the third and fourth centuries. At Bononia, for example, discernible activity ceased at almost all suburban sites in the third and fourth centuries; the building with a pebble pavement recently excavated south of the city, for example, was abandoned around the beginning of the fourth century, at which point its walls were systematically spoliated to be used elsewhere as construction material.<sup>126</sup> Likewise for Augusta Praetoria, suburbs gradually emptied beginning in the third century, when their land was given over to agriculture and other activities retreated into the fortified

<sup>124</sup> For the dominance of imperial iconography in both public and private art in the cities of Italy, see Zanker (1988), which remains an excellent treatment of Augustan ideology.

<sup>125</sup> See also Sections 3.3 and 7.3.

<sup>126</sup> Curina et al. (2010: 39–41).

center.<sup>127</sup> The extensive suburbs of the Augustan and early Imperial periods at Tridentum, meanwhile, disappeared around the same time the city's wall was reconstructed in the late third century; by the fourth and fifth centuries, all detectable activity took place within the wall.<sup>128</sup>

As for their growth, a variety of factors determined the loss of Italy's suburbs. To some degree, decline can be attributed to downward economic trajectories; during the mid- and late Imperial periods certain cities faltered or even failed, and diminishing wealth slowed building, contracted populations, and hastened abandonment in suburbs as well as city centers.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, the situation of Mediolanum's southwestern suburb, which disappeared in the midst of a local boom, once more warns against drawing the lines between prosperity, population, and suburban development too directly. All were related, but not necessarily in straightforward or universally applicable ways. We should be similarly cautious in considering security. To be sure, the late second and (especially) third and fourth centuries were less stable than the period preceding them.<sup>130</sup> The revitalization of fortification walls in those years cannot be separated from the civil wars, "barbarian" incursions, and other upheavals of the time. Nevertheless, late Imperial walls were not simply defensive structures, but major monuments that ornamented and defined their cities no less than the fortifications that had preceded them. Their importance for urban display helps to explain why they arose most often not during or immediately after moments of particular military threat, but in the decades following the erection of the Aurelian Wall at Rome, including during the relatively peaceful and prosperous years of the Tetrarchy.<sup>131</sup> The timing suggests that the construction of Rome's wall merged with security concerns to galvanize a new phase of urban fortification.

The fortified cities of the late Imperial period contrasted dramatically with the open cities that had come before, and I would argue that this change—which was ideological as well as practical—had a profound effect on Italy's suburbs. In the past, Rome's expansive form had come together with other changes of the Augustan and early Imperial periods to inspire settlements across the peninsula, large and small, to expand outside their former boundaries. With Rome once more enclosed by fortifications, the rest of Italy followed suit, reconstructing old walls or building entirely new ones. This influence held even as Rome's political centrality disappeared with the reorganization of the empire and designation of four new capitals in the late third century, and the two western capitals—Mediolanum and Augusta Treverorum (Trier)—themselves received new urban

<sup>127</sup> Mollo Mezzena (2000: 171). <sup>128</sup> Ciurletti (2003: 38–42).

<sup>129</sup> For the varying fates of Italian cities in the mid-Imperial period, see esp. Witschel (2004: 261–5); Patterson (2006: 89–183).

<sup>130</sup> See Dey (2011: 111–16); Boin (2013: 83–9).

<sup>131</sup> E.g. at Ariminum, Albingaunum, Luca Ravenna, Fanum Fortunae, and even the small town of Tarracina. See Dey (2011: 123–37).

features, including fortifications, that shaped them into more direct reflections of Rome.<sup>132</sup> The rebirth of the closed city had a profound effect on suburbs; some were incorporated into walled centers while others were cut off to wither and die. Returning once more to the example of Bononia, it received a new fortification sometime in the fourth or very early fifth century, a wall that enclosed an area less than half the size of the former center (see Fig. 2.14).<sup>133</sup> Neighborhoods that had once been central were now suburban, and earlier suburbs were abandoned and spoliated as part of a complex interaction between declining population, waning economic viability, and shifting conceptions of what made an ideal city. Here as elsewhere, distinguishing cause and effect within these broad changes is difficult and largely meaningless, since the contributing factors were interdependent and each compounded the others. Their combined outcome, however, is unmistakable: by the end of the fourth century Bononia's suburbs had disappeared. The city shrank back into its (much-reduced) fortifications, and the territory outside the new wall returned to cultivation or lay fallow.

This new era of walled cities, however, did not always signal the death of suburbs. Ostia provides a good counterexample; although the city re-emphasized its fortifications in the period following the erection of the Aurelian Wall at Rome, the *Porta Marina* suburb continued to thrive for at least another century. Sondages near two Augustan-era gateway arches on the city's southern and western sides have revealed late third-century reconstructions that strengthened the late Republican wall; to the south, this effort even included the construction of a new tower.<sup>134</sup> Noting that neither arch showed evidence of having been converted into a closeable gate, the excavators proposed that the refortification was short-lived and the arches quickly reopened. Nevertheless, another possibility remains: that these efforts were aesthetic rather than practical, and the arches remained open even as other areas of the wall were reconstructed.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how Ostia's late Republican wall could have defended the city at the end of the third century. By that time, significant tracts had been breached and destroyed on all sides, with many portions covered by buildings that remained occupied. At the *Porta Marina*, the original gate and wall had been wiped away entirely, and the arch that replaced them showed no sign of ever having been incorporated into a fortification.<sup>136</sup> Given how far the city had expanded outside

<sup>132</sup> Ceresa Mori (1993); Dey (2011: 123–4). <sup>133</sup> Bocchi (1996a: 54–8).

<sup>134</sup> Martin and Heinzelmann (2000: 281–2); Heinzelmann (2001: 320–21). The suburb across the Tiber might have been enclosed within a fortification wall in the late 3rd c. as well (Germoni et al. 2018b).

<sup>135</sup> The thresholds mentioned in the English summary of the excavations (Martin and Heinzelmann 2002: 265) are not included in the original reports, and what evidence existed for them is unclear.

<sup>136</sup> Of course, a fortification that had been destroyed could be rebuilt later; this was the situation at Albingaunum in Cisalpina, where a portion of the Republican city wall was razed and replaced with a large house in the early Imperial period, which was itself then partially destroyed for the re-erection of

the late Republican wall, if Ostia were to be protected effectively at the end of the third century, it—like Rome—would have required an entirely new circuit beyond that of the late Republican period. Such a circuit never appeared, and in the sixth century Procopius noted that Ostia, unlike Portus, was unwalled.<sup>137</sup> Even as third-century Ostia reconstructed parts of its walls, furthermore, the city maintained at least the suburb at the Porta Marina. This zone remained Ostia's façade and front door, and its value as a neighborhood open to the sea continued to outweigh any benefits that might have come from enclosing or abandoning it.

## 2.7 Conclusion: Suburbs as Neighborhoods

Suburbs arose at a decisive moment of transition for the cities of Italy. The urban boom of the late first century BCE and early first century CE resulted in part from competition between elites who engaged in (or aspired to) newly available networks of power, but elite investment made Italy's cities increasingly similar, ornamented by the same suites of public buildings, the same paved roads and street-side fountains, the same rows of shops. By the end of the first century CE, a network of undeniably "Roman" cities stretched across the peninsula, declaring their shared culture—the social, political, and economic bonds that connected them—even as they competed among themselves. Within this setting, suburbs became one more platform for both competition and connection. Like an amphitheater or a colonnaded shop, a suburb signaled participation in Italy's urban culture and support for a common vision of what cities should look like. This vision was tenacious, surviving through the mid-Imperial period, but by the third and fourth centuries it had faded. The refortification of Rome with the Aurelian Wall inspired a flurry of new walls to rise around Italy's cities and, along with the general instability of the period, encouraged the abandonment of suburbs.

During their prime, suburbs were home to a variety of residents. Extramural zones provided opportunities for squatters, drifters, and other informal occupants, who might have sheltered in various public or private buildings even over long periods, but whose presence is difficult to find in the available data.<sup>138</sup> The

the wall in the 4th or 5th c. (Lamboglia 1970: 42–6; Stevens 2017a: 154). At Ostia, however, there is no evidence for this type of rebuilding.

<sup>137</sup> Procop. *Goth.* 1.26.9.

<sup>138</sup> Such individuals might even have occupied monumental tombs, although that act was illegal (see Ulp. Dig. 47.12.6, 11). The idea that guards resided in tombs has long attracted attention (e.g. Marquardt 1879: 370; Mancini 1924: 348; Reynolds 1966: 60; Picuti 2008: 55), but the only supporting account is Trimalchio's desire to charge a freedman with guarding his tomb, which surely cannot be taken as evidence for a common practice (Petron. *Sat.* 71). The same work's story of a widow's dalliance within in the tomb of her husband, sometimes cited as evidence for tomb guards, does not actually apply, since in that case the lover was meant to be watching the bodies of several victims of crucifixion, to make sure no loved ones removed them for proper burial (Petron. *Sat.* 111–12).

people who lived and worked in suburban shops, workshops, and *insulae* are more evident, but the best-attested suburban residents are those who inhabited the large and luxurious homes found outside city walls across the peninsula.<sup>139</sup> Although we might categorize them as elite structures, sub-elite dependents—both free and enslaved—also occupied such houses; those dependents might have been present more often than the owner, especially if the house were one of several maintained concurrently.<sup>140</sup> The evidence comes together to suggest the complex life that played out in suburbs, where diverse groups of residents made up true neighborhoods—that is, small residential areas that encouraged face-to-face social interaction.<sup>141</sup> The cities that I have sketched here are located in various regions; they differ—sometimes dramatically—in size and layout; their historical trajectories feature significant divergences. Nevertheless, they create a rich picture of Roman urbanism unconfined by official urban boundaries, in which suburban neighborhoods echoed, without mirroring, districts within the city center.

<sup>139</sup> These houses just outside the walls should be distinguished, however, from what ancient writers might call a *villa suburbanus*, or more often a *suburbanum*; see Section 1.1.

<sup>140</sup> For tracing the movement of enslaved residents in Roman houses, see Joshel and Hackworth Petersen (2014: 24–86).

<sup>141</sup> On defining neighborhoods in ancient cities, see Smith (2010).

### 3

## Death in the Suburb

*Larinus Expectato ambaliter (amabiliter?) unique (ubique?) sal  
Habito sal*

Larinus sends greetings to Expectatus as a friend forever.  
Greetings to Habitus.

Sometime prior to the eruption of Vesuvius, this pair of graffiti appeared in Pompeii's Porta Stabia suburb, etched in charcoal on the door of an altar tomb's funerary chamber (Fig. 3.1).<sup>1</sup> As texts, they are hardly notable. Generic greetings of the type are ubiquitous at Pompeii; spread across the city, they are equally likely to turn up in one-room shops and fetid latrines as in luxurious atrium houses and monumental public buildings. Worthy of attention is not so much the texts' content, but what their presence represents. At some point, two individuals passing outside the Porta Stabia wrote these messages, expecting the friends they addressed to find them, and possibly hoping that others might encounter them as well. In short, the graffiti expect life, even in a landscape that included the dead. Alongside hundreds of similar messages, they echo relationships that vanished more than two millennia ago, scribbled ghosts of the loves and hates, friendships and rivalries, obligations and arguments that made Pompeii a living city. Larinus and the anonymous author of the greeting to Habitus had no compunction against writing on a tomb; like the walls of public and private buildings throughout the city, the chamber door provided an ideal surface for idle communication, unaffected by the cremation urns that were tucked within niches just inside it.

By the end of the first century CE, cities across Italy had developed suburbs where tombs of the dead stood alongside buildings for the living. As we saw in the preceding chapter, these neighborhoods pulled the city outside its formal boundaries, incorporating shops and workshops, simple and elaborate housing, garbage dumps and gardens, and even major public monuments. Above all, however, the structures that defined suburbs were tombs. Unlike districts in the center, suburbs included the dead within their urban space, creating an immediate distinction between the city inside the wall and that outside. Even a cursory look at the

<sup>1</sup> Emmerson (2010: 80–81). For the Porta Stabia suburb, see Section 5.3.





**Figure 3.1** Graffiti in Pompeii's Porta Stabia suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

neighborhoods outside Pompeii's Porta Ercolano, Ostia's Porta Marina, or on the via del Tritone at Rome indicate the close integration of tombs and other buildings; none of these sites suggest any desire to separate the dead from the living. Nevertheless, past work, influenced by the idea that Romans feared death pollution, has emphasized a conceptual division between tombs and their suburban neighborhoods by imagining, for example, that funerary monuments lent a sinister aspect to their surroundings, or that buildings intended for the living sought to disassociate themselves architecturally from nearby tombs.<sup>2</sup> According to the common reconstruction, suburban funerary monuments were part of an urban "bricolage," swallowed up by the leading edge of the growing city but recalling an earlier reality of careful separation between the world of the living and that of the dead.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter traces the complex relationship of tomb and city in Roman Italy. Through a reconsideration of the archeological evidence, I aim to demonstrate three points. First, the exclusion of the dead from settlements of the living was

<sup>2</sup> Sinister aspect: Goodman (2007: 152–3); see similar ideas in Purcell (1987a: 41); Patterson (2000: 102–3); Annibaletto (2010: 53–5). Disassociation: Stevens (2017a: 211), who refers to the relatively inconspicuous façades of the houses located outside the Porta Ercolano at Pompeii, but without clarifying how these differ from the equally unobtrusive exteriors of most houses within the city center. On death pollution, see Emmerson (forthcoming a); also Section 1.2.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Witcher (2013: 211–12); Goodman (2016a: 315); Stevens (2017a: 211).



never straightforward. At least at Rome—the only Italian city with enough evidence for a detailed analysis—the dead remained alongside or even inside areas utilized by the living from the earliest identifiable phases of occupation. Second, suburbs did not flow passively around funerary monuments as a city overflowed its boundaries. At Rome as well as elsewhere, monumental funerary display emerged along with suburbs themselves, and buildings for the living and the dead developed together as a result of the same urban processes. The changes of the late first century BCE and early first century CE encouraged investment in monumental tombs just as they catalyzed suburban development in general, while the construction of tombs alongside other buildings stimulated additional growth in a synergistic cycle. Suburbs obliterated earlier burials; rather than grudgingly incorporating preexisting funerary spaces surrounding the city, as has been the common reconstruction, they covered and erased them, creating districts that assumed the presence of both living and dead. This observation leads to my third point, on the long-term trajectory of tombs in suburbs. For neighborhoods that continued to grow through the Imperial period, tombs became placeholders for additional development, and many were lost over time in favor of buildings that better served the needs of the living. Nevertheless, certain funerary monuments persisted, imbued with new meaning by the living community. At Rome, tombs survived even the fundamental restructuring of the city with the erection of the Aurelian Wall, indicating how durable relationships between the living and the dead could become.

### 3.1 Before Suburbs: Life and Death in Early Rome

Even Rome's earliest tombs do not suggest strong fears of the polluting dead, since burials emerged in close contact with spaces utilized by the living.<sup>4</sup> Traditional reconstructions have stressed the presence of settlements on the hill-tops and cemeteries in the valleys below, suggesting some primordial desire for separation enforced even in the earliest stages of habitation at the site.<sup>5</sup> A body of evidence that has accumulated especially over the past two decades, however, has complicated this narrative. In fact, tombs appeared on Rome's hills, often in spaces utilized by the living. On the Capitoline, for example, where some of the earliest evidence has emerged, the first known burials were found on a cultivated terrace of the late Bronze Age (twelfth–eleventh centuries BCE); by the tenth century, burials arose in an area also devoted to metallurgical activity, in the earliest

<sup>4</sup> For overviews of the funerary and settlement material from earliest Rome, see De Santis (2001); Fulminante (2014: 66–95); Claridge (2018: 100–05).

<sup>5</sup> Notably, this idea did not emerge from the archaeological data, but had been conceived before any systematic work targeted early Rome; see Holloway (1996: 20–36).

attested relationship of tomb and workshop at Rome.<sup>6</sup> Tombs of the same period have emerged on the Palatine, alongside a contemporaneous hut settlement located in the area of the later *Domus Flavia*.<sup>7</sup> In the eighth century, a small group of five interments appeared alongside a hut and other structures on the northeastern slope of the same hill; others, of the seventh and sixth centuries, were interspersed with grain silos near the summit.<sup>8</sup> Even in the forum valley, burials were not isolated. Beginning as early as the eleventh century and continuing through at least the seventh, a collection of huts, tombs, and other structures (most evident were metalworking installations) occupied the area later covered by the southern end of the Forum of Caesar, near a freshwater spring and a road worn by wheel ruts.<sup>9</sup> Although the zone was a center of activity over a long period, no evidence suggested that the various structures were separated chronologically, e.g. with the huts predating the tombs or vice versa. To the southeast, other interments—in this case all of children and infants, although that pattern was not universal for burials associated with early settlements at Rome—occurred alongside huts and other structures in front of the later temple dedicated to Antoninus and Faustina; still others were placed among huts, sheds, or pens found near the *Regia*.<sup>10</sup>

Beyond the center of the later city, early tombs in Rome's eastern hills also appeared in close proximity to the living. The largest number of examples are known from the Esquiline, where they were revealed during late nineteenth-century construction projects.<sup>11</sup> This zone's settlement history is obscure, but the presence of cremations in hut urns as well as inhumations with grave goods dated to the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries—all similar to examples found in the forum valley and on surrounding hills—suggests that we might expect a nearby settlement.<sup>12</sup> The Esquiline tombs, furthermore, stood from their origins alongside a significant thoroughfare.<sup>13</sup> The natural path through the subura valley and across the Esquiline connected the first settlements at Rome to closely related villages to the east, such as those at Gabii, Tibur, and Praeneste. While the later form of suburban highway lined in tombs responded to realities of the late Republican and Imperial periods, the phenomenon clearly had earlier roots. These earliest roadside

<sup>6</sup> Lugli, Micarelli, and Brincatt (2001); Lugli and Rosa (2001). <sup>7</sup> De Santis (2001: 279).

<sup>8</sup> Excavators interpreted the interments on the northeastern slope as human sacrifices accompanying the destruction of Rome's first fortification, the so-called Wall of Romulus (see Gallone 2000; also Fulminante 2014: 83–7). The purported fortification, however, is more likely to have been a drainage ditch meant to contain the natural stream that ran through the zone, while the interments show no evidence for having been human sacrifices, a rite entirely unattested in the literary and archaeological records of early Rome and Latium (see Cirone and De Cristofaro 2018: 129–40). For the later burials at the summit of the hill, see Claridge (2018: 103–4).

<sup>9</sup> De Santis et al. (2010); Delfino (2014: 51–63).

<sup>10</sup> Gjerstad (1953: 118–23; 1956: 47–8); Brown (1967: 51–2); Ammerman (1990: 640–41).

<sup>11</sup> For the Esquiline tombs, see Colonna (1977: 133–4); Albertoni (1983: 142); De Santis (2001: 277–8); Andrews and Bernard (2017: 249). Holloway (1996: 21–3) is still a good overview of the Esquiline's excavation history. See also Section 4.1.

<sup>12</sup> De Rossi (1885: 45); Pinza (1905: 81–2); see Holloway (1996: 23).

<sup>13</sup> For early thoroughfares at Rome, see Gros and Torelli (2007: fig. 55).

tombs might not have featured markers, but even so their location fostered messages of connection and competition, negotiated primarily through funerary rites. Early Roman tombs belonged to types that defined the Latial group, which stretched across central Italy from the Tiber as far south as Monte Circeo.<sup>14</sup> Along with other aspects of their material culture, Latial-style tombs marked the original settlements at Rome as part of a larger community that was defined especially by ties between the elite, who might even have traveled to attend one another's funerals. By placing tombs and holding funerals along the roads that linked their settlements, this group communicated among themselves, competing for status while at the same time reinforcing the bonds between them, an early version of the types of communication that would play out across Italy's later suburbs. Rather than passive and unwanted, cast out of the settlements of the living, we might see the tombs of the Esquiline—like contemporaneous examples along thoroughfares on the Quirinal and Viminal—as active features that structured relationships between living communities.<sup>15</sup>

By the end of the sixth century BCE, grave gifts had disappeared almost entirely, marking the end of the Latial period. Nevertheless, the change did not sever ties between the living and the dead. The majority of fifth-century interments were simple inhumations without gifts, a type used throughout most of Rome's history and therefore difficult to isolate and identify. As a result, understanding Roman funerary culture in this century is particularly difficult. Nevertheless, one piece of evidence provides an excellent view of contemporaneous attitudes towards death and burial: Rome's earliest law code, the *Twelve Tables*. Cicero's *De Legibus* features the most complete quotation from the text, including the dictate that the dead may be neither inhumed nor cremated in the city (*hominem mortuum... in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*).<sup>16</sup> Many modern commentators have presented this restriction as a straightforward response to Roman fears of death pollution, but its context suggests that burial in and around inhabited areas remained a regular occurrence in fifth-century Rome.<sup>17</sup> As others have pointed out, there are many oddities to the *Twelve Tables*, which make no attempt to record systemically the whole of the era's law. Instead, they focus on areas that were doubtful or disputed, passing over subjects considered settled or thought to fall under the umbrella of

<sup>14</sup> See Guidi, Pascucci, and Zarattini (2002); Fulminante (2003).

<sup>15</sup> A comparable situation had arisen earlier, in late Neolithic Italy (c. later 5th millennium BCE), when the custom of interment within villages transitioned to the use of exterior cemeteries. The shift came with a concurrent movement away from nucleated villages to smaller and shorter-lived homesteads, suggesting that cemeteries took on new roles in formulating and reproducing communal bonds that were no longer expressed by co-residence (see Robb 1994; Dolfini 2015).

<sup>16</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 2.23.58.

<sup>17</sup> For the ban as a result of pollution fears, see Toynbee (1971: 48); North (1983: 169); Patterson (2000: 90–92); Goodman (2007: 236); Sterbenc Erker (2011: 42–3); Lennon (2014: 139); Stevens (2017a: 162–6).

common sense.<sup>18</sup> Following the pattern established in other areas, the restriction implies that burial within the city was common enough to warrant clarification and regulation.

Cicero's discussion, furthermore, suggests that the desire to separate the dead from the living was not a chief concern even for those who codified the *Twelve Tables*. The interment restriction is better interpreted as a sumptuary measure, one in a long list aimed at limiting funerary display and expenditure.<sup>19</sup> The *Twelve Tables* controlled the number of musicians who could be hired (no more than ten), the amount of funerary clothing that could be displayed (three veils and a purple tunic), and the vigor with which mourners could lament (women were forbidden from tearing their cheeks). Profusions, crowns, incense, and gold also were restricted. Furthermore, multiple funerals could not be held for the same individual, nor could human remains be kept in order to extend the period of mourning. The tradition of honoring certain *clari viri*—great men—with intramural burial further connects the interment restriction to these sumptuary measures.<sup>20</sup> Such burials have been used as evidence that concerns with death pollution varied socially, and that those with particularly high status were less polluting than the general population.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, that conclusion begins from the assumption that the restriction was intended to control pollution. In contrast, the exceptions to the rule draw it into line with the sumptuary laws included in the *Twelve Tables*. Men who had served the city in exceptional ways were granted the honor of intramural burial due to their deeds and integrity, and according to Cicero, other restrictions also could be suspended for those who had received honors in life. Men who had won crowns legitimately, for example, were permitted to wear them to their final resting places.<sup>22</sup> The sumptuary aspects of the *Twelve Tables* illuminate motivations for the interment restriction, which attempted to move funerary display out of the city center and away from its political heart.<sup>23</sup>

One more point included within Cicero's discussion of the *Twelve Tables* further contextualizes the interment restriction. The law made both a tomb and access to it inalienable, protecting it in perpetuity from any encroachment.<sup>24</sup> The act of receiving a legitimate burial made the land a *locus religiosus* and removed it from the realm of human transactions; it could be neither bought, sold, divided, leased, nor transferred.<sup>25</sup> Within a rapidly developing city, this

<sup>18</sup> For a good introduction, see Cornell (1995: 278–92).

<sup>19</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 2.23–4. For the restriction as sumptuary, see Robinson (1975: 176); North (1983: 169); Flower (1996: 115–21); Bodel (1997: 6); Zanda (2011: 33–6).

<sup>20</sup> Verzár-Bass (1998: 404–6) collects the relevant evidence. <sup>21</sup> Sterbenc Erker (2011: 42–3).

<sup>22</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 2.24.60.

<sup>23</sup> As Flower (1996: 119–20) has pointed out, the political potential of funerals is well demonstrated by events of the Late Republican period. See also Bodel (1999); Paturet (2012: 24–5).

<sup>24</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 2.24.61.

<sup>25</sup> De Visscher (1963: 43–63); Ducos (1995); Caldelli, Crea, and Ricci (2004); Thomas (2004). For the complex concept of *religio* in the Republican period, see Barton and Boyarin (2016: 19–27).

regulation—related more likely to respect and tradition rather than fear and pollution—created a problem.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the sixth century, Rome had become truly urban, its size and organization implied by the scale of projects like the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline or the installation of the Cloaca Maxima through the forum valley.<sup>27</sup> At this point, it might already have occupied much of the space later included within the fourth-century wall, although some portion of the land surely remained under cultivation. As the city grew, its administrators had good reason to exclude tombs from the settled area, since the presence of burials precluded—at least in theory—any future use of the land. The interment restriction, therefore, served a double purpose, acting as a sumptuary measure while also keeping space within the city open and available. Indeed, Cicero himself paralleled the restriction with a pontifical law that forbade burial on a *locus publicus*, i.e. an area under the direct control of civic administration, noting that land held in common should not be bound to the rites of an individual family.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, the individuals responsible for the *Twelve Tables* faced an additional challenge in attempting to move burial outside the settlement, since the technical boundaries of fifth-century Rome might have been unclear even to many of its residents. In later law, the term *urbs* would come to indicate the city within the wall, as opposed to the *continentia aedificia* outside of it.<sup>29</sup> In the fifth century, however, Rome still lacked a continuous walled circuit. Although segments of fortifications have been recovered on several hills, they are absent from the more vulnerable valleys between, and unifying the known pieces would have created a construction more massive by far than any contemporaneous construction in the whole of the western Mediterranean.<sup>30</sup> As such, the identified walls most likely represent smaller fortified areas within a larger inhabited zone. The interment restriction typically has been associated with the pomerium, Rome's sacred boundary, with the idea that excluding death pollution preserved ritual purity in the city center.<sup>31</sup> Imperial extensions of the pomerium, however, had no discernible effect on burials, suggesting that by the first century CE at least, the *urbs* from which the *Twelve Tables* restricted burial was conceived—as in contemporaneous legal texts in general—as the zone within the wall.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, that observation gets us no closer to understanding what the term signified five centuries earlier. In the fifth century BCE, Rome's borders were shifting and likely vague,

<sup>26</sup> On the problematic evidence for a Roman fear of death pollution, see Emmerson forthcoming a.

<sup>27</sup> See most recently Hopkins (2016); Claridge (2018: 105–10); Lomas (2018: 143–8).

<sup>28</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 2.23.58: *locum publicum non potuisse privata religione obligari*.

<sup>29</sup> See Section 1.1.

<sup>30</sup> For debates on the first unified wall, see Cifani (1998: 364–77); Bernard (2012); Hopkins (2016: 92–7).

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Lindsay (2000: 171); Sterbenc Erker (2011: 43); Lennon (2014: 147); Goodman (2018: 76); Tucci (2018: 49–52); De Sanctis (2019: 25–6).

<sup>32</sup> See also Stevens (2017a: 193–5); Section 1.1.

possibly marked with cippi in some areas but probably undefined in others, impeding the application and enforcement of the interment restriction.

This situation changed at the beginning of the fourth century with the construction of the “Servian” wall, Rome’s first unified fortification.<sup>33</sup> Creating a circuit of 11 km and enclosing Rome’s traditional seven hills, the wall provided an undeniable border, a clear delineation of “city” and “not city” (Fig. 3.2). This standardization of space had predictable effects on funerary practice, and from the fourth

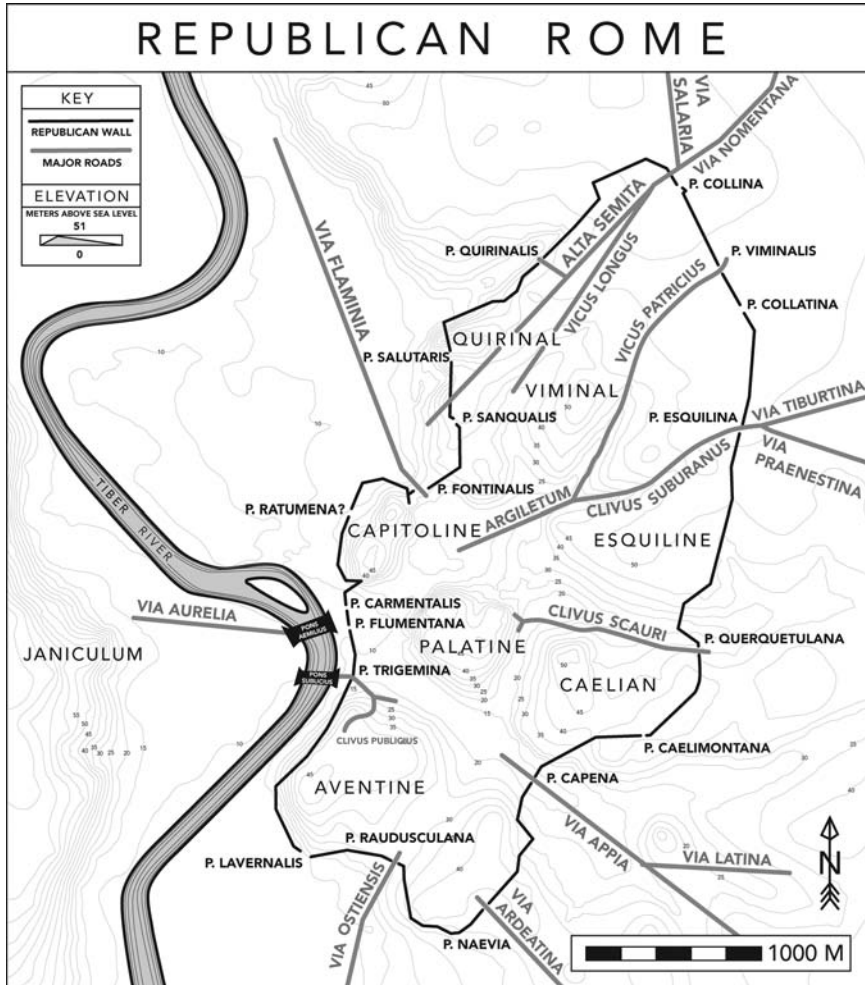


Figure 3.2 Plan of Republican Rome showing hills, wall, gates, and major thoroughfares. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Bernard 2018.)

<sup>33</sup> For the historical and economic implications of the wall’s construction, see Bernard (2018: 75–117).



century on, the vast majority of all (dateable) Roman tombs were extramural. Intramural burial, however, did not disappear entirely. Even with the limited number of tombs that can be placed confidently in the mid-Republican period, examples of the late fourth or third centuries have been found inside the wall's course on the Quirinal, along the modern via Magnanapoli, as well as on the Esquiline near the Piazza San Martino ai Monti.<sup>34</sup> Some scholars have proposed that such tombs belonged to the *clari viri* of the *Twelve Tables*, or even that they were earlier interments that had been reopened and later ceramics—and only later ceramics—added generations after the original depositions, but neither idea is convincing.<sup>35</sup> In the case of *clari viri*, the honor of intramural burial seems oddly limited if such graves were placed just inside the wall, rather than nearer to the civic center.<sup>36</sup> The second suggestion, meanwhile, creates more questions than it answers. Given the long history of interment alongside the living at Rome, I support a more straightforward—if less neat—reading, seeing the intramural tombs as continuations of a longstanding tradition of burial inside the settlement at Rome.<sup>37</sup>

Likewise complicating any strict separation between tomb and city that might have come with the erection of the fourth-century wall, as the dead moved beyond the new fortification, so did the living. This period saw not only the establishment of the wall, but also the concurrent growth of a new type of structure: the elite villa. Rome's countryside had been utilized for agriculture and pastoralism from the origins of the city, but the popularity of extramural farms as sites of elite residences took off in the fourth and third centuries, as new highways allowed ever-easier access between the city and its territory.<sup>38</sup> From their origins, villas hosted tombs, in particular the chamber tombs that appeared in the same period.<sup>39</sup> Whereas earlier interments, whether inhumations or cremations, had

<sup>34</sup> Piazza San Martino ai Monti: Lanciani (1886: 113); Pinza (1912: 78–80); Holloway (1994: 97–9); Bernard (2012: 12–13). Via Magnanapoli: Pinza (1905: 751–3); Colonna (1977: 137–9); Bartoloni (1987: 155); Cifani (2008: 259–60). For the course of the wall in the latter area, see Meneghini (2003); Stevens (2017a: 189–91).

<sup>35</sup> See discussion in Andrews and Bernard (2017: 250 n. 24).

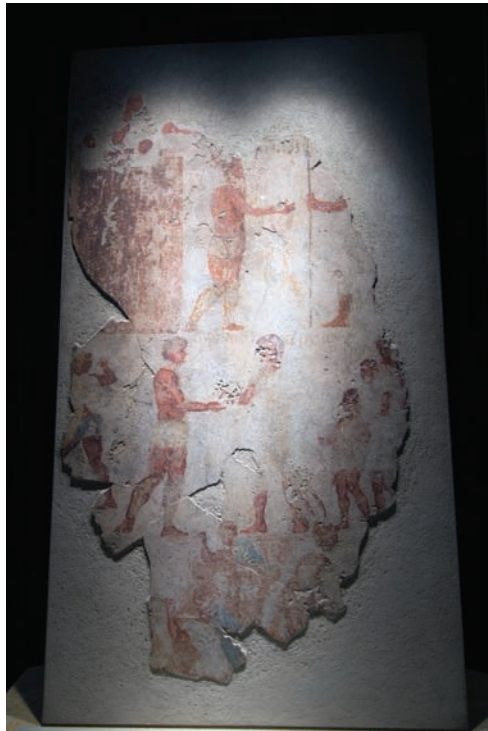
<sup>36</sup> More convincing as the intramural tomb of a “great man” is a possible funerary monument identified recently on the Capitoline (Tucci 2018). For the tombs on the Quirinal and Esquiline, some scholars have argued against the *clari viri* interpretation by pointing out that they did not contain abundant or particularly valuable gifts (e.g. Holloway 1994: 98; Andrews and Bernard 2017: 250 n. 24), although we should remember that status might have been expressed through the funeral, rather than through materials deposited in the tomb.

<sup>37</sup> Servius thought that the law against burial inside the city had been restated in the mid-3rd c. BCE, possibly suggesting that intermural burial continued often enough to be problematic (Serv. *Ad Aen.* 11.206; see Annibaletto 2010: 54). Servius, however, is a difficult source for mid-Republican Rome, given that he wrote over a millennium later.

<sup>38</sup> Torelli (2012); Volpe (2012). Stratigraphic excavations carried out in the late 1990s at the Auditorium Site (Parco della Musica) have been especially useful for clarifying the development of villas in Rome's territory; see Terrenato (2001); Carandini, D'Alessio, and Di Giuseppe (2006).

<sup>39</sup> For villas and tombs, a topic that has received a great deal of attention, see esp. Purcell (1987a: 30–31); Bodel (1997); Verzár-Bass (1998: 406–8); Griesbach (2005).

been placed in trenches or pits, chamber tombs were cut into the bedrock of cliffs and hillsides, and included space for multiple burials. One fourth-century example found on the Esquiline, a rarity in that it was intact and unlooted, consisted of a rectangular hypogeum with a simple couch for interments along each long wall.<sup>40</sup> A second, larger and more elaborate chamber tomb had walls lined in tuff blocks and ornamented with painting, the earliest known from a funerary context in Rome.<sup>41</sup> Although similar in style to contemporaneous painted tombs found elsewhere in Italy, this scene was distinctly Roman (Fig. 3.3).<sup>42</sup>



**Figure 3.3** Painting from the “Tomb of Fabius,” Rome. (Photo: author, courtesy Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini. © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.)

<sup>40</sup> Lanciani (1874: 49–51); Albertoni (1983: 154 n. 13).

<sup>41</sup> Visconti (1889); Coarelli (1973; 2012); La Rocca (1984); Valeri (2010: 141); also LTUR 4 s.v. “Sepulcrum: Fabii/Fannii” 288 (F. Oriolo). Some debate remains on whether the decoration appeared on the interior of the tomb, as was typical for contemporaneous painted tombs elsewhere in Italy, or on the exterior, as was the case for several Roman tombs of the 2nd c. (see Coarelli 1973: 200; 2012: 130; La Rocca 1984: 32).

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. the painted tombs from Etruria (Pieraccini 2016), Capua (Benassai 2001), or Paestum (Pontrandolfo Greco, Cipriani, and Rouveret 2004).



The precise narrative, shown in several registers and with included captions, is debated, but the painting seems to show episodes from the Samnite Wars of the fourth and early third centuries.<sup>43</sup> One figure, labeled Q. Fabius, might represent Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, consul five times between 322 and 295 BCE, triumphator in 322 BCE, and most often reconstructed as the dedicatee of the tomb.<sup>44</sup>

Many chamber tombs of the fourth and third centuries stood on the grounds of elite villas, in close contact with structures devoted to the living. Examples probably include those found north of the city, outside the later Porta Salaria, as well as to the south, on the Caelian.<sup>45</sup> Surely the best-known tomb associated with an early villa, however, is that of the Scipios.<sup>46</sup> Located about a mile beyond the Porta Capena, the tomb in its original form of the late fourth or early third century BCE consisted of a subterranean chamber cut into a hillside. Within, narrow passageways and small rooms provided space for interment in sarcophagi, several of which were inscribed or painted with names and records of service to the state (Fig. 3.4). Although located near the via Appia, Rome's first major highway and a sign of its increasing connections with (and domination of) southern Italy, the tomb stood along a smaller side road.<sup>47</sup> Like other examples of the period, it had an entrance at ground level and an inconspicuous façade.<sup>48</sup> Notably, recent work at the site has identified contemporaneous remains of what was likely the family's extramural residence above the tomb, at the summit of the hill, while the *Aedes Tempestatum*, a manubial temple vowed in the mid-third century BCE by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, was located somewhere nearby.<sup>49</sup> Although located outside the wall, the Tomb of the Scipios was in no way separated from the world of the living. From its origins, the tomb was an integral component of the family's extramural property, itself positioned in a key location along the new highway.

The introduction of chamber tombs brought two important developments that encouraged their proliferation on the grounds of villas.<sup>50</sup> First, chamber tombs

<sup>43</sup> Holliday (2002: 83–91); Talamo (2008: 65). <sup>44</sup> *Contra La Rocca* (1984).

<sup>45</sup> Porta Salaria: Cupitò (2007: 180). Caelian: Santa Maria Scrinari (1968–9); Valeri (2010: 137–8). One example on the Caelian was dedicated to members of the *gens Cornelia*, as indicated by inscribed sarcophagi (Blanck 1966/1967; Pisani Sartorio and Quilici Gigli 1987/8; Spera 1999: 43–5; Volpe 2017: 11–12). For a map of potential Republican estates, see Volpe (2012: fig. 6.9).

<sup>46</sup> The bibliography for this monument is vast, but see LTUR 4 s.v. “Sepulcrum (Corneliorum) Scipionum” 281–5 (F. Zevi); Coarelli (1972); and more recently Volpe et al. (2014) and Volpe (2017), all with additional references.

<sup>47</sup> For the via Appia (constructed in 312 BCE), see Section 5.4.

<sup>48</sup> The tomb's earliest external appearance remains uncertain; a painted podium might have preceded the later version (see below), but no clear evidence survives (see Volpe 2014: 184).

<sup>49</sup> Purcell (1987: 28); Volpe et al. (2014: 184–5); Volpe (2017: 11–12). No remains of the temple have been identified, but the literary sources suggest that it stood outside the Porta Capena, near the Temple of Mars, and so a location on the family's estate certainly seems plausible.

<sup>50</sup> Chamber tombs of the same period found further afield likely also stood on private estates in Rome's territory. One of these was excavated in the mid-20th c. in the Transtiberim (Gianfrotta 1973), while another was recovered during recent construction at Case Rosse, roughly halfway between Rome and Tibur (Distefano 2018). Simple graves, however, also could be located on extramural



**Figure 3.4** Interior of the Tomb of the Scipios. (Photo: author, courtesy Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.)

could accommodate multiple interments; second, those interments could be made at different times due to the ease of opening and accessing the interior. Although family burials might have been grouped together in earlier practice, these were the Romans' first family tombs, with a form related to those used elsewhere on the peninsula, but which surely responded to local needs and desires. The chamber tomb created a material symbol of a family's history, its presence suggesting an unbroken line that both stretched back in time and forward into the future. Association with a family's estate reinforced that message, binding together the living and their ancestors while suggesting continuity as future generations moved from house to tomb.<sup>51</sup> The adoption of inscribed or painted epitaphs, meanwhile, allowed a family to commemorate its members' civic and military achievements; for certain ultra-elites, placing a manubial temple near tomb and villa could have been the highest expression of past accomplishments and continuing service to the state.<sup>52</sup>

properties; a cluster of 4th-c. burials found near the city, at Tor Marancia, probably belonged to a villa (Coates-Stephens 2015: 286).

<sup>51</sup> For later Roman ideas linking houses and tombs, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008a).

<sup>52</sup> In addition to the *Aedes Tempestatum* of the Scipios, the Claudii and Marcelli also might have constructed manubial temples alongside family tombs (see Purcell 1987: 28; Valeri 2010: 140).

Funeral celebrations of the time reinforced such messages and further encouraged the construction of both chamber tombs and elite houses in the zone outside Rome's new wall. Although reconstructing ritual is problematic even for better-attested periods, a few factors coalesce to suggest that Rome's most famous funerary rite—the procession of masked actors representing ancestors—developed in the fourth and third centuries.<sup>53</sup> The literary sources are obscure at best, but point towards origins in those years, with the tradition well-established by the mid-second century.<sup>54</sup> Additional evidence comes from the organization of contemporaneous interment and of the city itself. The earlier codification of the *Twelve Tables* now came together with the construction of the city wall and the development of elite villas to turn extramural estates into desirable locations for tombs, while the roads leading to them became prime channels for display. Even if a ritualized procession to the gravesite had been included in earlier funerals, its elaboration in this period makes sense, especially with a precise form that bolstered claims to ancient origins and power earned through generations of service to the state. If—as was common for elite funerals of the Late Republican period—the procession began in the family's townhouse and stopped in the forum for a eulogy, then its path expressly linked the urban home and the extra-urban estate, while also tying both to the forum.<sup>55</sup> The construction of the city wall, therefore, did not disconnect the dead from the living. For elite families, burial on extramural estates allowed for continued contact and created new opportunities for display. In turn, the elaboration of processions could have played its own role in encouraging the shift to interment outside the wall, with families establishing tombs beyond the city in order to capitalize on the occasion for spectacle.<sup>56</sup>

### 3.2 Monumentalization and (Sub)Urbanization: Rome and Beyond

In the second and (especially) first centuries BCE, a series of developments transformed the area immediately outside Rome's wall, bringing the dead and the living into close contact in zones that now—for the first time—can be considered true suburbs. As discussed in the previous chapter, Rome's Republican suburbs included neighborhoods in the Emporium, the southern Campus Martius, and as indicated by the presence of *pagi*, outside the Porta Esquilina, the Porta Capena, and across the Tiber.<sup>57</sup> Much like the later suburbs that developed in cities

<sup>53</sup> The best study of the practice remains Flower (1996); see also Schrupf (2006: 42–8). The most detailed ancient discussion comes from Polybius, writing in the mid-2nd c. BCE (Polyb. 6.53–4).

<sup>54</sup> Flower (1996: 46–7).

<sup>55</sup> For processions as means of communication and connection, see Sections 6.1, 7.3.

<sup>56</sup> For funerary processions as spectacles, see Johanson (2011).

<sup>57</sup> See Section 2.3.

throughout Italy in the Augustan and early Imperial periods, these forerunners responded to an array of forces affecting Rome. With the ascension of Roman power in both the western and eastern Mediterranean, the threat of invasion receded significantly, and the fourth-century wall became less necessary for security. At the same time, the city's population swelled. Precise numbers are highly debatable, but even conservative estimates are staggering; Luuk de Ligt's "modified low-count" sees the number of inhabitants doubling through the first three quarters of the second century, from *c.*200,000 to *c.*400,000, then doubling once again up to the rise of Augustus (from *c.*400,000 to as high as *c.*900,000).<sup>58</sup> These changes were dramatic to say the least, but security and population growth alone do not account for the rise of Rome's first suburbs, and the extramural neighborhoods that developed at this time played specific roles within the city's changing urban landscape. The Emporium, for example, met the new need and ability to import on a massive scale, while the prominence of the southern Campus Martius in triumphal processions made it an ideal backdrop for the Republican arms race in elite display through the addition of new public monuments. While the majority of immigrants to Rome in this period probably settled within the fourth-century wall, either in areas that had been under cultivation or in older neighborhoods that grew significantly more dense through these centuries of expansion, others might have been drawn by choice or force to extramural districts.<sup>59</sup> These new suburbs likewise might have attracted longstanding residents out of the center, expanding Rome's urban space through active processes of expansion, not passive urban overspill.

This period also brought a new concentration of activity even to extramural areas that lacked developing suburbs. One significant outcome of the city's growing population was the elimination of much intramural agricultural space; even considering that Mediterranean domination increased opportunities for importation, the territory surrounding Rome remained essential to feeding the city, and the loss of farms and market gardens inside the wall amplified their necessity outside it.<sup>60</sup> Such farms drew people, who either lived alongside cultivated plots or commuted from the center to work them. Likewise, the period saw a new degree of long-distance travel, bringing both Romans and the residents of other cities—from nearby towns as well as far-flung centers—to the extramural zone. By the end of the second century, Italy boasted a fully developed highway system that allowed for relatively safe and convenient movement across the entire peninsula,

<sup>58</sup> De Ligt (2004: 741–2). Of course, extensive debate continues on the precise population of Rome and other Italian cities. See Lo Cascio (1994; 1999; 2000); Storey (1997); Scheidel (2008); Wilson (2011), all with additional bibliography.

<sup>59</sup> Many new arrivals to Rome in this period were enslaved, and had little control over where they lived and worked in the city. See discussion in the sources cited in n. 58 above.

<sup>60</sup> Carandini (1985: 70–71); Morley (1996: 83–90); Erdkamp (2013: 269–70); Marzano (2013); Goodman (2018: 86).

while its network of seaports accessed the whole of the Mediterranean world. Rome stood at the center of the system, the hub in an ever-expanding culture of movement that brought an unprecedented amount of activity to the area outside its wall.<sup>61</sup>

The tombs that arose in the second and first centuries BCE are inseparable from these broader changes. Earlier funerary display at Rome had communicated primarily through the funeral itself, each iteration of which was unique and ephemeral. Most tombs were non-monumental and lacked permanent markers, while inscriptions were limited to sarcophagi placed inside chambers, where they could communicate only on rare occasions and with small groups of family and close associates. The chamber tombs of the fourth and third centuries were not entirely voiceless, particularly when associated with elite villas, but for their messaging to work, recipients needed some prior knowledge of the family, its estate, and its ancestral tomb. That group of recipients could be diverse—including everyone from elite peers, to clients, to members of the public with more or less firm knowledge of the particular family being celebrated—but all were part of the restricted world of the city itself. For a Roman traveling along the *via Appia* and passing the estate of the Scipios, the complex could carry a rich array of messages, but the experience would be quite different for a visitor who had never heard of the family. If that visitor were unfamiliar with chamber tombs, she might have overlooked the tomb entirely, given its inconspicuous façade and location along a side road.

As Rome's world expanded, its tombs changed. Beginning slowly with a period of experimentation in the second century BCE before exploding in the first century, the Roman adoption of monumental tombs with inscribed epitaphs created an almost limitless audience for funerary display: anyone who passed the monument, even without the ability to read the full inscription, could begin to appreciate its messages.<sup>62</sup> Whereas funerary practices of the previous centuries had been well suited to the close-knit world of the mid-Republican city, the monumental tombs of the late Republic reflected Rome's new position as a cosmopolitan center of the Mediterranean. The transition to monumental funerary display has been well studied, with past work illuminating a process by which increasing degrees of wealth and competition inspired elite Romans to adapt tomb types they had encountered in the Hellenistic kingdoms.<sup>63</sup> This surely was an important part of the story, but I would emphasize that the surviving funerary monuments of the second and first centuries BCE indicate other aspects of the transition that have received less attention. Most notably, the earliest monumental tombs were not

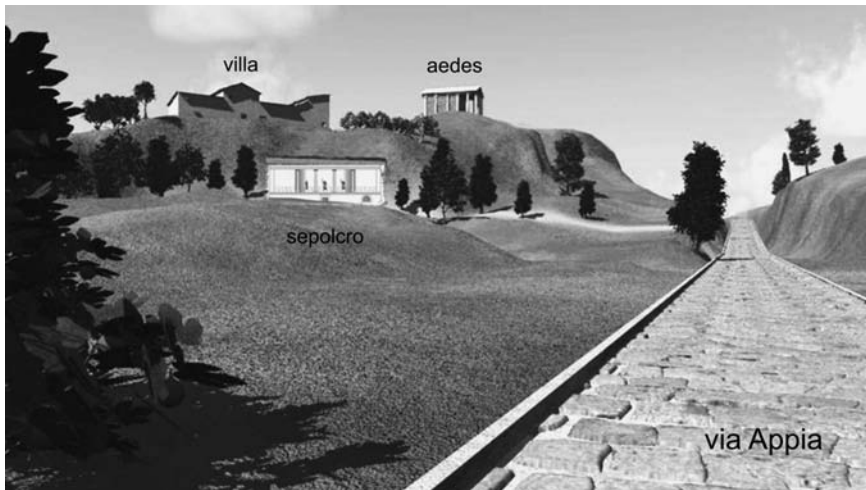
<sup>61</sup> For Italy's highway system, see Laurence (1999; 2013). For traffic encouraging urban development outside Rome's walls in the Imperial period, see Malmberg and Bjur (2011).

<sup>62</sup> On communication through monumental tombs, see esp. Eck (1987); Koortbojian (1996); Feraudi-Gruénais (2001); Clarke (2003: 182–4); Carroll (2006: 30–58).

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Purcell (1987a: 27–32); Von Hesberg (1992: esp. 22–37); Giatti (2010).

tucked away in the quiet agricultural zones of the hinterland, or even limited to the edges of busy highways outside the inhabited area. Instead, funerary monuments appeared within developing districts outside the wall—that is, they were part of Rome’s new suburbs. Rising in the midst of neighborhoods that were already (sub)urbanizing, monumental tombs both responded to and encouraged further growth, prompted by the same forces that encouraged the emergence of suburbs as a whole.

Only two Roman funerary monuments can be placed confidently in the second century BCE, and each reacted to the increasing presence of life and activity in the zone outside the walls. One of these was the preexisting Tomb of the Scipios. The tomb was remodeled and monumentalized in the mid-second century, receiving a second chamber for interments and a new, massive façade (Fig. 3.5).<sup>64</sup> Although later interventions have obscured much of this phase, a recent excavation and conservation project, considered alongside ancient literary attestations, provides some indication of the tomb’s appearance.<sup>65</sup> Cut into the hillside, the façade took the form of a high podium centered on the entrance to the original chamber; a second entrance accessed the new chamber. The zone above the podium incorporated statues framed by columns; Livy and Cicero both expressed some doubt over the identification of the statues, suggesting that they were not



**Figure 3.5** Reconstruction of the Tomb of the Scipios and surroundings in the second century BCE. (After Volpe et al. 2014. Drawn by L. Riga, courtesy R. Volpe.)

<sup>64</sup> This was at least the second reconstruction of the tomb, although it was the first monumental elaboration; see Volpe (2017: 10 n. 10). Other mid-Republican chamber tombs might also have received monumental façades in this period; see Valeri (2010: 142).

<sup>65</sup> Full publication of the project is still underway, but Volpe et al. (2014) and Volpe (2017) provide preliminary analysis. For an earlier reconstruction, see Coarelli (1972).





**Figure 3.6** Exterior painting from the Tomb of the Scipios. (Photo: author, courtesy Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.)

accompanied by inscriptions.<sup>66</sup> According to Livy, three individuals appeared, interpreted in his day as Publius Scipio (Africanus), Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus), and the poet Ennius. Livy's identifications suggest two curiate statues and a third togate, likely with a crown; this last figure could be a poet but could equally well represent a *triumphator*.<sup>67</sup> The podium below the statues was painted; a few portions of the decoration survive, with layers representing several phases of repair or replastering.<sup>68</sup> Little is left of the earliest version, but fragments of figures in short tunics suggest a triumphal or otherwise militaristic setting (Fig. 3.6).<sup>69</sup> Whatever the precise scene, the second-century reconstruction of the tomb, even without an accompanying inscription, reoriented the earlier messages of family accomplishment and civic service—which had been communicated most clearly through the ancestral procession and inscribed sarcophagi—and made them longer-lasting and accessible to a wider audience. The new façade looked towards Rome and the Porta Capena; Cicero implied that it was still visible from the via Appia in the mid-first century.<sup>70</sup> With this reimagining, the tomb

<sup>66</sup> Cic. *Arch.* 22; Liv. 38.56.4.

<sup>67</sup> Volpe et al. (2014: 184).

<sup>68</sup> Talamo (2008: 62).

<sup>69</sup> Holliday (2002: 33–6); Talamo (2008: 62–5). Flower (1996: 163) has suggested that the scene recalled the panels carried in triumphs.

<sup>70</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* 1.7.13: *An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseris putas illos* (as you exit the Porta Capena, and see the tombs of the Calatini, the Scipios, the Servilii, and the Metelli, do you think them pitiful?).



expanded its means of communication: now anyone traveling along the road could appreciate the achievements of the Scipios.

Contemporaneous with the reconstruction of the Tomb of the Scipios, a new monumental tomb on the Esquiline interacted even more pointedly with the growing activity outside the wall, incorporating benches that invited passers-by to stop and rest. The tomb was revealed in nineteenth-century excavations just outside and to the north of the Porta Esquilina, near the modern intersection of via Napoleone III and via Urbano Rattazzi. Dubbed the “Arieti Tomb” (or, misleadingly, the “Tomb of the Arieti”) for its discoverer, it is often discussed alongside the “Tomb of Fabius,” found *c.*50 m to the south, but its paintings indicate a date that was more than a century later.<sup>71</sup> Rather than an underground chamber, a recent reconsideration argues convincingly that the tomb was an open-air enclosure with a façade in the form of a paved exedra lined in benches (Fig. 3.7).<sup>72</sup> Surviving fragments of painted decoration show that a quadriga preceded by lictors lined the exedra, with a battle scene on the exterior side wall and a figure with raised arms—perhaps a crucifixion or a Telamon—on the projecting anta.<sup>73</sup> The scenes have been interpreted in various ways, but a general agreement sees them, like those on the Tomb of the Scipios, as representing the military accomplishments of a prominent family.<sup>74</sup> Both tombs, therefore, transformed the earlier practice of painting chambers, well-attested for other areas of Italy throughout much of the first millennium BCE, by reorienting the decoration towards an audience without access to the interior. Even more remarkable in the case of the Arieti Tomb, however, are the benches set into its façade. Although these might have been used by family members celebrating funerary rites, they were not located in the enclosure, which presumably was the private zone intended for interments and accessible to the family.<sup>75</sup> Instead, they stood outside, by all indications open and available to anyone passing by who might like to rest among the tombs.

Integration of tombs for the dead with spaces for the living becomes even clearer in the first century BCE, since funerary monuments of the period appeared not only along highways, but also in the midst of suburban neighborhoods. This situation is apparent, for example, in the Emporium, which urbanized

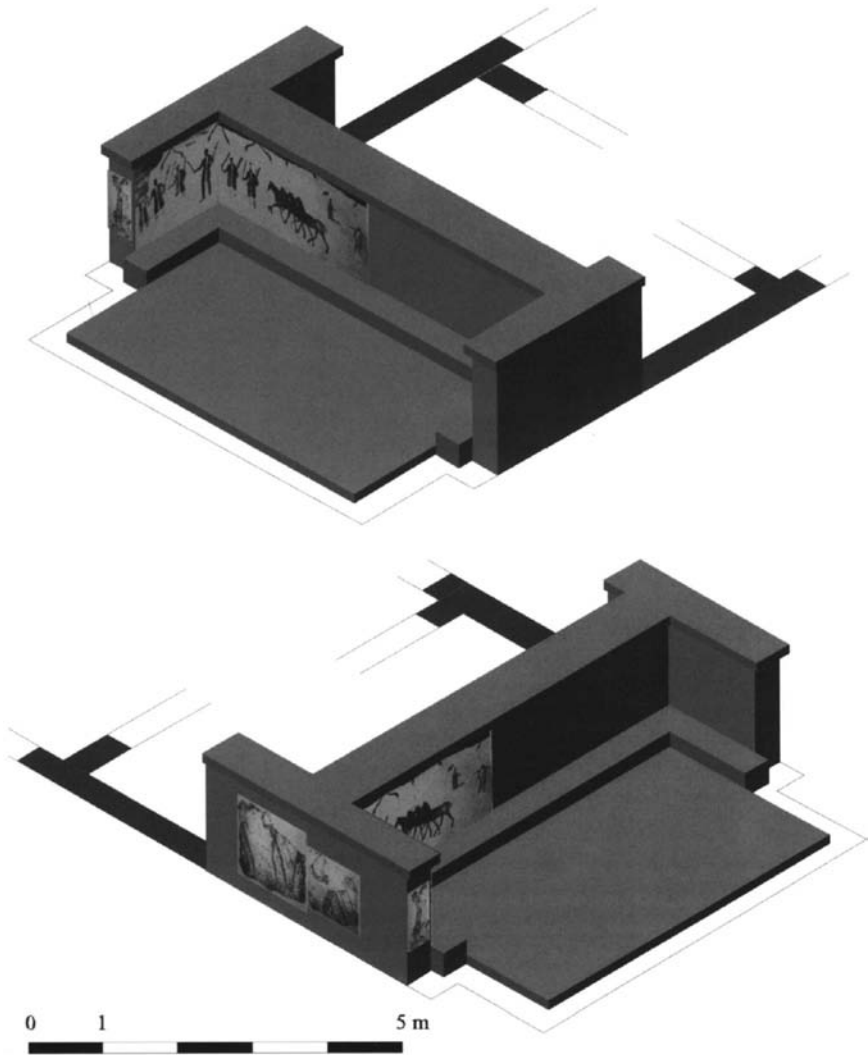
<sup>71</sup> The tomb has been placed as late as the 1st half of the 1st c. BCE (Holliday 2002: 43), but most scholarship still accepts a date in the 2nd half of the 2nd c.

<sup>72</sup> Giatti (2007; 2010: 35–7). A tomb found just north of Rome, along the “via Sepolcra Salaria” (which branched from the via Salaria), had a similar form and might be contemporaneous; see Lissi Caronna (1969: 85–100, Tomb E).

<sup>73</sup> Giatti (2007: 81–3); Coarelli (2012).

<sup>74</sup> Holliday (2002: 36–42); Talamo (2008: 67–70). There have been many attempts to identify this family based on the remains of the tomb; see most recently Canali De Rossi (2008).

<sup>75</sup> Only the area under the paved exedra was excavated, revealing several earlier inhumations, but no burials associated with the tomb itself (Giatti 2007: 95, 99).



**Figure 3.7** Reconstruction of the Arieti Tomb. (Drawn by Alessandro Pintucci, courtesy C. Giatti and A. Pintucci.)

rapidly through the second century and had become a large and bustling suburb by the mid-first, when two funerary monuments were constructed here. One of the tombs, preserved only as a podium, was located on the southern side of the district, not far from the Late Republican warehouses known as the *Horrea Lolliana*.<sup>76</sup> The tomb, like nearly every example attested at Rome and

<sup>76</sup> LTUR 3 s.v. “*Horrea Lolliana*” 43–4 (F. Coarelli); MAR s.v. “*Horrea Lolliana*” 141–2 (Ö. Harmansah).

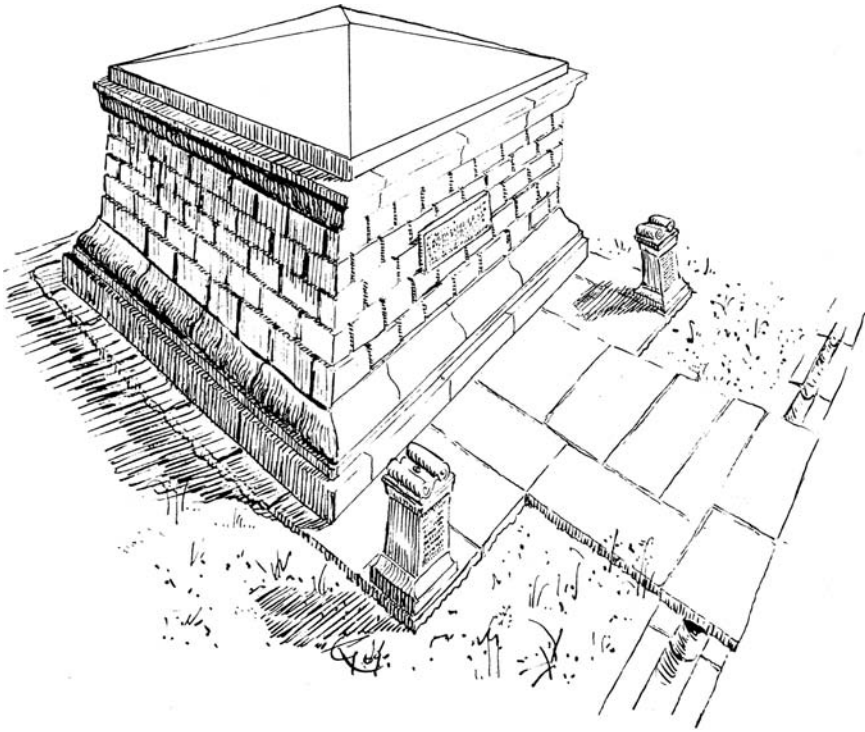


Figure 3.8 Tomb of the Rusticelii. (After Rodríguez Almeida 1984.)

throughout Italy from this time on, featured an inscribed epitaph, which in this case identified the dedicatees as members of the *gens* Rusticelia (Fig. 3.8).<sup>77</sup> The second tomb stood nearer to the center of the neighborhood, between the late Republican complexes of the Horrea Galbana and the so-called Porticus Aemilia.<sup>78</sup> This was the well-known monument dedicated to Servius Sulpicius Galba—a podium topped by a seated statue, with carved fasces framing the inscription block (Fig. 3.9).<sup>79</sup> The epitaph could commemorate either the elder Galba, who was consul in 144 BCE, or the younger consul of 108 BCE, but the tomb itself is best placed in the mid-first century.<sup>80</sup> Given that it marked a larger area

<sup>77</sup> CIL 6 11534 (found with associated cippo CIL 6 11535). See Rodríguez Almeida (1984: 40); Ferrea (1998: 69); Giatti (2010: 40); Valeri (2010: 143–4); also LTUR 4 s.v. “Sepulcrum: Rusticelii” 296–7 (F. Fontana). The tomb would be covered by Monte Testaccio in the 2nd c. CE.

<sup>78</sup> LTUR 3 s.v. “Horrea Galbana” 40–42 (F. Coarelli); LTUR 4 s.v. “Porticus Aemilia” 116–17 (F. Coarelli); MAR s.v. “Horrea Galbana” 140 (Ö. Harmansah); “Porticus Aemilia (Emporium)” 201 (Ö. Harmansah).

<sup>79</sup> Lanciani (1886); Rodríguez Almeida (1984: 40–42); Giatti (2010: 37–9); Valeri (2010: 144). See also LTUR 4 s.v. “Sepulcrum: Ser. Sulpicius Galba” 299 (F. Coarelli).

<sup>80</sup> The tomb is similar to certain examples from Pompeii, but most reminiscent of the Tomb of Gaius Cartilius Poplicola at Ostia, which has been dated to the Augustan period (see Section 2.2).

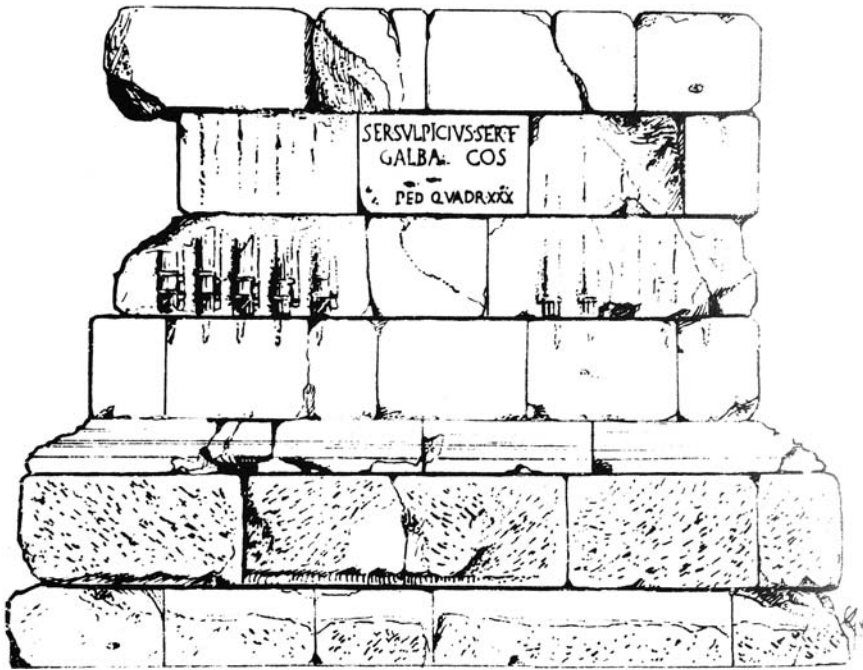


Figure 3.9 Tomb of Galba. (After Rodríguez Almeida 1984.)

(the funerary monument was less than 15 Roman feet across, but the epitaph stated that the plot was 30 feet square<sup>81</sup>), the tomb might represent the monumentalization of a pre-existing funerary area, similar to the earlier renovation of the Tomb of the Scipios. The contemporaneous tomb of Gaius Poplicius Bibulus, located in the suburb of the southern Campus Martius just outside the Porta Fontinalis, might have had a parallel history.<sup>82</sup> The tomb's honoree seems to have been the Poplicius Bibulus who was Aedile of the Plebs in 209 BCE, but the monument can be dated no earlier than the first quarter of the first century, by which time the suburb outside the gate was established (Fig. 3.10).<sup>83</sup>

A contemporaneous group of funerary monuments followed a different pattern, having been added to a quieter area on the southeastern side of the city, but the tombs incorporated novel features that suggest the life and activity they themselves brought to this zone. Standing on the grounds of the modern Villa Wolkonsky, along the via Caelimontana, an extramural ring road that connected the Porta Caelimontana to the Porta Esquilina, two of the monuments shared a single

<sup>81</sup> CIL 6 31617.

<sup>82</sup> Tomassetti (2000).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 70 sees the existing monument as a reconstruction of an earlier version, but the rarity of earlier monumental tombs points more securely towards the tomb as a new addition to a pre-existing burial plot.



Figure 3.10 Tomb of Poplicius Bibulus. (Photo: author.)

façade in tuff blocks; two doors led into separate burial chambers or enclosures, which were partially dug into bedrock (Fig. 3.11).<sup>84</sup> Alongside each door were blocks of travertine carved with portrait busts in relief—three on the tomb to the east, two on the tomb to the west—with epitaphs inscribed below.<sup>85</sup> The eastern tomb was dedicated to the freedman Gaius Annaeus Quintio; the epitaph was altered later to specify four additional dedicatees, both freed and freeborn.<sup>86</sup> The tomb to the west belonged to two women, at least one of whom was a freedwoman, but the inscription is not entirely clear. Next to these “twin tombs” was a third monument of the same period with a façade in tuff blocks and a partially subterranean chamber. Two shields were carved on the façade, between which was an epitaph naming Publius Quinctius, freedman of Titus, his wife, Quinctia (also freed by a Titus Quinctius), and his freedwoman and concubine, Quinctia Agatea.<sup>87</sup> Both this inscription and that of Gaius Annaeus

<sup>84</sup> Whether the chambers were roofed remains unclear. See Colini (1943: 270–73; 1944: 395–6); Toynbee (1971: 117–18); Di Giacomo (2010).

<sup>85</sup> Friezes carved with busts would become a common feature of freedmen’s tombs in the later 1st c. BCE and 1st c. CE: see Zanker (1975); Kleiner (1977); Kockel (1993); Borg (2012).

<sup>86</sup> Di Giacomo (2010).

<sup>87</sup> To the west of the double tomb was a later funerary monument that was largely destroyed; beyond it was a tomb of the late 1st c. BCE dedicated to freedmen of the Caesonii family, which reused parts of an earlier monument that had been on the same plot (Colini 1943: 272–6; 1944: 393–4; Giatti 2010: 41–2; Di Giacomo 2010: 27). Less is known of other tombs excavated earlier along the same road in the 19th and early 20th c. (Colini 1943: 268; 1944: 387–401).





Figure 3.11 Tombs at the Villa Wolkonsky. (Photo: author.)

Quinctio specified that the tombs did not pass to heirs, in the earliest known example at Rome of what would become a common formula.

The area along the via Caelimontana does not appear to have been developing into a suburb in the first half of the first century.<sup>88</sup> Being freedmen rather than major public figures like Servius Sulpicius Galba or Gaius Poplicius Bibulus, the Annaeii, Quinctii, and others interred at the Villa Wolkonsky likely took advantage of the less desirable and more affordable land beyond the built-up area of the city. That being said, the tombs themselves incorporated structural fixtures that encouraged activity outside the city center. For example, these are the first known Roman tombs to have incorporated interior benches apparently meant for mourners celebrating funerary or post-funerary rites, as distinct from couches intended for interments. Moreover, the central monument featured a cremation burial made in the floor and covered with the upper half of an amphora to function as a libation tube, possibly the earliest known example of a feature that would become ubiquitous in Imperial Italy (Fig. 3.12).<sup>89</sup> These fixtures indicate the expectation of post-funerary rites; libation tubes, in particular, were intended for repeated and regular profusions. Together with the growing popularity of cremation in the first century BCE—a

<sup>88</sup> Although the presence of *horti* in the area by the mid-1st c. BCE could indicate that the elite, at least, anticipated future urban development here.

<sup>89</sup> Colini (1943: 176). This burial is difficult to date precisely, since it might have been added some time later than the original construction of the tomb. For libation tubes in general, see Spalla (2005).

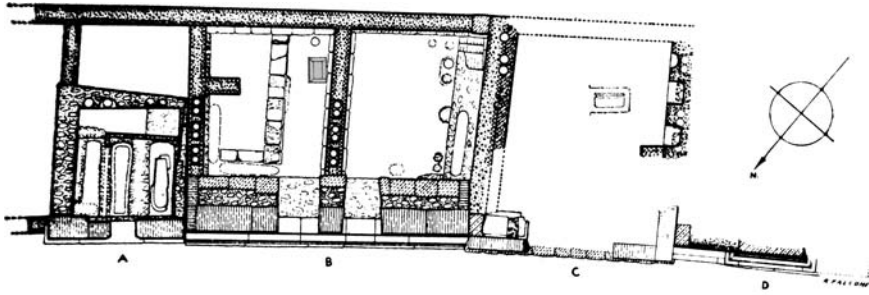


Figure 3.12 Plan of tombs at the Villa Wolkonsky, with cremation featuring libation tube highlighted. (After Colini 1943.)

practice that required massive quantities of fuel, many hours to complete, and likely a specialized practitioner—they suggest a shift in emphasis from ancestral processions to actions performed at the tomb itself, a reasonable change for individuals who, as former slaves, lacked ancestors.<sup>90</sup> The very architecture of these tombs, therefore, invites activity, not only during the funeral, but also to conduct post-funerary rites, with the tombs becoming additional features that drew life outside the city wall.

The number of known funerary monuments expanded dramatically in the later decades of the first century BCE, also a key period of development for Rome's suburbs.<sup>91</sup> The correspondence of these phenomena drew tombs into urban neighborhoods in ever greater numbers, not in a radical break from some earlier practice of strict separation, but as a new stage in the longstanding tradition that incorporated the dead into the city of Rome. Unfortunately, the vast majority of such monuments are preserved only as inscriptions, with the tombs themselves and their precise contexts long since lost. Nevertheless, a few examples suggest a broader picture. Beyond the Porta Esquilina, at the busy intersection of the via Labicana and via Praenestina, the well-known tomb of the baker Eurysaces stood alongside other structures of various types.<sup>92</sup> Nearer to the gate, a massive drum tomb, which possibly commemorated Augustus' friend and partisan Maecenas, was added to the area that had begun urbanizing with the Pagus Montanus several generations earlier.<sup>93</sup> On the other side of the city, contemporaneous tombs arose in the well-developed area of the southern Campus Martius.<sup>94</sup> Although incomplete, the earliest remains at the via del Tritone suggest a similar situation of tombs in the midst of other development; likewise, the site raises the possibility

<sup>90</sup> See also Bodel 1999. For cremations: Noy (2000a).

<sup>91</sup> For tombs of this period, see Von Hesberg (1992: 26–32).

<sup>92</sup> See Section 5.2.

<sup>93</sup> LTUR 4 s.v. "Sepulcrum: Maecenas (tumulus)" 292 (F. Coarelli); MAR s.v. "Sepulcrum: 'Casa Tonda'" 223 (A. G. Thein).

<sup>94</sup> See Porcari (2015).



that nearby funerary monuments—like the Tomb of the Sempronii found just outside the Porta Salutaris, or other monuments located along the highway that bordered the Aqua Virgo—might also have been incorporated into growing suburbs.<sup>95</sup>

In cities outside of Rome, monumental tombs likewise arose in the midst of Augustan and early Imperial suburbs. At Pompeii's Porta Ercolano, nearly every funerary monument still standing at the time of the eruption postdated or was contemporaneous with the neighboring houses and shops.<sup>96</sup> The district of the Augustan period did not flow around a pre-existing necropolis but plowed over it, covering and destroying earlier, non-monumental graves while incorporating new monumental examples into the urban space of the neighborhood.<sup>97</sup> Likewise outside Ostia's Porta Marina, although buildings from the second-century CE obscure much of the earlier neighborhood, there is good reason to believe that the tomb of Cartilius and the anonymous monument next to the gate were from their origins part of a larger suburb, which was well enough established by the early first century CE to eliminate the gate itself.<sup>98</sup> The less complete remains of suburbs like those at Bononia, Mediolanum, or Tridentum hint at similar situations, since the peak of monumental tomb construction in all of these cities coincided with or postdated—rather than preceded—the Augustan-period boom in suburban development.<sup>99</sup> As at Rome, the majority of tombs from nearly all Italian cities are represented only by surviving epitaphs, but there is no reason to imagine that funerary monuments ever were sequestered from other suburban development, such as through relegation to zones beyond the *continentia aedificia*.<sup>100</sup> The better-preserved suburbs—at Pompeii, Ostia, and the via del Tritone at least—indicate no such division, and even the neighborhood north of Falerii Novi integrated tombs and other structures.<sup>101</sup> Although attaching absolute dates to the survey results is still impossible, one relative relationship suggests that several tombs postdated other development. The city's amphitheater cut and reoriented an earlier road; the tombs that stood along the later iteration of the road, therefore, appeared only after the construction of the amphitheater itself (see Fig. 2.17).

The corresponding development of monumental tombs and their suburban neighborhoods was not a coincidence, since the very factors that inspired the growth of suburbs also encouraged investment in monumental funerary display. Chief among these were the forces of rising prosperity and intensifying social

<sup>95</sup> Tomb of the Sempronii: LTUR 4 s.v. "Sepulcrum: Sempronii" 297 (C. Lega); MAR s.v. "Sepulcrum: Sempronii" 229 (E. A. Dumser). Tombs near the Aqua Virgo (e.g.): LTUR 4 s.v. "Sepulcrum Octavia M. F. Appi" 292–3 (C. Lega); MAR s.v. "Sepulcrum Octavia M. F. Appi" 226 (E. A. Dumser). For the via del Tritone, see Section 2.3.

<sup>96</sup> See Section 2.1.

<sup>97</sup> For 4th- and 3rd-c. inhumations found below the later suburb at the Porta Ercolano, see Sogliano (1913); De Caro (1979); Zanella et al. (2016: 23–8; 2017: 28–33); Zanella (2017: 131–2).

<sup>98</sup> See Section 2.2.

<sup>99</sup> See Section 2.4.

<sup>100</sup> As has been proposed e.g. by Stevens (2017a: 94).

<sup>101</sup> See Section 2.4.

competition, since tombs were ideal places to both display and construct status.<sup>102</sup> A funerary monument, moreover, was more affordable and therefore more available than were structures like luxury villas or public buildings, and unlike many markers of status—such as statues set up at public expense—a tomb could be planned and erected on one's own initiative. Significantly, funerary monuments were not restricted by legal order, explaining why they were so enthusiastically adopted by individuals who had once been enslaved. The wealth that poured into Italy in the Augustan period flowed not only to the freeborn elite but also into the hands of a growing group of successful freedmen, who quickly recognized the potential of monumental funerary display to advertise their achievements and indulge their ambitions.<sup>103</sup> Monumental tombs, therefore, were perfectly suited to the Augustan and early Imperial atmosphere of rivalry and success, but as for other buildings characteristic of the period, these sources of competition also became statements of connection. Funerary monuments appeared *en masse* across the peninsula; although earlier experiments occasionally popped up in one city or another—Rome included—it was not until the second half of the first century BCE that the form suddenly exploded across Italy, not emerging from the capital or elsewhere, but seemingly materializing everywhere at once. Like the Latial-style interments that had once linked the pre-urban settlements of central Italy, monumental tombs became one more urban feature that declared the unity of the peninsula's cities, their presence marking city after city as participants in the same cultural system.

Among the forces encouraging the rise of monumental tombs, furthermore, was the development of suburbs themselves. The funerary monuments that appeared in the Augustan period were oriented firmly towards passers-by; they expected an audience and aimed to interact. With their inscriptions, sculpture, eye-catching architecture, pleasant gardens, and even fixtures like benches that encouraged the public to stop and linger, tombs of this period were designed to be inserted into living landscapes.<sup>104</sup> Suburban activity made investment in a monumental tomb worthwhile, and we should not be surprised that this type of commemoration proliferated as cities moved outside their former boundaries. To be sure, not every funerary monument was located in a suburb—like the tombs at the Villa Wolkonsky, many examples were set up along highways or on private properties outside the built-up zones of cities—but the form was essentially urban, designed for and at its most effective when incorporated into a suburb. Wherever they were located, furthermore, funerary monuments of the period followed the Villa Wolkonsky tombs by incorporating features that encouraged ever more

<sup>102</sup> As much past research has emphasized. Toynbee (1971), Von Hesberg (1992), and the papers in Von Hesberg and Zanker (1987) remain good overviews; see also (more recently) Borg (2019).

<sup>103</sup> See esp. Zanker (1975); Kleiner (1977); Kockel (1993); Hackworth Petersen (2006); Borg (2012).

<sup>104</sup> Columbaria, which appeared in the same period, seem to be the key exception and functioned in distinct ways, but their superstructures remain little understood (see Borbonus 2014).

activity outside the walls of their cities. Structural fixtures like libation tubes, permanent triclinia, and cisterns and ovens became increasingly common in the Augustan and early Imperial tombs, at Rome and elsewhere.<sup>105</sup> Other evidence suggests a growing interest in post-funerary rites that continued relationships between the living and the dead and encouraged regular activity at family tombs. The origins of the Romans' traditional tomb-side festival, the *Parentalia*, are unclear, but in the course of the Augustan and early Imperial periods the festival would be elaborated and joined by new celebrations, including local moveable holidays like the *Rosalia* and the *Violalia*, first attested in the later first century CE, as well as by rites conducted on days with special meaning for the deceased, such as birthdays and anniversaries.<sup>106</sup> Ovid claimed that the old-fashioned *Parentalia* had involved leaving simple offerings for the dead, but graveside dining had become a chief element of these celebrations by his own day, suggesting that living family members spent more time among tombs as suburbs became prominent parts of cities.<sup>107</sup> All of this suburban activity, therefore, built upon itself; urban development outside city walls attracted tombs, while tombs brought additional life to suburbs.

### 3.3 Suburban Growth and the Destruction of Tombs

Monumental tombs emerged along with suburbs, but as cities continued to grow tombs were forced out, with new funerary monuments pushed to less expensive and more available plots on the edges of the built-up area and older ones destroyed outright in favor of new construction.<sup>108</sup> At Rome, this process is clearest at the via del Tritone, where later buildings destroyed at least one earlier tomb, and where no new tombs were added once the available space had been occupied by *insulae*. Ostia provides more evidence. The city lacks its early graves entirely; although settlement can be traced back to the fourth century BCE, the first known tombs consist of a few scattered burials belonging to the late second or first century BCE, recovered in sondages below later monuments outside the Porta Romana.<sup>109</sup> The situation results from the city's growth through time; most early tombs were located outside the Castrum—the original walled fort at the city center—but inside the area that would be enclosed by the late Republican wall, and so were hidden or eradicated by the density of later development.<sup>110</sup> A single funerary monument that survives within the Late Republican

<sup>105</sup> See discussion in Graham (2005); Braune (2008); Gee (2008).

<sup>106</sup> For the *Parentalia*, see Dolansky (2011). Evidence for the other holidays derives primarily from epitaphs; see the examples in Bodel (2017: 222 n. 79).

<sup>107</sup> *Ov. Fast.* 2.533–70. See also Graham (2005).

<sup>108</sup> The major exceptions to this pattern are Rome's via Appia and Puteoli's via Campana suburbs; see Section 5.4.

<sup>109</sup> Heinzelmann (2000: 26–7).

<sup>110</sup> For early Ostia, see also Section 7.1.



**Figure 3.13** Tomb on the Decumanus at Ostia. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

wall provides support. Standing across the Decumanus from the Augustan-period theater, the monument evokes the other tombs once located in the area, most of which were probably non-monumental (Fig. 3.13).<sup>111</sup> The destruction of tombs also is attested outside the Porta Romana, where a Trajanic commercial complex north of the via Ostiensis supplanted four funerary monuments of the first century CE; a smaller complex of shops and workshops to the south destroyed another monumental tomb during a phase of expansion in the late second or early third century.<sup>112</sup> Even Pompeii, although extinguished before its suburbs had become as dense as those at Rome and Ostia, preserves evidence for the usurpation of funerary space. Beyond the fourth- and third-century inhumations that were covered by the construction of the Augustan-era Villa of the Mosaic Columns and its shops, at least one funerary monument at the Porta Ercolano replaced an earlier example, and recent excavations outside the Porta Nocera and Porta Stabia have revealed the foundations of tombs dismantled prior to 79 CE.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Calza et al. (1953: 99–100); Coarelli (2004: 96–7); Sole (2002); Stevens (2017a: 206–7).

<sup>112</sup> Supplanted tombs include A1, A5a, B4, D1–D4, Z1–Z41 (note that Z1 was found inside the late Republican wall). In other cases, later monumental tombs obliterated earlier examples (e.g. Tombs A9a, A10a, A14, A16a, B16a, B21). See Heinzelmänn (2000: figs. 15–18).

<sup>113</sup> At the Porta Ercolano, Tomb North 2 replaced Tomb North 3 (Kockel 1983: 117–25). For the Porta Nocera, see Van Andringa, Creissen, and Duda (2015; 2016: 1–5; 2017: 1–3); the similar foundation uncovered at the Porta Stabia in 2017 at the Porta Stabia still awaits publication (but see Emmerson 2010, Osanna 2018 for the area). 19th-c. work at that gate also uncovered funerary inscriptions and grave markers within a garbage dump (see Sogliano 1890: 44–5; Mau 1890: 280; Section 4.2).

Strictly speaking, this usurpation of spaces devoted to the dead was illegal; Roman tombs were both inviolable and inalienable.<sup>114</sup> Precedent was established already in the *Twelve Tables*, with the protection of both the tomb itself and access to it.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, changing realities of urban life in the centuries following the law's codification—not least the introduction of monumental tombs and the rising value of land immediately outside cities—challenged its application through time. By the early Imperial period, a “tomb” was defined legally to protect only that part of a building or plot that literally contained human remains; if there was some contention, the tomb was the part of the building containing the head of the deceased.<sup>116</sup> This careful definition allowed, for example, the sale of individual niches in a columbarium, the sectioning of larger funerary monuments to sell portions that did not contain bodies, or the transfer of certain areas of older plots to new owners. The impact of such equivocation is apparent in the archeological record, and not only in the (extensive) epigraphic evidence for the market in columbarium niches.<sup>117</sup> For instance, the freedman Publius Vesonius Phileros took possession of a pre-existing funerary enclosure at Pompeii by using a row of stones to separate the area that had been occupied with earlier graves from the unoccupied space where members of his own family would be interred.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, a certain Marcus Antonius Agathias divided a pre-existing monumental tomb in Portus's Isola Sacra necropolis, claiming one portion for himself and his family and specifying with an inscription that the act was legal because it affected only the *aedicula pura*, i.e. the part of the structure that did not contain human remains and so was legally transferrable.<sup>119</sup>

Clearly, the residents of Italy's cities had developed ways to circumvent the inviolability of tombs. The college of pontiffs and the emperor (as Pontifex Maximus) could change or remove a monument's religious status, allowing its plot to be redeveloped, but the practice of tomb destruction seems too common for that group to have overseen all instances across the entirety of the empire.<sup>120</sup> Perhaps members of local town councils acted as imperial representatives to

The destruction of the schola tomb immediately outside the Porta Nocera appears more likely to have been political than practical, given that the type was used by members of the local ruling class and that the ruins were left in place.

<sup>114</sup> See esp. Ulp. Dig. 47; for discussion, see De Visscher (1963: 3–63); Ducos (1995); Caldelli, Crea, and Ricci (2004); Thomas (2004).

<sup>115</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 24.61. <sup>116</sup> Thomas (2004: 50–51).

<sup>117</sup> Purcell (1987a: 39–40); Borbonus (2014: 69–75).

<sup>118</sup> Van Andringa et al. (2013: 282–5, 336–7).

<sup>119</sup> Isola Sacra Tomb 75/76; see Lazzarini (1991: 91–100); Baldassarre et al. (1996: 89–92). *Purus* should be read here as “legally unencumbered,” rather than ritually or religiously “pure” (Thomas 2004; Emmerson forthcoming a).

<sup>120</sup> E.g. Ulp. Dig. 11.7.8, 11.8.5.1. See also Carroll (2006: 79); Cameron (2007: 357).

oversee redevelopment, or (as likely) simply allowed such rule-breaking.<sup>121</sup> If there were no family members or heirs left to maintain them, abandoned tombs could become eyesores or even dangers to surrounding development, while the land they occupied and the materials composing them represented valuable commodities, particularly as suburban land values rose.<sup>122</sup> These factors might have incentivized authorities to overlook the actions of any private individuals who took it upon themselves to eradicate tombs and reoccupy (or sell) their plots. The general economic domination of the political elite, moreover, hints that this group played an active role in the process, ordering and managing the reoccupation of funerary spaces themselves.<sup>123</sup> That being said, the act was never codified in law, implying that it remained distasteful. Even as tombs were erased, the ideal of inviolability and eternity persisted, and we can be sure that most individuals preferred to imagine their own and their loved ones' monuments enduring forever.<sup>124</sup>

Despite the ease with which tombs might be removed from suburban neighborhoods, certain examples survived over long periods of time. At Ostia's Porta Marina, the tomb of Cartilius Poplicola and the anonymous monument near the gate were preserved for centuries, even as dense development overran contemporaneous buildings. Perhaps descendants survived to continue funerary rites, but given the amount of time involved, the tombs had more likely come to represent aspects of Ostia's civic identity and history, functioning as public monuments at this most prominent entrance to the city.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, even these memorials were not immune to the forces of change. As early as the second century CE, a workshop had been added to the enclosure of the anonymous tomb, while a new building, the "Loggia of Cartilius," blocked the façade of the Tomb of Cartilius. By the late third or early fourth century, the latter monument had fallen to ruins; some of its marble architectonic elements were reused as building material in a late reconstruction of the "Loggia," while other pieces were incorporated into the final paving of the street to the north.<sup>126</sup> Cartilius's tomb podium, moreover, was preserved only to the latest ground level, indicating that the entire monument might have been removed already by this time. The situation is less clear for the anonymous tomb, which remained at least partially visible, but possibly also in ruins.

<sup>121</sup> Note that the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* (73) charged local magistrates with removing unlawful tombs (including performing expiations)—a task that belonged to the pontifical college at Rome (see Crawford 1996: 393–454).

<sup>122</sup> For the value of reused building materials, see Section 4.2. An inscription from Praeneste could record the granting of an abandoned tomb precinct to a woman named Flavia Phoebe, but the text is unfortunately incomplete (CIL 14 3342).

<sup>123</sup> For elites as primarily responsible for urban development, see Laurence (2007: 140–41); Goodman (2016b: 325–7); Ellis (2018: 102–9).

<sup>124</sup> See also Carroll (2006: 79–85).

<sup>125</sup> See also Stevens (2017a: 207–9).

<sup>126</sup> Squarciapino et al. (1958: 171–2, 182).

The three Augustan and early Imperial tombs at the via del Tritone had an even longer history than those at the Porta Marina. No later buildings overlay or obscured them, and at least some of their marble decoration remained intact through the entire life of the neighborhood, judging from fragments recovered in the sixth-century abandonment deposit as well as in association with a medieval lime kiln.<sup>127</sup> The materials indicate the high quality of the tombs and suggest that here, as at Ostia, certain monuments survived intensive urban development because they belonged to especially prominent individuals. Providing support is a fragmentary epitaph of the Augustan or early Julio-Claudian period naming a consul of the *gens* Pomponia; excavators have proposed that it belonged to one of the three surviving tombs and commemorated Gaius Pomponius Graecinus, the friend of Ovid who died in 38 CE, or possibly his brother, Lucius Pomponius Flaccus.<sup>128</sup> Also recovered with the materials attributed to the tombs was a block of luna marble decorated with fasces carved in relief, suggesting the commemoration of a magistrate and immediately recalling the tomb of Cartilius Poplicola at the Porta Marina as well as that of Servius Sulpicius Galba in the Emporium.<sup>129</sup>

Unlike the Porta Marina suburb, the neighborhood on the via del Tritone was not a significant entryway to the city. Located on a secondary thoroughfare that was removed from Rome's monumental heart, its tombs probably served smaller-scale and more local needs than the major monuments on Ostia's coastline. The tomb of Galba suggests a parallel. That tomb's inclusion on the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae* indicates that it survived more than three centuries in the midst of a dense urban landscape of warehouses, port installations, boathouses, refuse mounds, and major commercial and residential complexes, even as contemporaneous monuments like the Tomb of the Rusticelii disappeared (Fig. 3.14).<sup>130</sup> Its tenacity could be due to the fame of Galba—whichever one the monument commemorated—and the prestige his tomb brought to the area, but additional evidence suggests that residents came to identify with the tomb, treating it as a local landmark and point of neighborhood pride. Between the Augustan period and the middle of the first century CE, the non-elite magistrates of this neighborhood's *vicus* erected at least ten statues and other monuments in the central Emporium.<sup>131</sup> The dedications clustered in two groups, the first of which came from a building that probably served as the headquarters of the *vicus*, located along the busy via Ostiensis.<sup>132</sup> More significant for the current discussion is the second group, which consisted of three statues, of which only the bases were preserved.<sup>133</sup> These three dedications

<sup>127</sup> Pultrone (2017a: 60–63; 2017b).

<sup>128</sup> Giovagnoli, Gregori, and Nonnis (2017: 241).

<sup>129</sup> Pultrone (2017b: 179–80).

<sup>130</sup> For the Imperial topography of this neighborhood, see Rodríguez Almeida (1984); Aguilera Martín (2002).

<sup>131</sup> For *vicomagistri*, see Lott (2004: 13–18); Flower (2017: 192–205).

<sup>132</sup> Rodríguez Almeida (1984: 99–100); Lott (2004: 153–4). The remains of the structure are still visible in the courtyard of the building at via Marmorata 149.

<sup>133</sup> CIL 6 33, 34, 35; Lott (2004: nn. 17, 21, 35).



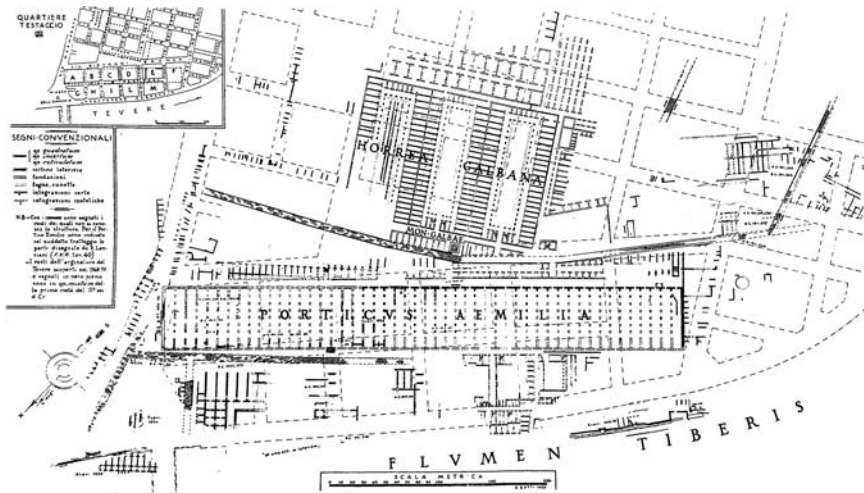


Figure 3.14 Reconstruction of the Emporium suburb, with Tomb of Galba at center. (After Rodríguez Almeida 1984.)

were found roughly 150 m southwest of the first group, set up nowhere else than alongside the Tomb of Galba.

The dedications of the *vicomagistri* that gathered around Galba's tomb imply an active process of reviving and reimagining the monument's significance over successive generations. The tomb survived in a dense urban environment not simply because Galba was an important figure of the past, but because those who lived nearby continued to interpret his memory as relevant and meaningful to the neighborhood's continuing life—a message that was reinforced with each new addition to the tomb site and that might have outlasted any concurrent activity by Galba's descendants.<sup>134</sup> Some residents might have felt a personal connection to the celebrated consul; the most common *nomen* attested among the preserved list of *vicomagistri* was Sulpicius, indicating an enduring presence of the *gens* in the neighborhood, and one of the magistrates who set up a statue at the tomb around 2 BCE was a freed member of the Sulpicii Galbae.<sup>135</sup> These individuals, who were non-elite but actively engaged in local administration, had clear motivation for maintaining the tomb and honoring its founder as a means of emphasizing their connections and bolstering their own status within the neighborhood community. Nevertheless, even those who could not tie their ancestry (servile or otherwise) so closely to the famous Galba might have felt connected to his monument. Surely many residents of the *vicus* worked and lived in and around the warehouses

<sup>134</sup> The *gens* disappeared from the historical record following the last known Servius Sulpicius Galba's 8-month reign as the first of the four emperors of 69 CE.

<sup>135</sup> Lott (2004: 157–8).

constructed by the family, and the *Forma Urbis* suggests that the neighborhood retained the toponym “*Praedia Galbana*” into the third century CE.<sup>136</sup> The *vicus* itself might even have been named for Galba, seeing that other wards throughout the city took their names from the owners of former estates, e.g., the *Vici Drusianus*, *Caeseti*, or *Gemini*.<sup>137</sup>

Like the Tomb of Galba at the Emporium, the funerary monuments preserved at the *via del Tritone* likely were points of neighborhood pride, which gave them value and encouraged their maintenance even as contemporaneous buildings were destroyed. That value was strong enough, furthermore, to protect the tombs through what was arguably the single most dramatic change to Rome’s urban space in the entirety of the city’s history: the creation of the Aurelian Wall. Rising in the later third century CE, the wall utterly reshaped Rome; plowing through dense residential neighborhoods as well as open estates, it cut apart Augustan regions and redefined the relationship of center and suburb (Fig. 3.15). Its construction involved the clearance of a zone that in some areas was more than 50m wide, and the many earlier structures incorporated into its physical fabric—including aqueducts, apartment buildings, workshops, warehouses, cisterns, luxurious residences, and monumental tombs—provide a snapshot of the districts destroyed in the course of its erection.<sup>138</sup> Located well within the wall’s course, however, the remains at the *via del Tritone* show not even a ripple of effect from this event. Surrounded by *insulae*, the three monumental tombs—now more than two centuries old—still stood alongside the road, while the neighborhood’s life continued around them.

A longstanding tradition sees the creation of the Aurelian Wall as a clear moment of change, after which all interment moved definitively beyond the built-up area of the city until the transformations of Late Antiquity gave rise to intramural burial at the end of the fifth century.<sup>139</sup> To be sure, the majority of known interments from the final decades of the third century and later—consisting primarily of those in Christian contexts—were located outside the wall’s circuit, but this is equally true for tombs predating the wall. Urban development had driven funerary monuments to affordable plots past the built-up area since the days when the *Annaeii* and *Quinctii* had erected their tombs at the *Villa Wolkonsky*, and as the city expanded, space grew progressively more contested and less available for tombs. Already in the first century CE, the expanding city occupied much of the land within the Aurelian Wall’s later course; in some areas, dense

<sup>136</sup> The name is partially preserved on Fragments 24a and 24b. See Rodríguez Almeida (1984: 62–4).

<sup>137</sup> All attested on the “Base of the *Vicomagistri*” in the *Musei Capitolini*, a dedication to Hadrian made by a collection of *magistri* from various *vici* throughout the city (CIL 6 975=31218). The same inscription includes 2 *vici* named for the *gens Sulpicia*, the *Vicus Sulpici Citerioris* (“nearer”) and *Vicus Sulpici Ulterioris* (“farther”), although both were located in Region I and so cannot represent the neighborhood under discussion here. See also Purcell (2007: 296).

<sup>138</sup> Homo (1967: 239–58); Dey (2011: 73–81, 167–9).

<sup>139</sup> See discussion in Patterson (2000: 96); Dey (2011: 209–213); Epilogue below.



Figure 3.15 Plan of Rome following the erection of the Aurelian Wall. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after LTUR III.)

suburbs extended even past it.<sup>140</sup> For this reason, many tombs—especially those of the non-elite—began to concentrate outside the eventual course of the wall as early as the Augustan period, in necropoleis like those beyond the later Porta Salaria, on the via Ostiensis, or across the Tiber at the edge of the Vatican plain.<sup>141</sup>

Other tombs, however, appeared within Rome's suburbs, and as the remains at the via del Tritone attest, they could survive even the construction of the new wall. Furthermore, some limited evidence suggests that even new interments occurred within the Aurelian Wall in the late third, fourth, and early fifth centuries. Also recovered at the via del Tritone were fragments of sarcophagi and epitaphs belonging to those centuries; one example included a consular date of

<sup>140</sup> See Malmberg and Bjur (2009: 116); Dey (2011: 74–81).

<sup>141</sup> Via Salaria: Cupitò et al. (2001); Cupitò (2007). Via Ostiensis: Ferri and Bisconti (2018: 66–74). Vatican: Liverani and Spinola (2010).

431 CE.<sup>142</sup> The material came from the abandonment deposit and so did not certainly originate at the site, but given that the wall was a kilometer away at its nearest point, an interior provenance seems likely. Elsewhere in the city, interments were added to earlier tombs; the above-ground portion of the early Imperial “Tomb of the Domitii” in the Campus Martius, for instance, was destroyed in the construction of the wall circuit, but its underground chamber expanded into the interior of the city at the end of the third century and received new depositions through the fourth and fifth.<sup>143</sup> On the Esquiline, a tomb set up by members of the *gens Aurelia* in the first half of the third century underwent several later phases of expansion that almost certainly postdated the introduction of the wall, and tombs in and around the modern Piazza di Porta Maggiore remained in active use through the fourth century.<sup>144</sup> Likewise, a house stood above the Republican-era Tomb of the Scipios in the third and fourth centuries, but the recent excavations here have shown that burials continued nearby, in a third-century catacomb that extended outwards from an earlier quarry, as well as in inhumation tombs that could be as late as the fifth century.<sup>145</sup> Single inhumations in trenches without grave gifts, furthermore, are spread across Rome; although typically dated to the sixth or seventh centuries, the tombs themselves rarely provide material to confirm that attribution.<sup>146</sup> The new wall, therefore, might have had less of an impact on funerary practices than has been assumed, and former suburbs located beyond the Republican wall but within the course of the Aurelian Wall continued to bring together the living and the dead through the third century and beyond.

### 3.4 Conclusion: Tombs, Change, and the Suburban Landscape

At no point in Rome’s history was the city fully closed to the dead. Evidence is less available for other sites, but by the end of the first century BCE at least, many cities had begun to develop suburbs that incorporated tombs into their urban space. Over time, continuing development supplanted some tombs, but others endured, taking on new meaning for the living community. At Rome, even the erection of the Aurelian Wall did not fully eliminate intramural tombs, and former suburbs could retain their character as urban districts that included tombs even after they

<sup>142</sup> Proverbio (2017: n. 2); Giovagnoli, Gregori, and Nonnis (2017: n. 17; see also nn. 5–16).

<sup>143</sup> Campese Simone (1992: 104–5); also LTUR 4 s.v. “Sepulcrum: Domitii” 286–8 (A. Campese Simone).

<sup>144</sup> The tomb of the Aurelii is located well inside the wall, at the corner of the viale Manzoni and via Luigi Luzzatti (LTUR 4 s.v. “Sepulcrum: Aurelii” 276–7, F. Bisconti). Lanciani proposed that the area inside the Porta Maggiore had been converted into a garden in the late 3rd c., but his evidence does not support the idea, which was explicitly influenced by his understanding of the sequence at the Horti of Maecenas (e.g. Lanciani 1874: 55–6; for the *horti*, see Section 4.1). For discussion, see Coates-Stevens (2004: 77, 106–9); Dey (2011: 209–13).

<sup>145</sup> See Volpe et al. (2014: 178–9, 187–9). It remains unclear how long the catacomb stayed in use.

<sup>146</sup> See e.g. the inhumations that surrounded the Mausoleum of Augustus (Porcari 2015: 454–5).

had been enclosed within that fortification. Like neighborhoods within the city center, suburbs were dynamic, subject to continual change, but nonetheless they retained defining characteristics throughout their long histories. The situation was complex, and requires approaches sensitive to that complexity. The common destruction of tombs, for example, has led to widespread misunderstandings of where tombs were most likely to arise, as well as to confusion over who was most likely to erect a funerary monument. The density of building within the Aurelian Wall, both before and after its construction, means that the vast majority of known tombs are located in the less urbanized areas outside it. Inside the wall, tombs of the earlier Imperial period are missing for the same reason that so few archaic burials have turned up inside the Republican wall: because later construction destroyed them. Rome began to contract into the wall's course in the late third century, preserving tombs that stood on the outer edges of the suburbs, on plots that tended to be cheaper than those closer to the city center.<sup>147</sup> Most known tombs of the Imperial period, therefore, belonged to freedmen and other non-elite residents of the city. Based on this data, some have concluded that the elite ceased to construct tombs following Augustus, or that the line of the Aurelian Wall marked a boundary for funerary activity even prior to the construction of the fortification itself.<sup>148</sup> Neither conclusion is viable, and a careful approach to Rome's suburbs, alert to change through time, explains why.

A lack of sensitivity to diachronic change—at Rome as well as in other Italian cities—also has led to the idea that Italy's funerary landscape was strictly separated from its urban life. At Rome, the best known and most completely excavated necropoleis—e.g. along the via Salaria and the via Ostiensis, or under the Vatican—consist of dense collections of tombs that incorporate few non-funerary spaces. Nevertheless, these tombs were preserved precisely because they were located on the outer fringes of the city, where standard urban development never supplanted them.<sup>149</sup> Closer to the center, two millennia of urban history conceal most evidence. The excavations on the via del Tritone, therefore, are invaluable, demonstrating the presence of tombs within a typical mid-Imperial landscape of commercial and residential *insulae*. The well-preserved suburbs at Pompeii's Porta Ercolano and Ostia's Porta Marina indicate similar situations, as does the more limited evidence from other sites. At none of these cities were the dead tucked away or avoided. In all, funerary monuments were part of vibrant, living districts that extended out of the city center and through the suburb, where the presence of death was simply another facet of urban life.

<sup>147</sup> For this contraction, see Dey (2011: 169–95); Section 7.3.

<sup>148</sup> For a supposed elite abandonment of funerary display, see Zanker (1988: 291–2); Von Hesberg (1992: 37–45); Mouritsen (2005: 55–62); *contra* Borg (2019: 1–76). For the Aurelian Wall as a boundary for interment in the earlier Imperial period, see Stevens (2017a: 192–3).

<sup>149</sup> The exceptional nature of the destruction of 2 of the 3 necropoleis further attests to their locations on the far edges of the city; the tombs at the via Salaria were covered with earth that likely derived from the construction of Trajan's Forum, and Constantine famously covered the Vatican tombs with his premier funerary basilica (see Bodet 2014; Section 7.4).

## 4

# Waste Management from Center to Suburb

In the winter of 1874, Roman archaeologist and topographer Rodolfo Lanciani was in high demand. Rome had become the capital of a newly unified Italy only three years earlier and the city was expanding rapidly, requiring widespread excavation in advance of new construction. At just 29 years old, Lanciani oversaw much of the effort. That winter, his work focused in the area south of Termini station, where the streets of the modern Esquilino neighborhood were being laid out. Digging just outside the Porta Esquilina of the fourth-century city wall (now known as the “Arch of Gallienus” after a dedication added in the third century CE), he and his workmen made a shocking find, one that has defined the ancient neighborhood for the past century and a half. According to Lanciani:

The Esquiline cemetery was divided into two sections: one for the artisans and one for the slaves, beggars, prisoners, and others, who were thrown in revolting confusion into common pits or fosses. This latter section covered an area one thousand feet long and three hundred deep, and contained many hundred vaults, twelve feet square, thirty deep. In many cases the contents of each vault were reduced to a uniform mass of black, viscid, pestilent, unctuous matter; in a few cases the bones could in a measure be singled out and identified. The reader will hardly believe me when I say that men and beasts, bodies and carcasses, and any kind of unmentionable refuse of the town were heaped up in those dens. Fancy what must have been the condition of this hellish district in times of pestilence, when the mouths of the crypts must have been kept wide open the whole day!<sup>1</sup>

Lanciani’s description of these “vaults,” which he elsewhere called “puticuli,” has long dominated reconstructions of the Republican Esquiline. According to the standard idea, the area outside the gate was a repulsive, nightmarish district, home not only to mass graves of Rome’s poorest but also to garbage of all types, which was rejected from the city center to rot in a no man’s land beyond the wall.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani (1888: 64–5).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Purcell (1987a: 37; 1987b: 194); Wiseman (1998: 13–15); Carroll (2006: 74–7); Goodman (2007: 18); Hope (2009: 157–8); Malmberg and Bjur (2009: 115; 2011: 363–4); Annibaletto (2010: 53–4); Witcher (2013: 212); Lennon (2014: 146–7); Andrews and Bernard (2017: 251); Stevens (2017a: 167–7)1. See also LTUR 4 s.v. “Puticuli” 173–4 (F. Coarelli).



In the course of the twentieth century, moreover, this picture spread across Italy, as various excavations revealed that garbage was common to suburbs, where it piled against city walls, filled ditches, covered extramural roads, and accumulated around tombs and other buildings.<sup>3</sup> Today, this material is presented as one more aspect of suburban paradox, by which suburbs could contribute to the urban façade but nevertheless received materials that were unacceptable in the city center, ultimately giving them a darker, dirtier, and more dangerous character than neighborhoods within the walls.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter argues against that reconstruction, beginning with a re-evaluation of Lanciani's Esquiline. Revisiting his excavation reports and retracing the path of his interpretations, I find a different, and far less sensational, understanding of the "puticuli." Rather than mass graves, these features are better seen as public cesspits, installed outside the wall as one of many mid-Republican infrastructural investments made by magistrates seeking both to benefit the growing city and to augment their own prestige. Calling on perspectives from modern waste studies, I emphasize the presence of garbage outside the Porta Esquilina not as a mark of separation between suburb and center, but as an indicator of the connections between them.<sup>5</sup> The Esquiline's character as a district crossed by heavily traveled highways and accessible to densely developed neighborhoods made it ideal for managing Rome's garbage. The cesspits were closed as the suburb grew in the late Republican period, at which point waste management probably moved to more available and affordable areas further from the gate.

Looking forward in time, the massive garbage mounds found outside the wall at Pompeii demonstrate that refuse could remain a substantial presence even in developing suburbs. Nevertheless, garbage was likewise ubiquitous in the city center, complicating the common idea that waste gathered outside the wall because it was intolerable within. Considering differences—both in contents and scale—between deposits found across the city, I argue that this material represents refuse at various points in Pompeii's waste stream, by which rubbish collected within properties or on the streets just outside them before being moved to larger spaces such as abandoned lots or, in the greatest quantity, open areas in the city's suburbs. That being said, the suburban deposits were not akin to modern landfills, located in negligible, abandoned places intended to remove waste from the living space of the city. Instead, garbage collected in active zones that served as staging grounds for cycles of use and reuse. The suburban setting was perfect for this type of waste management, providing space for refuse to be sorted, stored, and gathered in large enough

<sup>3</sup> Examples are discussed in more detail below.

<sup>4</sup> See esp. Carandini (2000); Goodman (2007: 18); Annibaletto (2010: 53–6); Stevens (2017a: 63–5; 2017b: 154–5).

<sup>5</sup> I have found Baudrillard (1998), O'Brien (1999), and Berger (2006) to bring particularly useful approaches to modern waste. See also Hall (2013) for the impact of Christian wasteland narratives on historical attitudes towards garbage.



quantities to gain value, with easy access to roads and highways by which it might be moved in, out, and around the city.

Before embarking on the discussion, considering terms and definitions might be useful. For the purposes of this chapter, I define “waste” as any material that has passed out of active use (at least once, but potentially many times). This encompasses objects of ceramic, glass, metal, bone, wood, or other materials, along with household, agricultural, or industrial castoffs as varied as ash, charcoal, animal bones, iron blooms, ceramic wasters, fish scales, or fruit pits. Included as well are human and animal waste. Although excavation reports often leave unclear exactly what was included in waste deposits, all of these materials were common features. As synonyms for the general “waste,” I use “garbage,” “refuse,” and “rubbish,” intending them also as fully inclusive—and purposefully vague—terms. I do, however, distinguish between types of waste deposits: primary, secondary, or provisional.<sup>6</sup> Following common usage, I define primary deposits as any waste collected at its location of use. Secondary deposits encompass waste gathered in a separate location, such as in suburban mounds. Provisional waste accumulated temporarily where it had been generated, with the expectation that it would be removed, either to a secondary deposit or for recycling or reuse. When considering these categories, we should remember that although waste includes, by definition, discarded materials, these were not worthless or inherently unwanted. On the contrary, both individual discarded objects and collective materials could become commodities that might pass through many cycles of use, discard, and reuse. The designation of such material as valueless waste or valuable commodity depends less on its objective characteristics and more on the subjective perception of the individual interacting with it. The person who dumped waste over the city wall might have seen its presence as a nuisance, the objects within useless and so discarded. To someone who made their living in reuse or recycling, however, the same material had value and so was sorted, stored, and sold. Likewise, one individual might have paid to have human waste removed from her cesspit, while another could have bought that very same waste to fertilize his farm or garden. Given that the difference is one of perspective rather than property, I use the same terms for materials at any point in the stream that ran from discard to reuse (and back again).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For these categories, see Schiffer (1972: 161–2; 1996: 58–64); Peña (2007: 12).

<sup>7</sup> Relativity of value is a key concept in modern waste studies, especially as current responses to garbage crises across the world attempt to create management systems that recast garbage as a commodity. This type of work builds especially on Mary Douglas’s pioneering definition of dirt as socially constructed (Douglas 1966), as well as Michael Thompson’s rubbish theory, which described the cycles by which materials move into and out of the category of waste (Thompson 1979). See discussion in Luckin and Sharp (2004); Bulkeley, Watson, and Hudson (2007); Hall (2013); Zapata and Hall (2013a).

#### 4.1 The “Puticoli” of the Republican Esquiline

The so-called vaults that Lanciani recovered on the Esquiline have defined modern ideas of the ancient neighborhood, but problems have circled the find since the nineteenth century. Lanciani never completed a full publication of the Esquiline excavations; beyond two preliminary reports, the most detailed description is that quoted above from *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (1888), a collection of essays delivered to American audiences between the fall of 1886 and the spring of 1887.<sup>8</sup> According to his reports, the fixtures that Lanciani called vaults consisted of a series of large, square pits with shared, stone-lined walls. There are no known photographs, and published drawings are limited to two plans.<sup>9</sup> The first was included along with the original report of 1874; it shows about a dozen interconnected rectangular structures under the modern via Napoleone III southeast of the via Ratazzi, labelling them “puticoli” (Fig. 4.1).

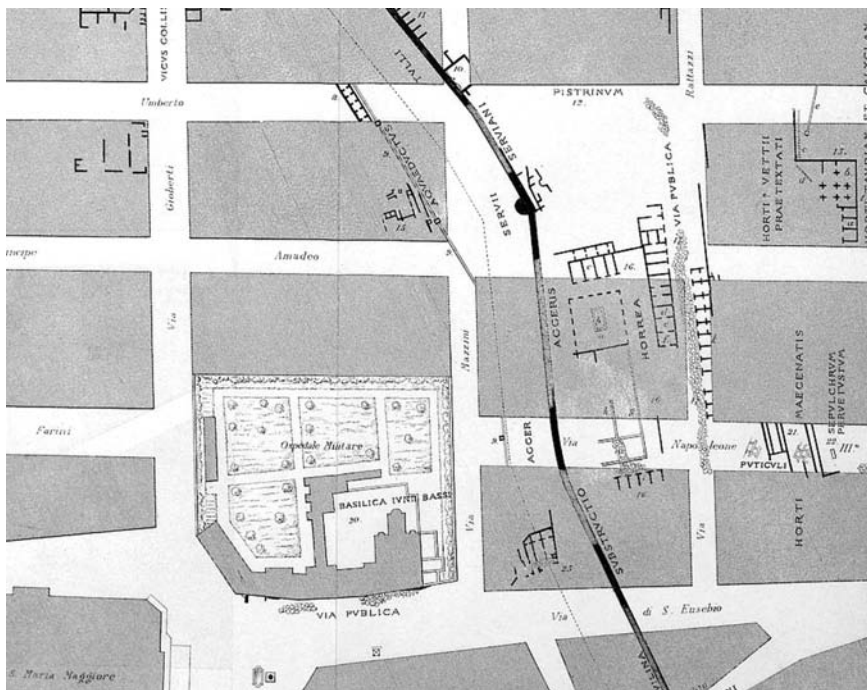


Figure 4.1 Plan of Lanciani’s excavations on the Esquiline, 1874. (After Lanciani 1874.)

<sup>8</sup> Preliminary reports: Lanciani (1874; 1875). For the lecture tour, see Palombi (2006: 113–16); Dixon (2016: 2).

<sup>9</sup> An additional sketch plan appears in one of Lanciani’s notebooks, now archived in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; see Buonocore (1997: fo. 12v).

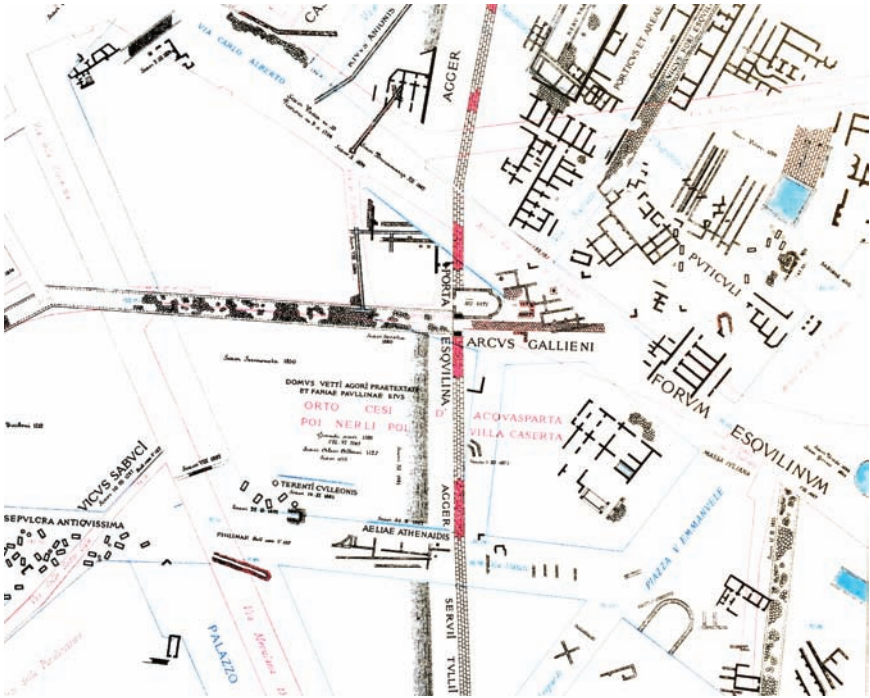


Figure 4.2 Puticoli shown on Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*.

The second comes from Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*, a plan of ancient Rome completed in 1901, where “puticuli” appear under the via Napoleone III and the block between it and the via Carlo Alberto (Fig. 4.2).<sup>10</sup> These plans, along with the cursory publications, leave open many questions and provide little reason to take Lanciani at his word. His own descriptions do not suggest mass graves—a feature entirely unattested otherwise in the literary and archaeological records of Rome—and his vaults or puticuli closely resemble the cesspits that served individual houses, blown up to a public scale. As we shall see, they were installed in the late third or second century and went out of use in the early first century BCE, apparently representing a short-lived and fairly unsuccessful experiment in waste management.

Essential to Lanciani's interpretation of the vaults were two literary passages, which even before his excavations had been read as indicating the presence of mass graves on the Esquiline. The first came from Varro:

<sup>10</sup> The discovery of “puticuli” between the via Napoleone III and via Carlo Alberto (then the via Santa Croce) is reported in Lanciani (1875: 43).

*Extra oppida a puteis puticuli, quod ibi in puteis obruebantur homines, nisi potius, ut Aelius scribit, puticuli quod putescabant ibi cadavera proiecta, qui locus publicus ultra Esquilias.*

Outside of towns there are puticuli, from *puteis* (“pits”), because men used to be buried there in pits, unless rather, as Aelius writes, [they are called] puticuli because abandoned corpses *putescabant* (“used to rot”) there, in the *locus publicus* beyond the Esquiline.<sup>11</sup>

Lanciani’s second source was a satire of Horace, in which the poet speaks with the voice of a wooden Priapus set up to guard new *horti* on the Esquiline constructed by Augustus’s friend and partisan (not to mention, Horace’s patron), Maecenas:

*... hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum... mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur. Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque aggere in aprico spatari, quo modo tristes albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.*

... here stood a common grave for the miserable plebs... here a *cippus* assigned one thousand feet in length, three hundred in depth, [and stipulated that] the monument does not pass to the heirs. Now one might live on a healthful Esquiline and stroll on the sunny embankment, where gloomy passers-by used to see a shapeless field of bleached bones.<sup>12</sup>

These two passages have long been thought to refer to mass graves called puticuli on the Esquiline; in fact, Luigi Canina’s plan of ancient Rome, published in 1850 and the standard for Roman topography prior to Lanciani’s own version, included the label “puticuli” just outside the Porta Esquilina, decades prior to the discovery of the vaults.<sup>13</sup> Neither Varro nor Horace, however, explicitly described mass graves. Varro seems to discuss a contemporaneous urban feature, apparently common not only at Rome, which was named for an ancient practice on the Esquiline, either the burial of the dead in pits (*puteis*) or the abandonment of corpses to rot (*putescabant*). What puticuli indicated in his own time he left unclear, and neither etymology indicates earlier mass graves.<sup>14</sup> Nor does Horace’s “field of bleached bones” recall Lanciani’s vaults, and the nature of his

<sup>11</sup> Varro, *Ling.* 25.5–8. For *proicio* as “abandoned” when used with *cadaver*, see Bodet (1994: 31–2).

<sup>12</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.10–16.

<sup>13</sup> Note that in the original publication of the puticuli, Lanciani (1874: 48) praised Canina’s prescience.

<sup>14</sup> For debates on the meaning of puticuli in Varro, see esp. Bodet (1994: 40–42). Some readings (e.g. Annibaletto 2010: 54) have equated the puticuli with “culinae” mentioned in the late 4th- or 5th-c. commentary on land surveying by Agennius Urbicus, where they are described as *loca publica* used for the burial of the poor (*sunt in suburbanis loca publica inopum destinata funeribus quae loca culinas appellant*). The chronological distance between Agennius Urbicus and Varro, however, cautions against equating the two.

poem as a panegyric to Maecenas means that we should be cautious of taking it too literally.<sup>15</sup> Certainly, the account of a single inscription governing a zone of 1,000 × 300 ft—a measurement that Lanciani borrowed for *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*—does not reflect a typical urban necropolis, where the poor were not set aside in discrete potters' fields, as was common in the nineteenth century, but mixed their simple burials with monumental tombs.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the text of the cippus, featuring the common formula *heredes monumentum non sequeretur* (the monument does not pass to the heirs), surely was tongue-in-cheek, since it makes no sense in a context that emphasizes the poverty and anonymity of the burials.

Like Canina before him, Lanciani probably expected to find mass graves on the Esquiline, explaining why he called the vaults *puticuli* already in his original report. Two additional discoveries—which likewise lack illustration, elaboration, or full publication—supported his idea of a hellish Esquiline, but invite further questions today. The first came in the summer of 1876, when private construction at the corner of the via Carlo Alberto and via Ratazzi exposed a portion of the defensive ditch that lined the outside of the Servian Wall to the north of the Porta Esquilina.<sup>17</sup> According to *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, the ditch was filled entirely with human remains, totaling as many as 24,000 bodies.<sup>18</sup> Once more, however, the nature of the find is difficult to understand. Lanciani described how the ground beneath the modern building had given way during construction, since it was built partially on the solid embankment, but “the southern half had been laid on the site of the ditch, filled up with thousands and thousands of corpses, which, when brought in contact with the air after twenty centuries, had crumbled into dust or nothing, leaving open a huge chasm.”<sup>19</sup> What did Lanciani see within the ditch? According to his text, it was not a pile of corpses, but a void. In fact, he indicated that the “corpses” had

<sup>15</sup> As others have pointed out: see Bodel (1994: 108, n. 157); Bell (1998: 296–8); also Paule (2017: 23–55).

<sup>16</sup> See Graham (2006); in this characteristic, tombs replicated domestic space in the city, where individuals of all classes crowded together without any apparent class-based zoning (see esp. Mignone 2016). Even necropoleis located some distance from the city, in areas less desirable for those constructing monumental tombs, mixed simple burials and larger monuments (e.g. Buccellato, Catalano, and Musco 2008; Musco et al. 2008). Horace's text makes clear that the area he described also featured monumental tombs (see line 36: *magna sepulcra*).

<sup>17</sup> Lanciani's text mistakenly placed the find at the corner of the via Mazzini (now the via Carlo Cattaneo, inside the city wall), but the correct location appears on his plans (Bodel 1994: 106–10, n. 165).

<sup>18</sup> Lanciani (1888: 65–6); the only other publication of the find is a brief reference in a letter to the British literary magazine *Athenaeum* (Lanciani 1877: 44).

<sup>19</sup> Lanciani (1888: 65–6). Based on the report, he thought that the digging of the building's foundations had exposed the remains to air, causing them to disintegrate and the ground to collapse. The more likely explanation is that the materials within the ditch had compacted over time, creating an underground void topped by solid ground; either the digging of foundations or the weight of the construction caused the ground to fall. The same process is common for filled cisterns and cesspits at Pompeii, which sometimes cause floors above to collapse during the course of excavation.





Figure 4.3 Photograph of Lanciani's excavations on the Esquiline. (After Lanciani 1897.)

crumbled to dust *prior to* the collapse of the ground, since the void caused the collapse. His single published photo of the excavation introduces additional confusion (Fig. 4.3). It shows his trench running perpendicular to the fourth-century wall, with some remains of architecture sitting over a thick fill that has been partially

excavated in the foreground. The accompanying text says that the ditch was filled when the area was reconstructed, with an ancient house built above.<sup>20</sup> No mass grave, much less one that contained many thousands of corpses, is evident.

Lanciani also recalled excavating more typical garbage spread across the Esquiline area, memorably reporting that he gave his workmen regular breaks, “because the smell from that polluted ground (turned up after a putrefaction of twenty centuries) was absolutely unbearable even for men so hardened to every kind of hardship as my excavators.”<sup>21</sup> He believed that this waste had been buried along with the vaults and corpses in the ditch when Maecenas reclaimed the Esquiline to construct his *horti*, relying again on Horace, who unsurprisingly praised Maecenas’ actions by stressing both the negative character of the area prior to his intervention and its newly pleasant, park-like appeal.<sup>22</sup> Following the poet, Lanciani too saw Maecenas as the force behind a major transformation of the neighborhood, which he contextualized as part of “the progress of Roman civilization,” akin to the paving of streets, the development of road networks, the draining of swamps, and the spreading of suburbs. We should note with some skepticism not only Lanciani’s uncritical reading of Horace and teleological view of Rome’s urban history, but also how closely his listed developments reflected nineteenth-century ideas of what made a healthful and modern city.<sup>23</sup> His description of the workmen’s disgust also raises suspicion. Outside of waterlogged conditions, certainly not the case on the Esquiline, Roman refuse—no matter how repulsive when deposited—would not continue to putrefy over two millennia. In the soil outside Rome, organic matter would have rotted away within a decade or so of deposition. By the time Lanciani’s workmen arrived in the area, the decomposition process should have been long over.<sup>24</sup> The ground outside the Esquiline might have been fouled, therefore, not by the ancient garbage uncovered by the excavators, but by modern cesspits or an overlying modern cemetery.

That being said, we cannot dismiss the possibility that Lanciani exaggerated his finds. Today’s key source, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, never was intended for a professional audience, and the events that followed its publication suggest that it is not entirely trustworthy as an archaeological document. Soon after his return from the American lecture tour and almost immediately following publication of the book, the Italian state opened an investigation against Lanciani; by the end of 1890 he had been dismissed from his position with the

<sup>20</sup> Lanciani (1897: 64).

<sup>21</sup> Lanciani (1888: 67).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 67–8.

<sup>23</sup> Including developments that Lanciani had praised at Rome in the preface to the same book (Lanciani 1888: ix). On 19th-c. city planning, see Hillier (1996: 180–81); Laurence (1997).

<sup>24</sup> Recent excavations of refuse and excrement within the *Cardo V* sewer at Herculaneum, for example, turned up no smell beyond a slight mustiness (Mark Robinson, pers. comm.; for the project, see Robinson and Rowan 2015; Rowan 2017). My own experience excavating cesspits in Pompeii confirms the same. Note too the cesspit excavated at the so-called CA Site, at Botromagno (Puglia), where organic waste had decomposed into a soft brown soil (Peña 2007: 308–9).



national archaeological service on charges that included illegally selling antiquities to American museums, advising foreigners on excavating and exporting Italian artifacts, and—most relevant to the current discussion—manipulating the archaeological record for personal gain.<sup>25</sup> Both the timing and charges suggest the tour and resulting book—so successful that it ran to twelve editions within a decade of its original publication—as central elements of contention for Lanciani’s employers. Nevertheless, their complaints were not entirely manufactured. Lanciani did export antiquities and assist foreign work in Rome, although not necessarily in contradiction with the law.<sup>26</sup> As regards misrepresentation, the charge could indicate a range of severity from true manipulation of the data to simple embellishment of the story surrounding them. In the case of the Esquiline vaults, some sensationalization is understandable, or even to be expected given the setting in which they were published. Lanciani was a great storyteller, and the lecture recorded in *Ancient Rome* was intended for a general audience. According to the preliminary reports, he had planned to conduct further excavation and study, and promised more complete accounts to follow.<sup>27</sup> In the chaotic expansion of the city in the late nineteenth century, not to mention the considerable upheavals to his own career, the opportunity never came.

Beyond all of these issues, the few details that Lanciani recorded about the Esquiline vaults introduce additional problems, and further separate them from his interpretation based on Varro and Horace. His figure of “many hundred vaults” covering an area “one thousand feet long and three hundred deep” can be dismissed immediately.<sup>28</sup> The number is lifted directly from Horace; Lanciani’s original report cited the poet, but later publications referred to the size without mentioning the text.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, although he claimed to have explored 75 of the purported hundreds of vaults, the published plans show only a dozen or two, most revealed only partially. His descriptions of the vaults also varied. He originally reported that their walls consisted of an irregular mass of stone, but later he described them as uniformly built with regular blocks, stacked without mortar. The account of the stone’s type, too, changed, from *cappellaccio* to *sperone* tuff.<sup>30</sup> Lanciani did not keep any artifacts from within the vaults, and beyond the much-cited passage that opens this chapter, he described the finds only as bones, ashes, and refuse.<sup>31</sup> His description does not immediately suggest mass graves; he

<sup>25</sup> Palombi (2006: 123–47); Dixon (2016). A fourth charge, that he had sold Italian museum subscriptions to Americans, was dropped in the course of the investigation (see Dixon 2016: 6).

<sup>26</sup> Palombi (2006: 142); Dixon (2016: 4–10). <sup>27</sup> Lanciani (1875: 43).

<sup>28</sup> Lanciani (1888: 64).

<sup>29</sup> For the citation, see Lanciani (1874: 46, n. 2). See also Graham (2006: 73).

<sup>30</sup> Lanciani (1874: 48; 1875: 43). See also Bodel (1994: 40).

<sup>31</sup> He did include some exceptional finds in his second report, but specified that these did not come from the vaults themselves (Lanciani 1875: 51). He was especially interested in the early pottery from the area, which primarily derived from nearby inhumation tombs.

admitted that bones could be identified only rarely, and they included both human and animal remains.

More recent work on the Esquiline can help clarify what Lanciani saw within the vaults. In early 1999, a construction project at Termini station uncovered a deposit that included a few disarticulated bones of adults and children, mixed with general refuse and large quantities of ash and charcoal.<sup>32</sup> The excavators believed that the remains had been contained within a vault like that discovered by Lanciani, but the exposed area was too small to confirm the idea. A larger-scale project, conducted a short distance away on the southern side of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, also is relevant. Here, the top of a wall that appeared to match Lanciani's description of the vaults (or at least one of his descriptions), built in *opus quadratum* of local tuff, was exposed at the bottom of the excavated trench.<sup>33</sup> In the stratum above were disarticulated human bones belonging to at least four individuals, mixed with other materials. None of these finds are unproblematic; the material recovered below Termini had been disturbed by the construction of the station, while the wall under Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II was not exposed fully and could represent a monumental tomb or other building, rather than one of the structures Lanciani referred to as vaults. Nevertheless, both projects indicate a common commingling of human remains and other refuse on the Esquiline. Chrystina Häuber's recent reassessment of the Horti of Maecenas points to an explanation. Based on extensive work with unpublished excavation reports, Häuber has found that the entire area of the *horti* contained mixed-up and shallow burials, primarily inhumations but including cremations as well.<sup>34</sup> The interments stretched across the eastern side of the city from the Esquiline to the Caelian, and extended both inside and outside the fourth-century wall. Having been mentioned only briefly in the nineteenth-century reports, most are now impossible to date precisely, but nearly all seem to have preceded the construction of the *horti*.<sup>35</sup> Häuber argues convincingly that human remains would have turned up regularly during construction activity in this area, including during the foundation of Maecenas's estate. She proposes, therefore, that this was the origin of Horace's "field of bleached bones": not a mass grave, but the legacy of many centuries of funerary activity at Rome.<sup>36</sup>

Lanciani's preliminary reports provide enough stratigraphic information to draw one certain conclusion: the material above the vaults pre-dated the Augustan

<sup>32</sup> The excavators interpreted the ash as representing cremations (Pales and Menghi 1999: 22), but ash might also have derived from cooking fires or otherwise indicate more typical refuse.

<sup>33</sup> Barrano, Colli, and Martines (2007).

<sup>34</sup> Häuber (2014: 307–34).

<sup>35</sup> Note too the 13 inhumation tombs of the 6th and 5th c. BCE excavated in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele in 2002 (see Barbera 2005; Barbera et al. 2005: 305–17); Lanciani also found many inhumations on the Esquiline (Lanciani 1874: 51–2; 1875: 43).

<sup>36</sup> Häuber (2014: 315). This idea previously had been put forward in brief by Richardson (1992: 323).

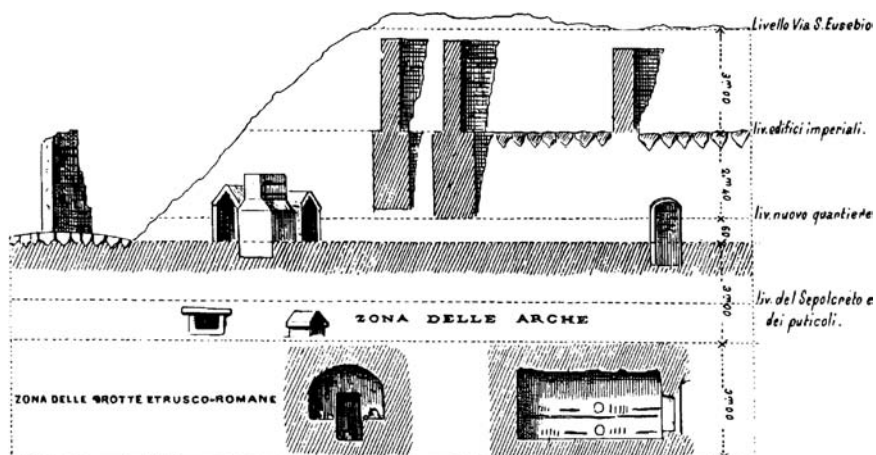


Figure 4.4 Section of Lanciani's excavations on the the Esquiline. (After Lanciani 1875.)

period, and so cannot be related to Maecenas.<sup>37</sup> A precise chronology is difficult to establish, but John Bodel's proposal of the third to second century BCE for the construction and use of the vaults seems sound.<sup>38</sup> In the early first century BCE they were covered with a thick fill, which was installed along with a series of boundary stones recording an edict of the praetor L. Sentius that forbade dumping in the zone between the Porta Esquilina and the Porta Viminalis (Fig. 4.4).<sup>39</sup> The edict forbade building crematoria, depositing refuse, and abandoning corpses in the c.200m-wide zone between the stones and the city wall. The inscription faced the city on massive cippi; the three known, two uncovered by Lanciani and one found during later construction, each weighed close to a ton (Fig. 4.5).<sup>40</sup> These should not be taken as evidence that Romans banned all waste dumping within the city center; they applied only to a certain zone, and their existence implies that dumping otherwise was widespread and generally unregulated.<sup>41</sup> Following Bodel, the edict suggests that deposition of waste had once been allowed in the area north of the gate; Sentius's decree accompanied the closure of the vaults and a redevelopment of the zone to serve a new

<sup>37</sup> Pinza (1914); Taloni (1973: 191–3); Bodel (1994: 45–51); Häuber (2014: 307–34).

<sup>38</sup> Bodel (1994). <sup>39</sup> Lanciani (1888: 66–7). <sup>40</sup> CIL 6 31614, 31615; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2981.

<sup>41</sup> Bodel (1994: 44). Comparable notices come from Cingoli (Paci 1983: 224–6; 1987), Luceria (Bodel 1994), Verona (ILS 8207b), and Herculaneum (CIL 4, 10488). The graffito found on a wall in Region V at Pompeii (CIL 4, 7038 = CLE 1934), ordering those dumping rubbish to continue on to the city wall, likely belongs to a different type, reflecting the personal concerns of a property owner rather than official policy (we might compare it to epitaphs that warn passers-by of fouling the tomb). The word that the graffito uses for the dumper, *stercorari*, has been taken by some to indicate a public sanitation worker, but more likely is a casual term for anyone carrying out the act of dumping, akin to the *cacator* (“defecator”) of other graffiti.



**Figure 4.5** Edict of Sentius. (Photo: author, courtesy Roma, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini. © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.)

purpose.<sup>42</sup> This effort, however, was not entirely successful. For one thing, a painted notice added to the bottom of one cippus reinforced its message—“take waste further on, lest you suffer something bad.”<sup>43</sup> Additionally, sometime not long after Sentius’s edict and likely still within the first half of the first century BCE, a *senatus consultum* once more forbidding dumping was issued and inscribed on an additional cippus, set up on the northern side of the road that led out of the gate (Fig. 4.6).<sup>44</sup> The text protected an extramural area belonging to the suburban administrative district known as the Pagus Montanus, one of several such districts first attested in this period. Such *pagi* would be dismantled by Augustus’s reorganization of the city, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the *senatus consultum*.

<sup>42</sup> Bodel (1994: 43–5).

<sup>43</sup> *Stercus longe aufer ne malum habeas* (CIL 6 31615 = I<sup>2</sup> 839). For the translation of *stercus* as waste in general, rather than human waste in particular, see Juntunen (2018).

<sup>44</sup> CIL 6 3823 = 31577 = I<sup>2</sup> 591 = ILS 6082.



**Figure 4.6** Senatus Consultum of the Pagus Montanus. (Photo: author, courtesy Roma, Musei Capitolini. © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.)

The use of mass graves at Rome is unattested in the literary record, but public cesspits do appear, and in precisely the period during which Lanciani's vaults stood on the Esquiline. Notably, Livy described Cato the Elder and his colleague Flaccus undertaking various works during their censorship of 184 BCE, including lining public cesspits with stone.<sup>45</sup> Lanciani's description of the vaults supports their identification as cesspits, whether those funded by Cato and Flaccus or otherwise. The account of walls lined with blocks stacked without mortar recalls certain cesspits from Pompeii, which were lined in unmortared bricks to allow for seepage.<sup>46</sup> They probably came to contain human remains only informally; as construction in the area disturbed earlier tombs, the cesspits would have been an obvious locations to discard their contents, and there is some possibility that the

<sup>45</sup> Livy 39.44.5. Graham (2006: 76) has argued that the puticuli could not be cesspits, since they were located within the necropolis on the Esquiline. Romans, however, saw no contradiction in the use of suburban space for both funerary activity and waste disposal, as we shall see in Section 4.2 (see also Liebeschuetz 2000: 57, n. 33).

<sup>46</sup> See Jansen (2000).

occasional unclaimed corpse found its way inside.<sup>47</sup> As cesspits, these fixtures probably were intended to control unregulated dumping in the open area beyond the wall, providing a place where refuse could be corralled and prevented from piling in mounds or spreading across the landscape. The garbage that Lanciani found throughout the zone suggests minimal success, however, as do the Edict of Sentius and the *senatus consultum* of the Pagus Montanus. Likewise, the deposit within the old defensive ditch is more likely to have been typical waste than a mass grave; the ditch would have made a convenient place to pitch refuse, and its fill probably represents sustained dumping over time rather than a single event. The failure of the Esquiline cesspits to control waste could explain why no similar features appeared later in Rome, or at any other Italian city. The intervention suggests experimentation, with results lackluster enough not to warrant future attempts.

Lanciani's vaults provide our earliest evidence for waste management at any Roman city, and their chronology and location make perfect sense within that context. The mid-Republican period was a time of intensive urbanization at Rome, during which the city's population, as well as the infrastructure that served it, expanded exponentially.<sup>48</sup> Rapid growth spurred the need for new systems to manage urban life, likely including new modes of waste management. The third and second centuries BCE also saw a sudden and dramatic increase in the wealth controlled by civic leaders, as well as in the expenditure necessary to maintain a prominent role in public life. Many magistrates of the time invested in infrastructural projects both to build their own status and to address real problems.<sup>49</sup> Like the aqueducts, highways, and sewers that spread across Rome in the same period, the vaults on the Esquiline—which were massive constructions and covered a large area, even accounting for any past exaggerations—were almost certainly a public project, funded by wealthy elites. Indeed, this neighborhood made an ideal location for waste dumping as well as for experimentation in waste management. The Esquiline had been populated as early as the tenth century BCE, and already at that time a major thoroughfare passed through the zone, connecting the settlements at Rome to other Latin villages in the hills to the east.<sup>50</sup> For centuries, the busy road known as the Argiletum ran between the Forum Romanum and the Porta Esquilina; the densely urbanized Subura neighborhood grew up alongside

<sup>47</sup> The idea that abandoned corpses were a regular presence on the streets of Rome was popularized by Scobie (1986: 418), supported primarily by Suetonius's story of a dog dropping a human hand at Vespasian's feet (Suet. *Vesp.* 5.4). Suetonius's point, however, rested on the rarity of the event, since he presented it as portending the rise of the future emperor; the anecdote would not have warranted notice if human parts were regularly dropped in Roman dining rooms. Although such a large city likely did attract individuals without the social connections to procure their own burial places, Rome employed funerary professionals to oversee the proper disposal of abandoned corpses already in the mid-Republican period (Bodel 2000: 138; 2004); and Scobie's picture of a city strewn with unclaimed bodies surely is exaggerated (see also Laurence 1997: 12).

<sup>48</sup> See Section 3.2.

<sup>49</sup> See discussion in Davies (2012).

<sup>50</sup> See Section 3.1.





Figure 4.7 The Porta Esquilina (Arch of Gallienus). (Photo: author.)

the route in the Republican period (Fig. 4.7). Long characterized as a plebian “slum,” recent research has shown that this neighborhood, like the rest of the city, was home throughout its history to the full spectrum of Roman society.<sup>51</sup> Caesar, after all, was born in the Subura, and Pliny the Younger had a *domus* there as well.<sup>52</sup> Residential development had spread beyond the gate by the first half of the first century BCE, when the Pagus Montanus erected their cippus attempting to control dumping.<sup>53</sup> The Lucus Libitinae, the headquarters of Rome’s funerary professionals, also stood somewhere nearby, most likely just outside and to the north of the gate.<sup>54</sup>

Reinterpreting Lanciani’s finds as public cesspits rather than as mass graves suggests both traffic through the zone outside the Porta Esquilina and a population settled somewhere nearby even in the mid-Republican period. Republican magistrates did not undertake expensive development projects in marginal zones unlikely to be seen or noticed; such projects were designed not only to fulfill real needs, but also to buy political clout. The growing congestion of the

<sup>51</sup> Andrews (2014; 2015); Mignone (2016: 108–16). See also Reynolds (1996: 252); Aldrete (2007: 212–17).

<sup>52</sup> Suet. *Iul.* 46; Mart. 10.19.1–9. Likewise, Cicero characterized the Esquiline suburb as one of the most honored locations for burial in his day (Cic. *Phil.* 9.17).

<sup>53</sup> See Section 2.3.

<sup>54</sup> See Bodel (2000; 2004); Schrupf (2006: 239–81). Two late Republican inscriptions, which identify a butcher and a cloth-dealer who operated near the Lucus Libitinae, further suggest urban development in this zone (CIL 6 9974, 33870).



district with the development of the Pagus Montanus probably led to the closure of the cesspits in the early first century BCE, at which time large-scale waste disposal moved further from the gate. Although the Edict of Sentius and the *senatus consultum* of the Pagus Montanus indicate that occasional dumping continued, intensifying urbanization in the neighborhood would have increased land prices, encouraging the devotion of space to more profitable endeavors than waste management. With this reconstruction in mind, it was not the district's distance from urban life that made it a good area for waste management, but its connection to the center. The relationship is encapsulated by the cesspits, which represent significant monetary and human resources invested into the zone outside the wall. Revisiting Lanciani, therefore, introduces a new picture of the Republican Esquiline, not as an area without waste, but where waste indicates attention, investment, and the necessary activities of a successful and growing city.

#### 4.2 Reuse, Recycling, and the Economy of Garbage: Waste Management at Pompeii

Moving from the Republican to the early Imperial period, the exceptional preservation of Pompeii allows us to examine urban waste management in more detail. At many sites, refuse can be difficult to interpret, since it might postdate the abandonment of a building or neighborhood. Pompeii's rapid destruction, therefore, provides an opportunity. On the day Vesuvius erupted in 79 CE, massive waste deposits stood outside the city's walls. Bourbon excavators had noted garbage piled around tombs beyond the Porta Ercolano already in the 1750s; at the end of the nineteenth century, mounds of refuse were found filling funerary enclosures at the Porta Stabia, covering the road to Nuceria Alfaterna east of the amphitheater, and surrounding tombs at the Porta Vesuvio.<sup>55</sup> The effort to clear the city wall between the Porta Vesuvio and the Porta Ercolano in the early decades of the twentieth century revealed even more garbage, heaped against the exterior of the wall and covering the entire zone between the two gates, a span of more than 250m (Fig. 4.8).<sup>56</sup> The mound was highest at the gates and the towers between them, with an average height of about a meter. Since that time, additional waste deposits have been uncovered on the eastern side of the city, between Tower 8 and the Porta Nola, as well as to the south, where it obscured the road outside the Porta Nocera, piled around tombs at the Porta Sarno, and accumulated below the

<sup>55</sup> Porta Ercolano: PAH I.3, 65 (also Maiuri 1942: 175; 1943: 294–5). Porta Stabia: Sogliano (1889: 280–81, 368–9; 1890: 44–5); Mau (1890: 280). Road to Nuceria: Mau (1888); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 24–5). Porta Vesuvio: Spano (1910: 402, 409–16). See also Esposito (2018: 168–74).

<sup>56</sup> Maiuri (1930: 230–73; 1942: 174–5; 1943: 279–81).



**Figure 4.8** Photograph of Maiuri's excavations on the northern side of Pompeii. (After Maiuri 1942.)

cliff of the Triangular Forum.<sup>57</sup> Although once reconstructed to represent the abandonment of Pompeii's suburbs prior to the eruption, this clearly was not the case; workshops outside the Porta Ercolano were functioning on the very day of the disaster, and in all of the city's suburbs new funerary monuments were constructed, interments were made, and ritual continued through the end of Pompeii's life, even with concurrent dumping of garbage.<sup>58</sup> Nor does the material suggest rubble from the earthquake of 62/63 CE or another seismic event.<sup>59</sup> Where details are available, the contents of the mounds do not resemble debris from a natural disaster, but typical urban waste collected gradually over a long period.<sup>60</sup> Artifacts consisted primarily of ceramic sherds, pieces of tile, plaster,

<sup>57</sup> Porta Nola: Romanazzi and Volonté (1986); Peña (2007: 279–82). Porta Nocera: Maiuri (1939). D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 24–5); Nappo (1997: 95). Porta Sarno: D'Ambrosio (1998; 1999). Triangular Forum: Esposito (2018: 168).

<sup>58</sup> For the workshop, see Section 5.3. For continuing funerary ritual, see Van Andringa et al. (2013: 17–18). For the traditional interpretation of suburban abandonment, see Mau (1888: 121); Maiuri (1942: 174–5); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 24–5).

<sup>59</sup> As Maiuri argued (1942: 174–5; 1943: 279–80), and more recently maintained by Esposito (2018: 168–74).

<sup>60</sup> See discussion in Peña (2007: 279–82); Dicus (2014: 70–71). Finds from Pompeii's waste mounds are currently under study by the Pompeii Artifact Life History Project; see Peña (2014).

and pavement, and fragments of animal bones, but included also some glass and metal. Finds tended to be small, broken, and heavily worn, all set within a sandy, ashy matrix. While cleanup from the earthquake probably augmented the size of the mounds, that disaster is unlikely to explain their presence as a whole.

To understand the garbage outside Pompeii's wall, it seems necessary also to look inside the city center, to explore waste as an urban, rather than simply suburban, phenomenon. Large refuse deposits were not unique to the city's suburbs, and waste accumulated within the wall as well as beyond it. Several properties that had been destroyed and abandoned prior to 79 CE—possibly but not certainly as a result of the earthquake/s that preceded the eruption—were filled entirely with ancient garbage upon excavation. Property IX.3.21–2 provides a good example.<sup>61</sup> Once one or more well-decorated atrium houses, by the time of the eruption most of the building's walls had been removed to their foundations and the interior space had been filled with a deposit of refuse that was nearly a meter and a half deep (Fig. 4.9). An original report had interpreted the refuse as construction



**Figure 4.9** Property IX.3.21–2 at Pompeii. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

<sup>61</sup> Others include I.6.13–14 and VIII.2.37. See Ruggiero (1879: 29); Maiuri (1942: 159–60).

rubble, gathered to repair nearby buildings damaged in the earthquake of 62/63 CE.<sup>62</sup> Sondages conducted in 2012, however, found that the deposit resembled typical household waste and primarily consisted of animal bones and ceramic sherds; any rubble was located on the surface and appeared to have derived from a World War II bomb that detonated on the southern side of the property.<sup>63</sup> The finds were small and heavily fragmented, contained within a sandy matrix with a few lenses of more organic humus.<sup>64</sup> All of this material was removed in an effort to reopen Region IX to tourism in 2017, but any publication remains forthcoming.

Waste also collected in Pompeii's streets. Unfortunately, most were cleared of volcanic overburden long before garbage became a topic of scholarly interest, and any material found on top of the ancient paving was removed without comment in the reports.<sup>65</sup> A few recent projects, however, suggest the extent of street dumping, at least on secondary thoroughfares. In fact, garbage has topped every Pompeian road cleared in the past three decades. The unnamed *vicolo* between Insulae IX.11 and IX.12, which was explored beginning in 2000, provides a good example.<sup>66</sup> The sidewalks to either side of the narrow, unpaved route were relatively clean, but the road surface itself was covered in various piles of garbage, which were dominated by large ceramic fragments and especially pieces of amphorae, along with animal bones deriving from cows, sheep/goat, and pigs.<sup>67</sup> The excavators concluded, reasonably, that the garbage had been dumped from neighboring properties, which included both luxurious houses and commercial establishments, likely with apartments above. The deposits would have made passage difficult, particularly for carts, but there is no reason to see the street as abandoned. Certainly, the properties surrounding it was occupied, as the waste attests.

Another example indicates that thoroughfares could remain in use even after extensive dumping. This particular street, part of the inner ring road near Tower 9 (once thought to be the "Porta Capua"), was covered in 79 CE by many layers of refuse, which rose over 2m above the road surface.<sup>68</sup> The deposit sloped from north to south, suggesting that most material had been dumped from the top of the city wall; the various layers within indicated many individual moments of discard. At some point, the material was leveled and packed to make a new road surface, but even so, dumping did not cease. A tangle of wheel ruts cut through the accumulating waste, attesting to the continuation of both garbage disposal and traffic up to the time of the eruption.<sup>69</sup> Layers of rubbish marked by wheel

<sup>62</sup> Fiorelli (1875: 399). <sup>63</sup> University of Helsinki (2013).

<sup>64</sup> Eeva-Maria Viitanen, pers. comm.

<sup>65</sup> See Arthur (1993: 194).

<sup>66</sup> The *vicolo* between Insulae IX.12 and IX.13, which was excavated as part of the same project, likewise was covered in refuse. See Berg (2005: 200–01; 2008: 363–4); Varone (2008: 351–3).

<sup>67</sup> Berg (2005: 200); Berg (2008: 363).

<sup>68</sup> Etani (1998: 118, 131); Etani et al. (1999: 124–33); Poehler (2017a: 70–71).

<sup>69</sup> Etani et al. (1996: 55–9).

ruts and hoofmarks also have been uncovered along the inner ring road north of Insula VI.2, while a deposit of garbage compacted by traffic was cleared more recently on the vicolo delle Nozze d'Argento north of Insula V.1.<sup>70</sup> Additional ancient waste has been found packed in the wheel ruts of Pompeii's streets, both those in use in 79 and earlier iterations below.<sup>71</sup> Such material could have been imported intentionally to fill the ruts and level the streets but alternately might have been an unintentional byproduct of regular street dumping, left behind in the depressions of ruts when garbage was cleared from the surface in antiquity or in the course of modern excavations.

The practice of depositing waste directly onto streets is well attested, both for the Roman period and at other historical moments.<sup>72</sup> At Pompeii, furthermore, drains introduced additional waste; a recent survey has documented over 600 private drains that emptied onto the city's streets, and subsurface excavation further illuminates the phenomenon.<sup>73</sup> Work in Insula VI.1 has shown that drains from the House of the Vestals carried food scraps and other refuse to the vicolo di Narciso, which ran behind the property.<sup>74</sup> Excavations just inside the Porta Stabia in Insulae VIII. 7 and I. 1, moreover, have uncovered over 30 drains that certainly or probably emptied onto the via Stabiana (Fig. 4.10).<sup>75</sup> Although primarily meant to carry liquid waste, the drains also received a variety of other materials: from fragmentary animal and fish bone; to fish scale, eggshell, and snail and marine shell; to small ceramic sherds, glass fragments, and objects like beads, nails, and tacks. Regular dumping of solid waste led to issues with clogging; two properties dealt with this problem by installing catch-basin systems, which could be accessed from ground level to allow for maintenance (Fig. 4.11). If other drains clogged, however, they could be cleared only by digging through the floor above—an inconvenience that led to the abandonment of drains during periods of reconstruction. New drains were built directly over older ones, sometimes in as many as three separate phases.

<sup>70</sup> Insula VI.2: Garzia (2008). The excavators believed that the road had been abandoned prior to the eruption, with the marks of traffic left by earlier explorers. They based this conclusion, however, not on modern finds, but on the color of the lapilli that sealed the deposit. As Poehler (2017a: 70) has pointed out, such an interpretation is far from secure, given that there were color variations in the eruptive accumulation (Sigurdsson 2007: 52). Insula VI.1: Nilsson (2014). A possible ancient waste deposit also topped the vicolo del Gallo west of the Sanctuary of Apollo (Dobbins et al. 1998: 744–5).

<sup>71</sup> E.g. on the vicolo del Fauno (Befani 2008: 9) and the vicolo delle Nozze d'Argento (Nilsson 2014). See Poehler (2017a: 58).

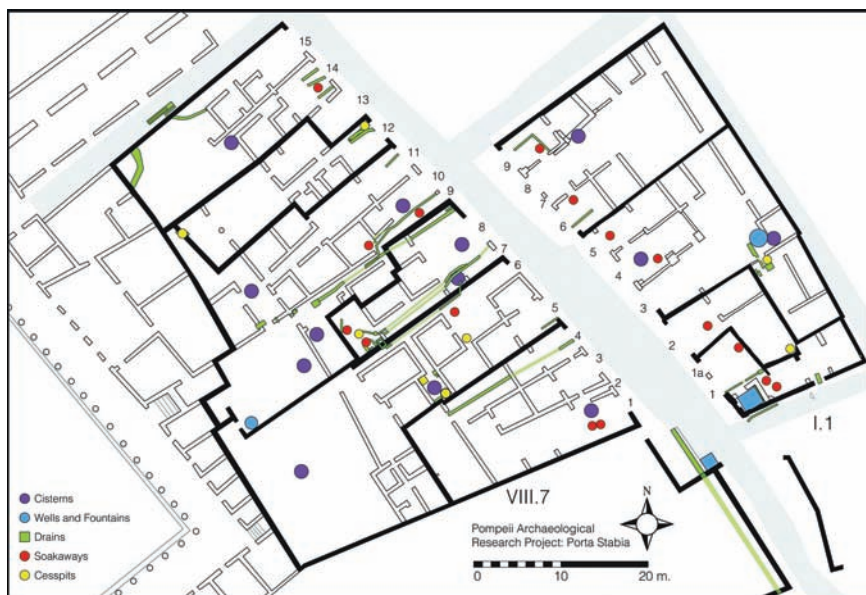
<sup>72</sup> See discussion in Liebeschuetz (2000); Manacorda (2000); Panciera (2000). A law preserved in the Digest, which forbade dumping into the streets refuse (*κόπρον*—a word that can, like the Latin *stercus*, indicate both garbage and human waste), animal carcasses (*νεκρὰ*), and animal skins (*δέρματα*), might have been directed specifically at workshops like tanneries, given the materials singled out for legislation (Pap. Dig. 43.10.1.3–5).

<sup>73</sup> This project is being conducted by J. Dunkelbarger; see Poehler (2012; 2017a: 84).

<sup>74</sup> Ciaraldi and Richardson (2000); Murphy, Thompson, and Fuller (2013); Murphy (2015: esp. 61–2).

<sup>75</sup> Motz (forthcoming).





**Figure 4.10** Plan of cisterns, wells and fountains, drains, soak-aways, and cesspits excavated at the Porta Stabia. (Plan by C. Motz, courtesy Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia.)



**Figure 4.11** Catch-basin in drain at the Porta Stabia. (Photo: Courtesy Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)



**Figure 4.12** Soak-aways at the Porta Stabia, showing soak-away mouth at left, amphora in the course of excavation at right. (Photo: courtesy Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

Some fixtures used to manage waste did not remove it from buildings, leaving refuse in close proximity to the people who generated it. One such was the “soak-away,” a simple system that could be installed indoors or out, which consisted of a reused amphora with its neck and toe removed and holes punched into its sides, buried in a pit that left the amphora accessible at ground level (Fig. 4.12).<sup>76</sup> Liquid waste could be dumped into the structure, which would carry it below the floor and allow it to disperse into the subfloor fill.<sup>77</sup> Soak-away systems could function well if used strictly to dispose of liquids, but many collected organic refuse and other small pieces of rubbish. Most had floor level openings that were too small for the interior to be cleaned; the waste within, therefore, putrefied below the floor. The propensity for soak-aways to smell could explain why ashes were recovered within many; these fixtures might have made convenient places to dump cooking rubbish, but ashes also would have served to control foul odors. Even while corralling waste, therefore, soak-aways could not fully erase its presence.

Other waste disposal features revealed at the Porta Stabia likewise indicated both attempts to manage waste and its unavoidable presence within inhabited spaces. In this neighborhood, much garbage was deposited in simple cesspits that

<sup>76</sup> The project revealed 16 soak-aways, 3 of which used multiple stacked amphorae to make a longer drain. Most were in use alongside the production of salted fish products, a major industry in the neighborhood during the Republican period (see Ellis, Emmerson, and Dicus forthcoming).

<sup>77</sup> Subsurface excavations in other areas of the city show that the system was widespread in the 2nd–1st c. BCE (Baker forthcoming).



took the form of unlined cylindrical shafts, usually around 0.5m to 1m in diameter and anywhere from two to several meters deep.<sup>78</sup> Most contained both human waste and general refuse, and while some had indications of latrine fixtures above, the uppermost remains of the majority were too poorly preserved to reconstruct.<sup>79</sup> In addition to these cesspits, rectangular tanks with narrow masonry walls also held refuse; some of these might have served different purposes originally. One small room in Property VIII.7.5–6 contained both a cesspit and a tank used for disposal (see Fig. 4.10). The fixtures dated to the years just before the eruption of 79 CE, when the property functioned as a large restaurant with both indoor and outdoor dining options, as well as a shop at the front. They were located in a small room accessed by a narrow corridor, apparently a service space for the restaurant. In the center of the room was a cistern, with the waste disposal fixtures flanking it to either side. To the south of the cistern was a cesspit with an unlined shaft around 1.25m in diameter and 2.5m deep.<sup>80</sup> At the time of the eruption, it was completely filled with refuse. Finds included charcoal, small bronze, iron, glass, and terracotta objects, nearly two pounds of broken animal bones (primarily pig, with a few cow and bird bones also represented), and over 2,000 sherds of pottery—primarily cookware and coarseware—many of which were large and some nearly complete. The deposit contained relatively little soil, all of which was a rich humus that contained much ash and charcoal. Similar material was found in the waste-disposal fixture to the northwest, a rectangular tank about 1m square, with unlined, masonry walls. Like the cesspit, it contained many sherds of coarseware and cookware, animal bones, small broken objects, and much charcoal. It was likewise brimming with waste upon excavation. Even if they had covers, these fixtures would have made the small room unpleasant and smelly; that they attracted scavengers is attested by the many rodent bones found within each. How long they might have been left this way is unclear, but for a time at least, those who used the room lived very close to their waste.

Evidence is still limited, but what has emerged indicates two standard waste signatures for the garbage excavated inside and outside the walls of Pompeii. Deposits recovered from cesspits at the Porta Stabia match the few examples that have been published from elsewhere in the city, tending to consist of larger ceramics and animal bones, as well as various smaller objects in materials like glass, bronze, and iron, all contained with a rich, ashy humus derived from the biodegradation

<sup>78</sup> Dicus (forthcoming).

<sup>79</sup> Some cesspits at Pompeii opened from gardens or below the sidewalks flanking properties, allowing them to be cleaned without fouling the indoor space (see Barattolo and Romaldi 2000: 264–5; Jansen 2000: 38; Berg 2008: 364–8), but all of those uncovered at the Porta Stabia were contained within the buildings themselves.

<sup>80</sup> The remains of a latrine fixture survived above the cesspit, but it appears to have been destroyed already in antiquity and there were no indications of human waste within the cesspit fill, suggesting that the pit had been emptied since the period when the latrine was in use. See Ellis et al. (forthcoming).

of organic materials.<sup>81</sup> Detailed information on the soil matrix of the refuse piled on Pompeii's streets remains unavailable, but artifacts recovered from the *vicolo* between Insulae IX.11 and IX.12, at least, were similar to those found in cesspits at the Porta Stabia, and contained both sizeable ceramic sherds and the bones of large mammals. The mounds outside the walls, on the other hand, had a different signature, containing smaller and more heavily broken objects set within a sandy matrix, with some intermixed ash and hummus. The waste within the abandoned Property IX.3.21–2 seems to have been analogous. These signatures suggest that the material can be sorted into two broad categories; waste derived from cesspits and streets was most likely provisional, collected in and around the sites that had created it on the assumption of later removal, while that recovered in the larger deposits within abandoned properties and outside the walls is better defined as secondary, gathered some distance from the place where it had been generated.<sup>82</sup> Together, the evidence indicates, in very rough outline, a system of waste management by which refuse was corralled in cesspits or dumped on nearby roads before being removed to open areas in the city center or the suburbs.

The provisional and secondary waste materials recovered from Pompeii differed both in soil matrix and in contents. The sand and grit present in deposits outside the walls and in the abandoned lot probably derived from the city's streets, having been gathered inadvertently along with the refuse left there. Such grit is well attested, covering the streets of 79 CE as well as earlier versions below them; it results from the gradual breakdown of the mortars, plasters, ceramics, and stones that make up the city's architecture.<sup>83</sup> The differences in recovered artifacts, meanwhile, can be attributed to the common practices of reuse and recycling. Larger sherds and animal bones were typical in cesspits and streets but rare in abandoned buildings and extramural mounds. Other artifacts were unusual in all contexts, including complete or nearly complete amphorae and tiles, large pieces of glass or metal, and construction materials like stones and bricks. Surely these objects entered Pompeii's waste stream, but all had the potential for second lives. In some cases, items like complete amphorae or large pieces of glass or metal might have been set aside rather than dumped with provisional refuse, explaining their absence from cesspits.<sup>84</sup> Other objects—like large sherds and animal

<sup>81</sup> Publication of excavated cesspit contents is still rare, but see Berg (2005: 201; 2008: 364–8). We should beware equating cesspits with quarry pits (see Poehler forthcoming), which were excavated to recover building materials and usually filled with secondary waste; most of the features that Esposito (2018: 154–158) has identified as waste pits are better interpreted as quarry pits.

<sup>82</sup> For Roman waste signatures, see Remolà Vallverdú (2000: 115–16); De Sena and Rivello (2007: 369–70).

<sup>83</sup> See Poehler (2017a: 53). In waste mounds, this grit might have been augmented through the dumping of sand used as construction material; a deposit of what appeared to be pure sand was recovered in the abandoned property at IX.3.21–2 (Eeva-Maria Viitanen, pers. comm.).

<sup>84</sup> Note the pile of bronze, iron, and terracotta objects discovered alongside a latrine in a villa outside the Porta Vesuvio (Sogliano 1900: 599), also amphorae set aside for reuse at the “House of Amarantus” (I.9.12) and the “Garum Workshop of the Umbricii” (I.12.8) (see Peña 2007:

bones—appeared in primary and provisional deposits but tended to be absent from secondary mounds, suggesting that they exited the waste stream at a later point, either in the course of removal from streets and cesspits or after arriving at a secondary dump.

We can be sure that Roman waste management included systems of reuse—i.e. the recovery of whole or partial objects for new purposes—as well as recycling—i.e. the reprocessing of objects into raw materials. Past work has focused especially on transport amphorae, which could be incorporated into drainage systems and architecture, cut apart to make objects like stoppers, funnels, and disks, or reutilized as burial containers or libation tubes.<sup>85</sup> Complete examples, furthermore, were reused for storage and packaging of all types, and even sherds could be recycled by being broken into fragments and used to manufacture materials like *opus signinum* flooring or hydraulic plaster.<sup>86</sup> Although Amphorae were obvious candidates for such purposes, given that they were large, heavy, and produced in great quantity for relatively short primary-use lives, other classes of pottery also had second lives. A broken vessel, for instance, could be chipped down to its ring foot, then inverted and reused as a lid, while ceramics of any class could be recycled into temper for new objects.<sup>87</sup> Recycling was especially common for metals and glass, which could be melted down and reformed.<sup>88</sup> Large animal bones also were useful for manufacturing a variety of items. Evidence from what has been interpreted as a butcher's shop at Ostia emphasizes the practice; a provisional refuse deposit excavated within the shop contained only small bones, suggesting that larger remains had been gathered separately for reuse elsewhere.<sup>89</sup> Wood, meanwhile, is more difficult to trace, since it does not survive at most Roman sites, but a wooden item could be remade into a smaller object, or at the very least, processed for charcoal or even burned as it was.<sup>90</sup> Even human waste was valuable, collected from cesspits to be used for fertilizer and in a variety of industrial processes.<sup>91</sup>

82–98). Two complete amphorae were found on the vicolo between Insulae IX.11 and IX.12; the excavators interpreted them as water vessels for workmen undertaking construction activity along the street (Varone 2008: 351–4), but they might have been dumped with the rest of the waste under the assumption that someone else might recover and reuse them.

<sup>85</sup> De Sena and Rivello (2007: 365); Peña (2007: 119–92).

<sup>86</sup> Peña (2007: 250–71).

<sup>87</sup> Peña (2007: 198); Siddall (2011: 165–6).

<sup>88</sup> Recycling could save significant time and expense over starting with new materials. Studies of metal and glass objects manufactured at Roman Autun suggest that all contained recycled material, often in large percentages (Kasprzyk and Labaune 2003: 104).

<sup>89</sup> Bukowiecki, Dessales, and Dubouloz (2008: 231).

<sup>90</sup> Rodríguez-Almeida (2000: 124–5).

<sup>91</sup> See Cato *Agr.* 5.8; Varro *Rust.* 1.13.4; Columella *Rust.* 1.6.24; also White (1970: 125–45); Scobie (1986: 413–14); Arthur (1993: 195); Laurence (1997: 13–14); Koloski-Ostrow (2015: 89–90). The popular idea of jugs left on streets to collect urine for fullers, however, probably is inflated (see Wilson and Flohr 2011: 151–3; Flohr 2013: 170–71).

Another standard fate for Roman waste was to be incorporated into architecture, and reuse of building materials was frequent enough to receive a significant amount of attention in the legal sources.<sup>92</sup> A law preserved in the *Digest*, for example, dictated that individuals were entitled to keep the materials from any building that collapsed onto their land from the property of another.<sup>93</sup> Presumably, this allowance would help defray the cost of clearing the rubble, while also serving as a deterrent for those who might allow their properties to fall into disrepair. Many laws presuppose the value of old building materials, suggesting that it might even exceed that of the building it constituted. In fact, a series of regulations passed beginning in the first century CE placed various restrictions on owners seeking to destroy their own buildings to retrieve their components.<sup>94</sup> One example of the Claudian era, the *sc Hosidianum*, which was preserved on a bronze tablet found at Herculaneum, banned any demolition for the purpose of recovering materials; this law remained a touchstone until the third century.<sup>95</sup> The frequency of reuse in construction also is clear in the archaeological record. All Roman concrete required a rubble core, a reasonable place to save money by utilizing old stones, tiles, and bricks. *Opus incertum*, meanwhile, could incorporate reused materials even in its outer facing. Some low-quality walls at Pompeii included materials ranging from pieces of tile and amphora; to chunks of mortar, plaster, and *opus signinum* flooring; to broken ceramics of various types. Almost all such walls received a final layer of plaster, hiding the mess of materials within.

Despite the lack of easily recyclable objects, the larger waste deposits found in abandoned properties and especially in Pompeii's suburbs should not be seen as consisting of valueless leftovers, stripped of all useful materials and so abandoned to putrefy beyond the realm of urban life. In fact, the mounds themselves were arguably the most reused objects in Roman cities, at least judging by sheer volume of material involved. Roman construction not only reused amphorae, tiles, and stones, but also incorporated extensive fills. These took the form of feature fills, which closed subsurface voids like cisterns, tanks, and quarry pits to take them out of use prior to reconstruction, as well as leveling fills, which covered earlier floors and fixtures to create solid foundations for new surfaces. At the Porta Stabia excavations, 98 percent of all finds derived from fills; by volume, they represented 93 percent of all excavated contexts.<sup>96</sup> Both feature and leveling fills were marked by a diverse array of finds, most of which were small and heavily

<sup>92</sup> See discussion in Marano (2012; 2013). <sup>93</sup> Ulp. *Dig.* 39.2.7.

<sup>94</sup> See Marano (2013: 7). Note too Cicero's criticism of Verres for using rubble to reconstruct the Temple of Castor and Pollux, rather than allowing the contractor to take it as payment (Cic. *Verr.* 2.56.148), as well as a graffito from Pompeii advertising for sale *tegula*, *opercula*, and *colliquia*—flat tiles, imbrex tiles, and pipes (CIL 4 7124 = 1<sup>2</sup> 3145; Frank 1938; Marano 2013: 6–7).

<sup>95</sup> CIL 10 1401. See Marano (2013: 11–12).

<sup>96</sup> Ellis (2017: 311–18); Ellis et al. (forthcoming).

broken, with few joins. The most common artifacts were small ceramics, with rarer fragments of glass and metal. Many faunal remains also were included, although recovered bones were almost invariably fragments. The matrix of the fills was sandy and grey, with micro-inclusions of plaster, mortar, and ceramic, along with ash and charcoal. In short, the fills were nearly identical to the secondary waste deposits from which they almost certainly derived. Such material could be packed tightly, making the collapse of an abandoned subterranean feature less likely and providing firm foundations for new floors. Notably, tight packing would have been impossible had the mounds retained larger objects; “leftover” waste was, therefore, ideal for this type of reuse.<sup>97</sup> Even in a modest property, reconstruction could require massive amounts of fill. For example, Property I.1.3–5 was remodeled to function as a commercial stable in the mid-first century BCE.<sup>98</sup> This activity included laying down a leveling fill *c.*30cm deep throughout the entire building, which at the time measured *c.*235m<sup>2</sup>; the reconstruction, therefore, would have required over 70m<sup>3</sup> of material, which could have weighed as much as 120 metric tons. Given the volume of fill involved, local collection within the building appears impossible, making a secondary waste deposit—probably one located outside the nearby gate—the most likely source for the fill.<sup>99</sup> In the Porta Stabia neighborhood, most properties underwent major renovations every 30 years or so; even if construction was not as active elsewhere or if some property owners chose to import clean fill dirt over waste from suburban mounds, the city regularly consumed massive quantities of fill.

Investigation of urban refuse has been more limited outside of Pompeii, but other Italian cities suggest similar systems of waste management that brought garbage to suburbs as one stop in a cycle of use and reuse. At many cities, waste filled defensive ditches or other natural and manmade depressions, which made convenient dumps both because they corralled refuse and hid it from view and because the fill could make a depression less hazardous, or even open new space for development.<sup>100</sup> At Altinum (modern Quarto d’Altino), for example, the northern edge of the city was defined by a canal that progressively filled with refuse throughout the first century CE.<sup>101</sup> The same situation occurred at Bononia, where large tracts of the defensive ditches and streams that once defined the city center became choked with garbage during the same period. The waste was so thick and pervasive, covering such a large area, that excavators assumed it represented a terracing project that completely reshaped the zone around the city center; more recent reconsiderations, however, have seen it as

<sup>97</sup> At the Porta Stabia, subterranean voids filled with provisional refuse were more likely to have compacted and collapsed than those filled with secondary refuse. See also De Sena and Rivello (2007: 369).

<sup>98</sup> Ellis et al. (forthcoming). <sup>99</sup> Dicus (2014); Ellis (2017: 315–18); Ellis et al. (forthcoming).

<sup>100</sup> Remolà Vallverdú (2000: 111–14); Peña (2007: 283).

<sup>101</sup> Gambacurta (1992: 77–8); Gelichi (2000: 18).

typical urban refuse, generated in massive quantities at this large and successful city.<sup>102</sup> Rivers, too, received garbage. Underwater projects at Minturnae, for example, have revealed extensive evidence for dumping in the river Liris (the modern Garigliano), especially in the area of the bridge carrying the via Appia.<sup>103</sup> Even if some of the recovered materials represent objects dropped into the river as offerings to gods, the sheer quantity indicates the ubiquity of river dumping, over a period that stretched from the Republican era to Late Antiquity.<sup>104</sup> Rome's Tiber, too, made an effective garbage dump; various evidence for this activity was recovered during late nineteenth-century work carried out along its banks, but unfortunately the material received little attention before being cleared for the construction of the modern floodwalls.<sup>105</sup>

As at Pompeii, much of the waste in Italy's suburbs simply collected in mounds. This was the case, for example, at Ostia. In the 1980s, a project of the *École Française de Rome* examined Ostia's aqueduct. Although the work focused on the water supply, the team also uncovered a massive waste deposit, piled outside the late Republican wall and around the southern side of the aqueduct's pillars.<sup>106</sup> The excavators discarded much of the material, but what they kept suggests that the mound developed sometime in the late first or early second century CE, gradually building over a period of dumping that might have lasted a decade or more.<sup>107</sup> Some 20 years after their original exploration, the *École Française* returned to the area, opening trenches against the wall to the north of the aqueduct. Geophysical survey had indicated the presence of a building; instead, the excavators found more waste, removing nearly a metric ton of material, which was in all ways similar to that uncovered in the 1980s.<sup>108</sup> Apparently this entire zone on the southeastern side of the city was utilized for waste disposal, immediately alongside the city wall as well as some distance beyond it.<sup>109</sup> Similar mounds have been excavated in the suburbs of Ariminum (Rimini) and Augusta Taurinorum (Turin), while surveys outside the much smaller towns of Forum Novum and Trea (Trea) have revealed comparable deposits.<sup>110</sup> Of course, the most famous Roman waste

<sup>102</sup> Mansuelli (1957: 24–6); Ortalli (1993: 264, 268–72); Gelichi (2000: 18). See also Section 2.4.

<sup>103</sup> Ruegg (1995: 55–77, 125–33); Livi (2006: 100–05). For Minturnae, see also Section 7.1.

<sup>104</sup> The excavators believed that most of the nearly 5,000 recovered coins were tossed from the bridge as votive offerings (Ruegg 1995: 68–73), but coins also appeared in normal waste streams (see Ellis 2017).

<sup>105</sup> Indicated (e.g.) by the dumps at Monte Secco; see Lanciani (1884); De Capriariis (1999: 231–3); also Gianfrotta (2000: 30); Manacorda (2000: 70); Le Gall (2005: 201–3).

<sup>106</sup> De Sena and Rivello (2006). <sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 317–27.

<sup>108</sup> Bukowiecki, Dessales, and Dubouloz (2008: 145); De Sena (2008: 222).

<sup>109</sup> Waste mounds had been found on the eastern side of Ostia near the Porta Romana already in the first decades of the 20th c. See Carcopino (1928: 75–6), who also describes a mound in the city center, behind shops located on the via dei Balconi.

<sup>110</sup> Ariminum: Gelichi (2000: 17); Peña (2007: 282). Augusta Taurinorum: Brecciaroli Taborelli and Gabucci (2007). Forum Novum: Gaffney, Patterson, and Roberts (2001: 70–71). Trea: Vermeulen et al. (2016: 277–8); Vermeulen (2017: 153). Suburban waste mounds also have been excavated in the provinces, from Egypt, to Britain, to Gaul, with most work now concentrating in Spain. Egypt: Maxfield



mound was also suburban. Monte Testaccio developed between the Augustan period and the mid-third century CE on the southern side of the Emporium, eventually becoming the final resting place of some 50 million amphorae, predominantly the bulbous variety used to export oil from southern Spain (see Fig. 2.11).<sup>111</sup> Testaccio, however, along with the handful of other Roman mounds that were dedicated almost entirely to amphorae, is of a specialized type related not to typical waste streams but to the unparalleled consumption of the city of Rome.<sup>112</sup> More relevant for the current discussion are mid-Imperial waste deposits recovered on the Janiculum, which contained a more typical distribution of secondary waste.<sup>113</sup>

Rather than indicating the repulsive or dangerous character of Italy's suburbs, as has been the standard interpretation, I see suburban refuse mounds as attestations of a widespread reuse economy. Waste gained value—much like modern recyclables—when sold collectively. This revaluation process was especially relevant for the “leftover” waste deposits, from which easily reused and recycled materials had been removed. Such waste could become valuable fill, but only in large quantities, well beyond what an individual household or business could reasonably generate and store. To be commodified effectively, waste had to be gathered, and suburbs made ideal locations for that activity. At Pompeii, large portions of the zone outside the wall were undeveloped *loca publica*, areas under direct control of the city administration, which appear to have been open and generally available for dumping.<sup>114</sup> Elsewhere as well, open and available (or at least unpoliced) land was common outside city walls. As importantly, suburbs also featured major roads that eased movement in, out, and around the city. Pompeians, at least, did not attempt to leave their garbage in isolated locations separate from the normal functions of urban life, akin to modern landfills. Instead, trash gathered in busy as well as quiet suburbs, being present at the densely developed and heavily trafficked Porta Ercolano as well as the quieter and more removed neighborhoods on the eastern side of the city.<sup>115</sup> We might compare the slightly later situation at Ostia, where garbage piled near the aqueduct on the southeastern side

and Peacock (2001: 89, 109–116, 125, 443–6, 468); Van der Veen (2001: 214); Peña (2007: 284–91). Britain: Carver (1987: 34); Gaul: Ballet, Cordier, and Dieudonné-Glad (2003). Spain: Tarrats (2000); Remolà Vallverdú and Acero Pérez (2011); Acero Pérez (2018).

<sup>111</sup> Rodríguez Almeida (1984); Aguilera Martín (2002: 125–218).

<sup>112</sup> For the other amphora mounds—which included Montecitorio and Monte Giordano in the Campus Martius, “Piccolo Testaccio” just east of Monte Testaccio in the Emporium, and “Monte Secco,” once along the riverbank at the Vatican but now destroyed—see De Caprariis (1999); Aguilera Martín (2002: 215–18); Dey (2011: 187–94). None have been studied systematically.

<sup>113</sup> Filippi (2008: 20 (n. 39), 83–96).

<sup>114</sup> As indicated by several cippi installed in the city's suburbs to record Suedius Clemens's reclamation of such spaces on behalf of Vespasian (CIL 10.1018 = ILS 5942). See Campbell (2015: 84–98); Stevens (2017a: 110–21); also Section 5.3.

<sup>115</sup> For more on Pompeii's suburbs, see Section 5.3.

of the city at precisely the time when the area experienced a major building boom, defined primarily by the construction of elite housing.<sup>116</sup>

Waste gained value *en masse*, implying some type of systematization behind its sorting and reuse, but the precise form of that system remains unclear. Perhaps the primary actors were organized informally, ancient equivalents of nineteenth-century “rag and bone men” or modern collectors of recyclable bottles and cans.<sup>117</sup> These individuals might have searched through the waste dumped on streets or outside city walls, extracting any useful items and selling them to brokers or directly to workshops. Martial provides some evidence; one of his poems insults a certain Caecilius by comparing him to the purveyors of various low trades, including those who barter scrap in the Transtiberim suburb.<sup>118</sup> Waste recovered from the riverbed at Minturnae provides additional support; those deposits contained far more metal than the mounds outside city walls at other sites, which would have been more accessible to casual scavengers.<sup>119</sup> Recovery of larger deposits to use as fills might also have been managed informally, with private individuals hiring carts and day laborers to dig material out of suburban mounds and bring it to their construction projects.<sup>120</sup> Some evidence, however, suggests the existence of formalized systems for waste management. The recovery and reuse of building materials required careful planning to ensure that walls were demolished efficiently and safely, with a central authority—in some cases an engineer—to manage the workforce.<sup>121</sup> At Rome, such efforts might have been the business of the *collegium subrutorum*, attested in an inscription of the Flavian period, and scavengers of other waste might also have organized themselves into a formal profession.<sup>122</sup> The *Tabulae Heracleensis*, furthermore, suggest that the transport of waste into the suburb was, at least at Rome itself, a public service already in the Late Republican period.<sup>123</sup> Much room for future work remains, but as we consider any potential systems, we must recognize that they were not structured according to modern priorities for waste management—namely, that garbage be removed from areas of regular human circulation, then buried or otherwise destroyed. The remains at Pompeii indicate a different set of concerns,

<sup>116</sup> Heinzelmann (2002: 106).

<sup>117</sup> For the economics of informal waste management in the modern world, see Fahmi (2005); Wilson, Velis, and Cheeseman (2006); Zapata and Zapata (2012).

<sup>118</sup> Mart. 1.41.3–5. Sellers of used amphorae also are mentioned in an inscription from Rome (CIL 6 37807).

<sup>119</sup> See catalog in Ruegg (1995); also Ferrante, Lacam, and Quadriño (2015: 93–4).

<sup>120</sup> A pit dug into the waste deposit outside the Porta Sarno could represent a small-scale or unfinished reclamation of fill; the pit was filled with undisturbed lapilli upon excavation, indicating that it had been open at the time of the eruption (D’Ambrosio 1998: 197).

<sup>121</sup> Barker (2010: 129–30).

<sup>122</sup> CIL 6 940. The term comes from *subruere*, “to undermine” or “to demolish.” See Barker (2010: 128); Marano (2013: 6).

<sup>123</sup> *Tabulae Heracleensis*, 50–52. See Panciera (2000) for a full discussion, also Manacorda (2000: 69); *contra* Liebeschuetz (2000).

chief among them that waste be collected for reuse. The suburb provided an ideal place for this activity not because it was separated from the typical functions of daily life, but because it was intrinsic to them.

### 4.3 Conclusion: Trashing the City from Rome to Pompeii

Given that reuse and recycling were so common in the Roman world, we might question the utility of the public cesspits on the Esquiline; surely these structures were too large and deep to facilitate recovery of the materials they contained. Unlike the deposits found in suburbs across the peninsula, the Esquiline cesspits appear comparable—at least in some ways—to modern landfills, apparently having been intended to hold waste permanently. The difference can be attributed to the unparalleled size of Rome already in the mid-Republican period. In contrast to the more than 200,000 residents of the capital at the beginning of the second century BCE, the population of the average Italian city in the early Imperial period was around 5,000 individuals; as a regional port, Pompeii probably housed somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000 people at the time it was destroyed.<sup>124</sup> The disparity is massive, suggesting that Rome's population not only required a larger scale of waste management, but also encouraged experimentation with entirely new systems of disposal. With such a large population, the mid-Republican city produced more waste than could reasonably be reused or recycled, leading to the installation of cesspits in an attempt to reduce the size of extramural dumps. We might see Monte Testaccio as a later parallel, representing consumption that far exceeded local needs for recycling and reuse.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, Pompeii demonstrates how much waste even a population a fraction of Rome's size might have generated. Although some of the refuse surrounding the city likely derived from seismic events leading up to the eruption of 79 CE, much of it appears to have been typical urban waste, and the massive dumps recovered at sites like Bononia, Minturnae, and Ostia show that the deposits at Pompeii did not excessively surpass what we might expect for a regional center.

With some significant exceptions in the capital, patterns of reuse highlight the temporary nature of suburban waste deposits. The majority of Roman garbage did not settle permanently in a suburb, but merely passed through on

<sup>124</sup> Flohr's recent estimate that places Pompeii's total population between c.7,500 and 13,500 people is well-reasoned (Flohr 2017: 68); for Italy's cities more generally, see Lo Cascio (1999); Morley (2011); Wilson (2011); De Ligt (2012).

<sup>125</sup> That Monte Testaccio represents surplus, rather than all amphorae imported into the capital, is demonstrated by the 2nd- and 3rd-c. amphorae—including examples of the Dressel 20 type that makes up the bulk of the mound—reused in contemporaneous building projects. See Lancaster (2005: 68–85); Peña (2007: 174–8).

its way to a new life. The situation is clearest at Pompeii, but data deriving from other sites suggests that this model remained standard through the mid-Imperial period. Later evidence is less available, but work on Italian cities in Late Antiquity has traced large deposits of refuse in city centers, leading to proposals of a breakdown in earlier systems of waste management.<sup>126</sup> Given that garbage was widespread in the streets and buildings of Pompeii already in the first century CE we should be cautious of taking this point too far. Nevertheless, the decline in urban density that marked the fifth century CE might have resulted in a large-scale movement of secondary waste mounds to the newly available space in city centers—a shift that also would have transferred many aspects of the reuse economy.<sup>127</sup> Future research will do much to clarify processes of Roman waste management and how they might have varied through time. What the available information makes clear is the common presence of waste in Italy's suburbs, material that should not be taken to indicate the zone's distance from the city center. On the contrary, suburban garbage represents activity, connection, and the integral role of suburbs in the everyday processes of urban life.

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. Johnson (2010).

<sup>127</sup> See Epilogue.

## Shops, Workshops, and Suburban Commercial Life

By the late second century CE, a traveler exiting Ostia's Porta Laurentina might barely have recognized that she had left the city center. Shops and workshops clung to the exterior of the gate, creating a nearly unbroken row with similar structures just inside the wall (Fig. 5.1; see also Fig. 2.6). The presence of the modern via Guido Calza obscures much of this suburb, but within a few minutes' walk our traveler entered an area that has been well studied, located about 250m further south. At this point, the structures immediately outside the wall had given way almost entirely to monumental tombs, dozens of which bordered the highway and clustered around its intersection with a secondary road that led through the plain south of the city (Fig. 5.2).<sup>1</sup> Two of these tombs are especially noteworthy. Each incorporated a shop, with wide entrances that opened onto the road and invited passers-by to enter, and narrower interior doorways that provided access between the commercial and funerary space.<sup>2</sup> Both tomb/shop complexes were located directly on the intersection, one positioned to the north and the other to the south, where they could appeal to traffic along both roads.<sup>3</sup>

The shops in Ostia's Porta Laurentina suburb immediately suggest the economic motivations that guided their placement. Commercial spaces clustered just outside the wall and at the busy intersection beyond, locations where many potential shoppers were likely to pass, slow, and stop.<sup>4</sup> In the quieter stretch between those hubs, however, funerary monuments predominated, taking advantage of what was probably less desirable and expensive real estate. A similar situation is evident outside the Porta Romana, where shops and workshops concentrated near the city but grew progressively less dense further from the gate (Fig. 5.3).<sup>5</sup> The various commercial structures in the Porta Romana suburb included two large complexes with multiple shops that abutted the outside of the city wall; another that incorporated a tomb, shops, and possibly a commercial stable just

<sup>1</sup> See Heinzelmann (2000: 38–40, 218–318).

<sup>2</sup> Heinzelmann's numbers VL G1 and VL H1.

<sup>3</sup> An additional shop (VL L1b) stood on the western side of the intersection in the later 2nd c. CE (having replaced a tomb of the early 2nd c.), but was itself destroyed by a new tomb in the early 3rd c. (Heinzelmann 2000: 304–9).

<sup>4</sup> See Malmberg and Bjur (2011: 375).

<sup>5</sup> Heinzelmann (2000: 26–30, 123–218).



Figure 5.1 Ostia's Porta Laurentina, view out the gate. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

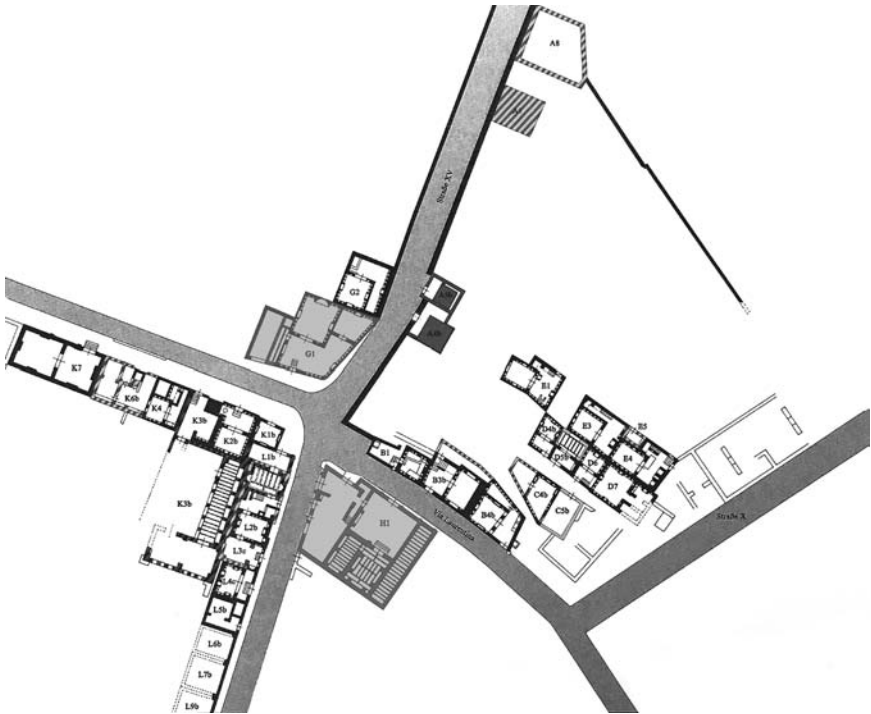


Figure 5.2 Plan of Ostia's via Laurentina suburb, with shops and workshops highlighted. (Plan by Michael Heinzelmann, courtesy M. Heinzelmann.)



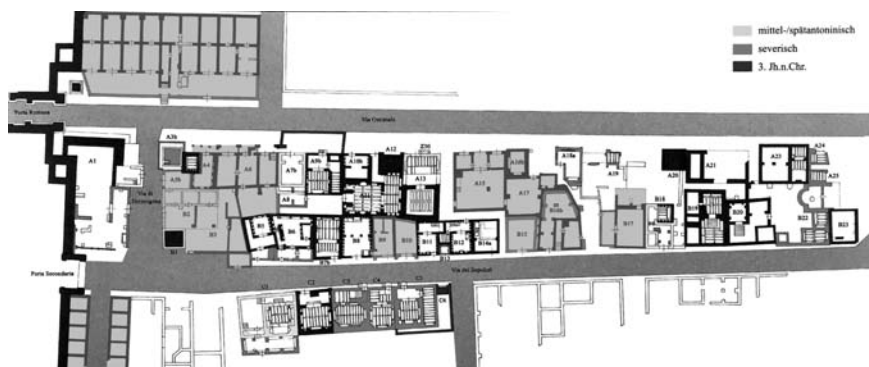


Figure 5.3 Plan of Ostia's Porta Romana suburb, with shops and workshops highlighted. (Plan by Michael Heinzlmann, courtesy M. Heinzlmann.)

beyond those; as well as additional shops and workshops that stood especially within the first 100m past the gate, where traffic was heaviest and delays most likely (Fig. 5.4).<sup>6</sup>

Many interpretations of suburban shops and workshops have relied on an old idea that Romans relegated certain commercial activities to outside the walls, e.g., “dirty” industries such as fulling and tanning, or “dangerous” ones, like ceramics workshops, foundries, and bakeries.<sup>7</sup> The notion, however, is poorly supported in the archaeological record, which shows that such activities were common in city centers.<sup>8</sup> Rather than regulation and exclusion, current work emphasizes the variety of factors that dictated the placement of shops, the clearest being traffic patterns and resulting profit potential, but which also included more complex motivations like the employment of freedmen or the extension of patronage networks.<sup>9</sup> Such concerns guided commercial development both inside and outside city walls, but even so we should beware equating the two zones, which never mirrored one another precisely. With that point in mind, this chapter examines suburban commerce by focusing on four Italian cities with extensive evidence for extramural shops and workshops—Patavium, Pompeii, Puteoli, and Rome itself—each of which points towards characteristics that both set suburbs apart

<sup>6</sup> The largest commercial complexes abutted the wall north of the via Ostiensis and south of the via dei Sepolcri. Other commercial spaces included Heinzlmann's Structures PR A4/A5b/A6/B2/B3 and PR A15/A16b/A17/B15, Shops PR B9 and PR B10, and Structures PR B16b and PR B17.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Lugli (1965: 77); Dyson (1992: 153–4); Robinson (1992: 40); Ortalli (1993: 264); Arnaud (1998: 68–69); Patterson (2000: 92–3); and more recently, Killgrove and Tykot (2013: 2); Vermeulen (2017: 152). The interpretation relies primarily on Juvenal's reference to trades practiced “across the river” (*Sat.* 14.201–2), as well as a provision in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* that banned large, privately owned tile factories—but notably, no others—from the center of town (*Lex Coloniae Genetivae* 76; Crawford 1996: 438–9).

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Morel (1987: 130–31); Goodman (2007: 159; 2016b: 325–7); Laurence (2007: 62–81); Monteix (2010); Flohr (2013: 229–34); Witcher (2013: 211); Flohr and Wilson (2017a: 14).

<sup>9</sup> See Ellis (2018: 102–25).





**Figure 5.4** Commercial complex A15 in Ostia's Porta Romana suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

from other urban districts and made them particularly attractive for commercial investment. As we might expect, suburban commercial buildings appeared in the Augustan and early Imperial periods, responding to the many forces that encouraged suburbanization at this time.<sup>10</sup> Equally essential to their development, however, were the considerable opportunities for profit—economic as well as social and political—that were offered by resources available in the suburb, and not least by the presence of monumental tombs. Outside the city center, shops and workshops mingled with tombs, and commercial spaces derived various benefits from the prestige of the funerary monuments. In some rare cases, however, suburbs became so prestigious that land value precluded commercial investment, and districts were given over almost entirely to display through elaborate tombs.

For ease of language, I here use the general term “commerce” to represent a range of activities, including both manufacture and retail.<sup>11</sup> One reason for this label is practical; when dealing with the archeological evidence, distinguishing between such uses often is difficult, if not impossible. This situation is not only due to the poor preservation and limited recording of commercial spaces, but also results from the ways that Romans conceived of and used them. Structures that might appear to have been shops without on-site production facilities could

<sup>10</sup> See Ch. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Note that this chapter does not address larger-scale commercial activities, such as the taxation system, agricultural administration, or international trade.

function as workshops, while many workshops also retailed on-site, even without a dedicated shop space.<sup>12</sup> The issue even transcends the archaeology, since the Latin language tended not to distinguish between production and sale of goods, mixing both activities under a general concept of commerce.<sup>13</sup> My analysis, therefore, treats shops and workshops as interconnected and often indistinguishable representations of commercial activity.<sup>14</sup> I also call on the idea of “nodes” with some frequency. In the suburbs, both commercial structures and tombs responded to nodes, points of intersection that slowed traffic and encouraged it to gather.<sup>15</sup> Nodes were most often formed by gates, but could develop at intersections and around prominent monuments. Notably, the processes that created nodes often built upon themselves, creating places of intense activity within the urban fabric that then attracted even more activity—a phenomenon that played out in the suburb in ways that distinguished it from the city center.<sup>16</sup>

## 5.1 Shops and Workshops in the Suburbs of Patavium

Recent work at Patavium (modern Padua) indicates various resources that drew commerce out of the city center. Inhabited as early as the eighth century BCE, the city underwent its most significant phase of development in the second half of the first century BCE and by the mid-Augustan period was one of the largest and most successful settlements of Italy.<sup>17</sup> Livy was born nearby, and both he and Virgil connected Patavium with the foundation of Rome by making it the place where Trojan Antenor had landed prior to Aeneas’s arrival in Italy.<sup>18</sup> Strabo, meanwhile, called it the best city of Cisalpina (*πασῶν ἀρίστη τῶν ταύτης πόλεων*), praising its size, wealth, and the quantity and quality of its exports to Rome.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, many aspects of Roman Patavium remain obscure; modern development hides the ancient city, and even its precise boundaries are unclear. The surrounding topography suggests that the original urban core was enclosed

<sup>12</sup> See Reynolds (1996: 176–7) for the impossibility of distinguishing shops and workshops as separate types of space on the *Forma Urbis Romae*; Holleran (2012: 113–58) for the range of goods and services that might be offered within a shop; Ellis (2018: 5–6) for retailing in porticoes and other spaces difficult to identify in the archaeological record.

<sup>13</sup> Morel (1987: 128–9).

<sup>14</sup> Of course, a further complication is introduced by the Roman tendency for workers to live within shops and workshops, making them also residential space (see Ellis 2018: 9–10).

<sup>15</sup> See esp. Malmberg and Bjur (2011); for movement and cities more generally, see Hillier (1996).

<sup>16</sup> On this multiplier effect, see *ibid.* 168–70; for similar processes in modern suburbs, see esp. Griffiths (2015).

<sup>17</sup> See Tosi (1987: 159–60); Sommella (1988: 184); De Ligt (2012: 292); Braccesi and Veronese (2014: 26–7); Veronese (2015). For the pre-Roman period, see Gamba, Gambacurta, and Sainati (2005).

<sup>18</sup> Liv. 1.1.1–4; Verg. *Aen.* 1.242–9. For attempts to locate the tomb of Livy at Patavium, see Bassignano (2015).

<sup>19</sup> Strab. *Geographia* 5.1.7. See Raviola (2015).

within the deep bend of the river Medoacus (the modern Brenta), with a canal that was at least partially artificial creating the remaining border to the south (Fig. 5.5).<sup>20</sup> The limited excavations conducted within the river's curve suggest that the Roman forum was located under the modern Piazza della Frutta and delle Erbe, not far from the city's port, which stood along the eastern branch of the river near the modern Piazza Cavour.<sup>21</sup>

Some have argued that Patavium's official limits extended beyond the Medoacus already in the pre-Roman period, but the idea remains poorly supported. Livy's statement that the river passed through the city (*in flumine oppidi medio*) has encouraged the idea of a center in two parts, one within the curve and the other to the east of it, where dispersed remains of habitations and production sites have come to light.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the pre-Roman finds from the eastern plain are scattered and fragmentary, possibly representing occasional activity outside the city center rather than actual urban continuity.<sup>23</sup> Three stelae found near the southern edge of the counter-curve, sometimes interpreted as urban boundary markers that indicate the continuation of the city center, were anepigraphic and so provide little help.<sup>24</sup> They have been equated with known boundary markers from within the zone enclosed by the river, but even those come with problems, since one indicated the extent of a sacred grove instead of the city itself and the others either list names or are illegible, and so might have related to private properties rather than urban boundaries.<sup>25</sup>

The earliest secure evidence for suburban development at Patavium, therefore, comes in the Augustan period, when new structures of various types intermixed with tombs on the northern, eastern, and southern sides of the city.<sup>26</sup> The data derive almost entirely from rescue excavations, but indicate the common presence of workshops, distinguishable by fixed structures like kilns and basins. The best-studied zone is east of the city center, where construction of a new hospital (the Azienda Ospedaliera di Padova) allowed for intensive exploration in the 1990s and early 2000s.<sup>27</sup> A funerary enclosure housing four cremation burials was constructed here in the Augustan period and monumentalized with a masonry tomb in the mid-first century CE; burials continued to be made in and around it through the second century. A ceramics workshop, which incorporated

<sup>20</sup> Rosada (1993: 64–8); Bonetto (1997: 215–17); Tuzzato (2002: 138–9); Rossi (2014: 300).

<sup>21</sup> Tosi (1987: 165–70); Braccesi and Veronese (2014: 28–33).

<sup>22</sup> Livy 10.2.15. See Rosada (1993); Gamba, Gambacurta, and Sainati (2005); Ruta Serafini et al. (2007); Braccesi and Veronese (2014: 26–7).

<sup>23</sup> See Gamba, Gambacurta, and Sainati (2005: nn. 44–77) for remains of the 8th–1st c. BCE that have been recovered in the area.

<sup>24</sup> Gamba, Gambacurta, and Sainati (2005: nn. 50, 51, 70); Gamba et al. (2005: nn. 29–31); Ruta Serafini et al. (2007: 67).

<sup>25</sup> Gamba, Gambacurta, and Sainati (2005: nn. 6, 84, 87); see also Groppo (2013: 230–31).

<sup>26</sup> The situation to the west is less clear; excavation bias could contribute to the picture, but the zone never seems to have developed to the extent of the others, possibly because it hosted no major highways and was separated from the river port. See Tosi (1987); Ruta Serafini et al. (2007); Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 148).

<sup>27</sup> Ruta Serafini and De Vanna (1995); Cipriano and Ruta Serafini (2001); Rossi (2014: 62–104).

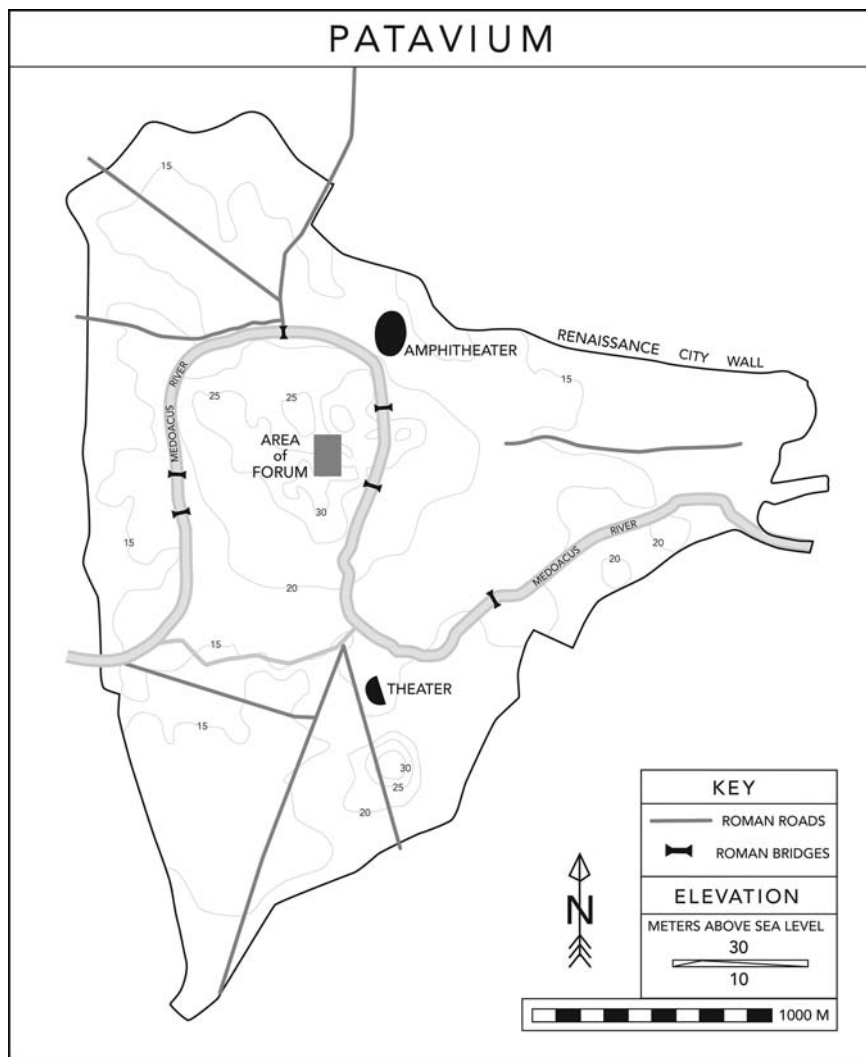


Figure 5.5 Plan of Patavium. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Rossi 2014.)

at least one kiln and several large clay-extraction pits, operated next to the enclosure from the time of its establishment.<sup>28</sup> Another two workshops, one for ceramics and the other perhaps a foundry, were located just to the east, mixed among

<sup>28</sup> Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 146–7). Although the associated kiln went out of use in the mid-1st c., the structure remained commercial and was occupied through the 2nd c. The excavators posited that in its later life it specialized in building materials, which they imagined were marketed to those constructing tombs nearby (Rossi 2014: 63; Cipriano and Mazzocchin 2017: 146). Considering its proximity to the center, however, there is no reason why the workshop should have retailed only to the tombs, and we should not dismiss the possibility that it continued to produce ceramics, utilizing a new kiln in an area that has not been excavated.

tombs and other structures.<sup>29</sup> To the north but still within the eastern suburb, a workshop with at least two kilns stood along the *via Annia*, the highway that ran east from Patavium and then north along the coast to Aquileia; several clay-extraction pits found along the same thoroughfare also indicate ceramics production in the area.<sup>30</sup> Evidence from the other sides of the city is more fragmentary, but an additional ceramics workshop has been excavated immediately beyond the river in the northern suburb. It developed from the early first through the second century CE, regularly replacing its kilns and other fixtures.<sup>31</sup> To the south of the city, at least one workshop has been recovered along with a small nucleus of tombs, but it was too poorly preserved and the excavated zone too small to determine its precise use.<sup>32</sup>

We should not be surprised that a major city like Patavium began to develop suburbs under Augustus, nor that those neighborhoods included commercial buildings, but the city's remains also suggest the particular resources that attracted shops and workshops to the zone outside the center. To some degree, this period's demographic growth probably raised the price of land and encouraged certain industries to move to more affordable areas beyond the river; a few excavations within the city center have supported this idea by revealing Augustan-period residences that replaced earlier workshops.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, other evidence demonstrates that workshops were not simply driven into the suburb, but drawn there by features that made those zones ideal for commerce. Many of Patavium's suburban workshops stood alongside the river, taking advantage of a natural feature that both provided water necessary for production activities and eased movement between the city and its surroundings. The river port offered an additional attraction for commercial development in the eastern plain. Other resources, such as clay beds and forests, also could have attracted production to the suburb, not to mention traffic along suburban highways, which not only brought opportunities to attract passers-by who might stop to shop, but also allowed goods to move into the city to be sold. For workshops that exported, furthermore, a suburban location facilitated access to other cities and towns.<sup>34</sup> The

<sup>29</sup> Cipriano and Ruta Serafini (2001: 22); Rossi (2014: 94, 120). For remains of residences and other structures in the eastern suburb, see Tosi (1987: 179–80).

<sup>30</sup> Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 144–5, 148). For the highway, see Bosio (1997: 68–81); Bassani et al. (2009: 87–9); Vigoni (2009: 9).

<sup>31</sup> The workshop destroyed earlier tombs of the 2nd and 1st c. BCE; see Cipriano, Mazzocchin, and Rossignoli (2006); Ruta Serafini et al. (2007: 79–81); Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 142). Nevertheless, interment continued nearby, e.g. in the funerary enclosure of the 1st–2nd c. CE that is still preserved in the courtyard of the Palazzo Maldura (Di Filippo Balesrazzi, Veronese, and Vigoni 2007).

<sup>32</sup> The workshop possibly functioned as a foundry. See Rossi (2014: 104–7); Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 143–4). For the tombs, see Pettenò et al. (2012).

<sup>33</sup> E.g. on the modern *via S. Fermo* (Balista, Cipriano, and Ruta Serafini 1996; Gamba, Gambacurta, and Sainati 2005: n. 25). See discussion in Rossi (2014: 300–301); also Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 148).

<sup>34</sup> To the north, highways connected Patavium to Vicetia (Vicenza) and Acelum (Asolo); those to the south provided access to Bononia (Bologna) and Atria (Adria). See Bosio (1997: 118–31); Bonetto (1999b); Cipriano and Mazzocchin (2017: 148–9).

highways through the eastern suburb not only led to major cities up the coast, but also accessed nearby sea ports, potentially opening much of the Mediterranean world to the city's goods.

Other Italian cities show similar patterns, indicating the various suburban resources—especially rivers and highways—that pulled commerce outside the walls in the Augustan and early Imperial periods. At Mediolanum, for example, excavations under the modern Piazza S. Nazaro and Piazza Erculea south of the city have revealed various commercial buildings that emerged at this time, bordering a major highway.<sup>35</sup> Elsewhere, workshops are indicated primarily by kilns; their durability likely overrepresents their prominence in the suburban commercial landscape, but even so they provide a valuable indicator of investment. At Cremona, suburban ceramics workshops operated on the banks of the Po river from the Augustan period, in neighborhoods that also incorporated tombs and residences.<sup>36</sup> All known early Imperial-period kilns from Aquileia were located beyond the city center, near major roads and the banks of the Natissa river; the minor Cisalpine cities of Faventia and Forum Popilii show similar patterns.<sup>37</sup> The kilns of Augustan and Early Imperial ceramics workshops also have been recovered along extramural highways and rivers at Arretium (Arezzo) and Pisa in Etruria, as well as at Septempeda in Picenum, Suasa in Umbria, and Minturnae in Campania.<sup>38</sup>

Igouvium in Umbria indicates an additional resource exploited by suburban shops and workshops: nearby tombs. The city center was defined by the Camignano river, which certain structures had crossed already by the end of the second century BCE.<sup>39</sup> Only in the early Imperial period, however, does evidence emerge for a true suburb, defined by the density and diversity of its structures. One area has been excavated recently to the south of the ancient city center, in the modern Vittorina neighborhood. More than 200 tombs of the first and second centuries CE, including both funerary monuments and non-monumental burials, have been excavated here, at the crossroads of two major roads.<sup>40</sup> Recalling the situation at Patavium, a ceramics workshop was located alongside the tombs from the mid-first century CE. Only a small area of the workshop could be explored,

<sup>35</sup> Caporusso (1991: 314–18); Caporusso and Blockley (1992/1993: 123); Caporusso and Colombi (1992/1993); Lavizzari Pedrazzini (1996: 60); Antico Gallina (2000b: 118–19; 2000c: 477); Sena Chiesa (2000: 42–4); Rossignani and Cortese (2005: 266–8); Rossignani (2011: 8). See also Section 2.4.

<sup>36</sup> Passi Pitcher (1998: 407); Maseroli (1998: 415–16); Cera (2000: 132–3).

<sup>37</sup> Aquileia: Buchi (1979); Maggi and Oriolo (2009: 169–70). Faventia: Guarnieri (2000a: 473–4). Forum Popilii: Guarnieri (2000b: 489).

<sup>38</sup> Arretium: Maetzke (1958); Fülle (1997: 129–30); Kenrick (2006). Pisa: Pasquinucci and Menchelli (2006: 217–19); Septempeda: Landolfi (2003: 54–5, 61); Vermeulen (2017: 152); Suasa: Campagnoli (2010: 101–2); Minturnae: Arthur (1982: 30). The imbalance of northern to southern sites is more likely due to modern research patterns than to ancient realities: in the north, work has been spread across the cities of Cisalpina, but most work on urbanism in the south still concentrates on Pompeii.

<sup>39</sup> Sisani (2006: 62–6). See also Section 2.4.

<sup>40</sup> Cipollone (1984/1985; 2000/2001).



but two kilns and many remains of their production were recovered.<sup>41</sup> Notably, some of the products appeared not only in and around the kilns, but also within nearby tombs.<sup>42</sup> A type of internal red gloss plate with concave walls and a rounded rim was used as an urn cover in two cremation interments, while thin-walled cups from the workshop were deposited as grave gifts in 32 tombs and molded lamps in six.<sup>43</sup> The finds indicate a close relationship between the workshop and the surrounding necropolis. The situation suggests tombs as an additional draw for suburban commerce, since regular funerary activity brought potential customers to the zone. Whether any of the objects had been used elsewhere before their deposition with the dead is unclear, but if so, they would further demonstrate the integration of workshop, tombs, and the city as a whole.

## 5.2 Intersections of Tombs and Commerce at Rome

An example from Augustan Rome suggests even closer interactions between tombs and suburban commerce. One of the best-known funerary monuments of this period belonged to the baker Eurysaces and has attracted attention for its unusual trapezoidal form, the geometric repetition of hollow circles that appear on its sides, and its relief depicting the process of bread-making (Fig. 5.6).<sup>44</sup> The tomb was built just over a kilometer east of the Porta Esquilina, at the intersection of the via Praenestina and via Labicana.<sup>45</sup> Its unusual shape allowed it to advertise to traffic along two major highways, the intersection of which formed a major node already at the time of its construction. The neighborhood was bustling in this period; many other funerary monuments were located here, including to either side of Eurysaces' tomb, while two of the city's aqueducts terminated nearby. The zone also hosted a series of *horti*, while the area's ancient toponym, "ad Spem Veterem," suggests the presence of a long-established sanctuary to Spes.<sup>46</sup> Shops and workshops too were located in the area, and one especially large commercial structure has been excavated just across the via Labicana from

<sup>41</sup> The excavated zone measured *c.* 5.5m<sup>2</sup>. See Cipollone (1984/1985: 95–104).

<sup>42</sup> Cipollone (2000/2001: 13).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 329, 331–3, 343–5. Two tombs (Tombs 170, 230) each contained two cups from the workshop; one (Tomb 144) held a lamp and a cup that both derived from the workshop. Note, however, that none of the objects appear to have been manufactured specifically for funerary use.

<sup>44</sup> Eurysaces probably was a freedman, but his epitaph (CIL 1<sup>2</sup> 1203–5) does not specify his legal status and so the question remains open. See Hackworth-Petersen (2003; 2006: 84–120).

<sup>45</sup> Claudius's double-arched aqueduct carrying the Aqua Claudia and the Aqua Anio Novus would be added behind the tomb some time after its construction, and even later it would be immured into the Porta Praenestina of the Aurelian Wall. The tomb was freed in the 19th c., during Pope Gregory XVI's project to restore the Claudian aqueduct (see Coates-Stephens 2004: 145–59).

<sup>46</sup> Such *horti* should not, however, be imagined to have impeded commercial development; see Section 2.3. For the sanctuary, see Coates-Stephens (2004: 9–11); Hackworth-Petersen (2006: 99). For evidence from the neighborhood more generally, see AAR 1 s.v. "Region V. Esquiliae" 323–41 (F. Fraioli).



Figure 5.6 Tomb of Eurysaces. (Photo: author.)

Eurysaces' monument. Given its proximity to the tomb of a baker, it is notable that this structure was a bakery.<sup>47</sup>

The bakery on the via Labicana was excavated in the 1950s, with some additional work completed when tramlines were laid in the area during the 1970s.<sup>48</sup> Its precise form is difficult to reconstruct, since it was partially destroyed by the construction of the Aqua Claudia, but the building seems to have had an L-shaped plan. The northern wing was divided into several square rooms that faced an open area to the south. Each room was paved in *opus spicatum*; three *dolia* were found in one and a large cistern in another. The base of a staircase in the room at the northwestern corner attested to at least one additional story above. The western wing of the bakery consisted of one long room (c. 18m × 9m) paved in basalt blocks; the paving suggests that it was used for milling. An additional milling chamber might have been located to the south, where similar paving was uncovered.<sup>49</sup> Later construction in the area makes the rest of the complex impossible to recover. Its sheer scale, however, indicates the commercial nature of the

<sup>47</sup> Coates-Stephens (2004: 21–31). Much of the structure is lost, and whether it was devoted solely to grinding grain or to the full process of baking and retailing is unclear. Certainly it included enough space for the latter (see Reynolds 1996: 221).

<sup>48</sup> Its presence, however, was indicated already at the time of Pope Gregory's project, when more than 10 complete grinding machines and additional discoidal millstones were uncovered in the area (Coates-Stephens 2004: 24–5). For the work of the 1950s and 1970s, see the brief mentions in Ciampi (1955: 317); Colini (1957: 6); Ciancio Rossetto (1973: 17).

<sup>49</sup> Although the southern paving might represent a road alongside the bakery (Coates-Stephens 2004: 23).

activity that took place here. Furthermore, its elevation, construction style, and the fact that part of the structure was destroyed by the Aqua Claudia indicate that it originally was contemporaneous with the Tomb of Eurysaces.<sup>50</sup>

Although both bakery and tomb responded to the node of the intersection, the presence of a large bakery alongside a tomb that proudly advertised baking as the key aspect of the owner's identity suggests more specific ties between funerary and commercial space (Fig. 5.7). Eurysaces, moreover, was not the only baker with a tomb in the neighborhood. Among the material recovered nearby was a contemporary epitaph for Ogulnius, described as a baker of white bread (or flour-dealer?).<sup>51</sup> We should also consider the epitaph to Atistia, which was found in the same area and recorded a tomb set up by her husband.<sup>52</sup> The text described her urn as a "breadbasket" (*panario*); based on the use of that term and some archaizing word forms employed in the epitaphs of both Atistia and Eurysaces, the inscription has been attributed to the destroyed east façade of the Tomb of Eurysaces, along with a relief found nearby that depicted a man and a woman.



**Figure 5.7** Surviving wall of bakery (in foreground) with Tomb of Eurysaces (in background). (Photo: author.)

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 27–30.

<sup>51</sup> CIL 1<sup>2</sup> 1207. The final line of the fragmentary epitaph, which reads “amicus,” often is reconstructed as “amicus Eurysacis,” but no evidence from the stone itself indicates this reading. Epitaphs of other bakers have been found in the nearby columbarium known as the “Tomb of the Statilii”; see Caldelli and Ricci (1999); Borbonus (2014: 194–6).

<sup>52</sup> CIL 1<sup>2</sup> 1206.

Nevertheless, the reconstruction is uncertain, and Atistia's epitaph might have derived from another tomb, possibly one associated with a different baker.<sup>53</sup> Other architectural fragments that appear related to baking were found when the aqueduct was freed from the Aurelian Wall, including parts of a cornice decorated with loaves of bread and a travertine block carved to resemble a wicker basket; the Tomb of Eurysaces includes no obvious places for these, and so they probably derived from a nearby monument, possibly but not certainly that of Ogulnius.<sup>54</sup>

The western wing of the bakery on the *via Labicana* was destroyed with the construction of the *Aqua Claudia*, but the complex continued to function, if in a reduced capacity. Several discoidal water millstones built into a fifth-century CE repaving of the *via Labicana* almost certainly derived from the bakery, and are unlikely to have sat in an abandoned structure for nearly half a millennium before being reused.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, and despite the increasing crowd of tombs and other structures in the neighborhood through the first and second centuries CE, no buildings covered the eastern rooms of the bakery, suggesting that they remained in use. Certainly, baking continued elsewhere in the area; at least three additional bakeries, all best dated to the second century CE, have been excavated in the larger suburb between the *Porta Esquilina* and the Tomb of Eurysaces, attesting to the density of urban development in this area.<sup>56</sup>

Both the bakery and the Tomb of Eurysaces responded to the node at the intersection of the *via Praenestina* and *via Labicana*, but at the same time the structures suggest a relationship that went beyond the shared exploitation of (or competition to attract) traffic. In some ways baking would have defined this intersection, with the commercial space of the bakery and the funerary space of the tomb both reflecting and underscoring shared messages of economic power and social connection.<sup>57</sup> The idea that Eurysaces was the owner or manager of the bakery that neighbored his tomb had emerged already with the excavations of the 1950s, and although their precise relationship remains impossible to establish, imagining a connection between the two is attractive.<sup>58</sup> If Eurysaces did achieve his wealth not through baking in general, but via activities that took place in a building that faced his tomb, the funerary monument's message grows stronger, allowing the viewer to appreciate the full scale of his life's work. At the same time, association with such a large and distinctive tomb could have raised the status of the bakery, while the relief of baking, modeled after mythological and historical reliefs on public monuments, elevated the activity within. Likewise, any other bakers with tombs in the area might have aimed to build their own status through

<sup>53</sup> Hackworth-Petersen (2006: 96–7).

<sup>54</sup> Ciancio Rossetto (1973: 71–3).

<sup>55</sup> Coates-Stephens (2004: 31).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 27, n. 31. For the preponderance of 2nd-c. CE remains at Rome, see Section 2.3.

<sup>57</sup> For commerce defining the character of neighborhoods in Rome, see Morel (1987: 142–5); also Reynolds (1996: 206); Goodman (2016b: 320–23).

<sup>58</sup> Ciampi (1955: 317); Coates-Stephens (2004: 30).

association with both the Tomb of Eurysaces and the bakery. As shops and workshops expanded outside the city center in this period, opportunities for such intertwining of commercial and monumental messages extended into the suburbs—a move that would have had particular impact on those who, like Eurysaces, might have been wealthy, but lacked the social status for traditional means of elite display. In fact, the complex of tomb and bakery could be seen as a suburban version of the public buildings and portrait statues found in the city center, which likewise bounced back and mutually reinforced messages about an individual's life and accomplishments. The particular characteristics of the suburb, however, opened this type of communication to a broader component of society, making it available to anyone with the ability to construct a monumental tomb.

### 5.3 Commercializing Suburban Prestige at Pompeii

Returning to Pompeii indicates additional benefits that shops and workshops might gain from nearby tombs. As we saw in Chapter 2, the neighborhood outside the Porta Ercolano incorporated three large commercial complexes, the first of which appeared in the Augustan period and the latest of which might have been under construction in 79 CE, with nearly as much of the explored area dedicated to commerce as to funerary activity by the time of the eruption (see Fig. 2.3).<sup>59</sup> The only other Pompeian suburb comparably cleared of volcanic material is that outside the Porta Nocera, which was notably different (Fig. 5.8).<sup>60</sup> Only one potential commercial space stood in the Porta Nocera suburb, a stable located outside and to the west of the gate.<sup>61</sup> Well-traveled roads passed through both neighborhoods, and while the Porta Ercolano probably received more travelers, traffic alone is unlikely to account for the stark differences in their commercial development. The Porta Ercolano was not only busier than the Porta Nocera but also more prestigious, long serving as Pompeii's front door and associated since its earliest development with the tombs of the city's most illustrious citizens. These funerary monuments created a pleasant atmosphere that encouraged visitors to gather and linger—a situation that had clear benefits for shops

<sup>59</sup> Additional shops might have been incorporated to either side of the entrance of the Villa of Cicero (at Entrances 5 and 7), but the plan of the building is too incomplete to say for sure. The wide doorway (at Entrance 25) just west of the main entrance to the Villa of Diomedes might also have led to a commercial space.

<sup>60</sup> For finds outside the Porta Nocera, see Mau (1888); Maiuri (1960: 166–79); Soprano (1961); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983; 1987); Varone (1988: 144); and most recently, De Carolis and Pardi (2018: 156–7).

<sup>61</sup> Commercial stables, which provided carts and drivers for hire, are well-attested in the city center. Like the structure outside the Porta Nocera, they featured large, walled courtyards surrounded by a few rooms with mezzanines above (compare e.g. the stables at I.1.3–5 and I.1.6–9). For commercial stables at Pompeii, see Poehler (2011: 208–11). For the stable at the Porta Nocera, see Maiuri (1960: 178); Varone (1988: 144); also Section 6.2.



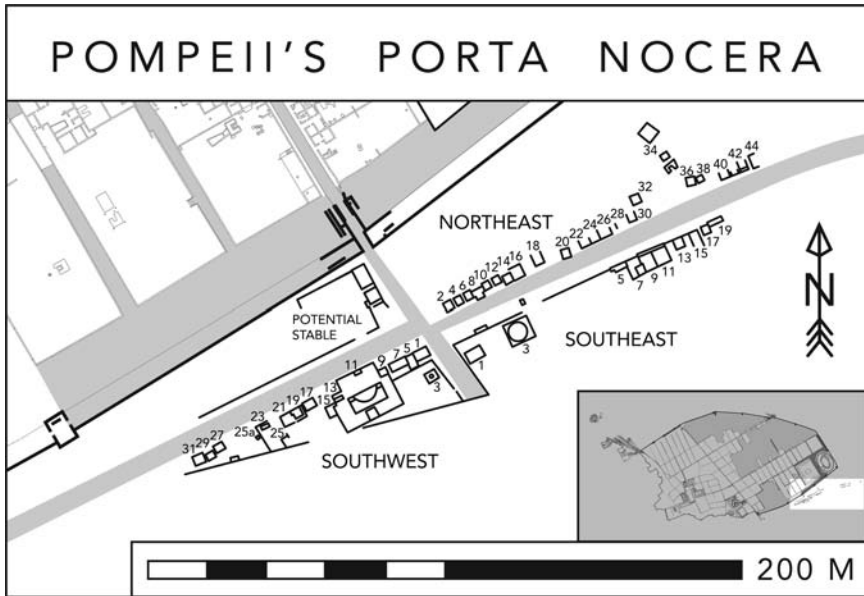


Figure 5.8 Plan of the Porta Nocera suburb. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Dobbins and Foss 2007.)

and workshops.<sup>62</sup> The commercial spaces that arose here attracted more traffic and encouraged further development, with tombs and shops coming together to create a neighborhood that relied on, rather than eschewed, the presence of the dead.

The neighborhood outside the Porta Ercolano hosted a variety of commercial activities, offering a range of goods and services to locals and travelers alike.<sup>63</sup> On the northern side of the street, Shops 10 and 16 featured masonry bar counters that indicate the retailing of food and drink.<sup>64</sup> A bench alongside the entrance to Shop 16 invited passers-by to sit and provided a place to enjoy the food purchased inside (Fig. 5.9).<sup>65</sup> An oven at the rear of Shop 14 suggests that it too might have retailed in food, or that it was intended to operate as a unit with one or both of the

<sup>62</sup> For pleasantness as a chief factor encouraging activity (and esp. pedestrian traffic) in modern suburbs, see Rofè et al. (2015: 235).

<sup>63</sup> As is the case throughout the city, permanent fixtures and subsurface excavation have been essential to understanding the functions of the shops outside the Porta Ercolano; recorded lists of finds made in the original clearance of the volcanic material are less useful (see Holleran 2017: 156–8; Ellis 2018: 76–83).

<sup>64</sup> Note that Shop 10 might have been under construction or reconstruction in 79 CE (Zanella et al. 2016: 6–10). For the connection of masonry counters to food retailing, see Ellis (2018: 40–48).

<sup>65</sup> The association of street-side benches with bars continued inside the city (Hartnett 2017: 202–3).





**Figure 5.9** Shop 16 North in the Porta Ercolano suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

nearby shops with bar counters.<sup>66</sup> A cistern in Shop 13 could have provided water for this activity; a few other shops in the same complex also incorporated cisterns, while a public fountain at Entrance 20a served the neighborhood. Alongside the fountain, Shop 20 was a foundry, manufacturing bronze objects at the time of the eruption.<sup>67</sup> On the southern side of the street, Shops 7 and 14 also had counters for food retailing, while Shops 8 and 9 originally allowed entrance for carts: extant bumper stones prevented wheels from damaging the pillars of the flanking portico, and curbstones have been added over earlier ramps that led into the spaces from the road.<sup>68</sup> Nothing is known of either shop's interior arrangement, but given the location near the gate, the extant features suggest that the spaces were once commercial stables and/or inns; a similar building was located just inside the gate, at VI.17.1–4.<sup>69</sup> The patching of the curb makes clear that their function changed at some point prior to the eruption, but poor preservation and limited recording of the original excavations obscure their ultimate form.

The best-documented commercial space in the Porta Ercolano suburb is the complex of Shops 28–30 on the northern side of the street; in 79 CE, these rooms

<sup>66</sup> Alternately, this feature might have been linked to production activities carried out in the shop; see Zanella et al. (2016: 17–20).

<sup>67</sup> Zanella (2017: 134–5); Zanella et al. (2017: 29–36).

<sup>68</sup> For the counters at Shops 7 and 14, see Ellis (2018: 69).

<sup>69</sup> For commercial stables, see Poehler (2011: 208–11).

operated together as a ceramics workshop.<sup>70</sup> Two kilns, one in the rear room of Shop 29 and the other located in Shop 30 (unfortunately destroyed by allied bombing in World War II), attested to its function already upon clearance in 1838, and a recent project of subsurface excavation has explored the space further. Most notably, the project established that the workshop was active up to the eruption by recovering a collection of unfired vessels that had been preserved under an undisturbed layer of ash and lapilli.<sup>71</sup> The team also confirmed the inclusion of Shop 28 in the complex, demonstrating that vessels were thrown and dried there before moving to Shops 29 and 30 for firing.<sup>72</sup> Whether the pottery produced in the complex also was retailed on site remains unclear, but certainly there was space for that activity, both in the main room of Shop 29 and in the portico that fronted it.<sup>73</sup>

The remains clearly demonstrate the active and dynamic nature of the suburb outside the Porta Ercolano. They also hint towards commercial activities that did not leave behind material indications—for example, retailing carried out by mobile street hawkers, drivers and guides available for hire, and of course, prostitutes plying their trade in the district.<sup>74</sup> The neighborhood provided various places ideal for the congregation of such activity: in addition to the bench at Shop 16, there were those incorporated into the niche and façade of the tomb of Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, the *schola* tombs of Aulus Veius and Mammia, and the anonymous Tomb 9 on the northern side of the street (Fig. 5.10).<sup>75</sup> The colonnades fronting Shops 7–15 on the southern side of the street and Shops 16–29 on the northern also made excellent spots to linger, attracting both retailers and potential customers, and even the steps leading to the terrace of Tombs 38–45 and those along the façade of the Villa of Diomedes were good seats for individuals engaged on both sides of such transactions. Although invisible retail also might have taken place at the Porta Nocera, the neighborhood does not appear to cater to it as easily. A *schola* tomb once stood at the intersection of the road leading from the gate and the ring road, but was destroyed already in antiquity (Fig. 5.11).<sup>76</sup> The neighborhood had no other accessible benches and no

<sup>70</sup> Another ceramics workshop, this one perhaps dedicated to the manufacture of brick or tile, has been found beyond the Villa of the Mysteries, alongside a tomb for a certain Cornelius Nicephorus, a Magister of the Pagus Augustus Felix (Fergola 2011; Brun 2016: 89). A third was located just inside the Porta Nocera, at I.20.1–3 (Peña and McCallum 2009: 64–72).

<sup>71</sup> Cavassa, Lemaire, and Piffeteau (2013); Cavassa et al. (2014); Zanella (2017: 134).

<sup>72</sup> Cavassa et al. (2015). <sup>73</sup> Peña and McCallum (2009: 75).

<sup>74</sup> The last category has received the most attention in scholarship. A graffito found above a bench outside the Porta Marina seems to name a prostitute, but does not make clear that she practiced in the neighborhood (CIL 4 1751; see Hartnett 2008: 95–6). Still, prostitution probably did occur in the suburb, just as in the center (e.g. Mart. 1.34.8, 3.93.15). For street hawkers, see Holleran (2017: 160–64); for drivers, Poehler (2017a: 193–5).

<sup>75</sup> Tombs 1, 2, and 4 South; see Kockel (1983). For benches as congregation points inside the walls of Pompeii, see Hartnett (2017: 195–223).

<sup>76</sup> Varone (1988). The excavators found no evidence that the spoliation of this tomb was modern. Given the extent of the damage and the apparent connection between *schola* tombs and Pompeii's civic identity, it seems likely that the act was politically motivated, tied to the downfall of a particular individual or family.



**Figure 5.10** Tombs with benches outside the Porta Ercolano, on the southern side of the street. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)



**Figure 5.11** Schola tomb at the Porta Nocera, with stable behind. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

colonnaded sidewalks. People might have paused on the steps that led to the sidewalk on the southern side of the street near the tomb of Veia Barchilla or found other, less comfortable spots like curbs or boundary stones, but overall this suburb seems less inclined to invite passers-by to stop and gather.<sup>77</sup>

What accounts for the difference between the two gates? Part of the answer is traffic, since the Porta Ercolano was among Pompeii's busiest gates, while the Porta Nocera was quieter.<sup>78</sup> For those approaching the city from the north, the Porta Ercolano gave easy access to the forum and the densely developed areas surrounding it. Externally, it led to the major metropolises of the northern Bay of Naples, as well as inland to Capua, beyond which was the *via Appia* and Rome. The principal traffic through the Porta Nocera suburb, meanwhile, consisted of those traveling between the port and cities to the south; inside the walls, the gate led to the amphitheater, the Grand Palaestra, and surrounding neighborhoods.<sup>79</sup> Surely both gates saw traffic, but the structure of the Porta Ercolano suggests that it both expected and encouraged more activity than the Porta Nocera. The former was the most elaborate gate in Pompeii, with a single wide archway for carts flanked by two narrower passages for sidewalks (Fig. 5.12).<sup>80</sup> This system allowed traffic to move through easily, since pedestrians were not required to navigate their way among carts. At the Porta Nocera, a single arched passage served both carts and foot traffic; a sidewalk led towards the gate on the western side of the road but ended awkwardly against the city wall (Fig. 5.13). The neighborhoods inside the gates also seem to expect different degrees of traffic. At the Porta Nocera, the transition from leafy, open suburb to constricted city road was dramatic; the *via di Porta Nocera* within the gate was narrow and lined with high walls that were punctuated by only a few doors (Fig. 5.14).<sup>81</sup> At the Porta Ercolano, on the other hand, the broad *via Consolare* welcomed visitors and guided them gently downhill towards the forum, while the wide doorways of shops competed to attract their attention and, as in the nearby suburb, benches provided space to gather and rest (Fig. 5.15).<sup>82</sup>

Tombs at each gate also responded to traffic, following similar development cues to the shops and workshops while indicating another factor that contributed

<sup>77</sup> Tomb of Veia Barchilla: Tomb 3 NE.

<sup>78</sup> See also Poehler (2017b: 198–200) for estimates on how many visitors might be expected to have passed through the gates of Pompeii.

<sup>79</sup> For traffic at the Porta Nocera, see also Section 6.2.

<sup>80</sup> Its current form was also the latest of the gates, built under the Flavians to replace an earlier version in the Augustan or early Imperial period; see Poehler (2017a: 240–41); Van der Graaff (2019: 129–32).

<sup>81</sup> For occurrence of doorways reflecting activity on a street, an idea that is not entirely without problems but which remains useful when used cautiously, see Laurence (2007: 102–9); also Hartnett (2017: 212–18).

<sup>82</sup> For retail as a proxy for traffic, see Ellis (2004).





**Figure 5.12** The Porta Ercolano. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)



**Figure 5.13** The Porta Nocera. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)



**Figure 5.14** View of the via di Porta Nocera. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)



**Figure 5.15** View of the via Consolare. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)



to commercial development: a suburb's relative prestige.<sup>83</sup> Examining the social status of those who constructed tombs at the Porta Ercolano and Porta Nocera suggests that the former was a more desirable area for interment, and potentially more expensive or exclusive. Only a single monument at the Porta Ercolano certainly included a freedperson in its primary dedication; this was the altar that the freedwoman Naevoleia Tyche set up for herself, her husband, Gaius Munatius Faustus, and their own freedmen and freedwomen (Tomb 22 South).<sup>84</sup> We can be sure that Naevoleia and Munatius were uncommonly wealthy and influential: he was an *augustalis* and a magistrate of the Pagus Augustus Felix who had been granted the honor of a *bisellium* by the decurions, their tomb was large and decorated with ornate marble relief sculpture advertising their identity and benevolence, and they had a second monument at the Porta Nocera, promoting themselves along two paths into the city.<sup>85</sup> Munatius, furthermore, might have been freed as a Junian Latin and later promoted to citizenship—a status that could have allowed for social advancement more readily than traditional manumission.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, and despite their evident status, the tomb was located at the far end of the excavated area, removed from the node of the gate.<sup>87</sup> The tombs of Pompeii's elite—including the neighborhood's two schola tombs, a type used only by the uppermost elite—dominate the area closer to the gate, where traffic was heaviest.<sup>88</sup> At the Porta Nocera, on the other hand, freedmen's tombs outnumbered those for members of the elite, and several freedmen had monuments at the major node formed by the intersection of the ring road and the highway that ran south from the gate.<sup>89</sup> The remains suggest the Porta

<sup>83</sup> The connection between traffic and monumental tombs has been traced across Italy; see Jashemski (1979: 142); Purcell (1987a: 40); Clarke (2003: 181–219); Carroll (2006: 48–53); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 184–226); Wallace-Hadrill (2008a: 61–5); Hope (2009: 153–4). The same pattern is not always apparent in the Roman provinces (Pearce 2011). For prestige determining locations of *collegia* headquarters at Rome, see Bollmann (1997: 219–21).

<sup>84</sup> Of 18 total tombs with preserved inscriptions indicating status; see Emmerson (2011: 178–9; 2013: 125–6).

<sup>85</sup> Clarke (2003: 184–5); Hackworth–Petersen (2006: 74–5).

<sup>86</sup> Emmerson (2011). This interpretation could be supported by the image of a ship on one side panel of the Porta Ercolano tomb; perhaps the ship represents the origin of the couple's wealth, but it may also indicate that Faustus was promoted to citizenship after contributing a ship to Rome's grain fleet (Emmerson 2011: 162; Mouritsen 2011: 155–7). The association might be further emphasized by the relief showing a grain distribution—almost certainly one funded by the couple—on the front of the tomb.

<sup>87</sup> Four tombs set up by freedmen for patrons or spouses of other statuses stood nearby that of Naevoleia and Munatius: Tombs 23 South, 34 North, 39 North, 42 North. Note that the epitaph of Tomb 34 North leaves the status of the dedicatee unclear, and she might also have been a freedwoman (Kruschwitz and Campbell 2010). The Tomb of Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus (Tomb 1 South), which was constructed in a narrow space against the city wall not long before the eruption, appears to break the pattern; the owner was an *augustalis* and possibly a former slave freed with Junian Latin status (Emmerson 2011).

<sup>88</sup> I define elite status by documented membership in the *ordo*, position as a priestess, or construction of a known public building in the city.

<sup>89</sup> Of 31 tombs with inscriptions, 13 were dedicated to freedmen or women, and only 4 to elites. See Emmerson (2011: 179–80; 2013: 126–8).

Nocera as a less prestigious neighborhood for burial than the Porta Ercolano, and so less desirable for the elite and more available to others.<sup>90</sup>

With its dominating monuments, statues of notable citizens, and inscriptions advertising public achievements, the prestigious neighborhood outside the Porta Ercolano—which attracted both funerary and commercial development—is comparable to key monumental districts in the very heart of the city. It shares similarities with the “theater district” near the Porta Stabia and the monumental entertainment zone of the Grand Palaestra and amphitheater as well as with the busy intersection of the *via dell’Abbondanza* and *via Stabiana/Vesuvio*, but is best compared to the forum itself. Both forum and suburb were defined above all by monumental and commercial structures, and the connection between them is further indicated by the colonnades that lined both. Although such “prestige sidewalks” would become a hallmark of Roman urbanism in the second and third centuries CE, they were still rare in Pompeii at the time of the eruption.<sup>91</sup> Beyond those at the Porta Ercolano, a colonnaded sidewalk was located across the *via Marina* from the Temple of Venus. The tetrapylon of the Holconii, covering the intersection of the *via dell’Abbondanza* and *via Stabiana*, functioned similarly, while interior colonnades could be found in public spaces like the Grand Palaestra, Triangular Forum, and Quadriporticus, as well as the smaller palaestrae of public baths. The most prominent colonnaded sidewalks in Pompeii, however, were those that lined the forum and stretched north towards Marcus Tullius’s Temple of Fortuna Augusta—notably, along the primary route to the Porta Ercolano. The defining features of the suburb, therefore—its shops, monuments, and colonnades—created a sort of echo of the forum, an introduction that provided a preface for the impressive civic zone a visitor could expect to encounter within the wall.

Crucially, the prestigious character of the Porta Ercolano suburb was not in spite of its tombs. On the contrary, the funerary spaces created the neighborhood’s atmosphere through their monumentality, decoration, inscriptions, and gardens. Rather than avoiding tombs, shops and workshops recognized their appeal, building visual relationships with them. The colonnade on the northern side of the street demonstrates such connections. Its southern end consisted of an arch across the sidewalk between Shop 14 and Entrance 15 to the Villa of the Mosaic Columns; for an individual approaching the city, this arch framed a picturesque view of the tombs just outside the gate on the southern side of the road. Likewise, those walking either into or out of the city would have been

<sup>90</sup> Paradoxically, it might have been precisely this characteristic that led elite women like Eumachia and Veia Barchilla to construct their tombs at the Porta Nocera; both monuments were significantly larger than average, and Eumachia’s was the largest by far in any necropolis surrounding the city, possibly indicating that space was relatively easy to acquire in this neighborhood. For dimensions, see Kockel (1983); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983).

<sup>91</sup> Poehler (2017a: 75–6).



**Figure 5.16** View from the northern portico towards tombs on the southern side of the via dei Sepolcri. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

treated to a variety of attractive views of the tombs lining the southern side of the street, framed in the wide arches of the portico (Fig. 5.16). The corresponding colonnade to the south, outside the Villa of Cicero, created a similar effect for the tombs along the northern side of the street. These walkways visually connected the neighborhood's funerary and commercial spaces, linking them in a viewer's experience. They also provided practical benefits, shading visitors from the sun and protecting them from bad weather, further encouraging activity among the tombs.

An additional curiosity of the Porta Ercolano suburb deserves attention here: the fact that all shops and workshops were located some distance from the city wall, beyond the external ring road, with the area immediately outside the gate devoted entirely to the funerary monuments of prominent citizens. The node just outside the gate must have been the busiest part of the neighborhood; if commerce simply followed traffic, we might expect to see shops here. All of the tombs in the area recorded that they had been set up with permission by the town council, almost certainly because the land was part of a *locus publicus*, administered directly by that body.<sup>92</sup> Apparently, the council prioritized factors beyond profit

<sup>92</sup> An idea supported by the cippus found outside the gate that recalled Suedius Clemens's reclamation of *loca publica* on behalf of Vespasian (CIL 10.1018=ILS 5942). On *loca publica* at Pompeii, see Stevens (2017a: 110–17, 205–6), also Campbell (2015: 84–98).

potential, such as identity advertisement and monumentalization, in dictating the shape of the neighborhood. Even as the possibility of profit drew commercial development, other concerns also were present, in this case overpowering what must have been the considerable economic potential of the node at the gate.

At the Porta Ercolano, traffic and prestige came together to make the neighborhood particularly attractive for commerce. Other Pompeian suburbs might have shared these characteristics—a situation especially likely for those on the busier western side of the city. The limited extent of excavation leaves our view incomplete, but we can draw a few tentative conclusions. Commercial development outside the Porta Marina is best represented by the Suburban Baths, Pompeii's most luxurious public bath building, which itself incorporated at least one shop (Fig. 5.17).<sup>93</sup> An elaborate residence, the so-called Villa Imperiale, stood across the street from the baths, built into the terrace below the Temple of Venus; others topped the city wall to extend down terraces and into the suburb to the north of the gate.<sup>94</sup> Tombs almost certainly stood nearby as well, in the unexcavated area under the modern entrance to the site and the



**Figure 5.17** The Suburban Baths in the Porta Marina suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

<sup>93</sup> Jacobelli (1987; 1988); Koloski-Ostrow (2007: 241–2).

<sup>94</sup> Villa Imperiale: Maiuri (1948); Jashemski (1979: 319); Pappalardo and Grimaldi (2005). Terraced residences: Tybout (2007); Grimaldi (2014); Stevens (2017a: 125–36).

via Villa dei Misteri.<sup>95</sup> Like the Porta Ercolano, the neighborhood had a colonnaded sidewalk, which led towards the gate along the northern side of the road.

The Porta Stabia suburb also was densely developed. No commercial spaces have been found in the small area cleared immediately outside the gate, but as many as four schola tombs lined the eastern side of the street within the ring road.<sup>96</sup> Just south of these was a tomb that featured the largest marble relief sculpture and longest inscription from any funerary context of Pompeii, recording the impressive public activities of an unnamed man who appears to have risen to the rank of equestrian at Rome.<sup>97</sup> Like the area just outside the Porta Ercolano, the zone probably was a *locus publicus*, where only the most prominent citizens were memorialized. Judging from the number of schola tombs, the prestige of the neighborhood rivaled—or even surpassed—the Porta Ercolano suburb, while its connection to the port, the public zone of the theaters, and the city’s major north–south thoroughfare likely gave it a comparable flow of traffic.<sup>98</sup> We should expect that there were shops and workshops here, still hidden in the unexcavated zone beyond the ring road.<sup>99</sup> Recent work about 300m south of the gate, along the modern via Stabiana, has uncovered an ancient structure of unclear type; the excavators interpreted it as part of a rural villa, but given the extent of development at the Porta Ercolano, the building might have been part of a contiguous suburb outside the Porta Stabia.<sup>100</sup>

Like those outside the Porta Ercolano and the Porta Stabia, the tombs uncovered at the Porta Vesuvio and Porta Nola have a distinctly elite character, and although only small areas are now exposed outside each, the Porta Vesuvio suburb, at least, also hosted several known villas, arranged along the road that led north from the gate. All have been reburied today, but excavations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries revealed well-decorated walls, mosaic floors, and elaborate finds; at least one of the villas even incorporated a private bath.<sup>101</sup> As at the Porta Ercolano and Porta Marina, a colonnade was located here, fronting the villas along the eastern side of the street.<sup>102</sup> The excavations also uncovered a monumental tomb alongside one of the villas, as well as a foundry

<sup>95</sup> Several tombs were found southeast of the Porta Marina, along the ring road towards the Porta Stabia, but these are the only funerary monuments known from the area (Emmerson 2010: 77–8, 83–4).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*; Emmerson (forthcoming b).

<sup>97</sup> Osanna (2018); Bodel et al. (2019).

<sup>98</sup> The highway leading to the gate might have been called the “via Pompeiana,” at least in the pre-Roman period; the name appears on a cippus with an Oscan inscription found outside the gate (Van der Graaff 2019: 100–101).

<sup>99</sup> The ring road itself has not been excavated at the Porta Stabia, but probably stood just south of the cleared area, below the modern buildings along the via Plinio (Emmerson 2010).

<sup>100</sup> De Carolis and Pardi (2018: 147–50).

<sup>101</sup> See Stefani (1995), with earlier bibliography. Another villa originally uncovered in the same period about 700m northwest of the gate, where additional exploration carried out in 2018 revealed the remains of three horses, probably was located beyond the built-up suburb (see Karasz 2018).

<sup>102</sup> Stefani (1995: 25).

that appeared to have been devoted to the production and repair of bronze objects, and what might have been a workshop that specialized in marble.<sup>103</sup> Less is known of the suburb outside the Porta Nola, but a wall behind the Tomb of Marcus Obellius Firmus, accessed by a beaten earth road that intersected the ring road, might have demarcated the property of a villa.<sup>104</sup> The roads at the Porta Nola also suggest some prestige. As opposed to the Porta Vesuvio, where stone paving ended immediately outside the gate, both the ring road and the highway exiting the gate were paved with basalt up to the limits of excavation; the *via dei Sepolcri* and *via Superior* at the Porta Ercolano, in comparison, were paved for at least 200m past the gate, while the highway exiting the Porta Stabia might have been paved in stone as far as the limits of Pompeii's territory.<sup>105</sup> The suburb outside the Porta Sarno, where excavation is limited to a small pocket of space about 50m outside the gate, is more difficult to gauge, but the exposed remains suggest a quieter landscape more similar to that outside the Porta Nocera.<sup>106</sup>

Future work will do much to clarify the situation of the suburbs beyond each of Pompeii's gates, but the available evidence suggests that variable patterns of traffic and prestige came together in these zones to encourage (or otherwise) commercial development. The neighborhoods on the western side of the city—outside the Porta Ercolano, the Porta Marina, and very likely the Porta Stabia—appear to have been the busiest and most prestigious districts, attracting shops and workshops. That outside the Porta Vesuvio might have stood slightly below those, while the districts on the eastern and especially the southeastern side of the city were the quietest and least prestigious, and so hosted the least commerce. Notably, tombs were among the key elements that determined the character of these zones; rather than inspiring fear and revulsion, funerary monuments—especially those of the city's elite—encouraged activity and urban development. Likewise, suburban workshops do not appear to have negatively impacted their surroundings. At both the Porta Ercolano and Porta Vesuvio, workshops stood alongside elite villas, and the foundries and ceramics facilities—not to mention restaurants and bakeries—located within the city center suggest that anxiety over fire risk did not drive such installations outside the walls.<sup>107</sup> Instead, it was the life and activity in the zone, likely alongside lower land values and the benefits of various suburban resources, that catalyzed commercial development, all bolstered by the positive associations of suburban tombs.

<sup>103</sup> Tomb: Della Corte (1921: 421–3); Stefani (1998). Foundry: Sogliano (1897; 1900); Grafhs (1988: 12–48); Poehler, Van Roggen, and Crowther (2019: 252). Marble workshop: Stefani (1995: 24–5).

<sup>104</sup> For recent work in this area, see Kay et al. (2016; 2017); Kay, Martin, and Albiach (2018).

<sup>105</sup> Van der Graaff (2019: 100–101) argues for this reading of a Latin inscription found outside the Porta Stabia (CIL 10 1064=ILS 5382), although the text could indicate a location within Pompeii's territory, rather than on the edge of it. See also Section 6.2.

<sup>106</sup> D'Ambrosio (1998; 1999); Emmerson (2013: 59). The current project of the Universidad Europea de Valencia is generating valuable data on this zone (see Alapont 2018).

<sup>107</sup> See esp. Monteix (2010).



### 5.4 Decommmercializing Suburban Prestige at Puteoli and Rome

Located north of Pompeii on the Bay of Naples, Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli) served as early Imperial Italy's primary port of entry from the eastern Mediterranean, and as a result was one of its largest, wealthiest, and most cosmopolitan cities (Fig. 5.18). The tombs lining Puteoli's highways attest to the prosperity of its inhabitants; these massive structures are rivaled in size and grandeur only by the most outstanding funerary monuments of Rome itself.<sup>108</sup> Many are preserved to two and three stories, some topped with sun terraces and featuring built-in triclinia or other dining features. Originally, their interiors were decorated with painted mythological scenes, intricate stucco reliefs, and delicate mosaic floors, much of

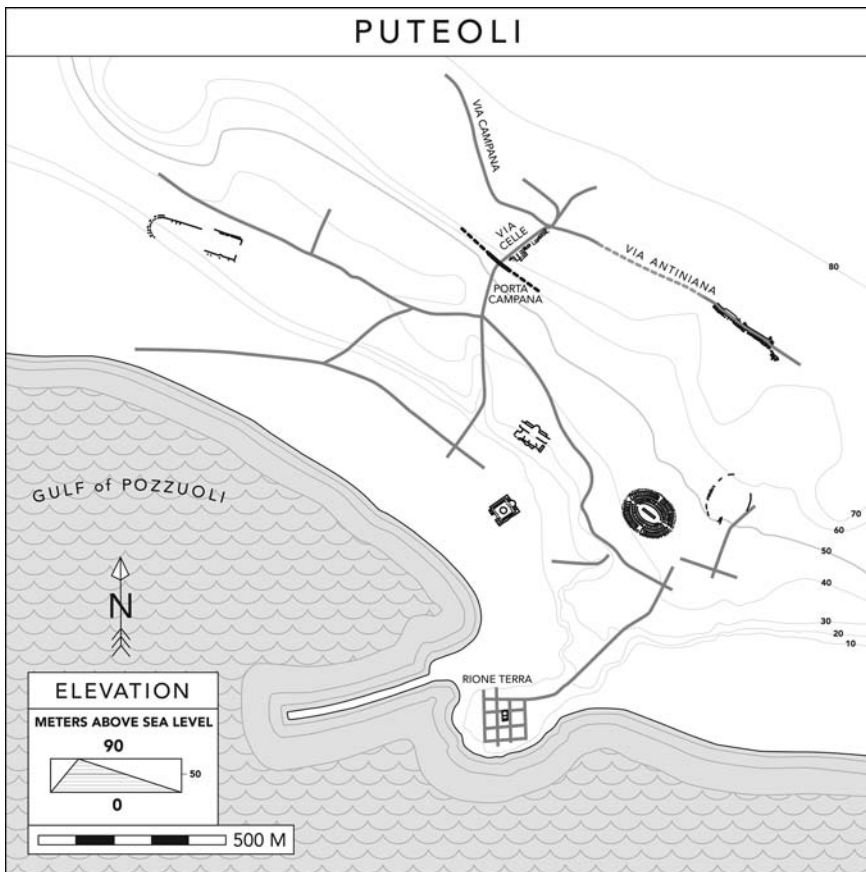


Figure 5.18 Plan of Puteoli. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Popkin 2018.)

<sup>108</sup> Emmerson (2013: 239–329).

which has been lost but was recorded by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers. Most tomb façades have been removed via millennia of spoliation, but those that remain feature decorative pilasters, pediments, and arches, while niches and aediculae suggest the presence of life-sized and even over-life-sized statues, various examples of which are preserved in local marble yards and museums. These tombs stood along some of the busiest thoroughfares in the Roman world, which ran through Puteoli's suburbs to connect the port with settlements across the peninsula. We might expect such active and prestigious zones to have been heavily commercialized, but on the contrary, shops and workshops are almost entirely lacking from the excavated areas outside Puteoli's wall. In contrast to the situations examined thus far, the city's key suburbs were devoted above all to display, acting as monumental vestibules to the city center where the value of funerary monuments outweighed any potential gains from shops or workshops.

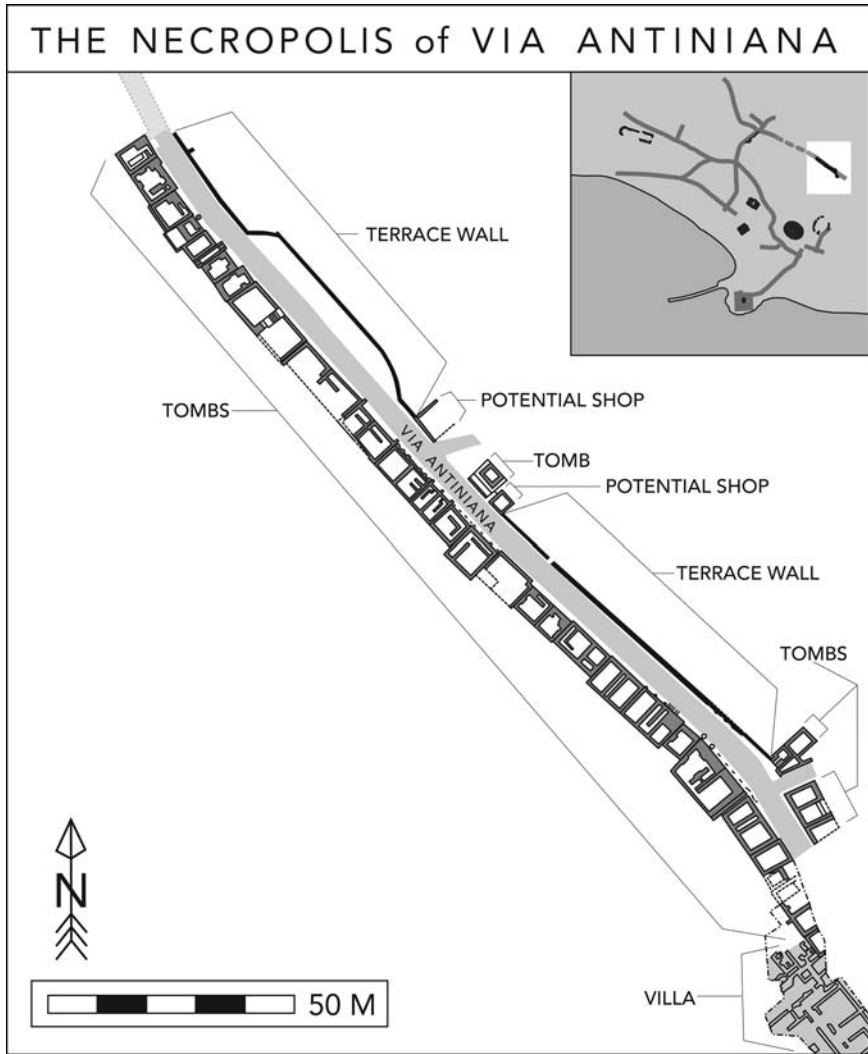
A suburban area immediately north of Puteoli, along the "via Antiniana" that ran to Neapolis (Naples), shows a clear emphasis on funerary display over commercial development.<sup>109</sup> Excavations of the early 1990s revealed a stretch of this highway as well as many of the tombs that flanked it (Fig. 5.19).<sup>110</sup> Notably, the northeastern and southwestern sides of the road contrasted in several ways. The 30 monumental tombs to the southwest were conspicuously similar, featuring brick façades decorated with plastered pilasters, pediments, cornices, and niches, often with a door above ground level, accessed by steps or a portable ladder, and boundary stones that delineated the plot from the road. Inside, most had an underground chamber and at least one upper chamber. The underground chambers featured niches in their walls for cremation interments, and many had been altered later to hold inhumations. The upper levels appear to have been used for funerary ritual rather than interment, and sometimes incorporated benches and access to cisterns. No empty plots were left between the tombs. The similarity of these monuments, which are best dated to the late first or very early second century CE, could indicate that an entrepreneur developed this side of the necropolis, selling successive plots or even constructing monuments prior to sale.<sup>111</sup> In contrast, the six tombs to the northeast were of various types, each seemingly constructed independently.<sup>112</sup> They clustered in groups near two smaller side roads, one to the south and one roughly in the center of the exposed area. The excavators proposed, reasonably, that the side roads led to villas, with the tombs built on land

<sup>109</sup> Domenico Mallardo had demonstrated already in the 20th c. that the name "via Antiniana" was not in use in the Roman period; nevertheless, it remains the most common designation for this road, and I use it here for the sake of clarity. See Mallardo (1938/1939); Johannowsky (1952: 86–7); Gialanella (1991: 175).

<sup>110</sup> Gialanella (1991; 2005); Gialanella and Di Giovanni (2001); Emmerson (2013: 251–3).

<sup>111</sup> The necropolis located near the church of San Vito was quite similar and also might have been developed by an entrepreneur (Emmerson 2013: 260, 290–93).

<sup>112</sup> With the possible exception of the three on the far eastern end of the excavated area, which resembled those on the southern side of the street. See Gialanella and Di Giovanni (2001: 160–61).



**Figure 5.19** Plan of the via Antiniana necropolis. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Gialanella and Di Giovanni 2001.)

belonging to the villa owners and commemorating themselves or members of their families.

The scale and quality of the tombs found at the via Antiniana suggests that this was a prestigious neighborhood, but it remained almost entirely non-commercial. Only two potential shops were found here, excavated to either side of an intersection and tomb on the northeastern side of the street. The possible shop to the north was located between the side road and a large masonry aedicula, where many non-monumental burials dating from the late first through the fifth centuries CE

were recovered. To the south the second example abutted a funerary monument, which the excavators proposed belonged to the owner of an unexplored villa north of the necropolis. This tomb was entirely different in type from those located across the street, consisting of a tall podium with an underground funerary chamber. It probably was topped by a round or octagonal cusp, with a form known elsewhere in Puteoli and in other cities of Campania.<sup>113</sup> If the excavators are correct to associate the tomb with a private property behind it, then the buildings they identify as shops probably can be attributed to the same owner. In dedicating her street-front property to shops, this individual responded to the economic potential of traffic along the highway. Shops also might have provided employment for freedmen or extended patronage networks to new tenants; the owner even could have chosen to occupy the land with commercial buildings to guarantee that the family tomb would be the only funerary monument here, without neighbors that might rival it.<sup>114</sup> Meanwhile, the development of the southern side of the road by an entrepreneur could explain why there were no commercial structures intermixed with the tombs; that individual might have chosen to devote the land to funerary use, which itself represented significant—if one-time—profit potential and could have carried additional social benefits.<sup>115</sup> Land similarly set aside for funerary use might be depicted on the well-known plan of a tomb garden found near the via Labicana at Rome; the top of the plan shows a public road flanked by a reed bed, which has been divided into a series of rectangular plots (Fig. 5.20).<sup>116</sup> Like the plots south of the via Antiniana, they are uniform in depth, but vary in width.

Even more striking than the situation at the via Antiniana, the suburb immediately outside Puteoli's principal gate and "front door," the so-called Porta Campana, was entirely non-commercialized.<sup>117</sup> Inside the wall, the Porta Campana gave direct access to the forum, the port, and the monumental and commercial complex at the Rione Terra; beyond it, the via Campana led to Capua and the via Appia, making the road Campania's chief highway and one of the most active routes in the whole of Imperial Italy. By all indications, this was one of the busiest individual gates of any city in Italy, and we might expect it to have been heavily commercialized. On the contrary, however, all known remains from the Porta Campana suburb were funerary (Fig. 5.21). Monumental tombs once lined

<sup>113</sup> The tomb known as "La Conocchia" at Capua (modern Santa Maria Capua Vetere) is probably the most famous example of the type (De Franciscis and Pane 1957: 35–5, 76–86). See also the examples at Abella discussed in Palmentieri (2011).

<sup>114</sup> For the many motivations that might encourage the establishment of shops, see Ellis (2018: esp. 109–14).

<sup>115</sup> Purcell (2007: 295).

<sup>116</sup> CIL 6 29,847; see Toynbee (1971: 98–100); Bodel (2017: 222–3).

<sup>117</sup> This was true for a stretch of at least 200m beyond the gate. The ruins of the gate itself were still visible in the 19th c., but have been lost entirely today. See Dubois (1907: 242); Johannowsky (1952: 88); Maiuri (1958: 53); Quilici (1969b: 47).

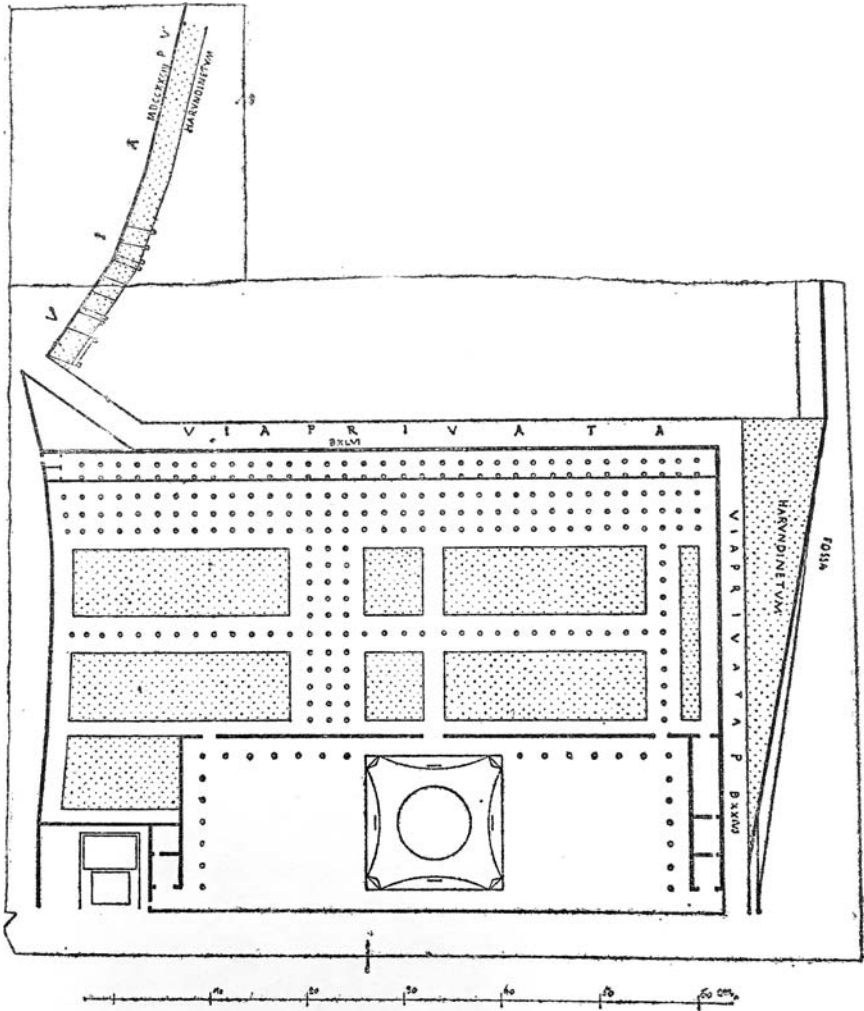


Figure 5.20 Ancient plan showing tombs from the via Laticana, Rome. (CIL 6 29,847.)

both sides of the street, but today only a single example survives on the northwestern side, with 13 to the southeast making up what is now known as the “via Celle” necropolis (Fig. 5.22).<sup>118</sup> In addition to the gate, which formed a node to the south of the necropolis, the tombs responded to a second node to the north, at the intersection of the via Campana and via Antiniana. The earliest funerary monuments

<sup>118</sup> Additional tombs were visible on the western side of the street in the early 20th c. For the necropolis, see Dubois (1907: 233); Maiuri (1932; 1958: 53–7); Johannowsky (1952: 126); De Franciscis and Pane (1957: 56–66); Quilici (1969a: nos. 50–65); De Caro and Greco (1981: 49–50; Amalfitano, Camodeca, and Medri (1990: 132–47); Iodice and Raimondi (2001).

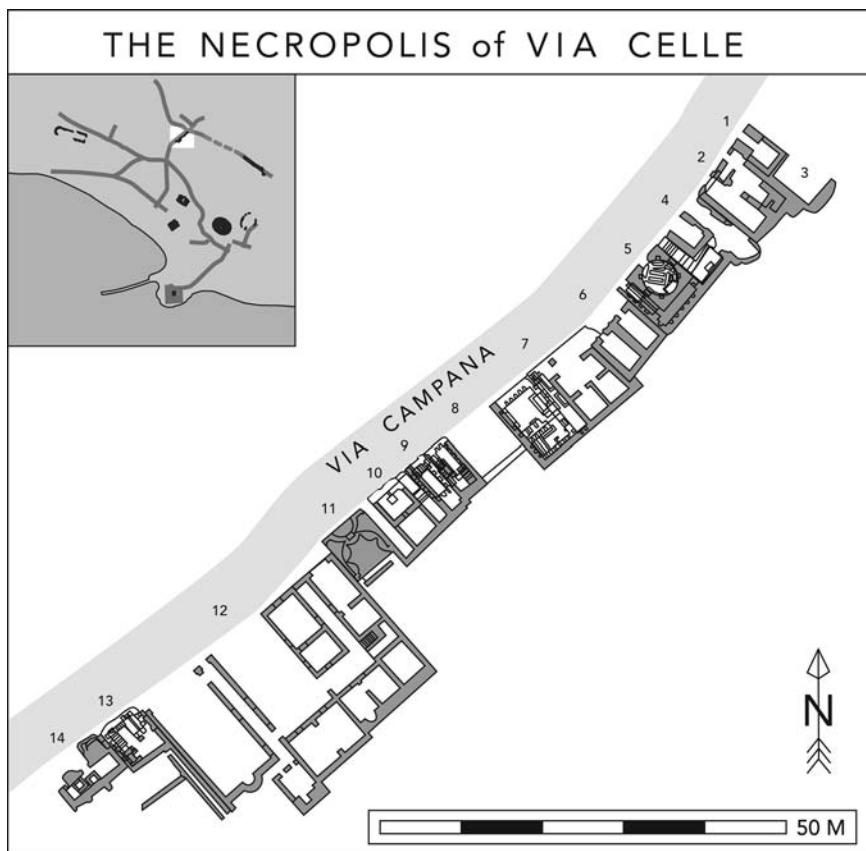


Figure 5.21 Plan of the via Celle necropolis. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Amalfitano, Camodeca, and Medri 1990.)

here date to the first century BCE, but most were constructed during the course of the first and second centuries CE, with earlier monuments built near the gate or the crossroads, while later gradually filled the open space between.<sup>119</sup>

The remains at the via Celle suggest a tipping point in traffic, prestige, and suburban commercial development. Although a lack of subsurface excavation might obscure earlier shops under later tombs, by the time construction ceased in the early third century, any commercial spaces had disappeared. Perhaps this land

<sup>119</sup> Emmerson (2013: 286–90). The major exception to this pattern was “Tomb” 12, the latest and the largest of the structures here, which incorporated baths, a cistern, service rooms, and several gathering spaces surrounding a central funerary monument. Despite dating to the 3rd c. CE, the complex was located near the gate, and given that it covered roughly five times the space of the average tomb in the necropolis, it almost certainly took over plots that had been occupied previously. See Gialanella (2000: 79–81) for one interpretation of this structure.





Figure 5.22 View of the via Celle necropolis. (Photo: author.)

was part of a *locus publicus*, and— just as outside the Porta Ercolano at Pompeii—Puteoli’s town council choose not to devote it to commerce. Alternately or in conjunction, the very prestige of this zone between two major nodes might have limited commercial development; land value might have been so high—both socially and economically—that occupying it with a shop or workshop was unfeasible, leaving the neighborhood to the tombs of the city’s wealthiest citizens.<sup>120</sup> At Puteoli, therefore, traffic and prestige came together not to encourage commercial development, but to prevent it. The city’s premier suburb became so elevated as to be unsuitable, unaffordable, or even explicitly closed to shops and workshops.

Indeed, we can observe the same phenomenon at Rome. Since antiquity, the via Appia has been the most famous route in Rome’s celebrated highway system. Originating from the need to move troops efficiently during the Samnite Wars of the fourth century BCE, the road facilitated the city’s expansion both militarily and economically, and it always maintained a special place in the Roman imagination. Statius celebrated the via Appia as the queen of highways (*regina viarum*), while to Martial it was the most famous of all Roman roads (*maxima fama viae*), and Horace, recalling a trip along it in the company of Maecenas and other illustrious companions, called it easy on slow travelers (*minus est gravis Appia tardis*).<sup>121</sup> Augustus entered the city here when he returned from the east in 19

<sup>120</sup> For the profitability (or otherwise) of Roman shops, see Ellis (2018: 102–9).

<sup>121</sup> Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.12; Mart. 9.101; Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.6.

BCE, and the Mutatorium Caesaris, a building linked with imperial arrivals and departures, was located just outside the gate throughout the Imperial period.<sup>122</sup> Rome's fourteen regions, furthermore, began their meandering counterclockwise circle of the city with Region I in the via Appia suburb, and the zone likewise was featured at the top of the *Forma Urbis Romae*. The road's distinctive character is best summarized by Livy, who stated simply that the via Appia was the city's entrance hall (*in vestibulo Urbis*).<sup>123</sup> By the end of the Republican period the stretch of highway outside the Porta Capena had developed into a park-like suburb, dotted with sanctuaries and villas but dominated by the tombs of Rome's wealthiest and most prominent citizens.<sup>124</sup> As we have seen, the Tomb of the Scipios stood here already by the third century BCE; over time, it was joined by additional tombs in ever-greater numbers, a trend that culminated with the massive subterranean catacombs primarily—although not exclusively—used by Christians between the third and sixth centuries CE.<sup>125</sup>

Some evidence exists for commercial structures on the via Appia in the late Republican period; in a letter to his brother Quintus, Cicero described a flood of 54 BCE that washed away shops near the temple of Mars at the first mile.<sup>126</sup> By the early Imperial period, however, all such development appears to have been confined to the zone immediately outside the Porta Capena.<sup>127</sup> From the point where the via Appia and via Latina split—roughly 700m outside the gate and well within the zone commercialized along other major highways like the via Flaminia, via Praenestina, and via Ostiensis—any commercial use of space is conspicuously lacking.<sup>128</sup> The situation does not result from preservation or exploration; long-standing interest due to the fame of the via Appia and its modern status as protected parkland mean that this suburb is more extensively explored and accessible than any other in Rome.<sup>129</sup> The absence of commercial space, moreover, extended from the Appia itself to the via Latina and via Ardeatina, which flanked it to the east and west. Along these roads, too, no shops or workshops can be identified prior to the third and fourth centuries CE.<sup>130</sup> As Rome's other suburbs grew

<sup>122</sup> LTUR 3 s.v. "Mutatorium Caesaris" 335 (G. Pisani Sartorio). <sup>123</sup> Liv. 26.32.4.

<sup>124</sup> Non-monumental inhumations of the 4th and 3rd c. BCE also have been found in the area (Avetta 1986: 35).

<sup>125</sup> See Section 3.1. For catacombs, see esp. Wallace-Hadrill (2008a).

<sup>126</sup> Cic. *Q Fr.* 3.7. Potential remains of shops have been found near the first mile, but they overlie tombs of the 2nd and 3rd c. CE, and so postdate Cicero by many centuries (Spera 1999: 63–4; Dubbini 2015: 71).

<sup>127</sup> The *Forma Urbis Romae* (Fragment 1a–e) shows commercial structures between the gate and the baths of Caracalla; this zone's appearance in the earlier Imperial period, however, remains unknown.

<sup>128</sup> As indicated by Lucrezia Spera's extensive catalog of all known finds from the first three miles of the via Appia, via Latina, and via Ardeatina; see Spera (1999).

<sup>129</sup> Admittedly, the heavy privatization of land alongside the road is detrimental to archaeological investigation, but even so the ancient remains are more accessible overall than those found on Rome's other highways. For the via Appia in modern Rome, see Pisani Sartorio (2004: 34–5).

<sup>130</sup> Spera (1999).

through the early and mid-Imperial periods, therefore, a massive extramural zone on the southeastern side of the city devoted almost no space to commerce.<sup>131</sup>

Like the Porta Campana suburb at Puteoli, it seems that in the early Imperial period, the via Appia's traffic and prestige grew so great as to discourage commercial development. Land here was too valuable, both socially and economically, to devote to the relatively low return of a shop or workshop. In this context, other structures promised greater gains, since they presented opportunities for displaying and constructing status that outmatched the small profit of a commercial installation. As a result, the via Appia suburb became truly *suburbanus* in the Roman sense: it was a pleasant landscape devoted to leisurely study and reflection, its peacefully productive *otium* (leisure) balancing the more frantic *negotium* (business) of the city center.<sup>132</sup> To a traveler entering the city along the highway, the tombs, villas, and sanctuaries that lined the road presented an idealized picture both of the city's history and of the many individuals and families who had contributed to it, balancing the explicitly imperial monuments that lined the via Flaminia in the Campus Martius to the north. Furthermore, the sudden contrast as the suburb's *amoenitas*, the pleasing beauty of its green space, gave way to the densely developed urban zone just beyond the intersection of the via Appia and via Latina provided a particularly dramatic welcome to the city. As the traveler continued into the city center, passing the monuments of the Palatine and continuing towards the forum valley she could fully appreciate the harmony of *suburbanus* and *urbanus*, *otium* and *negotium*. Two of the busiest and most prestigious suburbs of Italy, therefore—that outside Puteoli's Porta Campana and that along Rome's via Appia—demonstrate a rare situation. In both locations, remarkably high levels of traffic and prestige came together to create markedly un-urbanized "suburbs" that matched the elite thought-world of the city.

## 5.5 Conclusion: Suburban Commerce, Urban Life

The various resources that drew commerce to suburbs included some that were likewise exploitable in the city center, such as traffic, as well as others that were particularly available outside the city wall. Among the latter, the affordability of land would have been especially beneficial for those producing and retailing inexpensive goods like pottery and lamps, possibly explaining why ceramics workshops were such common features of suburbs while businesses that carried

<sup>131</sup> A potential exception is the epigraphic workshop that Daniele Manacorda has proposed existed somewhere nearby in the Julio-Claudian period, but no remains have come to light (Manacorda 1979).

<sup>132</sup> See Champlin (1982); Agusta-Boularot (1998); Panciera (1999: 929); Goodman (2007: 20–26); Garriguet (2010); Mandich (2015: 81–3). See also Section 1.1.

similar fire risks, like foundries, dye-shops, and bakeries, can be found throughout the city center.<sup>133</sup> Suburban locations also facilitated access to raw materials and fuel, as well as to major communication routes like highways and waterways. Equally evident from the case studies is the role of tombs as suburban resources. Beyond Rome's Porta Esquilina, a large bakery interacted with the funerary monuments of bakers, contributing to the character of the neighborhood and inviting a type of display unavailable to the majority of society in the city center. At Pompeii, furthermore, tombs were chiefly responsible for creating the atmosphere of prestige that helped to draw commerce to the Porta Ercolano suburb. Meanwhile, for Puteoli's via Celle and Rome's via Appia, tombs functioned in the opposite way, contributing to environments that were truly *suburbanus* in the Roman sense, locations of luxurious leisure that created a clear contrast with the bustling city center.

Significantly, not all suburban shops and workshops were restricted to the built-up zones immediately outside gates. What we might call suburban agglomerations—minor urban zones that were dependent on but not physically contiguous with a nearby city—also incorporated extensive commercial activities. One example is attested just over 2km outside Pompeii's Porta Ercolano. "Villa B" at Oplontis is not a villa proper, but a group of buildings located a few hundred meters from the ancient coastline, still revealed only in part.<sup>134</sup> The largest structure consisted of rooms of various sizes oriented around a peristyle courtyard; at the time of the eruption, much of its space was dedicated to bottling and distributing wine. To the north were four two-story rowhouses, to the south was a series of barrel-vaulted storage spaces with apartments above. Other buildings were located to the west, as well as further north, across a gravel-paved road complete with a large sub-surface sewer. Despite its physical separation from a city, the density of buildings in the Villa B complex, as well as the diversity of their uses, create a strikingly urban atmosphere. The site has no evident connection to the luxury seaside villa known as "Villa A," located about 300m to the west, and given its location, it probably was administered from Pompeii.<sup>135</sup> Villa B, therefore, seems best considered suburban, but it differed in significant ways from suburbs contiguous with the city center. Other sites located in the territory of Pompeii can be placed in the same category; for example, the collection of residences, shops, workshops, and other buildings located on the banks of the Sarno

<sup>133</sup> We should note, however, that our picture of ceramics workshops on the edges of cities and other production activities spread through the center might be skewed by the distribution of remains at Pompeii and does not certainly apply to other sites. Elsewhere, the durability and ease of identifying kilns might likewise lead us to overestimate ceramics production over other types of suburban manufacturing.

<sup>134</sup> See most recently Van der Graaff et al. (2019). The complex is sometimes referred to as the "Villa of Lucius Crassius Tertius."

<sup>135</sup> Fergola (2014: 156–7).

river about 600m south of the Porta Stabia at Murecine, or those found just over a kilometer to the southwest of the same gate at Bottaro—most likely the location of Pompeii's port—among which was a complex of at least 16 shops.<sup>136</sup> This type of suburban agglomeration, furthermore, was not limited to Pompeii. A group of buildings located on the Adriatic coast at Campagna Lupia, about 18km east of Patavium, once was interpreted as a rural sanctuary but recently has been re-identified as a secondary agglomeration at Patavium's nearest seaport.<sup>137</sup> Similarly, Campi Macri on the via Aemilia seems to have functioned primarily as a market settlement tied to nearby Mutina (modern Modena).<sup>138</sup> These and similar sites would make excellent subjects for future research; for now, they continue to suggest the complexity of urban commerce, which was in no way limited to the city center.

<sup>136</sup> See Stefani and Maio (2003); De Carolis, Patricelli, and Cominesi (2013: 12).

<sup>137</sup> Giroto and Rosada (2015). <sup>138</sup> Gabba and Coarelli (1975: 156); Ortalli (2012).

## 6

# Italy's Suburban Amphitheaters

In the winter of 69 CE, Italy was gripped by civil war. Freshly arrived from Germania, the troops of Aulus Vitellius found themselves facing the city of Placentia (modern Piacenza), which remained loyal to Vitellius's rival Otho.<sup>1</sup> According to Tacitus, their attack on the city was drunken and hasty, the soldiers weighed down with food and wine. In the fray, Placentia's impressive suburban amphitheater, the largest of any on the peninsula, was burned and destroyed. Tacitus, reasonably, proposed that the building had been caught in the crossfire between besiegers and besieged. The townspeople, however, believed that the jealous residents of neighboring cities had hidden inflammable materials within the amphitheater and purposefully caused the fire. Tacitus noted that the people took the loss lightly enough while they feared more terrible things to come, but once security had been re-established, they mourned as if they could have suffered nothing worse.

Placentia was far from the only Italian city to boast an extramural amphitheater. In fact, half of all major entertainment structures—i.e. theaters, amphitheaters, stadia, and circuses—known from Roman Italy were located outside city walls; if we restrict our view to amphitheaters alone, the percentage rises, with two-thirds of all known examples being suburban.<sup>2</sup> Past work has identified two primary explanations for this pattern. Urban overspill has been seen as the key issue: not only were entertainment buildings large, often the largest single monument in any given city, but also many arose after the urban boom of the late first century BCE and early first century CE, when much space inside the center had been occupied.<sup>3</sup> In addition, previous studies have noted a secondary effect of placing such significant public monuments outside the walls, recognizing that extramural

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 2.21.

<sup>2</sup> Following Bonetto (2003: 926), who used data curated by Tosi (2003). Frézouls's smaller-scale study of around 50 Italian amphitheaters identified only 35% as suburban (Frézouls 1990: 80); while Conventi's sample of 27 cities found that 70% of amphitheaters stood outside the walls (Conventi 2004: 218, 222). Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994: 103), furthermore, have said that 50% of theaters and amphitheaters were suburban, but without providing specific numbers. We should remember that all of these figures are approximate, since the ancient situation is not always clear, but Bonetto's sample is the most complete and so provides the best picture currently available.

<sup>3</sup> For lack of space in city centers as the key factor that drove entertainment buildings outside the walls, see e.g. Frézouls (1990); Maggi (1991: 306–7); Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994: 102); Verzár-Bass (1995); Zanker (2000: 37–40); Bonetto (2003: 924–5); Conventi (2004: 218–24); Gros and Torelli (2007: 258–61); Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, and Sears (2011: 266–79); Witcher (2013: 211); Goodman (2016a: 316–17); Stevens (2017a: 139–59).



entertainment buildings, and especially the amphitheaters that were often their cities' most impressive and expensive buildings, advertised wealth and amenity and so contributed to the urban façade.<sup>4</sup>

Past studies surely are correct that availability and affordability of land drew amphitheaters to suburbs. Likewise, and whether they were found inside or outside the city wall, such buildings ornamented the urban zone in obvious ways. Those two broad points, however, conceal additional motivations, which have greater potential to illuminate Roman attitudes towards urban space. This chapter seeks to understand how a suburban amphitheater served a city both practically and ideologically. Examining four diverse sites—the major regional centers of Verona in Cisalpina and Capua in Campania, as well as the mid-sized city of Herdonia in Apulia and the minor settlement of Oriculum in the Umbrian Tiber valley—I identify a number of benefits derived from placing amphitheaters in suburbs. Practically speaking, a position outside the city center facilitated crowd control and eased access to public events, but suburban amphitheaters also extended a city's monumental heart into developing urban districts outside the walls. In many cases, they appeared only after suburban development had begun, and tied new extramural neighborhoods to the city as a whole, uniting center and suburb through monumental public display.

A location in the suburb also invited opportunities for interaction with tombs, a point that brings us back to Tacitus and the suspicions of Placentia's townspeople. Standing together outside the walls, a suburban amphitheater and monumental tombs displayed one of the city's chief amenities while highlighting the individuals and families who had played crucial roles in local history. These messages were particularly relevant to regional audiences, who not only traveled between cities to attend games and festivals but also passed through suburbs in the course of regular journeys of all types. Because Italy's transportation network—and especially its system of highways, ring roads, and laws that prohibited riding or driving through city centers—discouraged travelers from entering the city proper, many non-locals could be expected to travel through the suburb without continuing into the center.<sup>5</sup> When placed outside the wall, therefore, an amphitheater advertised more effectively to this group than would an equivalent monument in the city center; note that for the people of Placentia, their suburban amphitheater was a point of pride and competition that they expected to trigger their neighbors' envy. At the same time, an amphitheater also communicated the ties that bound communities together. Arrayed along Italy's highways, their

<sup>4</sup> Witcher (2013: 211); Goodman (2016a: 318–19); Stevens (2017a: 206). The idea that amphitheaters hosted liminal activities linked with the dead and were therefore more appropriate to the edges than the center of the city (e.g. Stevens 2017a: 144) is less convincing.

<sup>5</sup> See Section 2.5.

shared form claimed participation in a mutual culture of euergetism, piety, and entertainment. All of these points emerge from the case studies, which come together to suggest that previous conclusions on land availability and monumentalization only scratch the surface of a far larger and more complex story of Italy's suburban amphitheaters.

### 6.1 Games and Community Life at Verona

The amphitheater at Verona, one of the best preserved examples in the whole of the Roman world, immediately suggests the variety of motivations that might place such buildings in suburbs. Originally consisting of one or more small settlements on the left bank of the Adige river, Verona shifted to develop on the open plain of the right bank sometime in the mid-first century BCE.<sup>6</sup> The newly enlarged city had an orthogonal plan framed on three sides by the curve of the river; a fortification wall structured and protected its open, southern side (Fig. 6.1). The amphitheater was added some 80m outside the wall in the Julio-Claudian period (Fig. 6.2).<sup>7</sup> Undoubtedly, the monument's location brought practical benefits, particularly in accessibility. Framed on the west by the *via Postumia*, *Cisalpina's* chief highway since the third century BCE, and on the east by a second major road that connected Verona to *Hostilia*, the amphitheater was a convenient destination for those attending festivals. Its location outside the wall, furthermore, invited flexible solutions for crowd control, and the building's funders likely took advantage of a zone that was more open and affordable than land in the city center. That being said, Verona's amphitheater did not arise in an area that was completely undeveloped. Like others throughout Italy, the suburb south of the city had begun to grow in the Augustan period, hosting elite housing, public monuments, and humbler structures that were densest alongside the *via Postumia* but spread across the southern plain.<sup>8</sup> The amphitheater extended the monumental core into this new neighborhood—a clear statement of prosperity and urban growth that tied the developing district to the city as a whole.

Already by the early Julio-Claudian period, Verona's southern suburb stretched along the *via Postumia* for nearly 300m past the *Porta Iovia* (the modern *Porta Borsari*), which served as the main entrance to the city. The zone of densest

<sup>6</sup> For overviews, see Cavalieri Manasse (1998a); Bonetto (2009: 67–70).

<sup>7</sup> For Verona's amphitheater, see Coarelli and Franzoni (1972); Tosi (2003: 536–7); Gros and Torrelli (2007: 258–9). For the date, I follow Cavalieri Manasse (1998a: 447); others have placed it as early as the Augustan period and as late as the Flavian period (see discussion and further bibliography in Tosi 2003: 537).

<sup>8</sup> See Cavalieri Manasse (1998a: 448).

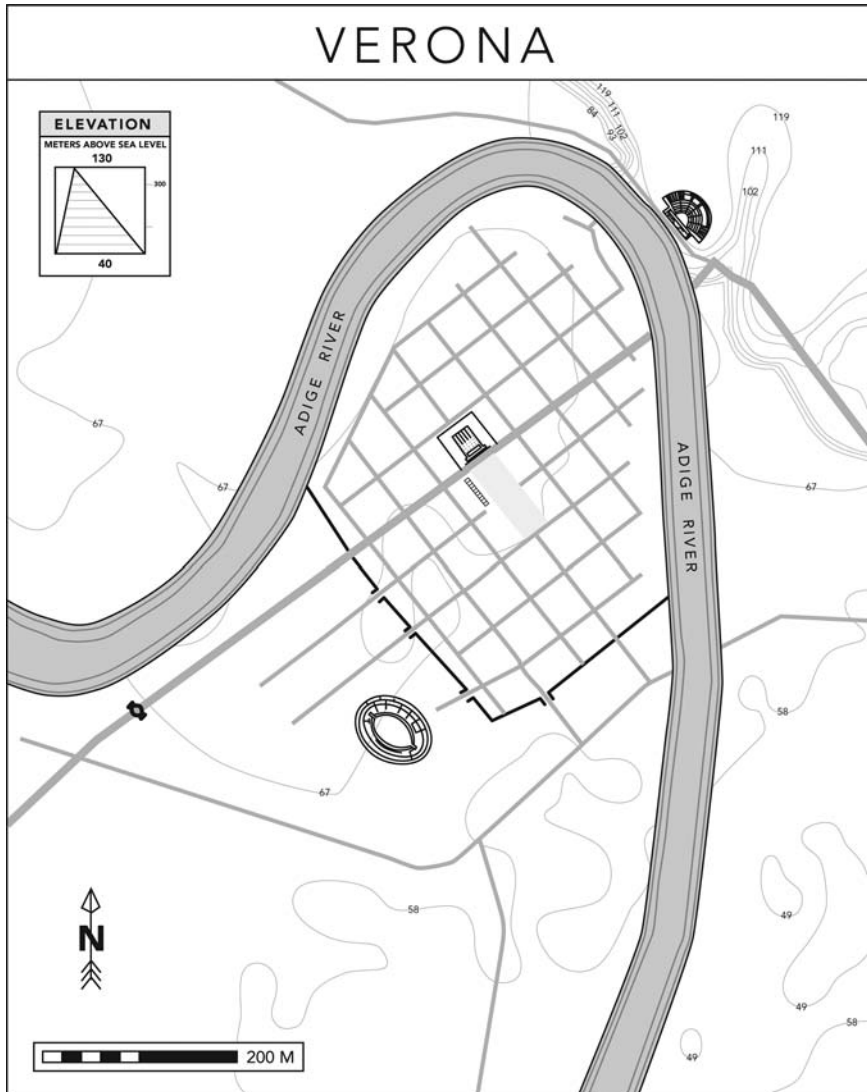


Figure 6.1 Plan of Verona. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Cavalieri Manasse 1998a.)

development was marked on its outer edge by a monumental arch dedicated to members of the Gavii family, which was constructed in the early first century CE and formed something like a secondary gate that clearly identified the suburb as a part of the city (Fig. 6.3).<sup>9</sup> The amphitheater was added to the less densely inhabited eastern

<sup>9</sup> There is no reason to imagine, as some have (e.g. Stevens 2017a: 94), that the arch marked a boundary inside of which interment was forbidden. Verona's few known Roman burials do come from outside the arch, but all were simple inhumation graves (see Bonetto 2009: 71–2). As attested by remains in the city's museums, Roman Verona boasted an elaborate funerary landscape, and the



Figure 6.2 Amphitheater at Verona. (Photo: author.)



Figure 6.3 Arch of the Gavii at Verona. (Photo: author.)

area a generation or more after the first burst of development. Its location probably took advantage of available land, but even so its construction might have required the concurrent destruction of pre-existing buildings. Although no excavations have targeted the area, examples elsewhere attest to the challenges of adding such massive structures to developing neighborhoods, whether those were found inside or outside city walls. Intramural amphitheaters at Augusta Praetoria as well as at Pompeii eliminated earlier buildings, while the suburban amphitheater at Eoredia overlay earlier structures, as did the theater complex in the southern suburb of Vicetia.<sup>10</sup> As for all of these cities, Verona's amphitheater did not arise in a *tabula rasa*, and whether or not it eliminated earlier structures, its arrival must have had a substantial impact on its neighborhood.

The southern suburb, furthermore, was not the only urban zone located outside Verona's city center. Already in the mid-first century BCE, when the city shifted to settle inside the curve of the Adige, a monumental complex arose on the hillside north of the river.<sup>11</sup> The complex consisted of a theater set into the San Pietro hill; above was a terrace topped by a temple, in a layout reminiscent of other Italian sites, like the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste or that of Juno at Gabii (Fig. 6.4).<sup>12</sup> Although located across the river from the new city center, the theater's placement was not dictated by urban overspill, since it was contemporaneous with the original design of the urban grid. Nor was it separated—functionally or otherwise—from the city as a whole. The complex sat alongside the preexisting bridge of the via Postumia, on high ground both to overlook the city and to form a monumental backdrop for the urban zone. Cut into the hillside, the theater took advantage of the landscape and might have reproduced an earlier cult site, but other factors also guided its placement. Another large public building was located directly across the river; although too poorly preserved to be identified, the structure appears to have been contemporaneous with the theater, and both shared the same construction style and materials.<sup>13</sup> The building suggests that the theater complex represented the terminus of a monumental public zone that stretched across the river from center to suburb, connecting the old settlement with the new. The theater's location alongside the via Postumia, which led directly to the forum, also indicates this function within the urban landscape. Theatrical performances were held in the context of religious festivals, which also incorporated

southern suburb would have been a prime location for display through monumental tombs that were later lost to continuous development.

<sup>10</sup> See Maggi (1991: 313); Verzár-Bass (1995: 99); Van der Graaff (2019: 146–9).

<sup>11</sup> For the complex, see Franzoni (1965: 19–23); Cavalieri Manasse (1998a: 444; 1998b: 116–18); Tosi (2003: 537–40).

<sup>12</sup> For terraced sanctuaries, see Hanson (1959); Verzár Bass (1995: 104–6); Sear (2006: 195); D'Alessio (2011); Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, and Sears (2011: 233–6); Griffith (2013: 246–8); Section 7.2.

<sup>13</sup> Cavalieri Manasse (1998a: 445–6; 1998b: 111, n. 5).





Figure 6.4 Location of theater complex at Verona. (Photo: author.)

processions. As others have pointed out, a suburban theater created a natural processional route between itself and the religious and civic spaces of the forum.<sup>14</sup> In the case of Verona, the via Postumia ran from the northwestern side of the forum directly to the southeastern side of the theater, forming a direct path across the city's northern neighborhoods.

To return to Verona's amphitheater, its placement in the southern suburb tied the monument to this system of movement. Rather than standing on the via Postumia itself, the amphitheater was located on a secondary road that provided direct access to the southeastern side of the forum. Its position thus extended the processional route from the theater at the northern side of the city and along a path that crossed the full length of the forum.<sup>15</sup> The addition of the amphitheater to the southern suburb, a neighborhood that had already become a bustling extension of the urban zone by the time of its construction, thus united the district with the rest of the city and incorporated it into displays of civic unity. Processions were means of communication, and the parades that accompanied public festivals were critical elements for building communal identity.<sup>16</sup> By stretching across the

<sup>14</sup> Verzár-Bass (1995: 101–6); Bonetto (2003: 929–30); Laurence et al. (2011: 282–3).

<sup>15</sup> See also Verzár-Bass (1995: 98).

<sup>16</sup> For Roman processions, see Bernstein (1998); Hölkeskamp (2008); Iara (2015); Östenberg (2015); Latham (2016).



city, these movements knit the urban landscape together, with the ritual defining the members of the community as well as the space they occupied.<sup>17</sup> At Verona, the processional route that passed from the theater complex, through the city center and the forum, and to the amphitheater in the southern suburb pulled the three zones together, defining all as part of one city. In this organization of its major public monuments, furthermore, Verona was not alone. Other Italian sites, including Venafrum and Nuceria Alfaterna in Campania, Pelutium in Samnium, Spolegium in Umbria, and Patavium in Cisalpina show similar organizations of amphitheater and theater at opposite edges of the city, connected by major roads and framing a forum between.<sup>18</sup> Some of these cities' entertainment buildings were intramural and others were extramural, but all served dual roles in extending the monumental core while tying neighborhoods together along paths of movement that offered new possibilities for display.

Notably, Verona's southern suburb was home to many luxurious residences, which might have provided additional motivation for incorporating the zone into key rituals of public life.<sup>19</sup> The precise identity of the amphitheater's dedicator remains unclear, but we can be almost certain that the monument was funded and its location chosen by elites who served on the town council.<sup>20</sup> We are limited to speculation on the point, but those individuals and their peers might have owned property in the southern suburb, giving them particular interest in marking the area as an essential part of the city. Whatever the case, Verona benefited by making clear that development outside the wall was fully integrated into the rest of the urban zone, communicating the city's size and prosperity. Verona's suburban amphitheater not only served pragmatic needs, but also tied a growing neighborhood firmly to the civic center, incorporating the suburb in public events that were central to the life of the community.

## 6.2 Amphitheatres and Regional Competition at Capua and Pompeii

While Verona's amphitheater indicates the central role that such buildings might play in uniting urban populations across center and suburb, evidence from Capua, complemented by finds from Pompeii, speaks to the even broader audiences that

<sup>17</sup> This idea comes especially from Bell's (1992) performance theory; see also Stavrianopoulou (2015: 351–5).

<sup>18</sup> At Venafrum and Patavium both entertainment structures were extramural (Tosi 2003: 101–5, 514–21); at Nuceria both were intramural (*ibid.* 155–9). Pelutium had the unusual situation of an intramural amphitheater and extramural theater (*ibid.* 289–91), while Spolegium had the more typical situation of an intramural theater and extramural amphitheater (*ibid.* 381–5).

<sup>19</sup> See Cavalieri Manasse and Bruno (2003: 47–51).

<sup>20</sup> A fragmentary inscription has been identified as the monument's dedication, but the text is too poorly preserved to determine its dedicator (CIL 5 3453–4).

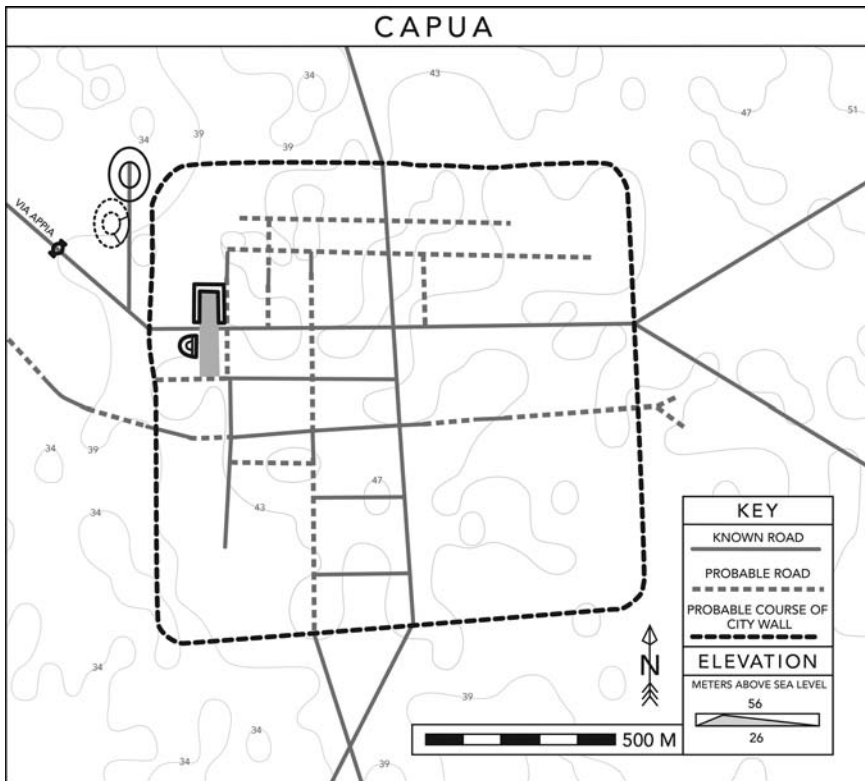


Figure 6.5 Plan of Capua. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Johannowsky 1989.)

such buildings might serve. Among the largest and wealthiest of Italy's cities from the pre-Roman period into Late Antiquity, Capua received its first amphitheater already at the end of the second or beginning of the first century BCE (Fig. 6.5).<sup>21</sup> Recent excavations have revealed the foundations of this structure, possibly the earliest example of the type, in the city's northwestern suburb (Fig. 6.6).<sup>22</sup> The amphitheater was not far from the forum, which was located just inside the nearby gate, and, as for Verona, it extended the city's monumental heart and created a processional route that continued to the zone outside the walls. The building, furthermore, stood near the via Appia and turned its long western side towards the highway, allowing travelers entering the city to appreciate its full size. This first amphitheater was replaced by a larger and more elaborate version

<sup>21</sup> For Capua, see De Caro and Greco (1981); Johannowsky (1989); Beloch (1989: 340–58); Sampaolo and De Caro (2000); Chioffi (2008b).

<sup>22</sup> The location of Capua's first amphitheater has long been known (Golvin 1988: 24–5, 42–4; Tosi 2003: 130, both with further bibliography), but the recent excavations are the first to explore systematically and expose a large portion of the structure. See Zevi (2004: 890); Sampaolo (2005: 671–3); Nava (2006: 586–8); Pagano (2009: 950–51).

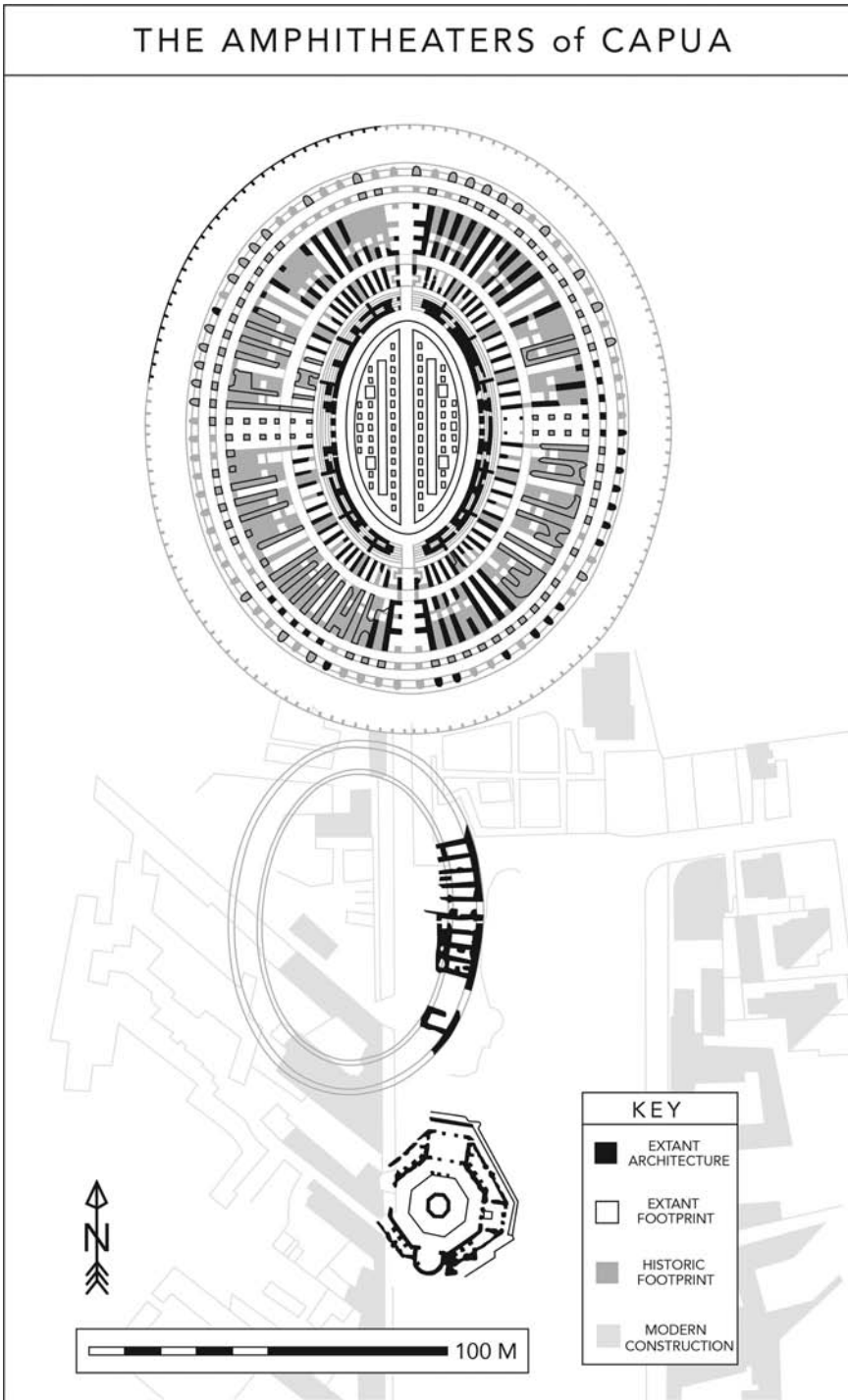


Figure 6.6 Plan of amphitheaters at Capua. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Pagano 2009.)

in the late first century CE, located slightly further from the highway but otherwise maintaining the earlier amphitheater's alignment (Fig. 6.7).<sup>23</sup> Given the city's location on an open plain, the massive building—with a capacity of over 40,000 it was the second largest amphitheater in Italy after the Colosseum—would have been visible from far off, rising above surrounding development and signaling the presence of the approaching city. Fronting the new amphitheater was a piazza lined on at least one side with a portico; an octagonal nymphaeum, constructed along with or soon after the amphitheater, further monumentalized the approach, as did an honorific arch, added over the *via Appia* in the mid-second century (Fig. 6.8).<sup>24</sup> This suite of monuments looked towards those arriving from the northwest but would have been no less impressive for travelers coming from the east, with the amphitheater rising above the city and the arch signaling the outermost edge of the monumental district.

The suburban location of Capua's amphitheater(s) provided practical benefits, since entertainment buildings brought together not only the residents of a city and its territory, but also larger groups who might travel to attend games and



Figure 6.7 Capua's Imperial amphitheater. (Photo: author.)

<sup>23</sup> For the later amphitheater, see De Caro and Greco (1981: 215); Beloch (1989: 396–9); Sampaolo and De Caro (2000: 22–5); Tosi (2003: 130–32); Chioffi (2008b: 21–8).

<sup>24</sup> Piazza and nymphaeum (possibly part of a bath): Nava (2006: 588); Pagano (2009: 951–4). Arch: De Maria (1988: 325–6).



Figure 6.8 Arch over the via Appia at Capua. (Photo: author.)

festivals.<sup>25</sup> The best evidence for this phenomenon comes from the walls of Pompeii, which preserve some 75 *edicta munerum*, painted advertisements for upcoming games.<sup>26</sup> Created by professional sign-painters, these announcements follow a standard format that makes them especially informative; each typically records the types of entertainments to be presented, the essential information of date and location, and, of course, the name of the individual sponsoring the games, who could expect considerable public recognition in exchange for his euergetism.<sup>27</sup> We can be sure that the surviving announcements represent a small fraction of those that once were present in the city, but even so, around a quarter of the preserved examples advertised events held outside of Pompeii.<sup>28</sup> The largest number announced games hosted by the city's nearest neighbor and sometimes rival, Nuceria Alfaterna; another group was for games at Puteoli, Campania's chief port and the most prosperous city on the Bay of Naples, while others related to events held at Nola, Pompeii's neighbor to the northeast.<sup>29</sup> Smaller centers and

<sup>25</sup> Bonetto (2003: 930); Laurence et al. (2011: 268); Benefiel (2016: 446–55).

<sup>26</sup> See Sabbatini Tumolesi (1989); Benefiel (2016). Note that my count differs slightly from theirs, since I have excluded epitaphs and unofficial graffiti mentioning sponsors of games, and I include the two *edicta* discovered when the southeastern extension of the Porta Nocera necropolis was excavated in the early 1980s (AE 1990 177b, 177c; see D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987).

<sup>27</sup> See discussion in Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980: 116–19); Benefiel (2016: 447). All attested sponsors were men.

<sup>28</sup> Removing Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980: nos. 71 and 78), neither of which were *edicta munerum*.

<sup>29</sup> Of 20 examples total, 6 announced games at Nuceria, and 4 each were for events at Puteoli and Nola (see Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980).

those located further from the city were represented by fewer *edicta*: a pair recorded games at Cumae, and a single example each advertised events at Atella, Cales, Forum Popilii, and—notably—Capua, located nearly 50km away. One purpose of the advertisements surely was to declare the wealth and generosity of elite sponsors to audiences outside their own cities; but there is good reason to believe that they also functioned literally to encourage travel to games.<sup>30</sup> Tacitus's report on the infamous brawl that broke out between Pompeians and Nucernians during gladiator fights at Pompeii in 59 CE offers one clue, while the sheer size of many Italian amphitheaters provides another.<sup>31</sup> Although estimating population is always problematic, it is unlikely that the residents of Capua and its territory alone could fill the 40,000 seats in its Imperial-period amphitheater, while Pompeii certainly was smaller than its amphitheater's 20,000 seats suggest.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the fact that Pompeii's own amphitheater was located inside its wall, the *edicta munerum* from the city are relevant to suburban amphitheaters, suggesting pragmatic motivations for their placement. Italians traveled to attend games, and a suburban location, particularly one near a major highway, allowed for easier access and provided more options for crowd control than did a site in the center.<sup>33</sup> Pompeii's *edicta*, furthermore, highlight other benefits derived from placing such prominent monuments outside the walls, hinting at a suburb's particular value as a landscape for display. Of the known examples advertising games in other cities, all but two were posted in Pompeii's suburbs. These notices immediately demonstrate the expectation of suburban traffic to which they might advertise; entertainment structures also sought to catch the attention of passers-by, promoting the city's prosperity and amenities. More significantly, however, the *edicta* imply that sponsors of games expected different types of traffic in the city center and in the suburb. The announcements for non-local games, overwhelmingly posted outside the city wall, contrast sharply with those for local events, which were distributed more evenly from center to suburb.<sup>34</sup> Even assuming that we are missing most of the announcements that once existed, the division does not seem to result from excavation bias. Hundreds of official painted notices are preserved from the city center, including both *edicta munerum* and electoral *programmata* endorsing candidates for office, but only two of those

<sup>30</sup> On *edicta* as commemorations, see Laurence (2016: 410–12).

<sup>31</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 14.17.

<sup>32</sup> For Pompeii's population, see most recently Flohr (2017); also Section 4.3. Capua's population might have stood as high as 30,000; see esp. Morley (2011: 144). On the disparity between amphitheater sizes and urban populations, see discussion in Bonetto (2003: 920, n. 42); Patterson (2006: 139); Benefiel (2016: 446).

<sup>33</sup> See also Zanker (2000: 39); Bonetto (2003: 925, 933–4); Stevens (2017a: 143). Large entertainment buildings might also have been used for other functions that brought various communities together, like the *nundinae*, traveling markets that rotated through a regional circuit (Benefiel 2016: 442–5).

<sup>34</sup> Benefiel (2016: 448–9).



announced non-local games—a pattern strong enough to suggest that additional evidence would uphold rather than negate it.<sup>35</sup>

Some quality of the suburbs attracted advertisements for games held in other cities. The most likely explanation is that traffic through suburban neighborhoods was more diverse than that found in the city center, made up of a larger proportion of non-locals to locals. As I have argued above, travelers often passed through suburbs, and we might expect that many avoided city centers entirely when possible.<sup>36</sup> Pompeii offers more detailed evidence for this phenomenon, and suggests that residents of nearby cities traveled through suburbs in especially large numbers. Of the many known electoral *programmata* endorsing candidates recovered on the walls of Pompeii, only ten certainly related to elections in other towns. All of the candidates were running for office in Nuceria, and all of the advertisements were painted on tombs in the Porta Nocera suburb, along the highway that ran south of Pompeii to create a direct route to that city via a bridge over the Sarno River (Fig. 6.9).<sup>37</sup> Nuceria arriving from the north were likely to pass through this suburb, whether they crossed Pompeii to exit at the Porta Nocera or bypassed the city via the exterior ring road. Moreover, travelers returning home to Nuceria by the sea followed the same route. Pompeii's port, located south of the city and probably near the suburban agglomeration at modern Bottaro, also served inland Nuceria, meaning that the southern suburbs were the first areas a disembarking traveler encountered.<sup>38</sup> The suburb outside the Porta Nocera, therefore, had a real and tangible relationship with Nuceria, created by the transportation systems of the southern Bay of Naples. As a result, Nuceria would have been a regular presence in the neighborhood.<sup>39</sup> Evidence is less clear for residents of other cities, but we can be sure that many other non-locals moved through the area. Anyone disembarking at the port and continuing either towards Nuceria or along the Sorrentine peninsula to Stabiae or Surrentum would have passed through Pompeii's southern suburbs, as well as many travelers coming from the south and continuing to destinations further north.

Indeed, other remains from Pompeii's southern suburbs likewise suggest an expectation of non-local traffic. First is the cippus found just outside the Porta Stabia, next to the schola tomb of Marcus Tullius. Its Latin inscription records a repaving of the road to the station of the *cisarii*, professional drivers of

<sup>35</sup> For *programmata*, see Castrén (1983); Franklin (1980; 2001).

<sup>36</sup> See Section 2.5.

<sup>37</sup> Nine of the surviving examples endorsed a certain Lucius Munatius Caeserninus for *duovir quinquennalis*, one of which also included a (larger) endorsement of Magius Celer for *duovir*, and the final example supported Publius Vitellius for an office that was illegible. For the route of the highway connecting Pompeii and Nuceria, see De'Spagnolis Conticello (1994).

<sup>38</sup> For Pompeii's port serving Nuceria, see Strabo 5.4.8. This had been the case at least since the Second Punic War (Livy 9.38.2). For Bottaro, see Section 5.5.

<sup>39</sup> Here we might think also of the graffito addressed to Primigenia of Nuceria, left on Tomb 20 EN in the Porta Nocera suburb (CIL 4 10241).



**Figure 6.9** *Edicta munerum* on Tomb 17 Southwest in the Porta Nocera suburb. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

the two-wheeled cart known as a *cisium*, available for hire in the suburbs south of Pompeii.<sup>40</sup> To the east, just outside the Porta Nocera, was the single non-funerary building known from the area.<sup>41</sup> With a large courtyard featuring a lofted mezzanine and a collection of smaller rooms at the rear, the building resembles nothing more than the commercial stables that are well attested inside the city's walls, locations where carts and drivers could be chartered (Fig. 6.10).<sup>42</sup> Notably, and unlike the shops and workshops at the Porta Ercolano, this structure turned its back to the gate; if it was a stable, it did not advertise to traffic leaving the city, but

<sup>40</sup> CIL 10 1064 = ILS 5382; Poehler (2017a: 215); Van der Graaff (2019: 100–101). The text might indicate that the station was located at the edge of Pompeii's territory, but the language is not entirely clear.

<sup>41</sup> See also Section 5.3.

<sup>42</sup> Varone (1988: 144) thought that the stable had gone out of use prior to 79 CE, but that conclusion was based on his belief that the reclamation of *loca publica* carried out by T. Suedius Clemens, recorded on a cippus outside the gate, necessitated the removal of all buildings alongside the wall. Upon its original excavation, at least, Maiuri did not believe that the stable had been abandoned at the time of the eruption (Maiuri 1960: 178).



**Figure 6.10** Potential stable outside the Porta Nocera. (Photo: author, courtesy of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment. Reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.)

instead looked westwards, towards the port and travelers passing on their way to Nuceria and other centers further south. Of course, its services might also have benefited locals, but a stable of this type would have been most useful to those traveling longer distances, particular given the regulations on wheeled traffic in the city center.

By placing its amphitheater in a suburb, a city not only facilitated access for those who arrived from elsewhere to attend games, but also showcased its most impressive building to the largest possible audience of travelers, and especially to its nearest neighbors and primary rivals. Being located along one of the peninsula's busiest thoroughfares, Capua's suburban amphitheater advertised to these groups more effectively than would a similar monument in the city center. The city's street system remains too little explored to know whether it had an exterior ring road, but the topography of the open plain would have allowed for it, and several modern roads that curve out and around the ancient city center could preserve its route.<sup>43</sup> Whatever the case, we can be sure that many travelers passed through the northwestern suburb. The laws banning riding or driving in the

<sup>43</sup> E.g. via Anfiteatro, via Luigi Sturzo, via Giacinto Bosco, viale Europa.

center meant that those individuals would have lingered outside the walls at least briefly to organize themselves prior to continuing on; if the city had a customs boundary, it would have created further delays. Capua was, moreover, far from alone in using an amphitheater to advertise to travelers. With a few exceptions (like Verona), nearly all Italian amphitheaters stood on the busiest highway to pass by their cities. Of the settlements along the *via Appia*, for instance, Fundi, Formia, Minturnae, Sinuessa, Capua, and Beneventum had amphitheaters, and all of those were located on the highway.<sup>44</sup> The pattern extends to Italy's other major thoroughfares. Amphitheaters were arranged one after another along the *via Flaminia* at Otricoli, Carsulae, and Mevania; only Ariminum broke the pattern by placing its example along the coast. Continuing north on the *via Aemilia*, once more every known amphitheater from cities along the route stood next to the highway; these included examples at Forum Corneli, Bononia, Parma, and possibly Placentia, where we began the chapter.<sup>45</sup> Across Italy, cities took advantage of such locations to maximize display potential to outsiders, using one of their largest and most expensive public buildings as a statement of civic competition that attested at the same time to shared culture and values.<sup>46</sup> The vast majority of these amphitheaters were located in suburbs, giving them the greatest possible impact and visibility, while guaranteeing that passers-by—above all the residents of neighboring cities—would encounter them regularly.

### 6.3 Herdonia's Amphitheater and the Destruction of Fortifications

A suburban amphitheater brought practical benefits, but not every city chose to separate its major entertainment building from the monumental core of the city center. Herdonia (modern Ortona) in Apulia demonstrates an alternative approach, in which the city's amphitheater was located in a suburb but nevertheless positioned alongside the forum (Fig. 6.11).<sup>47</sup> Constructed in the early Imperial period, Herdonia's amphitheater destroyed a large section of the city's earlier fortification wall but, as we shall see, retained aspects of its suburban character even as it blurred the lines between center and suburb. Much like tombs,

<sup>44</sup> See Bonetto (2003: 931) who believes that other, still unidentified amphitheaters might have continued the pattern in additional cities. Of the known examples, the amphitheaters of Fundi and Formia were suburban; the precise situation of Minturnae and Sinuessa are unclear (Tosi 2003: 67–8, 71–2, 76, 183; Section 7.1).

<sup>45</sup> Bonetto (2003: 391); Tosi (2003: 356–7, 370, 375, 455, 458–9, 461–3). The amphitheaters at Otricoli, Mevania, Forum Corneli, Bononia, and possibly Parma and Ariminum were suburban.

<sup>46</sup> See also Lomas (1998); Laurence (1999: 136–42, 151–61); Zanker (2000); Bonetto (2003: 934–5); Patterson (2006: 125–48); Laurence et al. (2011: 259–84); Laird (2016: 324–9).

<sup>47</sup> For Herdonia's amphitheater, see De Boe (1967); Mertens (1995: 207–10); Mertens and Volpe (1999: 37–40); Volpe (2000: 510–11); Bonetto (2003: 933); Tosi (2003: 206–8); Stevens (2017a: 154–5).

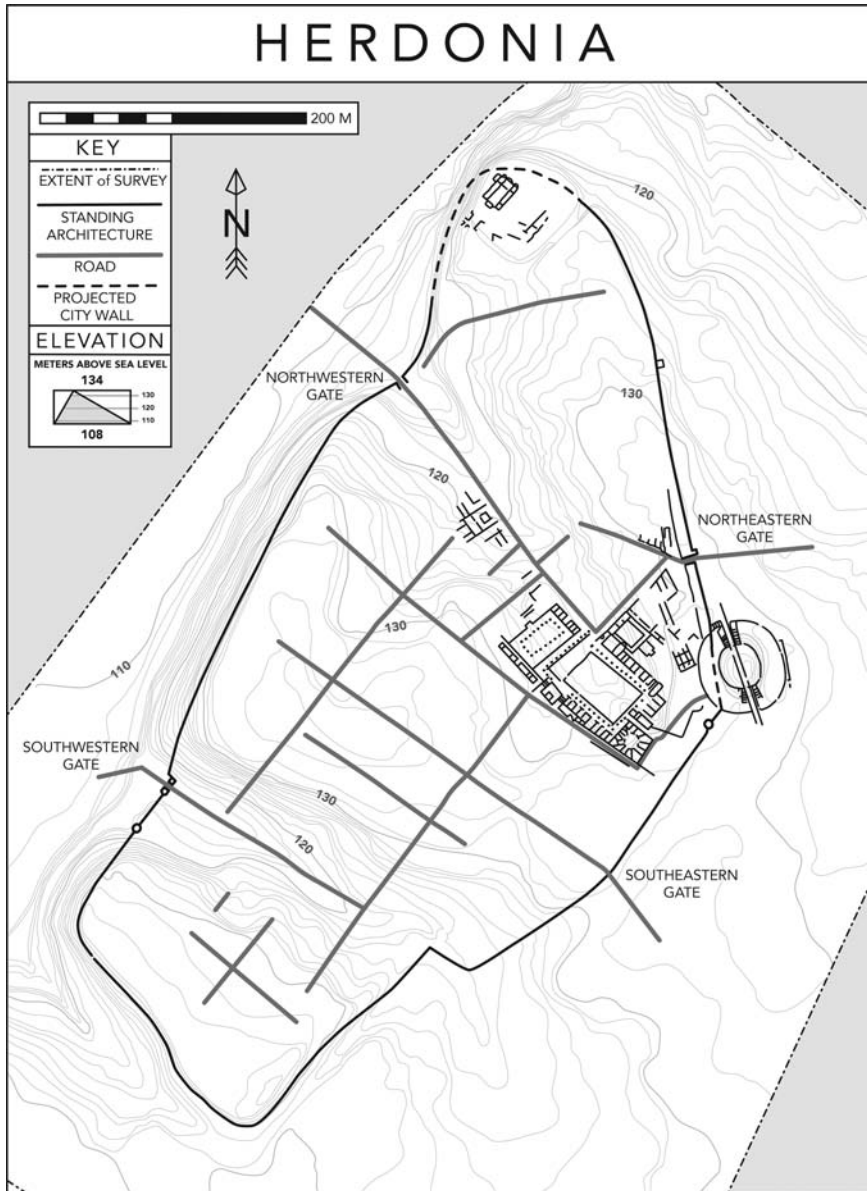


Figure 6.11 Plan of Herdonia. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Mertens 1995.)

Roman fortifications were sacred and inviolable, but they were dismantled in large numbers during the first and second centuries CE, particularly to make way for entertainment buildings.<sup>48</sup> Herdonia was in no way unique; early Imperial

<sup>48</sup> For the destruction of walls, see Seston (1966); Cibotto (2006: 25–8); Smith and Tassi Scandone (2013: 455–7); Stevens (2017a: 105–10). For tombs, see Section 3.3.

theaters and amphitheaters supplanted portions of city walls, for example, at Formiae in Latium, Ariminum in Umbria, Albintimilium in Liguria, Minturnae in Campania and possibly Florentia in Etruria, while incorporating pre-existing fortifications into their structures at Aquileia in Cisalpina, Venafrum near the border of Samnium, Pompeii in Campania, and both Luca and Luna in Etruria.<sup>49</sup> In other cases, including the amphitheater at Alba Fucens and the theaters at Saepinum and Falerii Novi, entertainment structures were built against the inside faces of walls, and their construction came with the addition of new gates that gave access through the building from suburb to center.<sup>50</sup> Some scholars have proposed that such structures mediated between the dead outside the walls and the living inside—an idea that is difficult to reckon with the growth of suburbs in the same period.<sup>51</sup> Nor is there reason to conclude that fortifications lost their sacred status in the first centuries of the Imperial period; with the rise of Augustus, their sacred aspects became increasingly tied to the imperial family and concentrated around gates, but did not disappear entirely.<sup>52</sup>

As was the case for tombs, sacred status did not protect Italy's walls from destruction in the course of regular urban development.<sup>53</sup> Fortifications could be imbued with sacred power when such meaning served the community but just as easily removed when expedient; the act simply required authorization from the emperor or his representative.<sup>54</sup> Such destruction, moreover, had particular meaning in the cultural climate of the Augustan and early Imperial periods, when Italy's peace and security were emphasized not only by the artistic, architectural, and literary products of the capital, but also reproduced and propagated by local elites across the peninsula.<sup>55</sup> Like the growth of suburbs in general, the destruction of walls communicated a powerful message: the flourishing cities of the peninsula burst past their former borders while the benevolent authority of the emperors made old-fashioned defenses unnecessary. We should not forget, however, that even in the centuries prior to the rise of Augustus, the fortifications of Italian cities functioned for defense only on rare occasions; their daily role consisted of defining and monumentalizing city centers. This function explains why, as some cities eradicated their fortifications in the first century CE, others received

<sup>49</sup> Tosi (2003: 68–9 (Formiae), 76–81 (Minturnae), 102–5 (Venafrum), 162–4 (Pompeii), 415–17 (Florentia), 418–21 (Luca), 424–8 (Luna), 451–2 (Ariminum), 474–7 (Albintimilium), 499–500 (Aquileia)). See also Stevens (2017a: 144–6).

<sup>50</sup> Tosi (2003: 262–3 (Alba Fucens), 295–6 (Saepinum)); McCall (2007: 64–5 (Falerii Novi)). The theater at Libarna functioned similarly on the edge of the urban grid, although the city appears to have been unwalled (Tosi 2003: 482–6).

<sup>51</sup> Cibotto (2006: 34); Laurence et al. (2011: 267); Stevens (2017a: 108).

<sup>52</sup> See discussion in Van der Graaff (2019: 205–37); also Van der Graaff and Ellis (2017).

<sup>53</sup> Sacred groves also lost to urban development over time; see e.g. Varro's complaint that many of Rome's groves survived in his day only as toponyms for the neighborhoods that had replaced them (Varro *Ling.* 5.49, 5.152).

<sup>54</sup> Stevens (2017a: 108–9).

<sup>55</sup> See Section 2.5.



new or newly elaborated walls and gates.<sup>56</sup> The two processes, destruction and construction, could even exist simultaneously at certain sites; new gates and walls ornamented Pompeii and Herculaneum, for example, even as other portions of their fortifications were supplanted.<sup>57</sup> The dual functions of fortifications for both defense and display accounts for the diversity of responses to them, and gave them particular power as message bearers.<sup>58</sup>

Returning to Herdonia, the removal of the fortification wall for the addition of the amphitheater not only echoed fundamental imperial messages, but also served more specific aims in monumentalizing the city. The amphitheater utilized the pre-existing defensive ditch on the exterior of the wall, a position that gave it a semi-interred structure similar to the better-known example at Pompeii, or those at nearby Apulian cities like Luceria Apula and Venusia.<sup>59</sup> The location saved effort in construction and, since the wall already was under control of the city council, might have eliminated the need to buy a large parcel of land. At the same time, the building's position on high ground directly northeast of the forum gave the amphitheater a prominent role in the city's monumental display. Herdonia's steep plateau appears unsuitable for a ring road, and at the time of the amphitheater's construction most traffic probably passed through the city center via the city's largest and most elaborate entrance, the southwestern gate.<sup>60</sup> The road network of the early Imperial period remains largely unknown, but the long western side of the amphitheater was aligned directly with this gate, suggesting a careful decision-making process that clearly associated the new building with the city's pre-existing public monuments. For a traveler entering Herdonia from the west, the amphitheater rose above the forum, coming into view as she made her way out of the southwestern valley and began to climb towards the city's heart, emphasizing the monumentality of the approaching district.

The close relationship between amphitheater, forum, and road network is underlined by developments of the early second century (Fig. 6.12). With the construction of the *via Traiana* in 109 CE, Herdonia reached its floruit in size and monumentality. The new highway functioned as an extension of the *via Appia*, connecting Beneventum to Brundisium via a shorter route along the eastern coast of Apulia. It passed directly through Herdonia, where it followed pre-existing

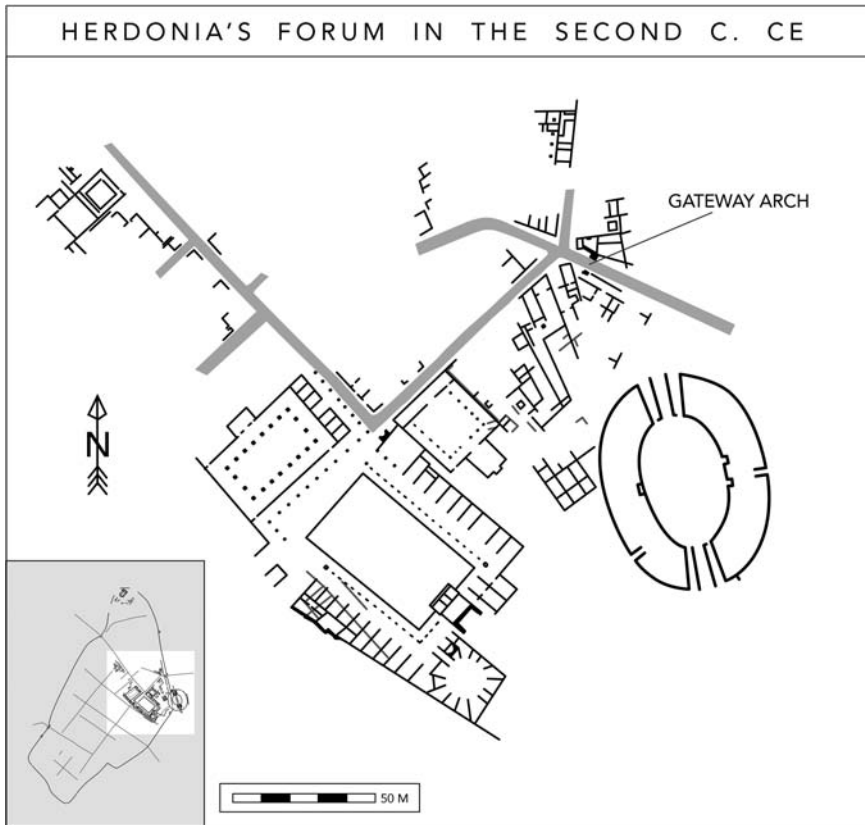
<sup>56</sup> See Gros (1992: 218–22); Lomas (1998: 71); Laurence (1999: 43–5); Dey (2011: 118); Laird (2016: 325); Pinder (2017). Cities receiving new fortifications included those with growing suburbs outside those very walls, such as Verona and Hispellum (see Sections 6.1 and 7.2).

<sup>57</sup> See Poehler (2017a: 240–41) and Van der Graaff (2019: 129–32) for the Flavian reconstruction of the *Porta Ercolano*, generations after buildings on the western and southwestern side of the city had surpassed the fortifications; also Stevens (2017a: 146–50) for a similar situation at Herculaneum.

<sup>58</sup> Zanker (1987: 323–4); Gros (1992: 211–12); Van der Graaff (2019: 112–43).

<sup>59</sup> Tosi (2003: 162–4, 211–13, 222–4).

<sup>60</sup> For the gate, see Mertens (1965: 20–32 (Phase 6); 1995: 146–9). Regarding the ring road, excavation or geophysical prospection outside the wall would help clarify the situation, but the easiest routes over the plateau passed through the city center (see Fig. 6.11).



**Figure 6.12** Plan of Herdonia's monumental center following the creation of the via Traiana. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Mertens 1995.)

roads but nevertheless had a substantial impact on the orientation of the town. The northwestern gate, where the via Traiana entered, supplanted the southwestern as the city's front door; through it, the highway cut a straight path to the forum before turning north and then east to exit just beyond the amphitheater at the former northeastern gate, now replaced with a gateway arch.<sup>61</sup> The construction of the via Traiana brought changes to urban traffic patterns, but even so Herdonia's amphitheater retained its role as a backdrop for the forum. To those traveling eastwards along the intramural route of the highway, the amphitheater remained visible behind the forum's monuments; the road's northern and eastern doglegs, moreover, created a frame around the structure that kept it in view. Exiting the city, the highway took a route that brought it closer to the amphitheater

<sup>61</sup> For the route, see Mertens (1995: 149–51); Volpe (2000: 511–13). For the arch, see Mertens (1965: 25–6, 30–32 (Phase 7); 1995: 149).

than had the earlier road, and which offered views through the building's northern entrance and across the long axis of the arena. Together with these changes, both amphitheater entrances were widened and monumentalized, with the northern particularly emphasized.<sup>62</sup>

The changes of the early second century tied the amphitheater even more closely into Herdonia's monumental suite, but other features continued to indicate its location as a suburb, even if one closely connected to the city center. By the time the *via Traiana* was introduced, the city wall to either side of the amphitheater had disappeared entirely, but the amphitheater's entrance remained outside the gateway arch that had replaced the northeastern gate, a monument that continued to mark some separation between center and suburb. Funerary activities, moreover, continued in the zone surrounding the amphitheater; a cremation burial found by chance alongside the monument certainly postdated it, and possibly was later even than the Trajanic reconstruction.<sup>63</sup> The tomb is unlikely to represent the only example here, and suggests the endurance of the area's suburban character. Lack of wider excavation limits our view significantly—work has been restricted to the vaults of the amphitheater itself—but the gateway arch and the neighboring tomb suggest that Herdonia's amphitheater was part of a monumental district that included both center and suburb. Its location over the old city wall closely united the two zones, merging them together without fully erasing the features that distinguished one from the other. The entertainment buildings that destroyed fortifications in cities across the peninsula likely functioned in similar ways, uniting intramural and extramural space with statements of peace, prosperity, and allegiance to imperial ideals.

## 6.4 Oriculum and the Augustan Campus Martius

This chapter's final case study, focused on the Umbrian center of Oriculum, demonstrates another means by which suburban amphitheatres communicated loyalty to the imperial regime: by recalling the topography of the capital, where every entertainment building constructed in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods was placed in a suburb, above all in the rapidly developing zone of the northern Campus Martius. Located in the Tiber Valley some 70km north of Rome, Oriculum was not a large town—its population is unlikely ever to have surpassed 2,000 people—but both literary and archaeological evidence suggest its outsized wealth and status (Fig. 6.13).<sup>64</sup> A settlement had developed here already in the eighth century BCE, concentrated on a narrow ridge overlooking a natural

<sup>62</sup> De Boe (1967: 113–25 (Phase 7)); Mertens (1995: 208–10). The amphitheater at Luna offered similar views to those travelling northwest on the *via Aurelia*; see Tosi (2003: 423–4); Goodman (2016a: 318).

<sup>63</sup> De Boe (1967: 109–11).

<sup>64</sup> De Ligt (2012: 315); Hay, Keay, and Millett (2013: 5–11, 151–2).

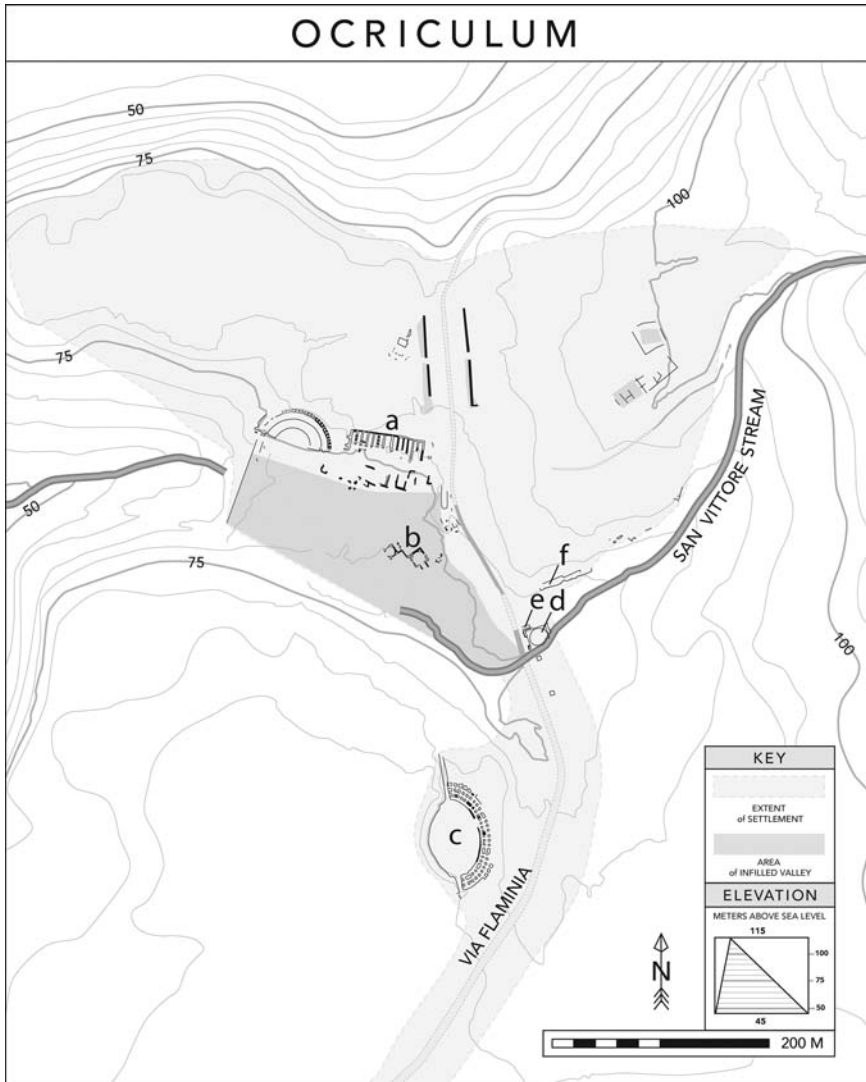


Figure 6.13 Plan of Ocriculum. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Hay, Keay, and Millett 2013.)

landing point in the Tiber.<sup>65</sup> The village had expanded by the later fourth or early third century BCE, at which time it might have existed alongside another community on a hilltop to the northeast, where the modern town of Otricoli is now located.<sup>66</sup> Ocriculum became an ally of Rome in the late fourth century, but an even more meaningful event in its urban development was the construction of

<sup>65</sup> Cencioli (2006a); Hay et al. (2013: 141–3).

<sup>66</sup> Here I follow the results of the British School at Rome's Tiber Valley Project, rather than the traditional reconstruction that sees the hilltop village preceding the settlement on the ridge (see Hay et al. 2013).

the via Flaminia in the third century, since the highway provided a direct link to Rome as well as to the colonies and allied cities located further north.<sup>67</sup> The Flaminia passed through the city center to meet the river port, and this combination of port and highway would define the town as a stopping point for travelers throughout the Roman period.<sup>68</sup> Even as other cities in central Italy declined—whether disadvantaged by nearby colonial foundations (e.g. Caudium, Ligures Baebiani), bypassed by the developing highway system (e.g. Capena, Interamna Lirenas), or simply caught up in the ever-faster drain of resources towards the megapolis of Rome (e.g. Cosa, Crustumerium, Veii)—Oriculum continued to thrive, leveraging its location, natural resources, and political connections into a noteworthy prosperity.<sup>69</sup>

Roman Oriculum was unwalled, but both natural and manmade features separated its primary suburb—located along the via Flaminia as it approached from the south—from the city center. The city's orthogonal grid was limited to a small zone in the heart of the city center, and most development wound along the ridge that overlooked the Tiber and extended north towards the port, where a series of large-scale terracing and infilling projects extended the space available for building.<sup>70</sup> To the south, a steep valley below the theater and the “Grande Sostruzioni,” a large terrace that probably supported a temple complex above (Fig. 6.13, *a*), marked the divide between center and suburb. The valley created a physical break in the city's urban fabric, and all of Oriculum's known tombs, both funerary monuments and simple burials, were located south of it.<sup>71</sup> A massive infilling project carried out in the early second century CE blurred the division by leveling much of the valley prior to the construction of a public bath above (Fig. 6.13, *b*), but tombs continued to define the suburb.<sup>72</sup> The bath building itself probably was a suburban monument; recent work has identified a structure immediately to its west as a monumental tomb along a side road.<sup>73</sup>

Oriculum's amphitheater, located south of the bath, certainly was suburban, seeing that it was surrounded by the monumental tombs that lined the via Flaminia (Fig. 6.13, *c*).<sup>74</sup> The building, which best dates to the Augustan or early Julio-Claudian period, was cut into a hillside west of the highway, a position that took advantage of local topography while also creating space in an urban zone

<sup>67</sup> For early Oriculum, see Livy 9.41.20; also Pietrangeli (1943: 29–30); Laurence (1999: 21–3); Cencioli (2008: 819); Hay et al. (2013: 143).

<sup>68</sup> For the route: *ibid.* 136–41.

<sup>69</sup> For declining communities, see Laurence (1999: 192); Patterson (2006: 92–106; 2008).

<sup>70</sup> Hay et al. (2013: 143–51).

<sup>71</sup> For topography as a boundary marker in unwalled cities, see Goodman (2007: 62–8). For non-monumental tombs in the area of the amphitheater, see Pietrangeli (1943: 78–9).

<sup>72</sup> For the leveling project and the bath, see Pietrangeli (1943: 67–71; 1978: 64–75); De Rubertis (2012: 130–37, 156–7); Hay et al. (2013: 58–60).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 58.

<sup>74</sup> For the amphitheater, see Pietrangeli (1943: 64–6; 1978: 60–63); Tosi (2003: 375); De Rubertis (2012: 116–23, 155–6); Hay et al. (2013: 31–4).



**Figure 6.14** The amphitheater at Oriculum. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

with few open sites (Fig. 6.14).<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, its location responded most strongly to the route of the *via Flaminia* as it advanced from the south.<sup>76</sup> Approaching Oriculum, the highway maintained a path that ran almost directly northeast across the high plain south of the city; its *agger* and several of the monumental tombs that lined it to either side are still visible and mark its route.<sup>77</sup> The amphitheater came into view gradually as the road descended towards the city center. Curving out and around the long eastern side of the structure (i.e. the side that was not built into the hill), the road proceeded into the valley below, with the amphitheater revealing its full size as the monuments of the center appeared on the ridge to the north. Just as Verona oriented its monumental façade towards the *via Postumia*, Capua towards the *via Appia*, and Herdonia towards the *via Traiana*, Oriculum looked to the *via Flaminia*. Here, however, the rugged terrain that constrained the city's plan also opened up new opportunities for display, and the city's monuments enhanced the setting's dramatic reveals and sweeping vistas.

As others have noted, amphitheaters were particularly apt statements of imperial fidelity in the first half of the first century CE, given Augustus's emphasis on

<sup>75</sup> Frézouls (1990: 81); Laurence et al. (2011: 267).

<sup>76</sup> Laurence (1999: 158); Bonetto (2003: 931); Patterson (2008: 493–4).

<sup>77</sup> Camerieri (1997: 29–32); Cencioli (2006b: 37–43); Hay et al. (2013: 136–9).



entertainment buildings as settings that brought together and organized communities according to rank and status.<sup>78</sup> I would argue, furthermore, that placing such buildings in a suburb could reinforce that message, since every major entertainment structure added to the city of Rome in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods was suburban. These were located above all in the Campus Martius, a district transformed by Augustus and his partisans into the capital's foremost suburb and a center for luxurious leisure (Fig. 6.15).<sup>79</sup> In addition to Augustus's theater named for his nephew Marcellus, there was the nearby theater built by his close associate Lucius Cornelius Balbus (both dedicated in 13 BCE), which together formed a trio with the Theater of Pompey, itself reconstructed by Augustus (Fig. 6.15, *a, b, c*).<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, Rome's first permanent amphitheater, that of the Augustan partisan Statilius Taurus, stood somewhere nearby.<sup>81</sup> To these structures that clustered around the Campus Flaminius we can add those located to the north, including the Baths of Agrippa (Rome's first imperial *thermae*; Fig. 6.15, *d*), the wooden stadium erected for the *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris* in 28 BCE, and the horse-racing track known as the Trigarium.<sup>82</sup> Even the massive Saepta Iulia can be placed in the group, since it both functioned as a museum and hosted games (including gladiator fights held in conjunction with Agrippa's funeral in 12 BCE), along with its associated building, the Diribitorium, where votes were counted but which also was used as a theater (Fig. 6.5, *e, f*).<sup>83</sup> These new entertainment structures dominated the Augustan Campus Martius, toppling Rome's former orbit around the forum valley, Porta Capena, and via Appia by creating a new center of gravity to the north.<sup>84</sup> The effect was so dramatic that Strabo's description of Rome focused almost entirely on the Campus Martius, while nearly every place that Ovid missed and mourned from his exile in Tomis was located there.<sup>85</sup>

That the first emperor's additions to the capital inspired a flurry of entertainment buildings to rise in cities across Italy is well recognized, but the placement

<sup>78</sup> Gros and Torelli (2007: 255–8); Patterson (2006: 128–9); Laurence et al. (2011: 283).

<sup>79</sup> For the Augustan Campus Martius, see Coarelli (1997); Rehak (2006); Gros and Torelli (2007: 207–11); Haselberger (2007: 100–128); Witcher (2013: 215–23); LTUR 1 s.v. "Campus Martius" 220–24 (T. P. Wiseman); MAR s.v. "Campus Martius" 74–7 (L. Haselberger).

<sup>80</sup> LTUR 5 s.v. "Theatrum Balbi" 30–31 (D. Manacorda); "Theatrum Marcelli" 31–35 (P. Ciancio Rossetto); "Theatrum Pompei" 35–8 (P. Gros). MAR s.v. "Theatrum: Balbus" 241–2 (A. B. Gallia); "Theatrum Marcelli" 242 (Ö. Harmansah); "Theatrum Pompeium/Pompeianum" 242–4 (A. G. Thein).

<sup>81</sup> LTUR 1 s.v. "Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri" 36–7 (A. Viscogliosi); MAR s.v. "Amphitheatrum: Statilius Taurus" 44–5 (E. A. Dumser).

<sup>82</sup> LTUR 4 s.v. "Stadium Augusti" 340 (D. Palombi); "Thermae Agrippae" 40–42 (G. Ghini); "Trigarium" 89–90 (F. Coarelli); MAR s.v. "Stadium" (Campus Martius) 234–5 (L. Haselberger); "Thermae: Agrippa" 244–5 (E. A. Dumser); "Trigarium" 248–9 (G. Petruccioli).

<sup>83</sup> LTUR 2 s.v. "Diribitorium" 17–18 (M. Torelli); LTUR 4 s.v. "Saepta Iulia" 228–9 (E. Gatti); MAR s.v. "Diribitorium" 102–3 (E. A. Dumser and T. J. Morton); "Saepta Iulia" 219 (E. A. Dumser). See also Haselberger (2007: 108–12).

<sup>84</sup> See also Volpe (2017: 15–16).

<sup>85</sup> Strabo 5.3.8; Ov. *Tr.* 3.12.17–26; *Pont.* 1.8.33–38. See also Gros (1987); Haselberger (2007: 126–8).

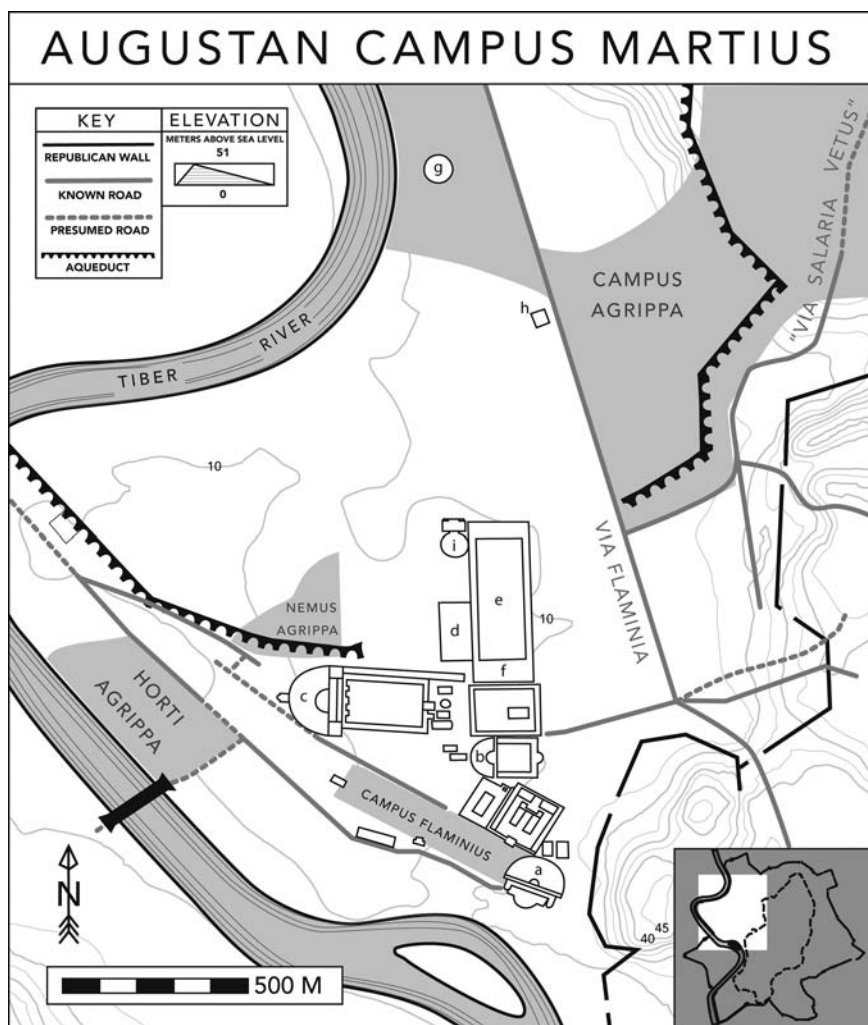


Figure 6.15 Plan of the Augustan Campus Martius. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after MAR.)

of his new monuments outside the city center has received less attention.<sup>86</sup> The topography of the capital, however, might have provided additional motivation for cities to add theaters and amphitheatres to their own suburbs. In the case of Oriculum, another suburban monument comes together with the amphitheater to echo the Campus Martius. The largest of the city's surviving tombs was of the drum type, with a circular podium most likely topped by a mound of earth (Fig. 6.16).<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Witcher (2013: 205–6) has pointed out how often scholarship overlooks the fact that the Campus Martius was suburban.

<sup>87</sup> Cencioli (2006b: 44–52; 2008: 822–5). The tomb's circular superstructure measured 16m in diameter and was set on a square podium 19 × 19m.



**Figure 6.16** Drum tomb at Oriculum. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

Located to the east of the via Flaminia about 100m north of the amphitheater, the tomb most likely belonged to a certain Lucius Cominius Tuscus, and all indications suggest a date in the Augustan period (see Fig. 6.13, *d*).<sup>88</sup> The drum did not have an interior chamber; instead the monument was constructed over the primary burial. Below the tomb were the remains of a pyre; an elaborate marble cinerary urn containing a cremation was buried at its center, inside a protective masonry container. Two *antae* projected from the front of the tomb, framing a pi-shaped masonry bench with elaborate legs carved as lions' paws.<sup>89</sup> Another funerary monument stood immediately south of the tomb, and other suburban structures also surrounded it. Abutting the drum to the north was a public fountain, and a massive nymphaeum, also best dated to the era of Augustus, monumentalized the cliffside just beyond (see Fig. 6.13, *e, f*). Shops, indicated by their wide thresholds, faced the tomb across the via Flaminia; these stood over the infilled valley and so were contemporaneous with or later than the nearby baths.<sup>90</sup> Other shops, built against the façade of the tomb itself, might have dated to the same period, but their chronology remains unclear.

Like the many similar examples that lined the highways of Italy in the Augustan period, the drum tomb at Oriculum had a clear antecedent: the Mausoleum of Augustus, unparalleled among the funerary monuments of the capital in its size

<sup>88</sup> Cencioli (2012: 24–32).

<sup>89</sup> Cencioli (2006b: 50–51).

<sup>90</sup> Cencioli (2006c: 113–14; 2008: 821–2).



Figure 6.17 Mausoleum of Augustus. (Photo: author.)

and one of the premier monuments of the Campus Martius (Fig. 6.17; see also Fig. 6.15, *g*).<sup>91</sup> As we have seen, suburban development began early in the southern Campus Martius, and by the Augustan period continuous buildings might have pushed past Pompey's theater complex.<sup>92</sup> To the north, however, beyond the Saepta, the plain was open and generally undeveloped, divided by the arrow-straight via Flaminia and scattered with the tombs of prominent citizens.<sup>93</sup> It was this zone that Augustus bought up and developed as a funerary garden and park, something like the sacro-idyllic funerary landscapes outside certain Hellenistic cities, but on a scale previously unknown.<sup>94</sup> The complex included various standard elements of Roman funerary gardens, inflated in size to suit Augustan ambitions and achievements: a funerary monument and *ustrinum*, an altar (the Ara Pacis; Fig. 6.15, *h*), a sundial (the Horologium, or as the evidence better

<sup>91</sup> Holloway (1966); Toynbee (1971: 143–63); Von Hesberg (1992: 94–113; 2006); Eisner (1986: 213–19); Balty (2006).

<sup>92</sup> For the suburb in the southern Campus Martius, see Sections 2.3, 3.2. Prior to Augustus, the swamp to the north of Pompey's theater (the Palus Caprae, "Goat's Marsh"), which would become the Stagnum of Agrippa, likely created a natural boundary for development, but the built-up area might have extended further along the highway to the east, perhaps nearly to the line of the later Aqua Virgo.

<sup>93</sup> See Porcari (2015) for the recent excavation of a late Republican or early Augustan tomb in the northern Campus Martius, as well as discussion of the other funerary monuments attested in the zone.

<sup>94</sup> Purcell (1987a: 26–7); Bell (1998: 308); Goodman (2007: 47); Bodel (2017: 218–21); see also La Rocca (2014).

suggests, Meridian of Augustus<sup>95</sup>), a shrine (the Pantheon; Fig. 6.15, *i*), as well as gardens, water features, and groves (the Stagnum and Nemus Agrippae, the canal known as the Euripus, and the groves and parkland surrounding the Mausoleum).<sup>96</sup> Set alongside the only Italian highway that the emperor restored personally, this new monumental nucleus welcomed travelers to Rome with a undeniable statement of imperial dominance.

The Augustan Campus Martius was defined by funerary and entertainment spaces, a character mirrored on a far smaller scale by the addition of a drum tomb and an amphitheater to the southern suburb of Ocriculum.<sup>97</sup> Both tomb and amphitheater augmented the urban façade, advertising the city's wealth, power, and culture, as well as the individuals and families who had contributed to it. At the same time, this particular combination of funerary and entertainment space recalled more specifically the Augustan Campus Martius. Linked directly to that district by the via Flaminia—the highway already attesting to a relationship with Rome and Augustus—the southern suburb at Ocriculum created a sort of mini-Campus likewise oriented around tombs and a key entertainment building. In fact, other evidence from the city suggests that the elite of Ocriculum were particularly concerned with communicating their dedication to Rome and the Julio-Claudians. Already by the mid-first century BCE, the town had associated itself firmly with the capital by changing the titlature of its local magistrates to align them with offices in Rome, and evidence from the same period suggests intimate ties between the local elite and Caesar's faction.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, Ocriculum's location at the nexus of two important trade corridors—the via Flaminia and the Tiber—linked the city's economy especially closely to the capital's, a situation that brought great benefit to the local population. An early Imperial influx of wealth is best reflected by the explosion of public monuments added to the city in this period, most funded by a small group of local families.<sup>99</sup> One of those monuments was outfitted with high-quality sculptures of the Imperial family, including the famous "Livia Orans" now in the Vatican Museums, as well as a nude Augustus, a Venus Genetrix, and several togate Julio-Claudian

<sup>95</sup> For an overview of the issue, see Heslin (2014).

<sup>96</sup> LTUR 2 s.v. "Euripus" 237–9 (F. Coarelli); LTUR 3 s.v. "Horologium Augusti" 35–7 (E. Buchner); "Horti Agrippae" 51–2 (F. Coarelli); "Mausoleum Augusti: Das Monument" 234–7 (H. Von Hesberg); LTUR 4 s.v. "Pantheon" 54–61 (A. Ziolkowski); "Pax Augusta, Ara" 70–74 (M. Torelli); "Stagnum Agrippae" 344–5 (C. Buzzetti); LTUR 5 s.v. "Ustrinum Augusti" 97 (V. Jolivet); MAR s.v. "Euripus" 121–2 (G. Petruccioli); "Horologium Augusti" 139 (A. B. Gallia); "Mausoleum: Augustus" 166–7 (Ö. Harmansah); "Nemus: Agrippa" 180–81 (E. A. Dumser); "Pantheon" 188–9 (E. A. Dumser); "Pax Augusta, Ara" 189 (A. B. Gallia); "Stagnum Agrippae" 235 (E. A. Dumser); "Ustrinum Domus Augustae" 249 (A. B. Gallia).

<sup>97</sup> Note too that Strabo's description of the Campus Martius emphasized the funerary and entertainment structures (Strabo 5.3.8).

<sup>98</sup> Purcell (1983: 163); Bispham (2007: 370–72); Hay et al. (2013: 153–4).

<sup>99</sup> Pietrangeli (1978: 29–34); Hay et al. (2013: 147).



males.<sup>100</sup> The building—now typically identified as an *Augusteum*—is almost unparalleled in the region, and provides a clear statement of loyalty to the household of the first emperor.<sup>101</sup>

To those traveling north towards Ocriculum, the drum tomb would have come into view as the road curved out and around the amphitheater, with the scale of the entertainment building becoming evident as the tomb approached. The two were, therefore, closely linked in the viewer's experience. Ocriculum's largest surviving funerary monument by far, the tomb recalled Augustus's Mausoleum, a connection that would have been obvious to travelers who had passed the imperial memorial as they exited Rome. For those travelers, the nearby amphitheater and, more specifically, the close relationship between funerary and entertainment space might likewise have recalled the wonders of the *Campus Martius*, which judging from contemporary texts, left a lasting impression on visitors. The bench at the front of the drum, furthermore, functioned in some ways as a small-scale echo of the parkland surrounding Augustus's monument, creating a public space for leisure and reflection.<sup>102</sup> From the seat, nestled in the valley of the *San Vittore* stream, the amphitheater towered above in the suburb to the south, with the monumental center dominating the ridge to the north. The bench provided an ideal view of both the city's monumental nuclei, one central and the other suburban, but the sharp cut of the valley, at least prior to the construction of the baths, made apparent its closer association with the amphitheater. These monuments came together to suggest a miniature version of Rome's most significant early Imperial suburb, an association that not only ornamented Ocriculum, but also publicized its relationship with Augustus and his family.

Some limited evidence from other Italian cities suggests that they likewise used suburban amphitheaters to conjure the topography of the capital and express support for the regime in Rome. At *Luceria Apula*, for example, a high-ranked colonist named *Lucius Vecilius Campanus* constructed an amphitheater in the suburb east of the city.<sup>103</sup> An inscription specified that he dedicated the building in honor of Augustus and the colony—*in honor(em) Imp(eratoris) Caesaris August(i)/coloniaeque Luceriae f(aciendum) c(uravit)*—explicitly linking his action to the center of power and the person of the emperor, and *Vecilius* likewise might have selected the suburban location to evoke Augustan buildings in the capital.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately, the city remains too little excavated to know whether monumental tombs were located nearby; had they been, the statement might have become even stronger.

<sup>100</sup> Dareggi (1982); Hay et al. (2013: 20–23, 51–4).

<sup>101</sup> The only comparable structure is a small apsed hall at *Lucus Feroniae*, which likewise incorporated sculptures of the Imperial family (ibid. 153–4).

<sup>102</sup> Cencioli (2006b: 48) has identified indentations in the pavement surrounding the bench as the remains of a fence that closed with a gate, but this feature is unlikely to have rendered the space private, as she suggests. Based on the popularity of tombs with benches elsewhere, any barrier probably divided the bench from the road, without making it inaccessible to passers-by.

<sup>103</sup> Lomas (1998: 73); Tosi (2013: 211–13); Cooley (2016b: 197).

<sup>104</sup> AE 1937 64.



To be sure, other cities demonstrate how commonly suburban entertainment buildings and monumental tombs came together in suburbs. At Puteoli, several richly decorated funerary monuments have been found just north of the Augustan period amphitheater, located at the busy intersection of several roads connecting the port, the forum, and the countryside.<sup>105</sup> Monumental tombs also surrounded the early Imperial amphitheater at Rudiae in Apulia, and situations were similar at Umbrian Tuder and Mevania, Histonium in Samnium, and Forum Cornelia in Cisalpina.<sup>106</sup> In most cases, whether associations were planned formally remains unclear, nor is it possible to say which came first, tombs or entertainment buildings. We can be sure, however, that the construction of amphitheaters did not put an end to the funerary use of their neighborhoods. On the contrary, an entertainment building could draw funerary monuments; at Patavium, for example, monumental tombs arose in the northeastern suburb only after the amphitheater appeared there.<sup>107</sup> Regardless of their precise circumstances, funerary monuments served to amplify the messages of suburban amphitheaters, providing additional ornamentation while also promoting the people who both inhabited and created the city. In some cases, as at Oriculum, such communication could take on distinct aspects to express more targeted ideas about the city, its residents, and their political, social, and economic ties.

### 6.5 Conclusion: The Benefits of a Suburban Amphitheater

When considering patterns of urbanism and investment, we should remember that amphitheaters were largely superfluous to Roman life. Games could be held in any open space, and in any case occurred only a handful of times a year. Amphitheaters were used for other gatherings and activities, but their fundamental function, achieved whether or not any particular event was happening on any given day, was to ornament the civic zone. Such ornamentation could be achieved by a position either inside or outside the city wall, but took on special aspects in the suburbs. Suburban amphitheaters marked development outside the wall as unmistakably urban, tying extramural neighborhoods to larger urban zones and identifying them as integral parts of the city. From a suburb, furthermore, an amphitheater could communicate with an audience that differed from that in the city center, made up of a large proportion of non-locals and especially of those

<sup>105</sup> See also Section 5.4. As at Capua, this amphitheater was replaced with a larger version in the Flavian period, located in the same suburb (see Fig. 5.18). See Sommella (1978: 81–4); Tosi (2003: 173–4); Patterson (2006: 179); Gros and Torelli (2007: 259–61). For the tombs, see Maiuri (1927); Johannowsky (1952: 92); Zevi (1993: 1, no. 59; 2, no. 205).

<sup>106</sup> Rudiae: Bernardini (1955: 24–5); Tuder: Tascio (1989: 67–8, 102); Mevania: Sisani (2006: 85–91); Histonium: Staffa (1997: 201–4); Forum Cornelia Scagliarini (1983: 295).

<sup>107</sup> Rossi (2014: 297); see also Section 5.1.

who resided in nearby cities. When their amphitheater was destroyed in the struggle between Otho and Vitellius, the people of Placentia thought immediately of this group, assuming that the monument had aroused enough envy to cause its destruction in an act of covetous vandalism. Because many Italians traveled regularly between cities, to attend games as well as for a variety of other purposes, suburban amphitheaters played especially strong roles in networks of regional competition, particularly when travelers avoided the city center and opted to pass through the suburb. At the same time and as for suburban development more generally, we should not overlook the power of such structures to connect communities, even as they simultaneously served as platforms for competition. Entertainment buildings spoke to priorities shared across the peninsula, linking cities into networks of common culture and values. The amphitheaters arrayed along Italy's highways make this point clear, each declaring its own city as one component of a much larger system of urban life. The broad considerations of availability of space and opportunities to build the urban façade, therefore, have concealed deeper considerations. Isolating some of the benefits offered by suburban amphitheaters illuminates the inextricable bonds between suburb and center, while at the same time underlining the distinct features that maintained their separate characters.

## Gods Outside the Walls

Snakes slither across the walls of Pompeii. Indoors or outdoors, in lavish houses or humble shops, hidden in tucked-away kitchens or stretched along public streets and sidewalks, painted snakes are among the most common motifs found in the city.<sup>1</sup> Each of the nearly 200 known representations is unique, but all follow a standard format: the undulating forms of one or two snakes emerge from gardens and proceed towards painted altars, where gifts that most often consist of pinecones and eggs have been left for them.<sup>2</sup> Often associated with masonry altars, niches, or projecting tiles for offerings, the snakes are best interpreted as local gods of place, and notably, they can be found both inside and outside Pompeii's fortifications. In the Porta Ercolano suburb, Bourbon excavators uncovered a painted snake that wound its way across the southeastern wall of the Villa of Cicero, towards a street-side shrine that consisted of a projecting tile at the intersection of the via dei Sepolcri and the southern ring road (Fig. 7.1).<sup>3</sup> By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the suburban shrine had been lost, destroyed by the carts used to remove spoil from the site, and today even the wall that once carried the painting is concealed by overburden.<sup>4</sup> The records of its presence, however, attest to the resident gods of this suburb, and to the efforts made by their human counterparts to please and propitiate them.

This final chapter explores the complex role of religion in Italy's suburbs, examining how interactions with gods shaped the physical fabric of cities as well as the patterns of life within them. In considering religion, I take a broad view, defining religious activity as any attempt to communicate with the divine—that is, with invisible forces or actors that were somehow more than human, in ways that need not be clearly understood or universally accepted either in antiquity or today.<sup>5</sup> Of course, the vast majority of such communication did not leave behind material traces. A prayer of thanks, a simple offering, a plea for assistance, a curse: such actions were performed countless times in the course of everyday life, but entered the archaeological record only in the rarest of cases. My discussion deals instead with interventions that included substantial material aspects, and given the

<sup>1</sup> See discussion in Flower (2017: 63–70).

<sup>2</sup> For a catalog, see Fröhlich (1991).

<sup>3</sup> PAH I.1, 234. Note that Van Andringa (2000) does not include this example in his catalog of street-side shrines at Pompeii.

<sup>4</sup> For the destruction of the shrine, see Cooke, Cockburn, and Donaldson (1827: 19).

<sup>5</sup> Here I follow the approach of “lived religion.” See McGuire (2008) for the theoretical background and Rüpke (2018: 5–10) for application to the ancient world, each with additional bibliography.

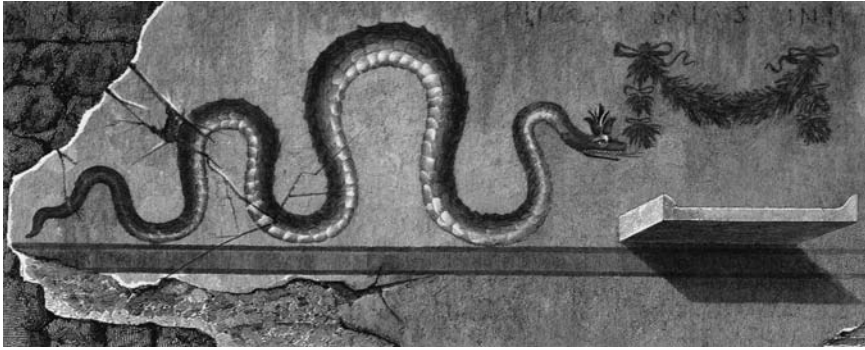


Figure 7.1 Street-side shrine in the Porta Ercolano suburb. (After Cooke, Cockburn, and Donaldson 1827.)

emphasis of this book, I focus particularly on modes of communication that affected a city's physical form. Many religious spaces broke the patterns stressed in the preceding chapters; whereas most suburban development arose in the Augustan and early Imperial periods and declined by the third or fourth century CE, sanctuaries and shrines existed outside the official boundaries of Italian cities centuries earlier, and survived into the fourth century and beyond. Across this considerable timespan, they played a variety of roles, but always indicated the close integration of suburb and center, firmly uniting the two zones within the religious life of the city as a whole.

Undoubtedly, the existence of suburban religious spaces has been implied already in the preceding chapters. Amphitheaters and other entertainment buildings were key settings of communal religious practice, since they hosted the main events of public festivals for the gods. On a smaller scale, tombs were dedicated to the underworld gods known as the *di manes*, and tomb-side rituals were a central part of Roman domestic religion.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, shops and residences housed their own gods of place whether they were located inside or outside city walls; the shrines incorporated into the houses and shops of the Porta Ercolano suburb, for instance, were in all ways similar to those found in the city center.<sup>7</sup> The street-side shrine recovered on the exterior wall of the Villa of Cicero, moreover, suggests that neighborhood religion also could extend from the center to suburb, and at Rome, Augustus's reorganization of the city created *vici* with their own magistrates and compital shrines well outside the Republican city wall. At the same time, suburbs also housed monumental spaces dedicated to the gods. We might think, for example, of the sanctuary for Hercules

<sup>6</sup> For domestic religion, see esp. Foss (1997); Bodel (2008); Bowes (2015); Flower (2017); Rüpke (2018: 216–23).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. the shrine in the rear garden of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns and those in Shops 21, 27, 28, and 29 North.

Victor, located about 300m outside the southwestern gate of Tibur (modern Tivoli).<sup>8</sup> The complex included a theater, temple, and triporticus on a massive terrace, which incorporated a covered gallery over the via Tiburtina that was lined with shops and offices. Travelers—not least the herdsmen who passed along this major transhumance route—not only shopped here, but also left offerings to the god. As a result, the sanctuary became one of the wealthiest in Italy, a role at least partially dependent upon its suburban location on one of the peninsula's busiest thoroughfares.<sup>9</sup>

The three case studies that I consider here—Minturnae in Campania, Umbrian Hispellum, and Rome's Transtiberim suburb—each feature notable exceptions to the common pattern of suburban development and decline, illuminating the persistent role of the gods in safeguarding and delineating space both inside and outside a city's official boundaries. At Minturnae, extramural temples emerged in the mid-Republican period, anchoring new development and encouraging further expansion as the settlement transitioned from a small military outpost to a powerful city that controlled vital communication routes. A major suburban sanctuary at Hispellum might have had pre-Roman roots, but flourished in the Augustan period and again in Late Antiquity, forming the heart of a tenacious religious system that reinforced regional ties even as it created a hierarchy with Hispellum itself at the apex. In Rome's vast Transtiberim suburb, meanwhile, a shrine dedicated to the Phrygian goddess Magna Mater survived even the construction of the Aurelian Wall and a corresponding compaction of the district into the new fortification. The cult's extramural location continued to serve as a site for display and a node in public processions as a new force—Christianity—rose up to dominate the space surrounding the redefined contours of the city.

## 7.1 Religion and Suburban Development at Minturnae

A suburban sanctuary played a central role in transitioning Minturnae (modern Minturno) from a small fortified citadel into a large and powerful city (Fig. 7.2). According to ancient tradition, Roman Minturnae was founded in 296 BCE, in the course of Rome's struggles against the Samnites.<sup>10</sup> The original military colony, located on a low hill in a strategic position where the via Appia crossed the river Liris, measured around 2.5ha and was surrounded by a fortification wall in

<sup>8</sup> Coarelli (1987: 85–112); Gros and Torelli (2007: 195–6); Wallace-Hadrill (2008b: 112–16); Santillo Frizell (2009: 50–52). For a catalog of remains from the Roman city and its suburbs, see Giuliani (1970).

<sup>9</sup> Herdsmen also might have paid taxes at the sanctuary; see Bonetto (1999a).

<sup>10</sup> Livy 10.21.8. The Romans had destroyed the native Auruncan settlement of Minturnae, located somewhere nearby, a decade earlier (Livy 9.25).

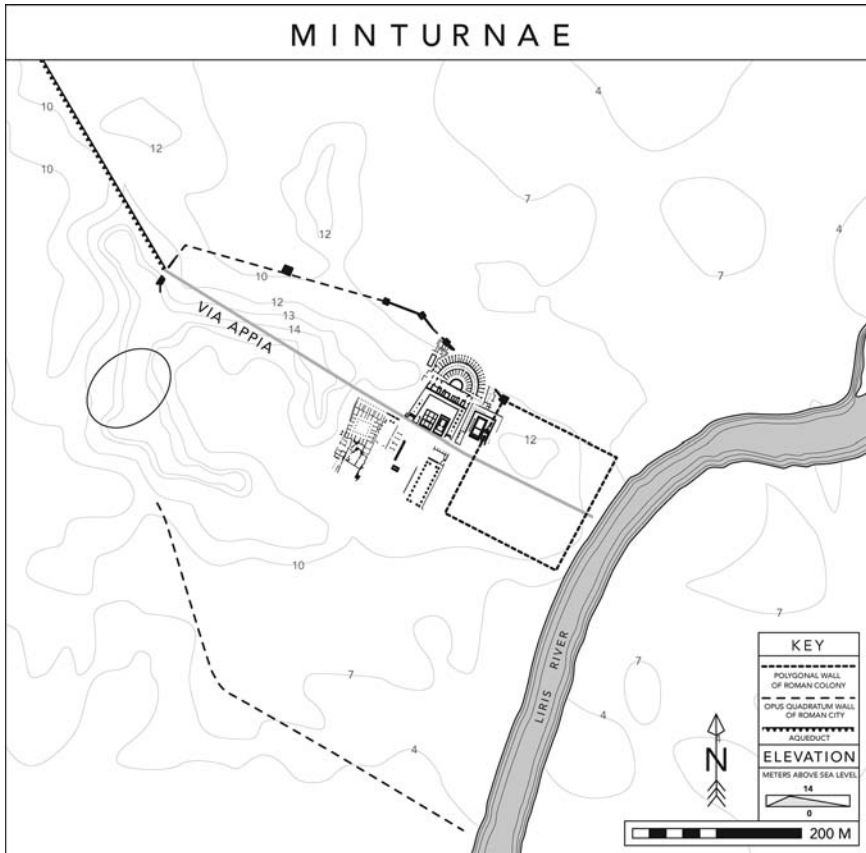


Figure 7.2 Plan of Minturnae. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Coarelli 1989.)

polygonal masonry.<sup>11</sup> Long before the suburban building boom of the Augustan period, the colony had come to chafe against this first wall, beginning a precocious phase of suburban development with the addition of an extramural temple along the via Appia immediately west of the original settlement. By the Augustan period, the once-suburban sanctuary would stand at the head of the city's forum, enclosed within a new and significantly larger fortification wall in opus quadratum, outside of which suburban development recommenced in keeping with the more common pattern across Italy. Minturnae, therefore, underwent an unusually early phase of suburban expansion, led by the construction of a new religious space.

Past treatments have focused on overspill as the primary motivation for the colony's expansion, arguing that its footprint was so small and its location so favorable that Minturnae quickly outgrew its fortifications, necessitating growth

<sup>11</sup> Von Hesberg (1985: 139–41); Ferrante, Lacam, and Quadrino (2015: 87–90).



to the west.<sup>12</sup> Although I agree with the broad strokes of this idea, I seek here to refine its particulars in order to better contextualize this significant exception to the standard pattern of suburbanization. Minturnae was not alone in early suburban development; other Roman colonies also expanded in the mid-Republican period, with sanctuaries among their first suburban structures. Significantly, these settlements were not simply growing at this time, but transitioning their fundamental nature from military outposts to true cities, parts of an expanding urban network that stretched across the Italian peninsula. The change required more space and new infrastructure, and in a period during which few settlements breached their walls, it called for gods to oversee and protect extramural development, while also marking it as unambiguously joined to intramural districts.

My interpretation hinges on the two earliest phases of Minturnae's first suburban sanctuary. Current understandings place the earlier of these phases in the third and the later in the late third or early second century BCE, maintaining that Minturnae began its extramural development within less than a century of its foundation. I find these dates suspect, since they are based not on archaeological data, but on two passages of Livy, neither of which can be associated directly with the surviving remains. The first phase is represented by a partial podium located c.75m west of the colonial wall, along the via Appia (Fig. 7.3, a). The remains consist of foundations topped by a few courses of podium walls in *opus quadratum* of grey tuff.<sup>13</sup> Contemporary walls to the northeast suggest additional buildings nearby, but there is no indication of their form or function.<sup>14</sup> The temple's long side paralleled the via Appia, with a façade that faced either the settlement to the east or those who approached it from the west; fragments of architectural terracotta found in later construction deposits and in a pit below a later building likely belonged to its decoration.<sup>15</sup> None of the remains are precisely datable—the terracottas could date anywhere from the sixth through the first century BCE—and they include no indication of the god worshipped here. Interpretation has relied, therefore, on Livy's record of a lightning strike at Minturnae's temple of Jupiter in the year 207 BCE.<sup>16</sup> Based on the passage, the partial podium has been reconstructed as part of a third-century sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter.<sup>17</sup>

The remains west of Minturnae do suggest a temple, but the attribution to Jupiter and dating to the third century are far less secure. The podium represents the earliest known building in the city, but the area within the colony's original wall is almost entirely unexplored and surely makes a more likely location for a

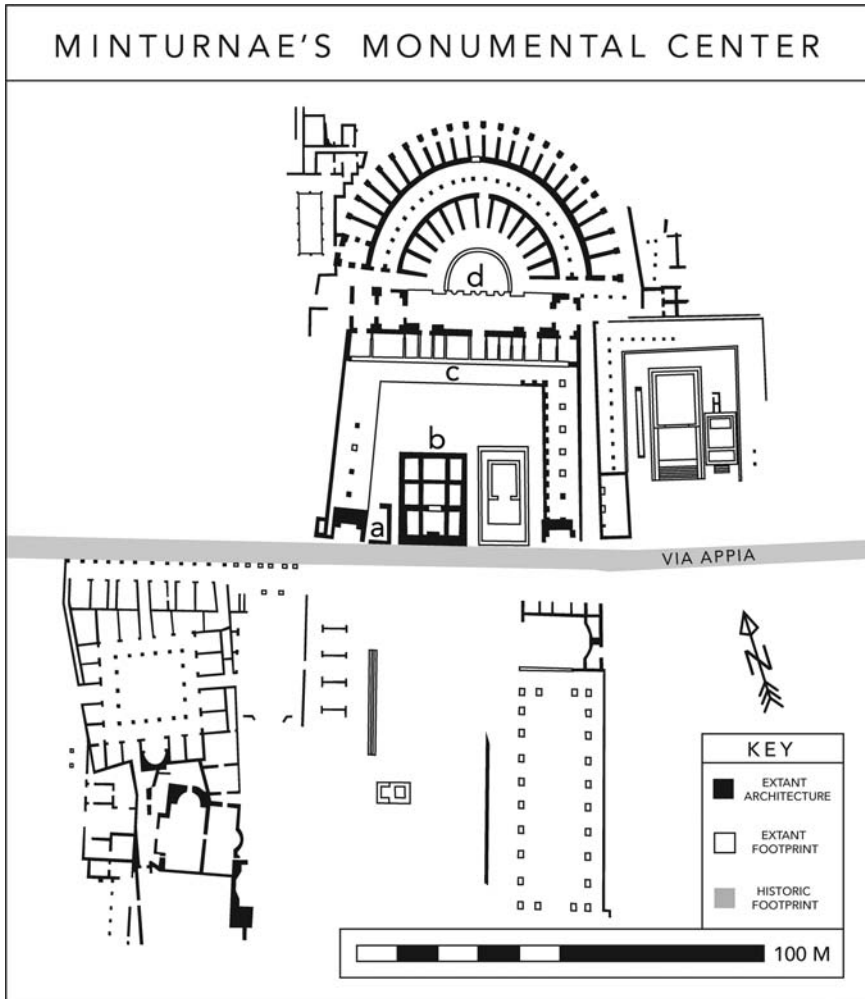
<sup>12</sup> E.g. Livy (2002: 25); Bellini (2007: 8–10); Gros and Torelli (2007: 184); Von Hesberg and Manderscheid (2012: 459).

<sup>13</sup> Johnson (1935: 16–17); Ferrante et al. (2015: 100–102).

<sup>14</sup> Based on Livy (36.37.3), Johnson (1935: 42–4) attributed the walls to *tabernae*, but that interpretation is problematic (see further below in this section).

<sup>15</sup> Johnson (1935: 17, 78–81); Mesolella (2012: 120); Livy (2006: 96–7). <sup>16</sup> Livy 27.37.3–4.

<sup>17</sup> Johnson (1935: 16–17); Coarelli (1989: 39); Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, and Sears (2011: 146); Ferrante et al. (2015: 100–101).



**Figure 7.3** Plan of Minturnae's Imperial-period forum. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Bellini and Von Hesberg 2015.)

sanctuary dedicated to the chief god of the Roman civic pantheon.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, when Minturnae's first excavator, the American Jotham Johnson, originally connected the podium with Livy's text, he believed that he was excavating at the center of the Roman colony. Johnson had interpreted the smaller zone enclosed by the polygonal wall as an Auruncian settlement and the larger area of the *opus*

<sup>18</sup> The only systematic work within the original fortification consists of recent excavations in the area of the late Republican or Augustan sanctuary that straddled the colonial wall; the project has uncovered some pavements and a drain belonging to the early phases of the settlement (see Bellini (2006); Kohlberger-Schaub (2015: 147–8).

*quadratum* wall as the colony; he recognized his mistake later, but the correction did not lead to a reconsideration of the early temple's attribution.<sup>19</sup> Of course, we should also be cautious of applying Livy too directly to the archaeological material. The lightning strike is one entry in a list of prodigies supplicated in 207 BCE, including rains of stones at Veii and in Rome, a wolf attack in Capua, and the birth of an oversized baby with indeterminate sex characteristics at Frusino in Latium. In fact, lightning was not the only prodigy recorded from Minturnae that year; residents also reported that a river of blood had run through a city gate.<sup>20</sup> Livy's point was not to provide a straightforward record of events that we might superimpose on the archaeological evidence, but to emphasize the upheaval of Italy's natural and spiritual world in advance of the coming of Hasdrubal, to whom the text turns in the following paragraph.

The temple west of Minturnae was replaced in a second phase with a larger version that stood slightly nearer to the settlement and had a new orientation facing the via Appia (Fig. 7.3, *b*).<sup>21</sup> The new temple was framed by a triporticus (Fig. 7.3, *c*), and again featured architectural terracottas that might be placed anywhere between the sixth and first century BCE.<sup>22</sup> As for the first temple, Livy constitutes the key source for this structure's interpretation. He recorded a second lightning strike at Minturnae's temple of Jupiter in 191 BCE, again within a list of prodigies reported that year, but this time specified that both the temple and shops around the forum had been affected.<sup>23</sup> According to the standard reading, the temple and triporticus date to the end of the third or the first decade of the second century BCE, by which time they headed a forum that already stood outside the colony's original fortification wall.<sup>24</sup> In keeping with this understanding, the second city wall—a monument that has not yet been studied systematically—has been placed in the third century, on the assumption that the forum would not have been located in an undefended, extramural location at such an early date.<sup>25</sup> That chronology, however, is based entirely on the tenuous evidence of Livy. Judging from their architecture and decoration, the temples along the via Appia could belong to the third century, but are equally likely to have dated to the second or even to the first. They pre-dated the Augustan period, when the second temple was reconstructed with stone decoration, but their earlier history is

<sup>19</sup> See Johnson (1954: 147); also Coarelli (1989: 49–50); Livi (2006: 97); Ferrante et al. (2015: 88).

<sup>20</sup> Livy 27.37.1–4.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson (1935: 18–41, 81–5); Coarelli (1989: 50–52); Mesolella (2012: 120–21); Bankel (2015: 14–15); Ferrante et al. (2015: 100–102).

<sup>22</sup> Livi (2002: 27–31); Mesolella (2012: 112–114). <sup>23</sup> Livy 36.37.3.

<sup>24</sup> See Coarelli (1989: 51); Gros and Torelli (2007: 183–4); Bankel (2015: 14–15).

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Sommella (1988: 40–41); Coarelli (1989: 49–50); Livi (2002: 26); Conventi (2004: 36–8); Gros and Torelli (2007: 184); Ferrante et al. (2015: 88); Goodman (2016a: 309–11). Stevens (2017a: 137) dates the second wall to the 2nd c. BCE, without comment.

ambiguous.<sup>26</sup> No evidence supports the association of either temple with Jupiter, and although the area south of the triporticus would develop into a forum by the end of the first century BCE, there is no reason to assume that the space was preceded by a mid-Republican version (Fig. 7.4).<sup>27</sup>

In attempting to understand the history of Minturnae's extramural sanctuary, the chronology of the second fortification wall is paramount. The current date of the third century BCE derives from Livy, and the only physical evidence comes from the wall's relationship with the city's theater (Fig. 7.3, *d*). The theater breached and destroyed the wall, and so post-dated it. Based on its architecture, the theater is best placed in the second half of the first century BCE; the fact that it destroyed a fortification—a phenomenon attested elsewhere in the Augustan and early Imperial periods—makes a date in the later part of that range most likely.<sup>28</sup>



**Figure 7.4** View of Minturnae's Imperial-period forum. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

<sup>26</sup> For the Augustan reconstruction, see Johnson (1935: 36–41); Mesolella (2012: 122–35); Bankel (2015: 21–4); Ferrante et al. (2015: 100–102).

<sup>27</sup> Rome's Republican colonies did not require fora; see Gros and Torelli (2007: 162); Laurence et al. (2011: 144–6). Ostia shows no sign of having developed a forum prior to the mid-1st c. BCE; the earliest evidence from Minturnae is slightly later, consisting of a basilica and the forum paving, both dated to the Augustan period (see Mesolella (2012: 149–51); Bellini and Matullo (2015); Bellini and Trigona (2016: 265–6)).

<sup>28</sup> For the date of the theater, see Tosi (2003: 77); Mesolella (2012: 181–3); Arnold (2015). Some scholars (e.g. Cerbarano 2015: 106) prefer a Republican date based on two known inscriptions, but neither necessitates that interpretation; the first (AE 1934, 253) records *ludi scaenici*, events that do not require permanent theaters, and the second (AE 1989, 150) does not securely relate to the theater at Minturnae. For entertainment buildings destroying city walls, see Section 6.3.

The extramural temple and triporticus were enclosed by the second fortification wall, therefore, some time earlier than the late first century BCE. The evidence does not exclude the traditional date of the third century BCE, but certainly cannot confirm it. Future excavations will be vital to refining the chronology, but in the absence of that work, we must look elsewhere for data that might contextualize the remains at Minturnae. Fortuitously, two comparable sites have been explored more thoroughly than Minturnae itself, and both provide valuable evidence. Ostia as well as Cosa began their lives as military colonies, and both cities featured early extramural structures that included temples. Ostia, moreover, underwent a similar developmental cycle to Minturnae, surpassing its original wall before a new and larger circuit enclosed the expanded city. These sites suggest that Minturnae was part of a broader pattern, with its earliest extramural development not driven by the factors that encouraged suburban growth in the Augustan period, but governed according to the specific processes by which Republican military settlements transitioned into urban centers.

Like Minturnae, Ostia and Cosa were founded as military outposts, and both pushed beyond their original boundaries in the mid-Republican period. The original colony at Ostia consisted of the so-called *Castrum*, a rectangular walled area nearly identical in size to the colony at Minturnae. The earliest known structures outside the *Castrum* wall, all indefinable and represented only by portions of walls and wall foundations encountered in scattered excavations, appeared in the third century BCE, at the same time that an altar was installed in the “Republican Sacred Area,” located along the road that led to the port about 75m outside the western *Castrum* gate.<sup>29</sup> In the second century, more buildings arose outside the walls and the sacred area was monumentalized with additional altars and a series of three temples.<sup>30</sup> Recent excavations have shown that a temple for Bona Dea was installed south of the *Castrum* in the same period.<sup>31</sup> In its original form, Cosa was larger than Ostia and Minturnae, with walls that enclosed a hill-top of about 13ha (Fig. 7.5).<sup>32</sup> The colony was founded to control a critical safe anchorage on the Tyrrhenian sea, and its extramural port at the Lagoon of Vulci developed into an extensive industrial and commercial complex in the later second century BCE.<sup>33</sup> Already at this time the port boasted a temple, built around the mid-second century and placed on a promontory to overlook the activities at the lagoon (Fig. 7.5, *a*).

<sup>29</sup> See Calza et al. (1953: 97–100); Meiggs (1973: 117–28); Carta, Pohl, and Zevi (1987: 19–21); Mar (1991: 92–5); DeLaine and Wilkinson (1999: 78–9); Kockel and Ortisi (2000: 358–9); Gros and Torelli (2007: 183); DeLaine (2016: 420).

<sup>30</sup> Mar (1990); Pavolini (2006: 117–22); Zevi (2012: 547–54).

<sup>31</sup> For the 2nd-c. temple to Bona Dea (at V.10.2, not to be confused with the later space dedicated to the same goddess in the Porta Marina suburb), see Medri et al. (2017: 4–6).

<sup>32</sup> For Cosa, see esp. Brown (1980); Fentress and Perkins (2016).

<sup>33</sup> For the port, see McCann (1987).

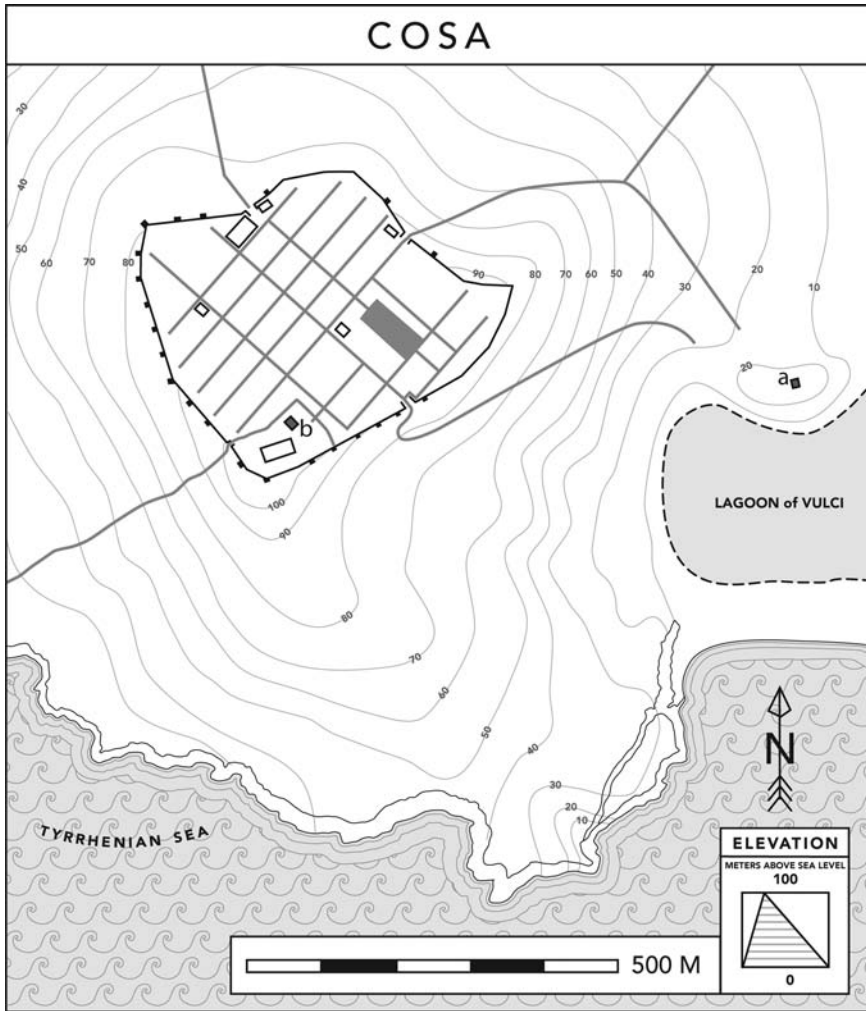


Figure 7.5 Plan of Cosa. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Brown 1980.)

Ostia and Cosa underwent their most notable phases of early expansion in the second century BCE, a date that draws them into a larger pattern of urban development. The second century was a period of intense urbanization across Italy, fueled by the new populations, wealth, and ideas that surged into the peninsula in the wake of the Second Punic War. This century saw an urban boom that would not be rivaled until the time of Augustus, during which cities increased in number, grew in size and complexity, and invested in new amenities and infrastructure.<sup>34</sup> Early colonies like Ostia and Cosa, moreover, were not simply developing in the

<sup>34</sup> Ellis (2018: 133–47) provides a thorough discussion.



second century, but fundamentally transforming. With Rome's dominance of the Mediterranean nearly uncontested, her Republican colonies lost their military roles, rapidly transitioning into hubs in a new economic network centered firmly on Rome. At Cosa, the port rose up to become a commercial center complementing the city inside the wall, while new development filled and overflowed the far smaller walled center at Ostia. We would be remiss, however, to attribute the extramural development of either city solely to urban overspill. The temples that were the most monumental buildings in the suburbs of both cities can be linked to urban growth, but do not directly represent proliferations of residents; rather, they indicate the interconnecting desires of individuals and communities to receive assistance from the gods while displaying both piety and urban amenity. Early extramural temples at both sites stood along major communication routes where they could be appreciated by locals as well as visitors, a situation that surely was not coincidental. At the same time, the presence of a sanctuary anchored development outside city walls, giving new extramural districts the legitimacy of gods to watch over them while also tying them more closely to the old city center. This last point is made clearest at Cosa, where the port temple was nearly identical to the contemporaneous "Temple D" on the Arx, in the very heart of the city center (Fig. 7.5, *b*).<sup>35</sup> The extramural temple provided religious oversight for the port and contributed to the growing city's urban façade, but also communicated a clear connection between the structures on the water and the city on the hilltop. For visitors arriving via the port, the temple presaged the monuments they would encounter within the walls, indicating continuity between suburb and center. The experience began on the water, from which both the port temple and the largest intramural temples were visible, and continued as the visitors entered the city and encountered additional sanctuaries, including Temple D itself.<sup>36</sup>

In the absence of further excavation, the chronology of the earliest extramural temples at Minturnae remains debatable, but comparanda from Ostia and Cosa suggest that dates in the second century BCE are more likely than the traditional reading that places them as much as a century earlier. The date of the second city wall likewise is unclear, but Ostia, at least, did not receive its second wall until the mid-first century BCE, existing—like Rome in the same period—as an open city for over a century. Minturnae might have had a similar history, with the second wall arising only a generation or two before it was breached by the construction of the theater at the end of the first century.<sup>37</sup> From this point in its history,

<sup>35</sup> Brown, Richardson, and Richardson (1960: 143–7); McCann (1987: 129–36).

<sup>36</sup> Likewise, the decoration of a temple that has been associated with the Auruncan goddess Marica, located south of Minturnae near the mouth of the Liris, matched that of the second extramural temple along the via Appia (see Livi (2006: 105–13); Goodman (2016a: 324)).

<sup>37</sup> A roughly 50-year period separated the creation of Ostia's second city wall and the destruction of the Porta Marina to make way for suburban development (see Section 2.2).

Minturnae's suburban development, like that of Ostia, aligns with the wider pattern identified in the preceding chapters. The city's amphitheater, which remains unexcavated but apparent in the landscape, arose in the early Imperial period, possibly breaching the second fortification wall.<sup>38</sup> Situated on the far western side of the city, it created a processional route that moved down the *via Appia* and through the forum to unite theater, amphitheater, and the urban zone between.<sup>39</sup> Minturnae also began to develop new suburbs from the time of Augustus. Little work has been conducted outside the second city wall, but one recent excavation has revealed a large building along the banks of the river just north of the colonial wall (Fig. 7.6).<sup>40</sup> The building dates to the early imperial period and remained in use as late as the fourth century CE, at which point it was destroyed and the area reused for burials. Other structures have been identified along both sides of the riverbank to the south, and likely represent the remains of the city's suburban port, which underwent booms in both the second century BCE and in the Augustan period.<sup>41</sup> Given that Pliny described the *Liris* as dividing Minturnae, a suburb probably existed across the river from the walled center as well, but the



**Figure 7.6** Suburban building at Minturnae. (Photo: author, courtesy Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

<sup>38</sup> Tosi (2003: 76). <sup>39</sup> See Section 6.1.

<sup>40</sup> Bellini (2006: 270–72); see also Bellini, Trigona, and Matullo (2011: 564–6).

<sup>41</sup> Ruegg (1995: 31–3, 48–54, 130–33); Bellini (1998: 10–12; 2007); Bellini et al. (2011: 567); Ferrante et al. (2015: 93).

area has yet to be investigated.<sup>42</sup> Clearly, many future paths of exploration remain open at Minturnae. For now, we can identify a pattern of suburban development common to at least three of Rome's Republican colonies, by which early versions of suburbs, anchored and protected by temples for the gods, emerged in the course of their transitions from military outposts to essential points in Rome's growing urban network.

## 7.2 Connection and Competition in the Suburban Sanctuary of Hispellum

An extramural sanctuary at Hispellum (Spello) might have had pre-Roman origins, but it thrived in the suburban boom of the Augustan and early Imperial periods and underwent a second flourish in the fourth century CE, as suburbs across the peninsula lay abandoned and cities retracted into their fortifications (Fig. 7.7). Located on a defensible hilltop along the via Flaminia in the densely inhabited Umbrian Valley, the earliest recovered remains at Hispellum can be dated between the third and the second centuries BCE.<sup>43</sup> The city's most significant phase of development, however, came in the time of Augustus, following the establishment of a veteran colony here.<sup>44</sup> The first of its two primary Augustan monuments was the city wall, which ringed the hilltop and the slopes to the south.<sup>45</sup> The second monument was located in the northern suburb, roughly 600m outside the center that the new wall defined. This was the location of a massive terraced sanctuary—similar to other central Italian examples like those at Praeneste and Tibur—complete with several temples and shrines, a theater, an amphitheater, and a public bath.<sup>46</sup> Smaller buildings including monumental tombs, residences, shops, and service structures surrounded these and lined the road that connected them to the city.<sup>47</sup> As for suburban entertainment buildings in general, various factors guided the sanctuary's placement, including—but

<sup>42</sup> Plin. *HN* 3.59. We might compare Livy's statement that the Medoacus passed through the center of Patavium (Livy 10.2.15); see Section 5.1.

<sup>43</sup> Manconi, Camerieri, and Cruciani (1996: 378); Colivicchi and Zaccagnino (2008: 201–3); Bigi (2016: 7–8).

<sup>44</sup> Given that it was designated a *Colonia Iulia*, the colony was founded prior to 27 BCE; the date is often placed around 40 BCE but remains unknown. See Bigi (2016: 8).

<sup>45</sup> Fontaine (1990) provides the best overview of the Augustan wall and debates surrounding it. An earlier fortification might have circled only the height on the northern side of the city, but this idea remains conjectural (Baiolini 2002: 88; Sisani 2012: 431).

<sup>46</sup> Many questions remain regarding the precise appearance and chronology of the sanctuary. The theater and amphitheater are most often seen as contemporaneous with the terraces of the early Augustan period; the baths are probably later, possibly belonging to the early 2nd c. See Sensi and Sensi (1984: 98–104); Manconi et al. (1996: 381–92); Sensi (2000/2001: 136–7); Baiolini (2002: 103–17); Colivicchi and Zaccagnino (2008: 207–11); Camerieri and Manconi (2010: 268); for the theater and amphitheater, also Tosi (2003: 361–3).

<sup>47</sup> Sensi and Sensi (1984: 102–4); Baiolini (2002: 115–17).

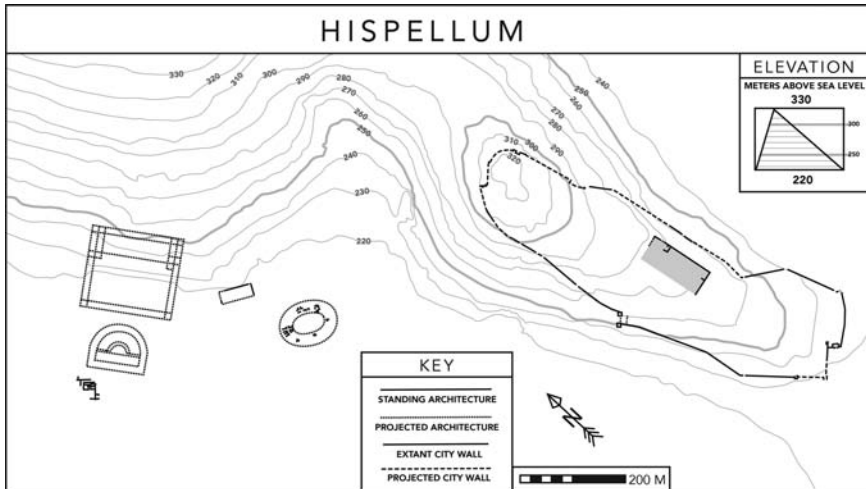


Figure 7.7 Plan of Hispellum. (Plan by G. Tibbott, after Manconi, Camerieri, and Cruciani 1996.)

certainly not limited to—lack of space for such large buildings in the city center and the various opportunities for display offered by monumentalizing the suburb. At the same time, the situation of Hispellum indicates special roles for suburban sanctuaries as agents of connection and competition, suggesting that monumental complexes dedicated to the gods—even those that incorporated theaters and amphitheaters—could speak in different ways from suburban entertainment buildings alone. In this case, the suburban sanctuary served as the fulcrum in a regional network of cults, which united the cities of the Umbrian Valley through shared religious practice. The significance of this network faded in the course of the Imperial period but re-emerged in the fourth century, when the sanctuary was reconstructed and revitalized. While suburbs disappeared across the peninsula, this religious space survived, retaining its meaning for a regional community and so preserved outside Hispellum's walls.

The chief evidence for religious practice at Hispellum's suburban sanctuary comes in the form of a rescript of Constantine, preserved on a marble slab that was found in a secondary context near the theater.<sup>48</sup> The text, best dated to 326 CE, documents the granting of a request to hold a festival featuring theatrical performances and gladiator fights.<sup>49</sup> It frames the requestors, however, not as the residents of Hispellum, but as the population of Umbria as a whole, who had been celebrating games jointly with the people of Etruria at Volsinii, but wished to

<sup>48</sup> CIL 11 5265; see Gascou (1967); Tabata (1997); Coarelli (2001); Sisani (2012: 423).

<sup>49</sup> For the date, see Tabata (1997: 371–86).

separate.<sup>50</sup> In the fourth century, therefore, the sanctuary hosted events that were expressly regional, but the text goes further to suggest that this celebration revised an earlier practice (*istituto consuetudinis priscae*).<sup>51</sup> Given the Augustan monumentalization of the sanctuary—complete with theater and amphitheater for performances and combats—most readings trace the celebration back to late first century BCE or early first century CE, a reasonable proposal in light of the well-documented interest in reviving and reimagining Italy's regional history that characterized the time.<sup>52</sup> The Augustan festival, furthermore, might have revived an earlier Umbrian celebration. The sanctuary often has been reconstructed as the seat of a pre-Roman league that united the cities of Umbria into a social and political unit, akin to the Etruscan League with its purported federal sanctuary at Fanum Voltumnae.<sup>53</sup> If this were the case, the natural features of the site and the festival's role as a regional celebration most likely determined the original sanctuary's extramural location. Placed on a hillside to overlook the broad valley and accessible by several major thoroughfares, the sanctuary served the region as a whole rather than any individual city. That being said, no literary source or known inscription references an Umbrian league, and evidence for a pre-Augustan phase of the sanctuary consists only of a few fragments of architectural terracotta, a bronze votive hand, and a small altar with an Umbrian inscription to Jupiter, all recovered in unpublished rescue excavations.<sup>54</sup> The idea of an early sanctuary here is attractive, but still tenuous.

Whether the sanctuary at Hispellum had a pre-Roman phase or not, we can be sure that the Augustan celebration responded above all to contemporary needs and built contemporary relationships. Evidence from Hispellum and the surrounding territory suggests that in this period the sanctuary stood at the head of a regional network of cults, at least many of which were tied to natural water sources. Excavations in the northern suburb of Mevania (Bevagna), Hispellum's neighbor to the southwest, have uncovered part of an Augustan or early Imperial sanctuary that incorporated at least two massive basins, connected by a monumental corridor (Fig. 7.8).<sup>55</sup> Running behind the sanctuary was a paved road; a more recent project just over 2km to the northeast of Mevania, in the direction of Hispellum, has exposed a second sanctuary of the period that likely stood along the same thoroughfare.<sup>56</sup> The second sanctuary was organized around a spring

<sup>50</sup> Gascou (1967: 626–7); Tabata (1997: 370).

<sup>51</sup> Coarelli (2001: 46–7).

<sup>52</sup> For regionality in the Augustan period, see Torelli (1999: 181–3); Dench (2005: 362–8); Bradley (2007: 311–13); Farney (2007: 175–8); Wallace-Hadrill (2008b: 73–143); Emmerson (2017: 352–6).

<sup>53</sup> E.g. Coarelli (2001: 47–9); Bradley (2007: 312–13); Colivicchi and Zaccagnino (2008: 12); Albanesi and Romana Picuti (2009: 167–8); Sisani (2012: 423–6).

<sup>54</sup> Manconi et al. (1996: 389, 391, n. 54); Coarelli (2001: 47); Sisani (2006: 113; 2012: 424); Occhilupo (2014: 271–2).

<sup>55</sup> For the sanctuary, see Bonomi Ponzi (1986); Feruglio, Bonomi Ponzi, and Manconi (1991: 87–133, 160–65); Prospero Valenti (2006: 290–92); Sisani (2006: 90–91); Sisani (2012).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 416–18.

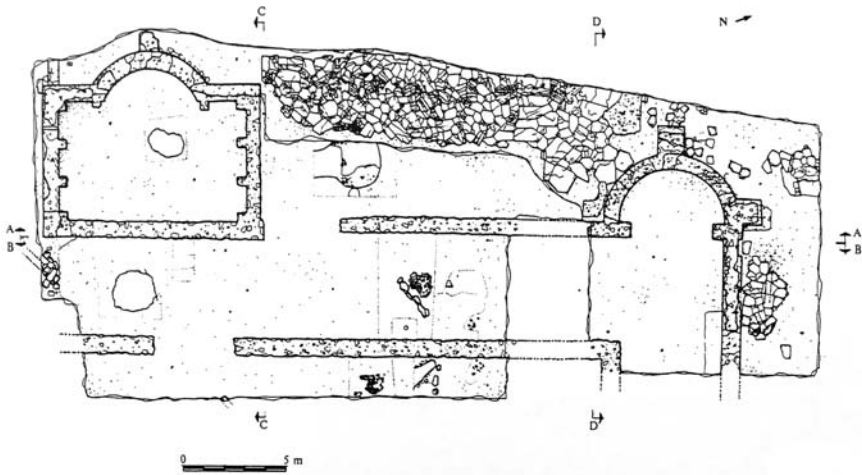


Figure 7.8 Plan of building in the northern suburb of Mevania. (After Ponzi 1986.)

that had been systematized into a circular basin 8m wide; a portico and several rooms abutted it to the northwest and might have continued around its other sides (Fig. 7.9).<sup>57</sup> The site immediately calls to mind Pliny the Younger's letter to his friend Voconius Romanus, in which he described various sacred springs in the Umbrian valley, each with its own shrine and god.<sup>58</sup>

The sanctuaries uncovered in the territory of Mevania appear to have been closely connected to the larger example outside Hispellum. If the road that connected the Mevanian sanctuaries continued on more or less the same trajectory, Hispellum was its most likely terminus, located about 6km to the northeast.<sup>59</sup> Hispellum's suburban sanctuary, moreover, also demonstrates a notable emphasis on water. The placement of the Renaissance Villa Fidelia on the sanctuary's terraces has complicated understandings of its ancient arrangement, but the most likely reconstruction includes two small temples—one of which was dedicated to Venus—on the northern and southern sides of the middle terrace; any evidence for a larger central temple—either on the uppermost or in the open space of the lower terrace, just behind the *cavea* of the theater—is still lacking.<sup>60</sup> Beyond the paired temples, the other major features of the site were monumental fountains or basins. The largest fountain was located at the center of the lowest terrace wall, and two others framed it from the terrace above, as confirmed by excavations

<sup>57</sup> Albanesi and Romana Picuti (2009); Sisani (2012: 418).

<sup>58</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 8.8.5.

<sup>59</sup> See Albanesi and Romana Picuti (2009: 168); Camerieri and Manconi (2012: 77); Sisani (2012: 428–9).

<sup>60</sup> Most have followed Manconi et al.'s reconstruction (1996: 384–9) with the temple on the uppermost terrace; Sisani (2012: 437) has argued for the lower position.



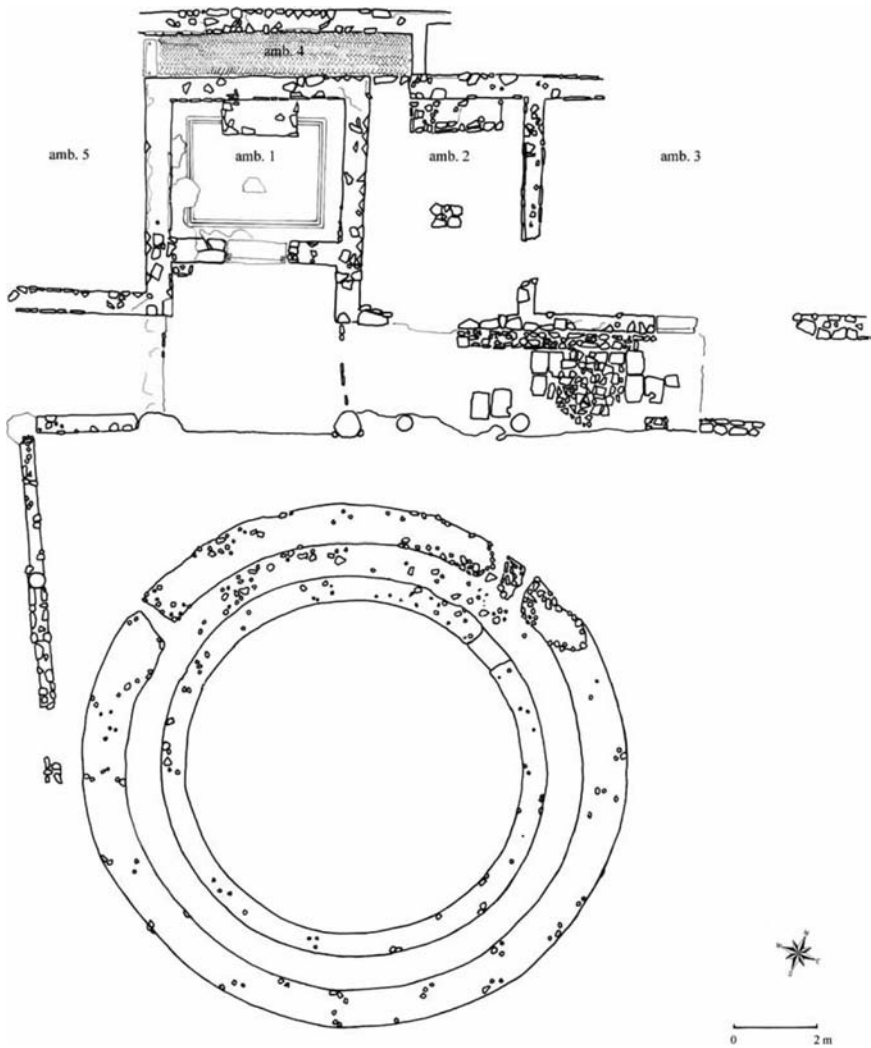


Figure 7.9 Plan of complex in the countryside between Mevania and Hispellum. (After Albanesi and Picuti 2009.)

carried out in 2009.<sup>61</sup> The water features and the sanctuary might suggest that here, too, the religious space was organized around a spring that suggested the particular accessibility of the gods. For a traveler arriving from Mevania, furthermore, the fountains could have recalled the rural sanctuary at the spring and the complex with basins in Mevania's northern suburb; Simone Sisani has even proposed that all three were part of a processional route that began with a shrine at

<sup>61</sup> Occhilupo (2014: 273–6).

the source of the Clitumnus river, located southeast of Mevania, and terminated in Hispellum's northern suburb.<sup>62</sup> The route remains conjectural, but even so the remains suggest intercommunication. The complex at Hispellum looked towards the sacred spring, and given their respective locations on a terraced mountainside and an open plain, the two might have been intervisible (Fig. 7.10). All three sites, furthermore, were connected through the regional road network, emphasizing to visitors and locals alike a continuity of religious life and an active landscape of gods in the countryside between Mevania and Hispellum. Less information is available for other cities, but additional suburban and rural sanctuaries might have repeated the message elsewhere in the Umbrian Valley; beyond Mevania, highways ran past the suburban sanctuary at Hispellum to connect it directly with Urvinum Hortense, Perugia (Perugia), and Asisium (Assisi).

The sanctuary at Hispellum united the people of Umbria through shared religious practice, a function served not only by the monumentality and variety of its amenities but also by its suburban location, which marked it as a regional, rather than local, center. Nevertheless, it remained clearly connected to Hispellum itself—both fed by that city's aqueduct and accessed through its most monumental gate—and the city certainly benefited from control of such a significant resource (Fig. 7.11).<sup>63</sup> As the apex in a network of regional shrines, the sanctuary at



**Figure 7.10** View of the suburban sanctuary from Hispellum, with amphitheater (at left) and temple terrace (at right). (Photo: author.)

<sup>62</sup> Sisani (2012: 418–21).

<sup>63</sup> Manconi et al. (1996: 380–81); Baiolini (2002: 73–4); Bigi (2016).



**Figure 7.11** The Porta di Venere at modern Spello, which provided access to the suburban sanctuary. (Photo: author.)

Hispellum marked the city as the preeminent settlement of the Umbrian Valley. This was not, furthermore, the only major sanctuary Hispellum controlled. According to Pliny, the city also administered the rural sanctuary at the source of the Clitumnus, where it provided baths and lodging for the public.<sup>64</sup> How Hispellum came to govern that sanctuary is of interest here; following Pliny, their jurisdiction had been granted by Augustus himself (*quibus illum locum divus Augustus dono dedit*).<sup>65</sup> The Augustan period marked a definitive moment of change for Hispellum, the territory of which ballooned following the colonial deduction, at the expense of its neighbors.<sup>66</sup> Whereas once it had been a minor settlement, Hispellum now was a colony patronized by the emperor himself, a change emphasized by the city's control of the region's chief sanctuary. A suburban location allowed that sanctuary to function differently from a similar complex in the city center, exploiting the opportunities for connection and competition offered by a setting outside the wall.

The Constantinian rescript confirms that the sanctuary's regional role had faded over the course of the Imperial period, and by the early fourth century, Umbrians had joined the Etruscan festival at Volsinii. Given the loss of suburbs

<sup>64</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 8.8.6. For the (meager) archaeological evidence of the sanctuary, see Maldini (2002: 162–4).

<sup>65</sup> Based on an analysis of regional centuriation, Sisani (2012: 429–38) has argued that the suburban sanctuary also changed hands under Augustus, from Mevania to Hispellum.

<sup>66</sup> Camerieri and Manconi (2010: 268); Sisani (2012).

across Italy in the same century, the sanctuary at Hispellum might simply have disappeared at this point. In this case, however, the people of Umbria successfully petitioned to reinstate their festival, ushering in a new and unusually late phase of development in Hispellum's northern suburb. Various structures were erected on the sanctuary's terraces in the fourth century, at the same time earlier buildings were restored.<sup>67</sup> The ties that bound the region certainly had changed since the early Imperial period, but they had not been lost, and in the peaceful and prosperous years of Constantine's rule, Hispellum benefited once more by recreating its old place at the head of a regional religious network. The example suggests that even as many Italians stopped building and maintaining smaller suburban structures like houses, shops, and workshops, investment in major suburban monuments could serve certain cities, while the continuing importance of communal religious life preserved select suburbs.

### 7.3 The Transtiberim Suburb Before and After the Aurelian Wall

Rome's Transtiberim suburb featured both early and unusually late religious spaces, notably including at least one sanctuary that survived outside the redefined city center even after the erection of the Aurelian Wall. The area on the right bank of the Tiber encompassed the Janiculum Hill, the plain of the Vatican, and the low-lying district of modern Trastevere at the curve of the river between; in the Augustan period it came together with Tiber Island to make up Region XIV (see Fig. 2.11). At least one suburban administrative district, the Pagus Janiculensis, had been located here by the second century BCE, and by the fourth century CE the area would be home to 78 *vici*, far more than any other region.<sup>68</sup> The earliest development probably concentrated in the Tiber's curve, where already in the Republican period the Pontes Aemilius and Sublicius provided access to the Forum Boarium and the salt works along the left bank; like those areas, the Transtiberim was an ideal location for port and industrial activity, which arose here already in the Republican period (see Fig. 3.2).<sup>69</sup> The Janiculum Hill, the Vatican, and the zone along the river between them, however, remained primarily agricultural, and by the second half of the first century BCE, much of the space

<sup>67</sup> Colivicchi and Zaccagnino (2008: 208); Camerieri and Manconi (2010: 265; 2010: 33); Occhilupo (2014: 269–70).

<sup>68</sup> Pagus Janiculensis: CIL 6 2219=ILS 6079; CIL 6 2220; possibly also CIL 6 810 (see Coarelli 1996: 18; Chioffi 2008a: 239–44). Information on later *vici* comes from the Regionary Catalogs; the number of *vici* in other regions fell between 7 for Region II and 35 for Region IX; see Reynolds (1996).

<sup>69</sup> Taylor (2002: 3–6, 17); Malmberg (2015: 200). LTUR 5 s.v. "Transtiberim" 77–83 (M. Maischberger); MAR s.v. "Trans Tiberim" 247–8 (Ö. Harmansah); AAR 1 s.v. "Region XIV: Transtiberim" 549–82 (P. Carafa and P. Pacchiarotti).

had been incorporated into elite *horti*.<sup>70</sup> These provided land to fuel the urban building boom that came with the rise of Augustus and especially following the early second-century CE establishment of Portus, to which the Transtiberim was connected directly by the *via Campana/Portuensis*.<sup>71</sup> The zone's urban density by the third century is attested by the *Forma Urbis Romae*, preserved fragments of which show tightly packed buildings along the river and in the area of modern Trastevere, as well as by scattered excavations of houses, apartment buildings, warehouses, port structures, baths, shops, workshops, and tombs under the modern district (Fig. 7.12).<sup>72</sup> The extent of development here likewise is indicated by the quantity of water it received; the Aqua Alsietina and the Aqua Traiana both terminated in the region, and the Transtiberim also received water from branches of the Aqua Claudia-Anio Novus, as well as the Anio Vetus, Marcia, Virgo, and Iulia.<sup>73</sup>

The earliest known sanctuaries in the Transtiberim stood outside the built-up area, and although closely tied to the city, they responded to characteristics of the countryside such as natural features and the various boundaries of Rome's territory.<sup>74</sup> The situation was radically different in the Imperial period, when new religious spaces arose as part of the area's urban development. Many of the cults attested archaeologically had a domestic character, e.g. the mid-first-century shrine to Bona Dea associated with an apartment building near the Pons Cestius, or the fourth-century "Syrian Sanctuary" on the Janiculum, which a recent re-investigation suggests was an elite villa that incorporated a shrine to Osiris.<sup>75</sup> A contemporary aedicula dedicated to Hercules likewise might have been a domestic dedication, while a late first- or second-century sanctuary along the *via Campana/Portuensis*, which featured dedications to Sol, Bel, Astarte, and other gods of Palmyra, appears to have served a relatively limited group of worshippers, primarily members of Rome's Palmyrene community.<sup>76</sup> Other

<sup>70</sup> The most famous of these properties was the *Horti* of Caesar, where he hosted Cleopatra from 46 to 44 BCE. For others, see AAR 1 s.v. "The Horti" 74–9 (M. C. Capanna).

<sup>71</sup> For urban development in the Transtiberim, see Coarelli (1992); Taylor (1997; 2002: 16); Tucci (2004); Aguilera Martín (2012); Goodman (2018: 83).

<sup>72</sup> See Tucci (2004); Azzena (2010). <sup>73</sup> Taylor (2002: 16–17).

<sup>74</sup> E.g. a precinct most likely dedicated to Juno's sacred crows on a promontory of the Janiculum (LTUR 5 s.v. "Corniscae" 240–41, J. Aronen), a sacred grove dedicated to nymphs on the slopes of the same hill (LTUR 3 s.v. "Lucus Furrinae" 193–4, J. Calzini Gysens), and the shrine dedicated to Fors Fortuna on the first mile of the *via Campana* (MAR s.v. "Fors Fortuna, Fanum" 126, Ö. Harmansah); see also Scheid (1987); Colonna (1991).

<sup>75</sup> For the shrine to Bona Dea (which might predate the associated apartment building), see Arnhold (2015: 61); for the "Syrian Sanctuary," on the grounds of the modern Villa Sciarra, see Goddard (2008).

<sup>76</sup> The Hercules shrine seems too minor to have been the "Hercules Cubans" (shrine? statue? *vicus*?) mentioned in the Regionary Catalogs; see Rossi and Di Mento (2013: 138–40). There is much confusion over the location of the Palmyrene sanctuary, which the literature often places outside the built-up area of the Transtiberim suburb. Its actual location coincides with the modern Piazza Ippolito Nievo, within the urbanized area of the mid-Imperial period. See Rossi and Di Mento (2013: 135–6); Terpstra (2016: 39–40).





Figure 7.12 Portion of the Transtiberim shown on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (Slab 28a), with Tiber at top, via Campana/Portuensis(?) just below center. (Courtesy Stanford University and Roma, Musei Capitolini, Antiquarium. ©Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.)

gods—attested by scattered inscriptions to deities as varied as Silvanus, Antinous, Apollo, Bacchus and Silenus, Juno, Jupiter Dolichenus, Liber Pater and Mercury, Jupiter Sabazius, and Caelestis—similarly seem to have been worshipped in contexts like households, apartment buildings, and the meeting halls of *collegia*; some dedications might have been set up in sanctuaries primarily devoted to other gods.<sup>77</sup> One group of inscriptions, found together along the via Campana/Portuensis, included dedications made by a certain Rubria Nape to Juno and

<sup>77</sup> Silvanus: CIL 6 671, 692; Antinous: IG 14 960; Apollo: CIL 6 24; Bacchus and Silenus: CIL 6 49; Juno: CIL 6 36785; Jupiter Dolichenus: CIL 6 415, 418; Liber Pater and Mercury: CIL 6 8826; Jupiter Sabazius: CIL 6 429; Caelestis: CIL 6 78. For an overview, see Savage (1940).



Fortuna, as well as epitaphs for the same woman's husband, son, and other members of her *gens*, potentially indicating the presence of a shrine near a family tomb.<sup>78</sup>

The seemingly high number of “foreign” or “oriental” gods worshipped in the Transtiberim has attracted attention in scholarship, although not necessarily for reasons that are helpful for understanding the character of the area. Most scholars have now abandoned the long-held idea that such cults were located in Rome's suburbs because they were banned from within the pomerium.<sup>79</sup> The Castores were worshipped in the forum from the fifth century BCE, Magna Mater was installed on the Palatine in the late third century, and in the course of the Imperial period gods including Isis and Serapis, Jupiter Africus, Caelestis, and Mithras came to be worshipped on the Capitoline itself.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, the presence of so-called foreign cults in the Transtiberim has continued to influence understandings the district's demographic makeup. In short, much work presents this suburb as home to a large foreign population, composed especially of immigrants from the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>81</sup> The contention, however, is founded on precarious ground, being inferred from the presence of cults perceived as foreign (including early Christian *titulus* churches), the direct connection of Transtiberine ports to Portus by the via Campana/Portuensis, and a single statement by Philo of Alexandria that a Jewish community resided across the Tiber.<sup>82</sup> While there is no reason to dispute the last point, it cannot indicate the overall character of the neighborhood, and the rest of the argument is significantly less persuasive. By the mid-Imperial period, foreign cults were woven throughout Rome's urban fabric. Their devotees included individuals from all backgrounds, the cults themselves did not necessarily arrive via immigration and direct transmission, and even the external origin of certain cults, such as that of Mithras, remains open to question.<sup>83</sup> Although spaces like the Palmyrene sanctuary on the via Campana/Portuensis might have served populations who defined themselves by non-Roman origin, these were the exception rather than the rule, and we lack any evidence for where their adherents might have lived. Likewise for the port, although Portus did provide connections with the eastern Mediterranean, the demographic makeup of its population is uncertain, and in any case would not require port workers at Rome—in

<sup>78</sup> Dedications: CIL 6 36772, 36785; epitaphs: CIL 6 38833–5. See Palmer (1981: 381–2).

<sup>79</sup> For critiques of the “Pomerial Rule,” see Ziolkowski (1992: 275–83); Orlin (2002); Satterfield (2012); Goodman (2016a: 322–3); Sisani (2016: 70).

<sup>80</sup> LTUR 1 s.v. “Castor, Aedes, Templum” 242–5 (I. Nielsen); LTUR 3 s.v. “Magna Mater, Aedes” 206–8 (P. Pensabene). See also Bendlin (2000) for the complexity of Roman religious life already in the Republican period, and Moralee (2018: 57–62) for cults on the Capitoline in the Imperial period.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Savage (1940); MacMullen (1993: 62–3); Chioffi (2008a: 251–2); Azzena (2010: 8); Bendlin (2013: 468); Rossi and Di Mento (2013: 152); Bond (2016: 116). Noy (2000b: 151–2) is more skeptical.

<sup>82</sup> Philo *Leg.* 23.155. For the Jewish community in the Transtiberim (certainly not the only such in Rome) see Rossi and Di Mento (2013).

<sup>83</sup> See discussion in Beard, North, and Price (1998: 245–9); Price (2000: 290–93); Orlin (2002: 2–4); Cameron (2011: 142); Boin (2013: 34–7); Alvar (2017: 27–36); Rüpke (2018: 360–63).

the Transtiberim or any other of the capital's (many) port neighborhoods—to have had the same background.<sup>84</sup> Surely the suburb across the Tiber housed a diverse group of inhabitants, but there is no reason to separate it ethnically from the rest of a cosmopolitan imperial capital.<sup>85</sup> Rather than indicating demographics, the cults here are better markers of the period in which the area grew and urbanized, with gods represented across the city in the first, second, and third centuries appearing also in the Transtiberim, closely intertwined with other development.

The introduction of the Aurelian Wall in the 270s CE brought dramatic changes to the suburb across the Tiber. The new fortification enclosed the most densely developed area from the curve of the river to the mills at the peak of the Janiculum, but excluded much of the urban zone along the via Campana/Portuensis and the slopes of Monte Verde, along with the entirety of the Vatican (see Fig. 3.15). The Aurelian Wall created, for the first time in centuries, an unmistakable divide between center and suburb, and Hendrik Dey has argued that it caused a corresponding shift of urban life away from extramural districts and into the fortified center.<sup>86</sup> Lanciani's excavations in the Transtiberim provide some support. Working just north of the area where the wall's northern tract met the river, he uncovered the remains of Trajanic warehouses, at least one of which was dedicated to the storage of wine.<sup>87</sup> He noted that both the warehouses and the luxurious Augustan-period *domus* under the Villa Farnesina to the north showed no signs of reconstruction at any point following their original establishment; he concluded, therefore, that they had been abandoned with the erection of the Aurelian Wall and the space they occupied given over to agriculture.<sup>88</sup> He contrasted these exterior structures with buildings constructed at a higher elevation immediately inside the walls, which he interpreted as residences erected at the end of the third century, with evidence for later reconstruction.<sup>89</sup> Given that the defensive functioning of the wall required a clear exterior perimeter, Lanciani's conclusion is reasonable, but archaeological indications of intramural urbanization and extramural ruralization are scarce.<sup>90</sup> Interventions of the fifth and sixth centuries lowered the ground level outside much of the wall's course, quite literally erasing the history of the

<sup>84</sup> For Portus, see Prowse et al. (2007); for ports at Rome, Malmberg (2015).

<sup>85</sup> See Moatti (2013: 87–92). <sup>86</sup> Dey (2011: 169–85).

<sup>87</sup> A recovered inscription identified the complex as the *Cellae Vinariae Novae et Arruntianae*; see LTUR 1 s.v. “*Cellae Vinariae Nova et Arruntiana*” 259 (E. Rodríguez Almeida).

<sup>88</sup> See Lanciani (1880: 127–9); Dey (2011: 172–3). <sup>89</sup> Lanciani (1880: 127–8).

<sup>90</sup> Dey's other support is less convincing than Lanciani's work in the Transtiberim (Dey 2011: 170–74). New aristocratic houses on the Esquiline in the later 3rd c. do not necessarily indicate urbanization, since the earlier presence of *horti* here did not preclude urban development. Given that gardens were common both inside and outside the center in earlier centuries, furthermore, a 6th-c. epitaph that mentions a garden outside the Porta Portuensis cannot represent ruralization beyond the wall (CIL 6 8401). More interesting is the idea that villas within the first mile of the wall were abandoned in the 3rd and 4th c. while those further from the city flourished, but the evidence is still limited and requires additional attention, particularly considering the abandonment of suburban residences in many Italian cities during this period.

later third and fourth centuries in what had become Rome's immediate suburbs.<sup>91</sup> This erasure makes unrecoverable the original width of the zone cleared; it also obscures any development that might have occurred—licit or otherwise—just outside the wall.

Additional evidence for the Aurelian Wall's impact on the Transtiberim comes from the late third-century overhaul of Rome's earlier transportation systems. Dey has argued convincingly that many of the changes resulted directly from the introduction of the new fortification, and they suggest various alterations to the paths of movement that united the city. Most relevant to the suburb across the Tiber, the Pons Neronianus was destroyed and its traffic rerouted to the more easily defensible Pons Aelius; the destruction brought with it a reorganization of the highway network in the Vatican plain that concentrated traffic around the Mausoleum of Hadrian.<sup>92</sup> To the south, all crossings were now enclosed within the wall at the Tiber's curve.<sup>93</sup> The evidence is circumstantial, but does give some sense that the massive Transtiberim suburb, once spread along a dispersed road network that allowed easy communication with the core of the city on the left bank of the Tiber, began in the later third century to retreat into the new fortifications.

Even as the formerly expansive Transtiberim suburb concentrated within the redefined space of the city center, however, not all extramural religious spaces disappeared. A sanctuary dedicated the Phrygian goddess Magna Mater and her consort (or son) Attis, located on the Vatican plain, survived and even thrived through the fourth century CE. The sanctuary was the site of rites that allowed elites to continue time-honored practices in displaying both wealth and piety; it also functioned as the terminating point of processions that tied together urban space and the civic community. These roles retained their significance for a rapidly shrinking group of adherents to traditional religion, who continued to invest in the site even after the erection of the Aurelian Wall. No remains of related buildings or precincts have been recovered, but more than a dozen altars commemorating initiations carried out in the fourth century are known from the area of Piazza San Pietro, suggesting that all had been set up together somewhere near the via Triumphalis to the north of the Circus of Gaius and Nero.<sup>94</sup> The Regionary Catalogs support the idea of a sanctuary in this location, listing a *Phrygianum* in

<sup>91</sup> Coates-Stephens (2004: 89–103); Dey (2011: 166–7). <sup>92</sup> Ibid. 174–9.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. 180–85.

<sup>94</sup> CIL 6 497–503 and IG 126 represent the core group recovered in 1609; related altars found nearby include CIL 6 488, 504, 512; IG 127, 130. Anepigraphic examples, sometimes with iconography linking them to the cult of Magna Mater and Attis, also have been found in the zone. The inscriptions are catalogued (together with similar examples from Rome without precise provenance) in Duthoy (1969: 14–24). See also McLynn (1996: 320–29); Tomei (1998: 36); Liverani (1999: 28–32; 2008); Pensabene (2010). A circular building of the 3rd c. has been identified as part of the sanctuary, but more likely represents a monumental tomb (Biering and von Hesberg 1987; Liverani 2006: 506, n. 27; 2016: 23–24; Coarelli 2009).

the Vatican.<sup>95</sup> These chief pieces of evidence all come from the fourth century, but the sanctuary might have originated in the second century or even earlier.<sup>96</sup> An inscription from Lyon, dated to 160 CE, referred to the local sanctuary of Magna Mater as the *Vaticanum*, suggesting a deliberate parallel with the Roman cult in the Transtiberim suburb, while a funerary altar of the second or early third century from Ostia commemorated a certain Lucius Valerius Fyrmus as a priest of the *Mater Deum Transtiberina*, possibly a reference to the cult at Rome.<sup>97</sup>

The location of the Vatican Magna Mater sanctuary has factored into past interpretations of the rites celebrated here. A common idea is that the suburban cult was a wilder and more ecstatic partner to the tamed goddess who had been worshipped on the Palatine since the early second century BCE, with the original sanctuary emphasizing Magna Mater's communal and national identity as a mother of the Roman people, and the later addition on the Vatican indulging her role as a savior of individuals through initiation and foreign ritual.<sup>98</sup> The idea emerges from the recovered altars, all of which commemorated celebrations of the *taurobolium*, a rite unattested on the Palatine and which Christian sources described as a baptism of blood that was equal parts repulsive and ridiculous.<sup>99</sup> As others have pointed out, however, the Christian authors are entirely untrustworthy on the content of the rite, which is best reconstructed as a traditional bull sacrifice, an act revolutionary only in that it was performed on behalf of an individual rather than the state as a whole.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, we should not overlook the chronological distance between the evidence for the *Ludi Megalenses*, the chief festival celebrated at Magna Mater's Palatine sanctuary, which is attested primarily by literary sources of the Late Republican and early Imperial periods, and the significantly later altars from the Vatican.<sup>101</sup> Given the separation, discrepancies in practice are more likely due to changes through time than to fundamental differences in the nature of the cult at each location. The altars themselves further suggest that the seemingly exotic aspects of the *taurobolium* have obscured continuities with previous rites. Although the bull sacrifice was performed privately, initiates advertised their interaction with the gods in the public fashion common

<sup>95</sup> Note that a constructed foreignness featured in many cults of the Imperial period, but does not indicate that the rites were actually foreign in origin. See discussion in Gordon (2017: 417–20); Quack and Witschel (2017: 4–6).

<sup>96</sup> The sanctuary might even have been founded along with the Circus of Gaius and Nero, although no evidence provides clear support (for the idea, see D'Alessio 2008: 384–8; Pensabene 2010; Gee 2011/2012: 68–9).

<sup>97</sup> Lyon: CIL 13 1751; Ostia: CIL 14 429. Alternately, the altar from Ostia might recall a shrine at Portus (see discussion in Liverani 1999: 29–30), or I would propose, in Ostia's own transtiberim suburb (for recent work in the area, see Germoni et al. 2018b). A 3rd-c. inscription from Mainz-Kastel that recalls a local shrine of Virtus Bellona on the "Monte Vaticanum" often is drawn into this discussion as well, given the association of Magna Mater and Bellona in the Campus of Magna Mater at Ostia (CIL 13 7281, dated to 236 CE).

<sup>98</sup> Liverani (2008: 42); Pensabene (2010).

<sup>99</sup> See esp. Prudent. *Perist.* 10.1011–50.

<sup>100</sup> McLynn (1996); Cameron (2011: 159–63); Dubosson-Sbriglione (2018: 392–402).

<sup>101</sup> For the *Ludi Megalenses*, see *ibid.* 76–84.

for Roman elites since the Republican period; each altar preserved a full *cursus honorum*, listing all of the dedicator's public offices along with their priest-hoods in traditional as well as "foreign" cults.<sup>102</sup> The *taurobolium* provided an excellent opportunity for elite display; the practice was expensive and showy, and for the contracting circle of wealthy Romans who adhered to traditional religious practices, it made a fitting way to communicate their allegiances and priorities.

Rather than representing separate facets of Magna Mater—civilized and communal in the center versus untamed and individualized in the suburb—the duplication of spaces for the goddess at Rome better expresses her cult's role in uniting the urban space of the city through a series of elaborate processions. The Imperial period was a time when many favored gods received multiple cult sites across Rome—we might think, for example, of the shrines to Isis on the Capitoline, the Oppian, and in the Campus Martius (among other locations)—and indeed the Palatine and Vatican sanctuaries were not the only spaces in the capital dedicated to Magna Mater.<sup>103</sup> Additional sites of her cult appeared in the early and mid-Imperial periods, including a shrine near the Circus Maximus, another on the via Sacra, and at least two in the suburbs, one in the Emporium and a second further south at the confluence of the Almo and the Tiber.<sup>104</sup> Also linked to the goddess were as many as eight known organizations of priests, the best-attested of which, the *dendrophori* ("tree-carriers"), had its headquarters at the Basilica Hilariana on the Caelian; a related organization, the *cannophori* ("reed-carriers") had a corresponding seat that might have been located near the shrine at the Almo.<sup>105</sup>

The various spaces dedicated to Magna Mater extended the goddess's sacred landscape across the city, a situation that surely was not accidental. Her cult prioritized ritual movement, with annual festivals that travelled between her shrines to recall key events in her mythology, such as her arrival to Rome, her discovery of Attis on the banks of the River Gallos, and the funeral of Attis.<sup>106</sup> Already by the Augustan period these processions moved between center and suburb with a rite called the *Lavatio*, in which Magna Mater's sacred stone was carried from the

<sup>102</sup> Cameron (2011: 144–53).

<sup>103</sup> LTUR 3 s.v. "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis" 107–9 (F. Coarelli); "Iseum Metellinum (Reg. III)" 110–12 (M. de Vos); "Isis Capitolina" 112–13 (F. Coarelli); see also Muzzioli (2008: 50).

<sup>104</sup> See D'Alessio (2008: 388–90); Pensabene (2008: 29–30); Iara (2015: 126–7). The Almo has disappeared completely under the modern city, but the confluence was near the "Gazometro" in the Ostiense neighborhood, just upriver from the Ponte della Scienza.

<sup>105</sup> For the Basilica Hilariana, see Bollmann (19979: 216); Pavolini and Palazzo (2013); LTUR 1 s.v. "Basilica Hilariana" 175–6 (C. Pavolini). For the seat of the *cannophori*, see Pensabene (2008: 29); Iara (2015: 126). On these and other associations connected to the cult of Magna Mater, see Dubosson-Sbriglione (2018: 293–7).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 404–5.

Palatine to the Almo and ritually cleansed.<sup>107</sup> Processions devoted to the goddess and her associates multiplied in the Imperial period; additions included the *Canna intrat*, during which the *cannophori* processed from the Almo to the Palatine, and the *Arbor intrat*, a procession of the *dendrophori* from the Caelian to the Palatine.<sup>108</sup> The climax of her celebrations, however, was the *Hilaria*, when images of the goddess and related deities were paraded through the city in a joyous, carnivalesque parade.<sup>109</sup> Although there is little evidence for its precise path, the procession has been reconstructed, reasonably, as having united the Palatine and Vatican sanctuaries, a route that crossed the monumental center of the city and, like the *Lavatio*, connected center and suburb in celebration of the goddess.<sup>110</sup> These celebrations emerged in the early and mid-Imperial periods, but extensive evidence, both artistic and literary, attests to their continuity into the mid- and even late fourth century CE.<sup>111</sup>

The Vatican sanctuary of Magna Mater survived the erection of the Aurelian Wall because it continued to serve the needs of the local community and aligned especially with the priorities of elites who maintained traditional religious practices. The sanctuary not only provided a site for display, but also framed ritual movements that united intramural and extramural spaces dedicated to the goddess, tying the city together in her honor. The Vatican, moreover, was an ideal setting for Magna Mater's cult even following the establishment of the new city wall. The sanctuary stood on the edge of the built-up area. Structures of various types have been recovered alongside the via Triumphalis and on the banks of the river, and Procopius, writing in the sixth century, recalled a stadium—possibly the Circus of Gaius and Nero or the Trajanic Naumachia that was located somewhere north of it—around which the “ancients” had built many kinds of structures.<sup>112</sup> The only finds from the zone where the altars were recovered, however, related either to the circus or to surrounding tombs. The site makes good sense for a cult space of Magna Mater. The circus was the major monument here; although its latest secure use belonged to the age of Nero, the well-known epitaph of Gaius Popillius Heracla, which reproduces a section of his will requesting that he be

<sup>107</sup> Pensabene (2008: 31); Iara (2015: 127); Dubosson-Sbriglione (2018: 106–12); see also MAR s.v. “Magna Mater, Aedes” 163–4 (E. A. Dumser).

<sup>108</sup> The organization of festival days for Magna Mater is preserved in the Codex-Calendar of 354 CE (see Salzman 1990; Pensabene 2008: 30–31). The celebrations probably expanded in two major phases, the first under Claudius and the second under Antoninus Pius, although its precise form in various periods is debated. See Fishwick (1966); D'Alessio (2008: 388); Pensabene (2010); Dubosson-Sbriglione (2018: 112–15).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 100–106.

<sup>110</sup> For the route, see D'Alessio (2008: 388–90); Pensabene (2008: 31; 2010: 15–16). On processions, see Section 6.1.

<sup>111</sup> See esp. Salzman (1990: 83–91); also Latham (2012).

<sup>112</sup> Procop. *Goth.* 6.1.5–6; see Tomei (1998: 29–35); Taylor (2002: 17–18); Liverani (1999; 2013: 25).



buried “in the Vatican, near the circus (*in vatic. ad circum*), shows that it remained a landmark until at least the second century.<sup>113</sup> The association of Magna Mater and circus in the Vatican evoked her temple on the Palatine with its view of the Circus Maximus, itself the location of games in the goddess’s honor beginning in the Republican period.<sup>114</sup> The obelisk that stood at the center of the Vatican circus, furthermore, with its connotations of exoticism, the cosmos, and the east, could have served as its own attraction for the goddess’s cult.<sup>115</sup> The obelisk had a long life; it remained visible even after the circus was covered with a thick fill in the early third century, at which time a massive circular tomb—possibly a monument of the imperial family—was erected alongside it.<sup>116</sup> A pyramid tomb located nearby echoed the obelisk, carrying related messages of life, death, rebirth, and the power of eastern religions.<sup>117</sup> More generally, the many funerary monuments in the area, which began to appear at the end of the first century BCE and continued to develop unabated in the following centuries, further contributed to an atmosphere appropriate to Magna Mater’s worship in the Imperial period, when the cult increasingly focused on the death and resurrection of Attis.<sup>118</sup>

Although it stood on the edge of the city, the Vatican sanctuary of Magna Mater was neither marginal nor hidden. The fourth-century altars make clear that this was the case even after the erection of the Aurelian Wall, since they were meant to communicate with an audience that ranged beyond initiates of the cult.<sup>119</sup> The most likely location of the sanctuary—along the *via Triumphalis* north of the Circus of Gaius and Nero—would have supported this visibility, while the *Pons Aelius* provided close contact with the monumental heart of the *Campus Martius*. The altars indicate, furthermore, the sanctuary’s long life. The latest examples—one dedicated by the pontifex and augur Lucius Ragonius Venustus and another by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, son of the city prefect of the same name—commemorated *taurobolia* held on May 23, 390 CE and so demonstrate the cult’s survival nearly into the fifth century.<sup>120</sup> The date is notable; at the moment Ragonius and Rufius received the rites, the sanctuary of Magna Mater had existed for more than two generations alongside a religious space that would single-handedly define the subsequent character and history of the Vatican:

<sup>113</sup> AE 1945, 136=AE 1949, 196. The epitaph was recovered along with Popilius’s tomb, which had been destroyed for the construction of St. Peter’s in the 4th c. See Liverani and Spinola (2010: 57–60; 43, fig. 2).

<sup>114</sup> Pensabene (2010: 13–16); Gee (2011/2012: 68).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* 64–70.

<sup>116</sup> The tomb eventually was incorporated into St. Peter’s before being demolished in the late 18th c.; see Liverani (1999: 131–4; 2006: 505–8); Bodel (2014: 183).

<sup>117</sup> LTUR MAR s.v. “Sepulcrum: ‘Meta Romuli’” 226 (G. Petruccioli). For monumental tombs in the Vatican, see also Tomei (1998: 25–6); Petacco (2016).

<sup>118</sup> On the changing character of Magna Mater’s worship, see Fishwick (1966); Borgeaud (2004: 92–3); Dubosson-Sbriglione (2018: 112–15).

<sup>119</sup> Cameron (2011: 144–8).

<sup>120</sup> CIL 6 503, 512. The event might have provoked Theodosius’s law restating a longstanding ban on sacrifice in 391 CE; see Cameron (2011: 59–74).

the massive funerary basilica of Saint Peter. Since the beginning of the fourth century, spaces dedicated to the Christian god had occupied Rome in ever-greater numbers, present in the center but utterly commanding the suburb. The expansion of Christian sites provides one more explanation for the maintenance of the Vatican cult of Magna Mater, a final and prominent bastion of traditional religious practices in the midst of the sea change sweeping through the territory outside the Aurelian Wall.

#### 7.4 Conclusion: Continuity and Change in the Christian Suburbs of Rome

The official introduction of Christianity in the early fourth century was a decisive moment in Rome's urban history. Although Christians had lived in the city for centuries, only with the reign of Constantine did their presence take on a monumental aspect, unmistakable in the urban landscape. Much of this monumentalization concentrated in the suburbs, where Constantine and his family members supported the construction of massive basilicas associated with the graves of martyrs, including those dedicated to Saint Peter on the *via Triumphalis*, Saint Paul on the *via Ostiensis*, Saint Laurence on the *via Tiburtina*, Saints Marcellinus and Peter on the *via Labicana*, and Saint Agnes on the *via Nomentana*, as well as the *Basilica Apostolorum* on the *via Appia* (now dedicated to Saint Sebastian), and those belonging to unknown saints on the *via Praenestina* and *via Ardeatina*.<sup>121</sup> Bishops of the mid-fourth century added further structures to the zone outside the wall, such as Julius I's basilicas on the *via Flaminia*, *via Aurelia*, and *via Campana/Portuensis*.<sup>122</sup> Arrayed along the major highways approaching the city, these immense buildings created new nodes of activity. They were undoubtedly funerary—the example excavated on the *via Ardeatina* in 1991 could hold some 1,500 tombs under the pavement alone, with space for thousands of others in the area surrounding the building—but they also accommodated the living.<sup>123</sup> Although funerary basilicas would not host masses until the fifth century, they were equipped with altars and other furnishings for the celebration of the Eucharist already in the fourth century, when they saw services on associated saints' days.<sup>124</sup> By the end of that century, the major basilicas would be surrounded by smaller suburban shrines, all of these spaces acting together with sites

<sup>121</sup> Krautheimer (1980: 18–31) remains an excellent introduction to Constantine's effect on the topography of Rome. See also Curran (2000: 97–114); Dey (2011: 219–21); Fiocchi Nicolai (2016: 627–30).

<sup>122</sup> Palombi (2009: 2012); Fiocchi Nicolai (2016: 628).

<sup>123</sup> For the *via Ardeatina* basilica, see Fiocchi Nicolai et al. (1999: 145–88); Fiocchi Nicolai (2000: 357–60).

<sup>124</sup> Brandt (2009: 86); Fiocchi Nicolai (2016: 630).

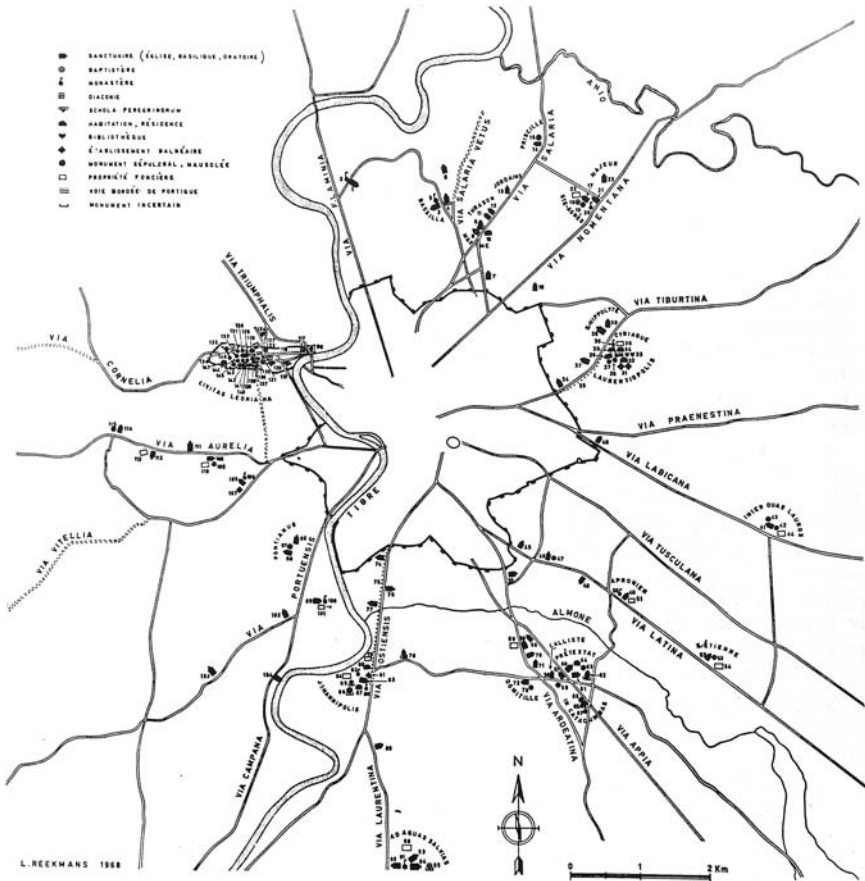


Figure 7.13 Plan of Christian sites in the suburbs of Rome. (After Reekmans 1968.)

in the center to redraw Rome's sacred landscape into a triumphant history of Christianity, the topography of which could not be contained by the Aurelian Wall (Fig. 7.13).<sup>125</sup>

By the early fifth century, all evidence for activity at the Vatican sanctuary of Magna Mater, as well as any other suburban sites dedicated to traditional gods, had disappeared. Nevertheless, religious life continued outside the wall, carried forward by the Christian shrines that now ringed the city. Like the earliest suburban temples at Minturnae, Ostia, and Cosa, these structures announced Rome's piety to arriving visitors, while also defining and protecting the city's territory. The sentiment that the saints interred in the suburb provided Rome's

<sup>125</sup> The greatest explosion of shrines came with the papacy of Damasus (366–84 CE), who sought out and embellished the tombs of martyrs throughout Rome's territory. See Curran (2000: 142–55); Trout (2003); Cameron (2011: 350–51).

true fortification had appeared in Christian literature already in the fourth century, and this theme would remain popular into the Medieval period.<sup>126</sup> Reminiscent of the spring sanctuaries with their resident gods in the countryside around Hispellum, furthermore, suburban basilicas stood above the tombs of apostles, saints, and martyrs, promising worshippers a physical connection that might enable communication with the divine. As for the major sanctuary in Hispellum's northern suburb, moreover, the Christian shrines took advantage of extramural opportunities for connection, communicating inclusivity even as they proclaimed Rome the head of Christian Italy. The city's martyrial basilicas were not only intended to serve Rome's faithful but also welcomed pilgrims from the whole of the Christian world. This idea was expressed most gracefully by the fifth-century poet Prudentius, who described the Roman people pouring out of the city in a stream, joining together with their neighbors from across Italy to worship the martyrs in the suburb. As he put it, *conglobat in cuneum Latios simul ac peregrinos permixtim populos religionis amor*, "the love of religion gathers Latins and foreigners together into one body."<sup>127</sup> Across the centuries and across Italy, religious life connected center and suburb, uniting cities by the ties that bound the people to their gods.

<sup>126</sup> Gauthier (1999: 207–9); Curran (2000: 155); Rovetta (2000); Dey (2011: 224).

<sup>127</sup> Prudent. *Perist.* 11.192–214.



# Epilogue

## Life and Death, City and Suburb

### The Transformations of Late Antiquity

By the middle of the sixth century CE, Rome had changed definitively. Beginning in the early fifth century, a series of wars, sieges, plagues, and famines, bolstered by various natural disasters and the continuous, intractable pull of Constantinople and the east, decimated the city's population.<sup>1</sup> In the wake of these blows, a new Rome emerged; the old center fragmented and reformed into a constellation of small settlements, strung along the ancient street network and clustered around time-worn monuments, each surrounded by cultivated land.<sup>2</sup> Aurelian's Wall remained in place, now protecting and ornamenting a city that barely resembled the world power it had cut apart and reconceived centuries before. Undoubtedly, the dramatic effects of these transformations are difficult to overstate. That being said, we should be careful not to focus so much attention on change that we ignore continuities within the upheaval of Late Antiquity. In fact, I believe that one facet of life in this period, long interpreted as a diametric turn in contemporary attitudes and beliefs, instead demonstrates connections with the earlier city. The preceding discussion of Italian suburbs contextualizes the wide-scale movement of burial into the Aurelian Wall at the end of the fifth century, indicating not a radical change, but the maintenance of longstanding practices, shifted to match a new urban topography. If the period did not revolutionize relationships between the living and the dead, however, it did redefine the distinctions between cities and their suburbs. The suburbs that survived the changes of Late Antiquity took on new forms that separated them from what had come before, growing outwards from the shrines located at the tombs of Christianity's chief martyrs.

In the late fifth and especially sixth centuries, interment slowed outside the Aurelian Wall and expanded within it, as tombs arose in isolation or small clusters within the open spaces surrounding nucleated settlements, as well as in and

<sup>1</sup> For various population estimates before and after the 5th c., see Coates-Stephens (1996); Purcell (1999: 137–50); Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (2004: 21–4); Goodson (2010: 47, 54); Dey (2011: 196, n. 119); Lo Cascio (2013); all with further bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (1993; 2004); Coates-Stephens (1996); Costambeys (2001: 174–5); Dey (2011: 196–8); Moralee (2018: 70–73).



around intramural churches.<sup>3</sup> By the seventh century, intramural burial was the norm not only at Rome but also in the other cities of Italy and across western Europe, a standard that would remain in place until the eighteenth century and that appears, at least at first glance, profoundly opposed to earlier Roman practice. Current approaches to the issue, even sensitive treatments that note some intermingling of spaces for the living and the dead in earlier periods, present intramural tombs as a definitive break with the past, among the clearest signs of Classical Antiquity's end and the emergence of the Medieval period.<sup>4</sup> The most common explanations identify two factors as the primary movers in an ostensible reversal in mentality: first, a growing comfort with the presence of the dead due to the veneration of martyrs' relics, and second, the challenges of urban life in late antiquity, which are thought to have made simple and cheap inhumation within the wall particularly expedient.<sup>5</sup>

There can be no doubt that the rise of Christianity and other transformations of Late Antiquity brought new ways of thinking, but in relationships between the living and the dead, I see continuity as a stronger force than change. In Rome at least, the small but growing body of evidence for intramural interment from the creation of the Aurelian Wall, together with the far longer tradition of urban life among suburban tombs, indicate that intramural burial did not require a fundamental shift in attitudes. The phenomenon is better linked to Rome's changing topography and demography. For centuries, the dead had occupied the (increasingly limited) areas left available by urban development in the suburbs, or after the construction of the Aurelian Wall, even within the newly enclosed center. The crucial change of Late Antiquity, therefore, was not in sentiments towards life and death, but in the city's physical form. For the first time in its history, Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries was shrinking rather than growing, and suddenly had more than enough room inside its wall to accommodate both the living and the dead.<sup>6</sup> In the same centuries, extramural gave way to intramural interment, a change that should come as little surprise. As the city contracted and broke apart, residents of the small, nucleated settlements within the walls chose to bury their

<sup>3</sup> Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (2004: 115–25) (an update of Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 1993) remains the best catalog of the evidence; a second update including excavations of the past 15 years would be welcome.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (1993: 108–9); Cantino Wataghin and Lambert (1998: 89); Fiocchi Nicolai (2003: 950–51; 2016: 627); Galletti (2018: 49); also AAR 1 s.v. "The Necropoleis" 101–7 (D. Manacorda). Purcell (1987a: 41) had argued against this interpretation already three decades ago, but it remains tenacious.

<sup>5</sup> For these arguments, see esp. Fasola and Fiocchi Nicolai (1989); Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (1993; 2004); Cantino Wataghin (1999: 155–7); Fiocchi Nicolai (2003: 933–54); Meneghini (2013); Rutgers (2013: 503–6); Galletti (2018).

<sup>6</sup> Roman law also shows continuity through this period; the old ban on interment *in urbe*—established already in the Twelve Tables—technically remained in effect, being lifted only in the 9th c., many generations after intramural burial had become the norm. The situation suggests that the placement of the dead remained a subject of little concern to the imperial authorities (see Cantino Wataghin 1999: 156).

dead in convenient locations near their homes rather than undertaking journeys into the extramural zone. The resulting situation appears quite different from what had come before, but the decisions that guided it—availability of land, perhaps family or community traditions as well as countless other personal motivations—share more similarities with than differences from earlier practice.

A greater change of this period came with the form of suburbs. The fifth and sixth centuries saw the development of a new urbanism at Rome, which included a new type of development outside the wall, focused around the funerary basilicas dedicated to Saints Peter, Paul, and Laurence. Beginning in the fifth century, as the extramural basilicas began to host regular Sunday services, the popes embellished these sites with growing suites of secondary churches, shrines, monasteries, residences, inns, baths, shops, hostels, and hospices—amenities designed to benefit pilgrims but which also required permanent inhabitants, both clergy and laymen.<sup>7</sup> The basilicas, therefore, became nodes that attracted clusters of semi-autonomous urban activity, neighborhoods that echoed the nucleated settlements of the city center and stretched Rome's urban network beyond its wall. Emphasizing the new suburbs' connection to the patchwork of the city center were colonnaded highways that led to each sanctuary, spaces that housed shops and services for pilgrims and locals alike.<sup>8</sup> These colonnades became ever busier as the network of postern gates that had once opened for even minor roads through the Aurelian Wall disappeared in the fifth century, rerouting traffic to the major highways and the developing suburbs that stood alongside them.<sup>9</sup>

Notably, this new form of suburb was not unique to Rome. Among other known cases, one of the best-documented comes from Nola in Campania, where a martyr's shrine rose over the grave of Saint Felix in the early fourth century.<sup>10</sup> The shrine, located in the modern Cimitile district around half a kilometer from the ancient city center, stood in an area that had been dominated since the early Imperial period by tombs and scattered residences, but its introduction ushered in a phase of intensive urbanization.<sup>11</sup> By the end of the fourth century, the earlier shrine had been monumentalized with a funerary basilica reminiscent of those in Rome, and the sanctuary would truly thrive in the fifth century.<sup>12</sup> Recent work at the site has explored the elaborate new basilica and baptistry added at that time,

<sup>7</sup> For urban development around Rome's funerary basilicas, see Reekmans (1968; 1989: 909–14); Krautheimer (1980: 80–82); Fasola and Fiocchi Nicolai (1989: 1195–8); Cantino Wataghin (1999: 153–4); Curran (2000: 298–311); Pani Ermini (2000: 19–24); Costambeys (2001: 174); Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (2004: 217–21); Brandt (2009: 87–90); Dey (2011: 222); Liverani (2013).

<sup>8</sup> Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (2004: 217); Brandt (2009: 9); Liverani (2013: 31). These colonnades might have existed already in the 4th c.; see Dey (2011: 222, n. 57; 2014: 71–3).

<sup>9</sup> Dey (2011: 194–5, 199).

<sup>10</sup> See Lehmann (2004); Ebanista (2003; 2007); Trout (2008); Yasin (2015), all with additional bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> For the area prior to the introduction of the shrine, see Ebanista (2003: 58–63, 81–2).

<sup>12</sup> Lehmann (2004: 47–51).

as well as the porticoes, gardens, hospices, dormitories, and residences that surrounded them.<sup>13</sup> The shrine had such a strong pull that within a century Nola had developed two centers of gravity, one in the old Roman town and a second at the martyr's tomb. By the ninth century, the old town had faded, and "Cimiterium," a name with clear echoes of the earlier character of the neighborhood, could be used as a synonym for Nola.<sup>14</sup> The situation at Mediolanum, Italy's primary seat of government from 286 to 402 CE, mirrors Rome even more closely. The city received a new and expanded fortification wall in the late third or early fourth century, which cut through its earlier suburbs and definitively changed their structure, enclosing some and excluding others.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, new suburban enclaves developed outside the wall, drawn—as at Rome and Nola—to extramural funerary basilicas.<sup>16</sup> One such basilica, located south of the city center, was connected to Mediolanum's primary gate by a monumental, two-story colonnaded highway, recreating the contemporaneous colonnades at Rome.<sup>17</sup>

By the eighth century, the relics of Rome's martyrs had begun to move from their resting places outside the wall and into urban churches. With them went much suburban activity, but the basilicas of Saints Peter, Paul, and Laurence retained their relics, and with them their status among the holiest sites in the Christian world. They also remained at the heart of dense suburbs, even in the face of increasing instability in the territory surrounding the city. In 846, a Saracen raid sacked the suburbs at Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's; in response, Pope Leo IV built a new wall circuit that extended from the fortifications at the river to enclose the former.<sup>18</sup> Saint Paul's was walled a generation later, with Saint Laurence's following much later, in the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup> These former suburbs were now incorporated into the walled Medieval city, a space that differed drastically from that in the time of the first emperors. By the twelfth century, the gravitational pull of Saint Peter's, along with the loss of water management infrastructure, had drawn most settlement to the curve of the Tiber in the Campus Martius and the fortified area of the *Transtiberim*.<sup>20</sup> Beyond this zone was the "disabitatio," cultivated land inside the wall that was spotted with churches, shrines, and the decaying monuments of the city's past. Nevertheless, even the Medieval period did not mark the end of all life beyond Rome's fortifications. In addition to cultivated land beyond the wall, excavation and survey projects have revealed a growing

<sup>13</sup> Ebanista (2003: 82–4); Lehmann (2004: 121–34); Trout (2008: 63–7).

<sup>14</sup> Ebanista (2003: 49). <sup>15</sup> Ceresa Mori (1993); Dey (2011: 127–8).

<sup>16</sup> Augusta Praetoria also developed new suburbs around Christian shrines in Late Antiquity; see Mollo Mezzena (2000: 171–5).

<sup>17</sup> Fasola and Flocchi Nicolai (1989: 1195–1205); Caporusso and Colombi (1992/1993: 127) Trout (2008: 62); Dey (2014: 73–4).

<sup>18</sup> Gibson and Ward-Perkins (1979: 31–7); Coates-Stephens (1998: 168); Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (2004: 55–65); Dey (2011: 271). See also Goodson (2010: 38–40) for Muslims in early Medieval Italy.

<sup>19</sup> Pani Ermini (2000: 21–2).

<sup>20</sup> Krautheimer (1980: 161–202); Hubert (1990: 74–96).

number of mills, shops, and workshops that continued to function along the highways leading to Rome, along with clusters of more or less formal habitation spread throughout the city's territory.<sup>21</sup> None of this development can be considered suburban in the earlier sense—the available data suggest small and dispersed structures with low density, little diversity, and only minor ties to Rome itself—but the sites attest to continuing life outside the Aurelian Wall, within a landscape that had changed, but was no less complex than when Rome was at her height.

This seems, therefore, the proper place to end my narrative. The transformations of Late Antiquity marked a definitive shift in the history of Rome's suburbs, not because Romans suddenly stopped fearing the dead—no evidence suggests that any such fear ever had affected urban development—but because the period's radical changes to the city's topography and demography swept up the dead as well as the living. My chief goal in undertaking this project was to define Roman suburbs—that is, to discover their character as distinct parts of ancient cities. In Late Antiquity, that definition changed. From parts of cities that incorporated tombs, suburbs became urban enclaves outside the wall, populated with activities in the service of Christian shrines, and by the Medieval period even those zones had been incorporated into Rome's fortifications.

Through all of these phases of history, the dead remained present in urban life. This is the fundamental observation on which any definition of Roman suburbs relies, but I do not intend for it to be the final word on the subject. Instead, I hope that this work might serve as an entry for future exploration, both within and outside the Italian Peninsula. Evidence for suburbs can be found across the Roman world, and continuing research will be essential to refining and expanding the picture I have begun here. Likewise, I wish to encourage others to bridge the chasm that has long divided urban and funerary studies. Residents of Roman cities included both the dead and the living, who formed a community that stretched across generations and tied together past, present, and future. In the cities of Imperial Italy, enfolded into thoroughly urban neighborhoods, funerary monuments were in no way separate from the activities that surrounded them. Like faded graffiti scribbled on a convenient wall, tombs echo the relationships that once animated urban space, preserving the bonds that united the living and the dead across cities and their suburbs.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. the Medieval evidence that has emerged from Lucrezia Spera's work on the *via Appia* (Spera 1999: UT 79, UT 80–B2, UT 270, UT 400); also Di Gennaro and Griesbach (2003) and Bodel (2014: 185) for the new settlements that arose in the ruins of former luxury villas.



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