Suburban Space and the City of Rome:

Liminality, Fluidity and Differentiation

By:

Henry Strangford Scherck

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ABSTRACT: The suburbs of the ancient Rome are a geographical area which is difficult to define, but a space which is filled with interactions between social classes which differ from those which exist within the urban space of Rome. Conceptualizing the suburbs as a space which is utilized for spectacle and as a means of exerting physical influence outside of the city of Rome, serving as a space which operates as a blank canvas as opposed to Rome as a palimpsest, this research surveys the Sallustian Gardens, the Tomb of Eurysaces the Baker and the Villa of Hadrian. Using research on modern spatial theory and examples from the modern suburbs, this research concludes that Roman suburbs modified interactions such that they increased the salience of social class while simultaneously allowing for those of all classes to leave a mark on the landscape.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

Suburban Space, Ancient and Modern

The suburbs are, and have been, somewhat of an enigma. Occupying space which is neither urban nor rural, they present a challenge for those who seek to study them. In modern times, suburbs sprawl for millions of square miles across the countryside, occupying vast swaths of land which are largely composed of residential structures and infrastructure. They often do not have definable boundaries, nuclei or even characteristics.

In more recent years, suburbs, especially those in North America, have both proliferated and come under scrutiny. Following World War II, the demand for cheap housing increased the need for rapid construction, which drove expansion into the areas surrounding cities. This push for expansion created the vast network of suburban development which is present across the planet today.

However, modern suburbs have been criticized as being unsustainable. The vast networks of roads, sewers, pipelines and other infrastructure renders them highly impactful on the environment. In contrast to the more efficient use of space present in cities, suburbs require a greater amount of infrastructure spread over a larger area. This also can cause land that could be used for other, less environmentally impactful purposes, such as agricultural cultivation or forestland, to be used up by development.

Suburbs have also been criticized as being less aesthetically pleasing than their urban counterparts. The hasty and often low quality construction of structures in the suburbs makes for

an often less diverse and more homogenous makeup of buildings, rendering them not only internally similar but also similar to one another.

Despite the controversial nature of their existence, suburbs play an important role in modern life. Fewer and fewer adults with families are seeking to live in cities and more spaces needed to accommodate these individuals. However, the phenomenon of "white flight" has rendered the suburbs more homogenous in terms of race and income level as well. With good public schools, low taxes, and broad efficient highways concentrated in suburban areas to the exclusion of those who cannot afford to live there, the suburbs can also be seen as a racial and wealth-based phenomenon.

Despite the push on the part of the populace to relocate to cities, suburbs continue to expand and proliferate. As older, World War II-era suburbs fall into decay and out of favor with suburbanites, even more land is swallowed up for the purpose of suburban development. Yet, as more land is acquired for development purposes, it becomes increasingly difficult to define and differentiate suburbs from urban and rural space, and from one another. While examining municipal boundaries can sometimes be useful in defining where suburban space ends and begins, this is not always an effective method. More often, suburban space is controlled by the whims of the market and geographical patterns that limit development.

The purpose of this research is to examine the role of suburbs in ancient Rome using the modern literature concerning spatial theory and suburban space in particular. While there have been a multitude of studies of space in ancient Rome, few of them examine the suburbs in particular, and almost none within the context of modern spatial literature.

However, before delving into the examining the suburban space of Rome, we must inquire as to whether suburban space existed in or around the city of Rome. Although the boundaries of modern suburbs are often rather undefined, the vast amount of suburban land renders it rather easy to examine suburban space in the aggregate. However, when it comes to the city of Rome, it is simultaneously easier and more difficult to define suburban space. First, because Rome was walled in at many times in its history, it is fairly easy to demarcate between the city proper and the countryside. However, despite this, the fluidity of the walls themselves makes using them as defining points difficult despite their seemingly fixed nature. The Aurelian Wall, which was begun in 272, often serves as the standard measure of the extent of the ancient city of Rome.[1] The walls of Rome were changed in form and circumference multiple times during Rome's history, making what could be defined as city and suburb rather difficult.

Furthermore, just because there was the presence of walls surrounding the city does not preclude the existence of suburban space around the city. Space which is both inside the walls of Rome and outside of them can be considered to be suburban.

A hallmark of the space which this paper will examine is liminality—this is, its existence is one which cannot be defined purely as urban or that of the countryside. The Latin root of the word, *limen,* can be translated as meaning *boundary*, *threshold*, *beginning* or *ending*, and defines well how suburban space in ancient Rome manifested itself. The places which will be examined in this research are spaces which are not primarily urban in character, but also cannot be wholly divorced from the city itself. It is this type of space which is best aligned with the modern definition of suburban space, and which this paper will examine.

[1] Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, "Muri Aureliani," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford, 1929, 348.

A second question which must be asked prior to delving into the research concerning suburban space is whether this type of space is one which merits study. Although suburban space arguably takes up very little of the ancient literature, ancient geography, and modern studies of ancient Rome, failing to study the suburban space of ancient Rome leaves out a significant and interesting portion of the life of ancient Romans which could be studied. In addition, this paper argues that suburban space is a place in which class and social stratification is more evident than in the city itself.

Because the suburban space is one which is generally less valued than in the city proper itself, there is evidence that the suburbs of Rome allowed both for average citizens to make a greater mark there as well as class differentiations to simultaneously run rampant. Urban space, which was highly structured by class and rank during the Roman Empire, allowed very little room for self-expression of those of the lower classes.

Research Methodology

The research in this paper is primarily done through the examination of monuments and physical spatial structures on the periphery of the city of Rome. The research will examine three case studies on the city's edges, namely, the Tomb of Eurysaces, also known as the Tomb of the Baker, the Gardens of Sallust, and the Villa of Hadrian. Each of these monuments were selected because of their geographic placement—each of them occupies space which can be considered to be closely related to that of the city but not completely separated therefrom. Moreover, each of these locations was also selected due to their unique nature—they each exist on the periphery of Rome and serve a function which is somewhat nuanced or unclear. The Villa of Hadrian represents a unique and unprecedentedly large form of suburban residence, the tomb of Eurysaces is a monument which is striking in its unconventional form and its surprisingly

obscure resident, and the Gardens of Sallust have the unique distinction as serving both as a residence for the imperial family and as a quasi-public space. Each of the monuments are significant not just because they have survived for over two millennia since their construction, but because they are unique among the monumental features of the ancient cities.

None of these locations lack scholarly effort. Therefore, the research presented in this paper will be heavily based off of the inquiries of scholars. However, this paper will examine these structures and locations within a distinctly suburban context. It shall examine the research concerning how scholars have examined similar modern liminal space, taking special consideration towards modern spatial theories and research on suburban environments.

Conclusions

Suburban space in ancient Rome is a study which can be revelatory of social stratification and the demonstration of class. This research will delve into the implications of each of the monuments in suburban space, revealing that the extraneous lands surrounding the city play host to an intriguing set of social dynamics. I argue that Rome's suburban space is place in which social stratification becomes both mingled and aggravated, and that spectacle, and the desire to see and be seen, plays an important role in the human geography of the suburbs. In addition, I argue that the suburbs serve as a clean slate, as opposed to Rome's function as a palimpsest (a tablet which can be cleaned and then re-purposed). This dynamic played out not only for the ruling elite, such as the emperor, but also for the lower classes who sought to leave their own mark on their sphere of influence. In short, the suburbs are a space in which the strict social hierarchy of the city of Rome becomes less clear, and elites and commoners alike struggle for recognition and a sense of belonging. In the pages that follow, I will methodically explore the

three case studies previously identified, using them to highlight the various aspects of life and space in the ancient Roman suburbs.

Chapter 2

The Gardens of Sallust

The Roman garden occupies a unique place in Roman culture. Straddling the boundary between work and pleasure, utility and enjoyment, the Roman garden existed in a space which was both transitional and liminal. Over the course of Roman history, the purpose and use of gardens changed from that of necessity and cultivation to decidedly more public and civic, with a focus on recreation. This chapter will outline the purpose and uses of gardens in Rome, with a focus on their shift in purpose and use over time and their occupation of physical space. Using the example of the Sallustian gardens in Rome, this chapter will focus specifically on how these uses played out in one of the most prominent gardens in Rome. Finally, it will seek to bring the literature of modern urban planning and spatial studies to bear on the study of Roman gardens.

History of Roman Gardens

The Roman garden began as a means of self-support.[2] Until approximately 100 BC, gardens existed solely as a means of the common individual for personal production. With the Roman diet in this time consisting largely of vegetable-based meals, the garden provided a means for the typical household to supply its kitchen with fresh foods which required very little preparation, such as cabbage-type vegetables and herbs. Pliny the Elder highlighted the integral connection between the household and the garden in the republic when he stated "It was immediately concluded by the husbandmen of old that a woman was a poor housewife when the

[2] Lawson, James, "The Roman Garden," *Greece and Rome*, 1950, 98.

kitchen gardens--for this was considered the woman's department—was badly cultivated; for then her sole resource was the meat-dealer or the produce market."[3]

Flowers, notes James Lawson, were rarely part of the typical early Roman garden, at least for ornamentation purposes.[4] Ornamental plants typically only graced a garden for the purposes of use in religious ceremonies, such as dedication on the family shrine.[5] While the use of flowers in small family gardens did become somewhat more prevalent during the empire, the Roman garden's aestheticism lay more in the patterns of shrubs, rocks and water than in the hues of more decorative plants. [6]

In later homes, the peristyle, or the colonnade surrounding the courtyard became an integral part of both the Roman house and its associated garden. The peristyle both placed limitations upon, and framed, the garden of the villa, contextualizing the symmetry in the garden and placing it within a context which was decidedly for pleasure.[7] Often, the garden was additionally framed by paintings of cultivated landscapes, creating a mirage of spaciousness and recreation. [8]

The transition of gardens from small spaces for cultivation for household sustenance took place both in the city and in the suburban villa. By the middle of the first century BC, villa gardens had proliferated on the periphery of Rome; these were later overtaken by the urban structure of the city and some were designated as public spaces.[9] Within the city, the garden during the empire was largely for pleasure, spurring on wealthier residents to replicate their

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[3] Pliny *Natural History* xix. iv. 19, tr. James Lawson.
[4] Lawson, James, "The Roman Garden," *Greece and Rome*, 1950, 98.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Lawson, James, "The Roman Garden," *Greece and Rome*, 1950, 101.
[7] Lawson, James, "The Roman Garden," *Greece and Rome*, 1950, 102.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World*, Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 7.

urban escapes on a larger scale outside the city.[10] The heat of the Mediterranean climate instigated the construction of these garden retreats so as to provide a space in which to escape the heat of the climate.[11]

An important aspect of Roman gardens was the utilization of multiple forms of cultural influences which were utilized in forming the Roman garden in the pinnacle of its form.[12] Especially salient was the influence of Egyptian gardening traditions upon the operations and presentation of Roman gardens during the empire; the gardens, trees, water bodies and terraces were all features which were hallmarks of Egyptian gardens.[13] Roman gardens were even taken so far as to attempt direct imitation of the Nile.[14] In addition, Greek influences such as the portico and colonnade were also utilized heavily in Roman design.[15] Even Persian aesthetics played a role in the shaping of the Roman garden; narrow channels known as *euripes*, characteristic of Persian garden design, were introduced heavily into Roman gardens.[16]

The primary function of the Roman garden was merely for pleasure and recreation.[17] Often connected to villa complexes, gardens provided not only respite from city life, but also from the main villa itself. [18] The garden space could also serve as a canvas upon which to display art, and was also a critical component of the overall architecture of the villa complex. [19] [20]

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[10] Lawson, James, "The Roman Garden," *Greece and Rome*, 1950, 102.
[11] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 7.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 4.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 4.
[18] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 13.
[19] Jashemski, Wilhelmina Feemster, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius, Volume II: Appendices*, New Rochelle: Astride D. Caratzas, 1979, 1.
[20] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 13.

However, it seems that gardens also possessed deeper religious and devotional functions. Certain gods had connections to gardens, particularly Ceres, the goddess of agriculture and Flora, the goddess of flowers.[21] Structures in the gardens typically were dedicated to one or more of these deities; in smaller gardens, shrines might manifest themselves as wall niches.[22] Furthermore grottoes, or small caves, were conceptualized as the habitations of nymphs, divinities of the woodlands and streams.[23]

The gardens in Pompeii and Herculaneum, because of their relatively pristine state of preservation, give us some insight into the structure, layout and plantings in the gardens. However, what is notable about the gardens in these cities is the nature of the connection of these spaces with private life.[24] The activities which took place in the gardens was primarily private and home-oriented, including worship, relaxation and dining.[25] The Sallustian Gardens were, on the other hand, a distinctly public space for much of their existence.

History of the Gardens of Sallust

The gardens of Sallust was one of the largest and most well-renowned gardens in the city of Rome. Its function was that of the gardens of Julius Caesar during the first century BC, and was then known as the Horti Caesaris.[26] After its period as an imperial garden, it was transferred to Sallust, a historian, who transformed it into a massive and elaborate garden space.[27] However, its time as a private garden was relatively short-lived, and it passed back into imperial hands

[21] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 22.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Bowe, Patrick, *Gardens of the Roman World,* Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2004, 22.
[24] Jashemski, Wilhelmina Feemster, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius, Volume II: Appendices*, New Rochelle: Astride D. Caratzas, 1979, 10.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, "Horti Sallustiani," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford, 1929, 271.
[27] Ibid.

around 20 AD.[28] However, instead of remaining an exclusive imperial property, the emperors of Rome maintained the gardens as a public park. Platner and Ashby note that they "seem to have been open to some, if not to the general public." [29] The gardens remained as such until Rome was sacked by the Gauls in the fifth century AD. [30]

The Gardens of Sallust were largely the work of Crispus Gaius Sallustius, or Sallust, as he is more commonly known. Sallust was born near Amiternum in Italy around 86 BC.[31] A historian and an author, we know that Sallust was a close acquaintance of Cicero from an early age.[32] His career was spent as an author and a politician, and was best known for being proconsul of Africa Nova, a position in which he acquired vast amounts of wealth, most likely, like other rulers of Roman outposts, through the excessive extraction of taxes from the local inhabitants.[33]

Much of Sallust's wealth was invested into the beautification of his gardens and associated villa. Once the gardens became imperial property once again, they became the favored leisure spaces of several emperors, and the Emperor Nerva is known to have died in them.[34] Nevertheless, there is evidence that they also served as a public park, although, as noted above, exactly whom the park served is a matter of debate. The gardens contained a temple to Venus Horti Sallustiani and an obelisk, as well as several many artifacts which have been uncovered, for which the gardens are known primarily today.[35] Of these the most famous are the Borghese vase, the statue of the dying Gaul and the Ludovisi Throne; these artifacts are in an exceptional

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[28] Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, "Horti Sallustiani," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford, 1929, 271.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Syme, Ronald, *Sallust*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 283.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, "Horti Sallustiani," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford, 1929, 271.
[35] Richardson, Lawrence, Jr., "Horti Sallustiani," *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1992, 202.

state of preservation and therefore have helped to increase the gardens' consciousness among scholars in recent years.[36]

Role of the Garden in the City of Rome

The Sallustian Gardens occupy suburban space mainly because of their placement within the city of Rome. Located between the Pincian and Quirinal hills, the gardens are situated in a place which is on the fringes of the ancient city of Rome and which was located both inside and outside of the walls of the city.[37] In later times the wall and the northern boundary of the gardens were coterminous, and the eastern side was bounded the Via Salaria Vetus.[38] The landscape of the area of the gardens themselves were constantly in flux; Hartswick notes that "massive building projects transformed the landscape and thereby even the routes that must have been determined by the terrain." [39]

While the gardens are, of course, attributed to Sallust, the pinnacle of the space's beauty came under imperial ownership. Hartswick notes that this was largely because of the great popularity of the use of gardens by elites as a form of spectacle and "self-display." [40] She notes that this was uniquely possible in Rome's suburban space, such as the Sallustian Gardens, and that they served not only to display the individual and his family but also bring separation from city life.[41]

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[36] Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, "Horti Sallustiani," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford, 1929, 272.
[37] Hartswick, Kimberly J. *Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape,* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004, 4.
[38] Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, "Horti Sallustiani," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford, 1929, 272.
[39] Hartswick, Kimberly J. *Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape,* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004, 4.
[40] Hartswick, Kimberly J. *Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape,* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004, 16.
[41] Ibid.

Horti Sallustiani and Public Space

The evidence for the Sallustian Gardens as a public space is sparse; however, it presents an interesting study in the role of display and class relations if it did play host to both imperial family members and Roman city-dwellers. Hartswick's assertion, in this context, would be all the more applicable in this situation, as the proximity of the imperial family to the public would have increased.

If the imperial family did open up the gardens for popular recreation, it is quite likely it was for the reason of the spectacle of doing so. A fascinating study by Mingzheng Shi on late Qing dynasty China outlines a similar phenomenon in the drive to transform former imperial gardens in Beijing into public parks as part of a drive for Westernization.[42] However, the imperial family in Beijing were staunchly opposed to the creation of such parks, precisely because they felt it was an assault on their prerogative and privacy.[43] Given the proclivity of the Roman imperial families for spectacle and grand displays, it is not surprising that this garden would be opened to some extent to the public.

The mingling of classes within the context of the Gardens of Sallust further demonstrates the ability of the suburbs to both bring disparate classes together and categorize them within its bounds. By allowing the public into the park, the differentiation between them was aggravated by the exclusivity of the garden's core facilities.

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[42] Shi, Mingzheng, "From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth Century Beijing," *Modern China*, 1998.
[43] Ibid.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the gardens of Sallust present an interesting case study of the role of the Roman garden and its role in liminal suburban space. While the gardens of Sallust themselves are well preserved, not much is known about their existence in ancient times. Nonetheless, they present an interesting case study for the role of green spaces on the city's boundaries.

First, the placement of the gardens on the city's edge, and its changing place in relation to the rest of the city is evidence of the liminality of the space itself. Unlike the space closer to the city's heart the space on Rome's periphery is much more transitory, and could be changed more easily, yielding a more varying landscape.

Secondly, the role of the Horti Sallustiani as a place of both imperial leisure and recreation for the commoners is indicative of the greater differentiation of classes which took place in the suburban landscape. The gardens of Sallust were indicative of the ways in which the higher classes, including the political elite, could place their mark on both urban and suburban landscapes in a way which the common people could not.

However, given the open nature of the gardens, there is evidence of more mingling of the classes than was practiced in the city's core. Besides the emperor and his associates, the monumental space was open for all of the city's inhabitants to use and enjoy at will. They were not nearly as stratified as they were in places like the Colosseum or in the housing of the city's core.

Chapter 3:

Tomb of Eurysaces

The tomb of Eurysaces the baker stands as a monument to the transitional nature both of the Roman society structure, but also of the geography of the city itself. Standing as one of the largest monuments to a freedman, or former slave, the tomb is a massive and elaborate example of the tombs that dot Rome's periphery. Yet not only is the tomb geographically situated on the periphery of the city, but its status on the liminal boundary of the city changed over time. Incorporated into the Aurelian wall and later made to compose a segment of a tower, the tomb is one of the more curious and extraordinary structures preserved in Rome.

The tomb has a relatively short history in the modern consciousness. Obscured by other structures until 1838, very little is known about its ancient past.[44] The only concrete evidence which he have for the tomb's origins are the inscription on its side, which reads EST HOC MONIMENTVM MARGEI VERGELEI EURISACIS PISTORIS REDEMPTORIS APPARET, or "This is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, baker, contractor, public servant."[45]

The decoration of the tomb is unconventional. A facade with strikingly utilitarian columns and symmetrical circular holes gives the tombs an almost brutalist appearance.

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[44] Parker, John Henry, *Tombs in and Near Rome: Sculpture Among the Greeks and Romans, Mythology in Funereal Sculpture, and in Early Christian Sculpture,* 1877.

[45] Peterson, Lauren Hackworth, "The Baker, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome," *The Art Bulletin,* 2003, Vol. 85, No. 2, 230-257.

The tomb of Eurysaces the Baker presents a unique study in the history of Roman tombs and overall the interaction of suburban and liminal space with the remainder of the city proper. In what follows of this chapter, I will provide an overview of the history of Roman tombs, paying particular attention to the tombs of freedmen and their interaction with, and place among, the tombs of the patricians.

The tomb of Eurysaces the baker is significant to this assessment of ancient suburban space in Rome as it exists in a uniquely liminal space, both geographically and conceptually. Situated near, and eventually within, the walls of Rome, it embodies the spirit of the suburban. However its occupant, Eurysaces, as a former slave, also demonstrates the interaction and mingling of classes which took place in a greater fashion in Rome's suburban environment.

Death in Rome

Death, burial and the afterlife occupy a unique and intriguing place in the Roman ethos. Roman culture could be described as engrossed with death and the afterlife. Death pervaded Roman military culture, with the death of every tenth man being used to enforce the strict Roman policies against desertion, the origin of "decimation." Furthermore, Roman gladiatorial games were a fixture of Roman popular culture, bringing the reality of death close to the people. The honoring of the deceased also loomed large in the Roman consciousness, with massive amounts of wealth dedicated to the preservation of legacy. The experience of death in Rome was heavily stratified by class, arguably amplifying the role of class beyond that of everyday life.

Throughout the spectrum of Roman cultural experience, death maintained a much closer proximity to the common individual than in modern life. Primarily, life expectancy was not only, on average, shorter than that of modern times, but was threatened at every stage by disease. A

recent study of lifespans in Roman Egypt by Walter Scheidel of Stanford University demonstrated that "life was short even by pre-modern standards, and seasonal diseases ravaged people even in the prime of life." [46] While their data reflected some of the regional diseases, such as malaria, that were prevalent in the Nile River valley, many other diseases also permeated throughout the Mediterranean world.[47] Scheidel lists these diseases as dysentery, typhoid, relapsing fever, jaundice, malaria, tuberculosis, smallpox and plague, among others.[48] Small children were especially affected by such diseases, which lead to the high death rate among that population. Yet early death by disease was not limited to the commoners or lower social classes. Fifty-five percent of emperors during the Early Empire died of disease, more than battle deaths, suicides and assassinations combined.[49]

Honing in more closely on the city of Rome itself, there is evidence that mortality was similarly high, especially in younger years and equally attributable to disease. However, because of the bifurcation of the recording and commemoration of death along class lines, it is difficult to obtain an accurate depiction of precisely how long Roman city-dwellers lived.[50] Nonetheless, it is apparent that residents of Rome were not immune to the diseases which ravaged the remainder of the empire, and deaths related to seasonal illnesses were common.[51] Plagues were common in the city of Rome, with major plagues sweeping the city regularly, with some calculations

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[46] Scheidel, Walter, "Age and Health in Roman Egypt," *Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2010, 9.
[47] Scheidel, Walter, "Age and Health in Roman Egypt," *Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2010, 5.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Reteif, F.P. and L. Cilliers, "Causes of Death Among the Caesars, 27 BC to AD 476," *Acta Theologica*, Vol. 26., No. 2, 2006.
[50] Scheidel, Walter, "Disease and Death in the Ancient City of Rome," *Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2009, 5.
[51] Scheidel,Walter, "Disease and Death in the Ancient City of Rome," *Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2009, 4.

estimating once every 4.3 years.[52] Some plagues, such as the "Antonine Plague" of 165 AD, resulted in the death of nearly one-third of the city's population, later resulting in nearly 2,000 deaths per day within the city in a following outbreak.[53]

Determining the causes of Roman deaths and the average lifespans of Romans is a difficult, if not impossible task. However, even the minimal research in this burgeoning field seems to indicate that death in Rome, from diseases and unhealthy conditions was relatively commonplace. While finding the breakdowns of Roman deaths by age and class is impossible at this juncture in the research, evidence indicates that deaths among the young were elevated as compared to today, with the causes of death being largely preventable in modern times. As a result, the average Roman would have been exposed to death at a much greater rate than the average person in the developed world of the modern era.

Yet, death in Rome was not merely limited to the ravages of diseases. Death composed a large portion of the Roman popular culture. Gladiatorial engagements, memorialized down to the present era, pitted the enslaved against one another in battles to the death. Yet, this type of spectacle was unique in multiple capacities—both in its context as a memorialization for the dead and as a spectacle in its own right.

Death was not unfamiliar to the average ancient Roman. Death formulated the essence of one of the most recognizable forms of entertainment in Rome, the gladiatorial combat. "Death of a gladiator was not incidental but often the entertainment's climax" notes scholar Catherine

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[52] Scheidel,Walter, "Disease and Death in the Ancient City of Rome," *Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2009, 4.
[53] Scheidel, Walter "Disease and Death in the Ancient City of Rome," *Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2009, 7.

Edwards in her analysis of Roman death.[54] Death was not only a spectacle in the sense that death itself was a spectacle, but also the ritual that surrounded the internment of the deceased was likewise spectacle. Primarily, gladiatorial battles were spectator sports. The massive arenas—such as the Colosseum, which has become so representative of Rome in modern popular culture, served as the venues for these engagements. Furthermore, gladiatorial battles have been analogized to ritual human sacrifice in modern literature, and their end was undoubtedly the same. But the more mundane implication of these battles was that hundreds of thousands of Roman citizens—commoner and patrician alike—were privy to intimate scenes of death which the common modern individual would be unlikely to witness even once in their lifetime. The gladiatorial games were a demonstration in savagery, it was savagery which was presented to the masses. The upshot of this is that Romans were regularly exposed to scenes of death. However, the spectacle of death as purveyed by the arena brought what Catherine Edwards has deemed mixed emotions, stating that the "essence of the gladiatorial games was not just the fight to the death of two armed men but also the presence of an audience, and the host of complex and contradictory responses felt by that audience." [55] Gladiatorial combat was not only a spectacle, but a complicated interaction which intimately involved both participant and spectator.

Secondly, the games themselves often served as a memorialization of an individual, effectively commemorating a death with more death. Among the aristocratic elites there seems to have been a division in opinions surrounding the games, with many considering it a base and savage practice. [56] However, despite this ambivalence, the hosting of the games was popular

[54] Edwards, Catherine. *Death in Ancient Rome,* New Haven; Yale, 2007.

[55] Edwards, Catherine. *Death in Ancient Rome,* New Haven; Yale, 2007, 47.
[56] Edwards, Catherine. *Death in Ancient Rome,* New Haven; Yale, 2007, 47.

enough among the elites to elicit the regulation thereof; under Augustus, the gladiatorial games were limited to two games per year for the *praetors* (magistrates), and no more than 120 men could participate in these engagements.[57] While these games were often hosted by living aristocrats, they also frequently served as a memorialization of a deceased wealthy citizen. In this capacity the gladiatorial games served not only as a spectacle for the masses, but a complex interaction between the living and the dead within the context of death.

The burial of the dead in ancient Rome followed specific ritual practice and was stratified by class. At its core, Roman views on death were consistent and were characterized by preparation for the afterlife, honoring the deceased, but, perhaps most importantly, providing a sense of spectacle. The size, manner and trappings of a funeral were essential to the gauging of a funeral's grandeur, which provided a lens through which to judge the individual being laid to rest. The freed slaves of the deceased would often provide a train of mourners to accompany the body to the place of inhumation, and therefore both the number of slaves which the wealthy individual owned, as well as the number of them he was able to set free (sometimes all of them, posthumously via his will) was critical to the perceived importance of a funeral ceremony.[58] Dionysius of Halicarnassus states explicitly that these slaves were freed for the purposes of increasing the prestige of the funeral, saying:

> And others owe their freedom to the levity of their masters and to their vain thirst for popularity. I, at any rate, know of some who have allowed all their slaves to be freed after

[57] Edwards, Catherine. *Death in Ancient Rome,* New Haven; Yale, 2007, 47.
[58] Dionysus of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities, Book IV,* 24:49.

> their death, in order that they might be called good men when they were dead and that many people might follow their biers wearing their liberty-caps...[59]

The trappings of the funeral and related procession itself also served as a differentiator of classes and a form of spectacle for the dead. The very vessel which carried the respective bodies of the wealthy or poor deceased would consist of either an ornate couch or a rough-hewn box.[60] The couch, known as a *feretrum*, not only provided a different means of carrying the body, but the number of bearers of the couch also constituted a differentiation for the level of prestige of the deceased. Wealthy individuals may have had as many as eight *feretrum* bearers, while the poor would have had only four individuals to bear their casket.[61]

Apart from the freed slaves and the pallbearers, the spectacle of the funeral procession was replete with members of the deceased's family and hired mourners, actors playing as the ancestors of the dead man and the person himself, proportionate with the prestige of the individual in his lifetime.[62] One of these, known as the *Archimimus*, followed the procession attempting to the actions of the deceased.[63] Individuals would wear wax masks known as *imagines*, attempting to imitate the actions of the deceased and his ancestors in their lifetimes.[64]

Within this understanding of spectacle, the suburban space which surrounded Rome was a place where monuments, constructed with the sole purpose of being observed, rivaled with one

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[59] Dionysus of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities, Book IV,* 24:49.

[60] M. Terrenti Varronus, *De Lingua Latina, Book V,* 35.

[61] Toynbee, J.M.C., *Death and Burial in the Roman World,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996, 46.

[62]Polybius, *The Histories*, Book VI, 53.

[63] Polybius, *The Histories*, Book VI, 53.

[64] Kyle, Donald G. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome,* New York: Routledge, 2012, 128.

another for the gaze of the passerby. We cannot understand the role of tombs and memorials in the ancient suburban landscape without understanding the role which spectacle played in death in ancient Rome. Tombs are an extension of the role of spectacle in death, and their placement and role in the suburb is intricately connected to the concept of spectacle.

Tombs in the Suburban Landscape

Roman tombs were often massive ordeals which attempted to demonstrate the greatness of its occupant during his lifetime. Scholar Janet Huskinson notes that "In Roman culture commemoration of the dead traditionally was one of the key social areas for self-representation.[65] She notes that tombs and sarcophagi provide a means of by which we can assess the "concerns and ideals of those wealthy enough to afford them." [66]

Tombs dotted the landscape of suburban Rome, specifically in the areas outside of the city along corridors such as the Via Appia and near the Aurelian wall. The Via Appia, for its first eight miles, was dominated by private plots of land, many of which were owned by the families of individuals whose tombs resided there.[67] When analyzing tombs in the city of Rome, we must take stock of the space in which the display of tombs occurred. While burial of the dead within the city of Rome was generally not practiced, the changing boundaries of the city caused the physical locations of burial spaces to change over time. With the construction of the Aurelian Wall, many of the former grave sites and tombs which lay outside of the city boundaries became part of the fabric of the city itself.

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[65]Huskinson, Janet, "Reading identity on Roman strigilated sarcophagi," *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 2012, 80

[66] Huskinson, Janet, "Reading identity on Roman strigilated sarcophagi," *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 2012, 80.

[67] Spera, Lucrezia, "The Christianization of Space Along the Via Appia: Changing Landscape in the Suburbs of Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2003, 24.

Analysis of space in this context becomes more difficult. Tombs bear a distinct relation to the boundaries of the city itself in that, traditionally, they are to be located outside the city proper. However, the fluidity of the boundaries of the city itself makes this aspect of tomb location a fluid principle. In addition, tombs embody a unique interaction between the space in which they are situated and the other tombs around them.

Critical to understanding the placement and spatial dimensions of tombs in the suburban landscape of Rome is a comparison to role of gravesites in the modern landscape. Spatial analyses have not been applied to ancient burial spaces, especially burial spaces in ancient Rome and on the Appian Way. In that vein, this chapter shall analyze the placement and function of Roman tomb sites, particularly that of Eurysaces the baker with that of modern cemeteries and burial practices, with particular attention to the scholarly interpretation thereof.

Much of the analysis of tombs in ancient Rome is executed on an individual basis, but an assessment of the tombs in the aggregate is necessary. The placement of tombs in ancient Rome was fundamentally different than that of modern cemeteries, and their interaction with suburban space varies from the modern sense. Modern cemeteries often occupy liminal or transitional space, as they did in Rome. Historically, especially in the United States, cemeteries were located outside of the city limits. In earlier times, especially in Europe, the dead were typically buried in churchyards, with the most preferential locations being that inside the church itself. Besides this distinction, graves were relatively egalitarian. While specific locations within the churchyard took on specific connotations, generally relative in proximity to the church structure, the space itself was generally not one meant for spectacle or observation. This was somewhat limited by the physical constraints of grave-marker fabrication, yet, traditional graveyards in Europe and the United States until eighteenth century were relatively modest affairs.

As churchyards and cemeteries began to become crowded and urban space became more limited, the placement of graveyards began to become a much more suburban phenomenon. Cemeteries began to become disassociated with church structures and were placed on a city's exterior boundaries. While many of these cemeteries have become engulfed or encroached upon by urban growth, they can be useful for determining the former limits of urban space.[68]

As a consequence of improving technology, increased space, and a drive for more permanent memorialization, cemeteries began to be filled with larger, more complex and more ostentatious monuments. As such, cemeteries began to be transformed into places of not nearly as significant religious value, but of spectacle, memorial, and, importantly, public accommodation. Cemeteries became park-like in style, and featured broad avenues and tree-lined corridors. They became a distinctly more public feature, and one that served as means by which one could make a permanent and ostentatious memorial.

Roman tombs themselves have their origin in Etruscan memorialization practices. The typical elite Etruscan tomb was in the tumulus style and was both massive in size and representational in display. The structural components of the Etruscan tumulus have been postulated to have deeper theoretical underpinnings connected to the role of the tomb as the transitional space between the living and the dead.[69] The massive structure itself seems to demarcate that transition, with the long corridor leading to the burial chamber, known as the *dromos*, signaling the distance between the realms of the living and the dead.[70] Vedia Izzet, in her analysis of Etruscan tombs in her work *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, states that "the

[68] Taylor, Troy, *Beyond the Grave*, Whitechapel, 2000.
[69] Rice, Katherine E., "Memorial Spaces in Early Imperial Rome," UNC Chapel Hill, 2010, 18.
[70] Rice, Katherine E., "Memorial Spaces in Early Imperial Rome," UNC Chapel Hill, 2010, 19.

outer surface of tombs became critical in articulating the desire to express the difference between the living and the dead in an even more visually striking manner." [71]

Some scholars have postulated that the role of the tomb's exterior in Etruscan burial place design was more heavily focused on the remembrance of the deceased than making any statement concerning the symbolic nature of the burial space, especially during the later Etruscan period. Particularly, it seems that the Etruscan tombs progressed over time from a space equally focused on the interior and exterior decorative schemes to that which centered more specifically on the interior itself. [72]

The tomb of Eurysaces itself was a massive and irregular affair. Its shape was trapezoidal, a unique shape among Roman tombs. [73] The structure of the tomb was formulated by columnar pilasters which are strikingly simple in design and devoid of decoration. The construction of the structure is concrete faced with travertine. However, the most curious aspect of the tomb is the series of circular holes which cover the entirety of the monument's façade. [74] Richardson notes that these have typically been interpreted as representations of bakers' ovens, although this interpretation may be of dubious credibility.[75] Richardson states that "there is really no good reason for this, and such an interpretation cannot be defended." [76] He describes it as "more likely an exploration of pure geometric forms." [77] Nonetheless, even if these orifices are open to interpretation the majority of the tomb's decoration is representative of the baker's

[71] Izzet, Vidia, The Archaeology of Etruscan Society, Cambridge: Cambridge, 2007, 89.
[72] Izzet, Vidia, The Archaeology of Etruscan Society, Cambridge: Cambridge, 2007, 89.
[73] Richardson, Lawerence, Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1992, 355.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

profession. Specifically, the frieze around the upper portion of the tomb portrays explicitly the baking and distribution process for bread. [78] The frieze specifically portrays baking, weighing and delivery of bread and Eurysaces and his wife Antistia are displayed in a prominent, exalted position on the tomb's east front. [79]

The tomb itself was built along the Via Labicana, and was later incorporated into the Aurelian Wall at its construction.[80] The structure of the tomb was encompassed by the structure of one of the wall's towers and was not revealed until 1838. [81] However, a large portion of the tomb has been lost due to the wall's construction and subsequent destruction.

What we can glean from the tomb of Eurysaces is the class divides which played out in suburban space. The tomb of Eurysaces is relatively unique in its design, specifically, and likely intentionally, non-traditional. The tomb displays prominently both the employment of its owner, Eurysaces, as a baker, while simultaneously flaunting the great wealth requisite to its construction. As a former slave and a person of Greek descent, Eurysaces seems to have derived some motivation to construct the lavish tomb as an indicator of his acquired wealth.[82] In addition, it has been postulated that his status as a freedman may have influenced Eurysaces' tastes in constructing the tomb. [83] However, with such little information concerning both the construction of the tomb, the motivations of its owner and the origins of its unconventional

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Petersen, Lauren Hackworth, "The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome," *The Art Bulletin*, 2003, 230.

[83] Petersen, Lauren Hackworth, "The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome," *The Art Bulletin*, 2003, 230.

architecture it is difficult to postulate concerning much regarding the tomb itself. In order to assess completely the tomb of Eurysaces, we must do so within the context of other monumental tombs within the suburban space of Rome.

The largest necropolis of the city of Rome lay in the suburban space outside the Aurelian walls and was awash in tombs, many of which are now in ruins. These tombs represent the final monuments to many of Rome's most elite citizens, and as such, many of these tombs have been well studied. Examples of such tombs are represented by that of the tomb of Priscilla, wife of Titus Flavius Abascanto, a freedman of the emperor Domitian.[84] This particular tomb was massive and bore resemblance to a modern silo, with a tall domed tower dominating the structure, an edifice which was later used as a fortification.[85] However, the tomb originally bore much more light decoration on its exterior. Emphasizing Priscilla's "transition" to the divine, it boasted statues of its occupant in the forms of Ceres, Diana and Maia.[86] The importance of the decoration of this tomb lies in its connection of its resident to the divine. The tomb's inscription notes that "Soon you are renewed, changed into various images…" emphasizing not the role of the occupant in life, but her alleged sanctified and deified status post death.[87]

A similarly massive tomb on the periphery of Rome comes in the form of the Tomb of Caecilia Metella. Evidence from the tomb's inscription, which reads "CAECILIA Q CRETICI F METELLAE CRASSI" indicates that Caecilia was the daughter of Metellus Creticus, a consul

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[84] Parker, John Henry, *Tombs in and Near Rome; Sculpture Among the Greeks and Romans, Mythology in Funereal Sculpture and Early Christian Sculpture*, New Delhi: Gyan, 1877, 21.

[85] Parker, John Henry, *Tombs in and Near Rome; Sculpture Among the Greeks and Romans, Mythology in Funereal Sculpture and Early Christian Sculpture*, New Delhi: Gyan, 1877, 21.

[86] Stewart, Peter, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, Oxford: Oxford, 2003, 103.

[87] Statius, *Silvae*, 5.1.231

from 69 to around 54, a position of relative status, especially compared to that of Eurysaces.[88] This massive tomb also manifests itself in a large circular shape, albeit of greater size. Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of this particular tomb is the frieze, which, although mostly consisting of bucrania (bulls' head decorations), it also features a scene which appears to represent a Gallic victory. The purposes, and even the interpretation of the frieze as such is unclear. However, there are several aspects of the frieze which are important to note. First, the frieze itself, besides one lone barbarian figure, is devoid of human portrayals. Also, the frieze is almost exclusively executed through iconography. The artwork portrays a shield bearing Roman insignia and a shield with barbarian insignia, each flanking a lone figure surmounted by a sort of trophy. While, as mentioned, this portrayal is hard to decipher, it seems clear that it does not represent any deed of the owner herself, but most likely of her father, husband or even son.[89] However, the evidence here is muddy and enigmatic. What is clear, however, is that the occupant of the tomb retained precious little recognition on the tomb itself, and what representation was placed there was iconographically based.

There is no tomb as massive or as self-promoting as that of Augustus. His mausoleum, located near the Campus Martius, was described by Strabo as "a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar, beneath the mounds are the tombs of himself and

[88] Holloway, R.Ross, "The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1966, 171.

[89] Holloway, R.Ross, "The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1966, 172.

his kinsmen and intimates…" [90] While the structure of the tomb itself is enormous (large enough to be a venue for bullfights and concerts in more modern times), perhaps what was more striking about it at the time of its completion was the presence of the *Res Gestae* near its gates in ancient times. A list of the deeds of Augustus, the *Res Gestae* were a visible reminder to all who passed by of the things which had been accomplished by the emperor. "Below is a copy of the acts of Deified Augustus by which he placed the whole world under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and of the amounts which he expended upon the state and the Roman people."[91] While the *Res Gestae* was an undoubtedly a device for the glorification of the deceased emperor, even the title of the tomb, *mausoleum,* which it bore since its creation, seems to be a reference to one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the tomb of King Mausolus of Halicarnassus.[92]

The *Res Gestae* is notable, and rather uncharacteristic of Augustus, in that it presents his accomplishments in an unfettered and shamelessly self-promoting light. While some scholars view the *Res Gestae* as a method by which he attempted to emphasize peace, there is still a distinct air of pomp surrounding it which seems to break with other tombs.[93]

Given the characteristics of other massive tombs on the Roman periphery, the tomb of Eurysaces seems all the more unusual, in style and decoration. First, the style of the tomb itself, as mentioned before, is quite unconventional. However, given the aspects of other tombs examined above, it appears all the more unusual. The tombs examined above were, for the most part, generally round in shape (with other elements as well). Largely, the tombs on the Roman

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[90] Strabo, *Geography,* V.3.8.

[91] Augustus, *Res Gestae* (I)

[92] Vitruvius II.8.11

[93] Thoen, Hugo, *Archaelology in Confrontation: Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest,* Academia, 2004.

periphery were round, square, rectangular or some other rather standard shape. While the tomb of Eurysaces' trapezoidal shape is perhaps not radical enough to meet the observer's eye at first glance, it is certainly unique among the tombs of Rome. Moreover, the holes which punctuate the sides of the monument (which may represent bread ovens) and the columns which do not bear capitals and do not conform to any established order.

Its decoration, in light of similar tombs in Rome, is also unique. The tomb's friezes, as mentioned briefly above, depict the baker's work during life. However, they do so in a manner which is distinctly mundane. The frieze's images detail the intricacies of the manufacturing and transactional aspects of the baker's trade, with attention to such details as the city health inspectors examining the final product of the bakery's work. While there is certainly a tradition of making one's deeds in life known on their tomb, the manner in which it is presented on Eurysaces' tombs seems to be decidedly different.

The observation that this tomb is unique in its design and presentation is not a new one--scholars have noted that Eurysaces seemed to be attempting to demonstrate the means by which he obtained the wealth necessary to build such a tomb. However, assessments of the tomb's construction sometimes fail to lend nuance to their analysis of the frieze. Other tombs as discussed above, demonstrate their owners, or at least builders, attempting to showcase their life's accomplishments. However, most of these depictions of the labors of the tomb owners portray the professions in a positive, or glorified light. An obvious example of this is the mausoleum of Augustus, which explicitly notes the accomplishments of the emperor in his deified state. Furthermore, the tomb of Cecilia Metella, although it does not portray the deeds of its occupant, it does serve as a monument to accomplishments nonetheless.

Portrayal of the interred individual's deeds, therefore, does not seem to be confined to class. Freedmen such a Metella and Eurysaces to the emperor himself utilized this type of memorialization. However, Eurysaces does so in a way that incorporates the actual labor of his occupation, and does not embellish it in the least. The representational and divine elements present in other tombs is gone, and replacing it is a utilitarian portrayal of everyday life.

Conclusions

The tomb of Eurysaces the Baker provides a microcosmic study in which to analyze the larger role of tomb construction in the vicinity of Rome, as well as use of suburban space surrounding Rome more generally. Primarily, we must understand the role of spectacle in death in the city of Rome, and its associated rituals and accoutrements. Death provided not just an opportunity to memorialize an individual, but also to cement their legacy and perceived greatness through the use of blood sports, elaborate funerals, and massive tombs. In the tomb of Eurysaces we see the demonstration of this type of attempt at memorialization. The size of the tomb, its irregular shape and decoration, and the use of imagery which explicitly demonstrates the occupant's profession all point to an attempt to not only concretize Eurysaces' legacy, but also to do so explicitly within the context of class. The decoration of the tomb seems to demonstrate that Eurysaces' wealth was acquired through his own industriousness—in short, that he was a self-made man.

However, I argue that this type of memorialization was facilitated by the liminal space provided by the suburban area surrounding Rome. While the city of Rome itself was more greatly stratified and constricted within the bounds of class, the city's periphery was less crowded, less stratified, and therefore relatively more egalitarian. While Eurysaces could not, as a freedman and a foreigner, make as distinctive a mark on the city as could patricians and other

higher-born elites, he could, nevertheless, utilize his wealth outside of the city boundaries in order to make not only a large, but also distinctive mark on the landscape.

While the city of Rome itself was a highly stratified and male-dominated space of interaction, the suburban space provided a means by which classes mingled to a greater extent and women were represented more fully.

Chapter 4

Hadrian's Villa:

Opulence in the Outskirts

Few things are as well-established symbols of wealth, opulence and leisure than the Roman villa. Copied even today in structures such as the Getty Villa in Los Angeles and elsewhere around the world, the villa as a sign of wealth, status, power and comfort is longstanding. Perhaps nowhere is the construction of a villa as well and famously executed than in Tivoli, Italy at the Villa of the Emperor Hadrian.

The impressive size, decoration and state of preservation is such that the site occupies a distinguished place on the list of UNESCO world heritage sites, and is property of the Italian government. Replete with a reflecting pool, statuary and colonnades, this massive homestead is a massive testament to the power and wealth of the Roman elite.

The Villa of Hadrian is much less urban than the previous two case studies which this research has examined. Located nearly 20 miles outside of Rome, this villa might not even be considered affiliated with the city of Rome in any way. However, a closer examination of the villa and its operations demonstrates that the villa is not only connected with Rome almost inextricably, but that it also forms part of the suburban fabric of the city itself. It serves as a dependency and an asset for the city's infrastructure, at least for the ruling classes.

This chapter will consider the Villa of Hadrian in connection to the other suburban spaces in Rome which we have examined, paying particular attention to the role that the connections to the city play, as well as the space upon which the villa is situated. Specifically, it will consider the villa complex within two primarily lenses, first as space for the interaction between classes,

and secondly as an extension of the concept of Rome as a palimpsest, or a space upon which buildings and infrastructure are created, wiped clean over time, and redrawn. This chapter argues that the Villa of Hadrian demonstrated even more clearly the disparity between social classes by means of suburban displays of wealth, and that it allowed for Hadrian, whose legacy seemed somewhat tenuous at the time, to make a lasting impact on the greater Roman region which would delineate his rule from that of other emperors.

Background: Hadrian, Political Conflict and Geographic Instability

During the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, the Roman Empire was at its peak, both in terms of power and geographic extent.[94] Its extent ranged from the island of Great Britain into Syria, and covered the extent of Europe and the Mediterranean region.[95] In terms of political divisions, the Empire was composed of over forty provinces, the vast population of which was centered in cities.[96] After years of expansion and conquest, the Roman Empire had reached its zenith of influence; Hadrian's rule marks that pinnacle and although the decline of the Empire began under, and directly following Hadrian's rule, he left an indelible mark both on the Empire at large and the city of Rome more specifically.[97]

Although the Empire was at its pinnacle during Hadrian's reign, it was also in a state of instability and turmoil. The massive geographic size, disparate nature and demographic heterogeneity of the Empire's structure made its rule difficult.[98] Scholar Mary Boatwright notes that "each of the forty-some Roman provinces of the time had its own political, ethnic, religious

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[94] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, xiii.
[95] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton: Princeton, 1987, 7.
[98] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3

and cultural histories, in which figured prominently the date and means of its falling under Roman control." [99] In addition, the Roman military force was stretched thin in controlling this massive empire, and those at the fringes of the empire, many of whom had already adopted much of the Roman way of life and depended on the empire for support, were vulnerable, especially from unfriendly tribes which dwelt at the empire's fringes.[100] The Roman military at this time may have consisted of only approximately 400,000 soldiers, and while this number seemed sufficient to protect the vast empire from conflict, both from inside and out, the means with which it was deployed is indicative of the instability which was characteristic of the empire at this time.[101] For example, the tensions were particularly visible in Judea in which the Third Jewish Revolt, a symptom of cultural incongruence, occurred. [102] While the conflict was swiftly and sufficiently quenched, it was demonstrative of the extent to which certain parts of the empire chafed under Roman rule and the force with which provinces were synthesized with the larger empire.[103] Similarly, on the island of Great Britain, although the inhabitants there were significantly more integrated into the Empire and assimilated to its ways, the Empire under Hadrian took extensive measures to maintain this culture, undertaking such projects as the construction of Hadrian's Wall in order to keep the Roman ways in and the indigenous tribes out.[104]

With nearly sixty million inhabitants during Hadrian's reign, the conflict which occurred is not surprising. However, the instability within the empire was not merely due to political and

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[99] Ibid.
[100] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, xi.
[101] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3.
[102] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 4.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, xiii.

social conflicts. A mere twenty-percent of the inhabitants of the empire eked out a living above a mere subsistence.[105] In addition, wealth and power of Roman society was structured in an extremely unequitable fashion—a mere 350 officials of elite status were responsible for the oversight of the entire gargantuan realm.[106] These officials, and the entirety of the Roman elite, dwelt in the empire's urban centers; the population of the empire which had any modicum of wealth similarly inhabited the cities which were clustered on the empire's coast and waterways, and particularly on the Italian peninsula and Asia Minor.[107]

The distribution of the wealth and population of the empire had implications not only for its political and military aspects, but for urban planning and city policy under the Emperor Hadrian. It has been noted, both by modern scholars and by ancient writers that Hadrian's domestic policy was heavily oriented toward granting Roman cities autonomy, status and recognition. One of the primary means by which he executed this form of city policy was by altering the status of cities across the empire. This policy was executed primarily by raising indigenous cities to the level of *municipia* (municipalities). [108] While previously *municipia* had typically been created by means of settling Romans in established cities or unoccupied areas, Hadrian's policy was centered on raising indigenous cities to municipal status within the empire.[109]

This policy, proliferated under Hadrian with the altering of municipal status of some thirty-four Roman cities, helped to establish Roman authority and culture across the empire by

[105] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3.
[106] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3.
[107] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3.
[108] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 36.
[109] Ibid.

establishing rule as a proxy from Rome.[110] Author Anthony Birley notes that the process was connected with the drive to build cohesion in the empire, stating that "the impetus this given to 'romanisation' is striking. [111] Despite the purpose of establishing greater imperial sway in the cities, incorporation as *municipia* was seen as a mark of prestige and a *beneficium*, or imperial favor, toward the city. [112] In addition, Hadrian's policy favored the retaining of local civic traditions and identity, which helped to maintain equilibrium between imperial influence and local self-determination.[113]

Despite the political implications of the municipal incorporation policy, it had the effect of raising the quality of life for city residents. Boatwright notes that these changes, along with other favorable imperial policies toward cities, lead to the construction of harbors, institution of games and a multitude of building projects which allowed for the improvement of city infrastructure and facilities, while simultaneously increasing Roman influence upon the disparate localities.[114] This was accompanied by a significant increase in building in general in cities across the empire.[115] This influence was compounded through the dissemination of ideas which led to the greater appreciation for the emperor, such as the concept of Hadrian as the *pater patriae*, or the "father of the fatherland." [116] The outgrowth of this type of thinking was that Hadrian became more intimately involved in the life of cities, so much so that he adopted ceremonial titles as the highest authority in a city's municipal government structure. [117] Although

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Birley, Anthony R. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, London: Routledge, 1997, 90.
[112] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 36.
[113] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 36.
[114] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 3.
[115] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 100.
[116] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 57.
[117] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 58.

this type of adoption of local titles had occurred under other previous emperors, such as Augustus, it proliferated under Hadrian.[118]

While Hadrian's influence in the peripheral cities of the empire was widespread and unprecedented, its effect was not less felt at home, the heart of the empire. Arguably more than any other Roman emperor before or after him, Hadrian directly influenced the fabric of the city, improving, altering and expanding the city's infrastructure. He undertook an extensive campaign of modifying and constructing, and took a personal interest in the forms of the buildings themselves.[119] His forms often differed from that of earlier emperors, often integrating aspects of other cultures' architecture into that of Rome, such as Egyptian art.[120] New construction, such as the Temple of Venus and Rome and the Castel Sant'Angelo (formerly known as the Mausoleum of Hadrian), helped to establish his own mark on the city, while other projects, such as Hadrian's work on the Pantheon, continued his legacy of construction while placing it firmly within the context of the rule of former emperors.[121] His work within the confines of that of former emperors has been interpreted as an attempt at legitimization, which was a hallmark not only of his building, but of his rule in general. Given the conflicted circumstances within which he came to power, his extensive shaping of the empire is surprising; his influence occurred in spite of, and perhaps also partially as a result of, this controversy.

Although born in Rome, Publius Aelius Hadrianus was not of the imperial line.[122] His father was, however, a senator, but his family was native to Italica, a Roman city in Spain.[123]

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[118] Boatwright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton, 2000, 59.
[119] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 101.
[120] Boatright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton: Princeton, 1987, 56.
[121] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 100.
[122] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 34.
[123] Ibid.

While his father died when Hadrian was only nine, the family maintained property both in the city of Rome and in Spain.[124] His childhood and adolescence occurred at a time in the empire rife with political upheavals and conflict. The emperor Domitian, whose rule turned tyrannical, oppressive and insidious prior to his murder in AD 96, was quickly followed by a series of other rulers in quick succession.[125] Nerva, a senator, was appointed as an interim emperor in the same year, but his death in late 97 led to the accession of Trajan, the governor of Upper Germany, to the throne.[126] During the reign of Trajan, Hadrian was able to capitalize upon the favor of the emperor, who was a distant relative of his and his former guardian.[127] Rising through the ranks to consul by the age of thirty-two, Hadrian positioned himself such that, when Trajan fell ill without a suitable heir in August of 117, he adopted Hadrian on his deathbed and announced him as his successor.[128]

However, the accession of Hadrian was fraught with controversy. Sources close to Trajan suggested that Trajan had not proclaimed a successor, or had meant to appoint someone other than Hadrian to the throne.[129] Yet, Hadrian was announced to have been adopted by Trajan and chosen as his successor following the emperor's death, although the emperor's passing had not yet been publicized.[130] An alleged statement by Trajan to a certain Neatrius Priscus that, "I entrust the provinces to you, should anything happen to me," fueled the controversy, and led to

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[124] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, 6.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, 7.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, 7.
[129] Birley, Anthony R. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, London: Routledge, 1997, 78.
[130] Haley, Evan, "Hadrian as Romulus," *Latomus,* 2005, 973.

Attanius, an advisor of Trajan, to disseminate a letter calling for the execution of any of the officials of the city, particularly the City Prefect, Baebius Mercer, if they should seek to impede Hadrian from ascending to the throne.[131] Furthermore, as Hadrian was absent from the city during this controversial time, Attanius went so far as to put four senators who were allegedly seeking to usurp Hadrian's power to death.[132] This caused a great uproar within the city of Rome, especially among the ruling elite.[133]

Upon assuming the helm of the empire, Hadrian disassociated himself from Attanius' egregious act.[134] He attempted to mitigate the popular angst against him via a remission of debts from the treasury, effectively gaining the goodwill of the empire's population.[135] However, despite the initial securing of the hearts of the Roman people and the support of the Senate, Hadrian's relationship with the government in Rome was often strained throughout his career.[136] The imperial villa at Tivoli, now commonly known as the "Villa of Hadrian," served as a shelter for Hadrian and his family throughout his reign.[137] Despite Hadrian's impact on the city of Rome itself, he preferred to maintain his residence at his imperial villa.[138]

The Villa of Hadrian: Background and Description

The Villa Adriana, or the Villa of Hadrian as it is commonly known, was a wonder in its own time. It far outstripped, in terms of scale and architectural elaboration, the villas of previous emperors. Taking nearly twenty years to construct, it was situated on land that had been in the

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[131] Birley, Anthony R. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, London: Routledge, 1997, 77.
[132] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 57.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 57
[135] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 57.
[136] Dyson, Stephen L., *Rome, The Portrait of a Living City*, Baltimore: John's Hopkins, 2010, 192.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

family of Hadrian's wife since the time of the republican era.[139] [140] The villa itself was located near the Via Tiburtina, near Tivoli (known at that time as Tibur), some 20 miles or so from the center of Rome.[141] It was located near the Aniene River, and at its completed size of over 120 hectares, was larger than many Roman cities. [142] The extant buildings demonstrate that the villa contained over 900 rooms and corridors.[143]

The purpose of the villa was twofold—primarily, it was to serve as a residence and retreat for the Emperor Hadrian.[144] However, it was also critical to the functioning of the emperor's need to entertain guests and elite associates.[145] Danzinger and Purcell note that the functioning of the villa was centered on entertainment, they state that the "layout of Hadrian's unsurpassable fantasy home sums up an important aspect of Roman society. It was largely devoted to one social activity: dinner, the most important shared occupation that marked out Greco-Roman culture of this period."[146] Indeed, much of the villa's critical infrastructure is dedicated to entertainment. Many of the rooms and buildings of the villa were dedicated simply to hosting dinner gatherings of varying sizes and in various weather conditions.[147] The villa's grounds were pierced underneath by an intricate series of tunnels which were utilized by support staff for the villa's functioning and entertainment.[148] The servants who utilized the passageways were quarantined in

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[139] Morselli, Chiara, "Guide with Reconstructions of Villa Adriana and Villa d'Este", Roma: Vision s.r.l, 1995.
[140] Dyson, Stephen L., *Rome, The Portrait of a Living City*, Baltimore: John's Hopkins, 2010, 132.
[141] Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Introduction to the Villa of Hadrian, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, n.d.
[142]Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Introduction to the Villa of Hadrian, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, n.d.
[143] Dyson, Stephen L., *Rome, The Portrait of a Living City*, Baltimore: John's Hopkins, 2010, 132.
[144] Franceschini, Marina De "Brief History of the Villa and of the excavations", Soprintendenza Archeologica del Lazio, 2005.
[145] Boatright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton: Princeton, 1987, 138.
[146] Danzinger, Danny and Nicholas Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire: When Rome Ruled the World*, London: Hodder, 2005, 186.
[147] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 158.
[148] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 140.

dedicated housing, out of sight of the villa's occupants.[149] While evidence indicates that much of the grounds were utilized as irrigated gardens, it is unclear if much, or any of the garden's grounds were utilized for the growing of crops.[150] However, it is known that the villa's support infrastructure was complete with a series of aqueducts which not only kept the grounds irrigated, but also fed a system of jets which helped to maintain the comfort of villa residents in the heat, functioning as a sort of ancient air-conditioning.[151]

The core of the complex was formed by some thirty structures which were unique in their design and often named after locations to which the Emperor had traveled, such as the *Canopus*, a resort in Alexandria, and the *Lyceum* and the *Academia*, the ancient Greek scholarly institutions.[152] The naming of buildings as such is a reflection on the character of Hadrian's proclivity for travel and the synthesis of other cultural styles, particularly that of Greece, which he particularly favored.[153]

The architecture of the villa was irregular and asymmetrical. It was, and is, a work of art in and of itself because of the way in which the buildings were harmonized within one another and with the terrain upon which the villa sat. [154] The entirety of the complex is irregular in construction, and it is reported that Hadrian had a direct hand in the planning of its construction. In addition, the complex had a magnificent garden complex which was one of the most spectacular of the Roman world. Sir Bannister Fletcher, a 19th-century architectural historian

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[149] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 144.
[150] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 154.
[151] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 154.
[152] Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Introduction to the Villa of Hadrian, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, n.d.
[153] Boatright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton: Princeton, 1987, 138.
[154] Franceschini, Marina De "Brief History of the Villa and of the excavations", Soprintendenza Archeologica del Lazio, 2005.

described the gardens by stating, “Walking around it today, it is still possible to experience something of the variety of architectural forms and settings, and the skillful way in which Hadrian and his architect have contrived the meetings of the axes, the surprises that await the turning of a corner, and the vistas that open to view.” [155] The physical architecture of the place was, furthermore, a bold departure from conventional Roman styles. Incorporating a myriad of domes, semicircular structures and creative lighting arrangements, the villa creatively used concrete to execute the stunning forms.[156]

The villa’s construction and location has been the source of scholarly debate and consideration. The placement of the villa near Tivoli seems to have some practical underpinnings. First, the area was rife with travertine and tufa, which would be integral in the construction of the villa, given that they were close at hand.[157] Furthermore, its location close to several aqueducts which supplied the city of Rome allowed it to sustain itself such a distance from the city.[158] The Via Tiburtina supplied easy access to Rome at a distance which was about the extent of a feasible commute into the city.[159]

However, as discussed above, the placement of the villa also seems to be an outgrowth of Hadrian’s desire to remain distant from Rome, particularly during the conflict with the Senate. The placement of the villa far from the city of Rome would have allowed him and his family some amount of shelter from the wrath of the Roman patricians.[160] Given that Rome was a less

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[155] Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Introduction to the Villa of Hadrian, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, n.d.

[156] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 145.
[157] Seindal, Rene, "Hadrian's Villa. Luxurious imperial villa from the first century CE". 2004, 19 Oct 2004.
[158] Seindal, Rene "Hadrian's Villa. Luxurious imperial villa from the first century CE". 2004, 19 Oct 2004.
[159] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 154.
[160] Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Introduction to the Villa of Hadrian, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, n.d.

than pleasant location for him, the distance from Rome was most likely a beneficial aspect of the villa. In addition, while Hadrian had an indelible imprint on the city of Rome and provided major benefits to the city, he seems to have preferred travelling the empire to remaining in Rome, and his villa, through its extensive use of foreign, particularly Greek elements and its reflection of various locations in its building names, reflected that preference.[161] Finally, the closer that the villa had been located to the urban center of Rome, the lesser the leeway Hadrian would have had in developing his villa complex to his preferences.[162]

While the precedent for constructing large villas had been set by previous emperors, Hadrian's Villa was unique not only in its size, but also because of the extent of its reflection of the personal preferences and proclivities of its owner. [163] Although he inherited a multitude of villas from his predecessors, including several new villas built under the oversight of Trajan.[164] In addition, although the vernacular name of the villa is misleading, Hadrian constructed several more residences outside of the city of Rome, though none were as spectacular or innovative as that located in Tivoli.[165] The implications of grandeur and preeminence of this villa will be discussed further in the following section.

Analysis and Conclusion

The villa of Hadrian is demonstrative of the functioning of Roman suburban space in multiple ways. Primarily, it, like other suburban spaces which have been explored in this research, demonstrates the stratification of social class which is more evident in space outside of

[161] Boatright, Mary T., *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton: Princeton, 1987, 138.
[162] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 154.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 137.
[165] Ibd.

the confines of Roman cities, and especially in the city of Rome. The city proper of Rome, as demonstrated by the rule of Hadrian, was the realm of the upper class, and especially the emperor himself. However, the fabric of the city, although being framed and woven by the various emperors, served as a backdrop, although a significant one, for the activity within the city. It served as a canvas upon which the daily functioning of the city's population, both elites and commoners alike, was displayed. The spaces in the city were essentially public ones, even if they were disproportionately influenced by the elite classes.

However, within the context of the suburbs, we see a distinctly different power relationship being played out. While the suburban space of Hadrian's villa was technically public, it was only so for those of the very elite classes and associates of the emperor. The functioning of the space as the public domain was only applicable to a select few.

This was especially evident in regard to the staff which carried out the essential functions of the villa. While there was some hierarchy on the part of the staff, the lower class workers were almost categorically subordinate to the occupants and guests of the villa in very tangible ways. They were, in a very literally spatial sense, below the emperor and his entourage. Out of sight, plying subterranean passages underneath the feet of those allowed to stay above ground, they plied the network of subterranean passageways, their function essential, but their presence neither seen nor heard, almost as if the very sight of them could taint the placid nature and cultivated beauty of the imperial retreat.

However, the villa has implications not only for the relationship between classes, but also for the interaction between urban Rome and its suburban space. Rome, as was especially clear in the case of Hadrian, served as a palimpsest for the emperor, a tablet from which he could erase the influence of previous rulers and take ownership of for his own purposes. John Hendrix

describes this concept of a palimpsest as being especially evident in the city of Rome, where he states that "buildings or streets are composed of past buildings or streets."[166] However, the concept of a palimpsest goes far beyond merely coincidental, path dependent methods of infrastructure layout. Roman imperial rulers deliberately changed, and sometimes defaced, buildings within the city in order to forward their own legacy or harm those of others. This practice is known as *damnatio memoriae*, and it "was an attempt at conscious forgetting, analogous to wiping a slate or ancient wax tablet clean," says scholar Lauren Hackworth Peterson.[167] By altering not only the appearance of the city, but the functions and meanings of existing structures, the emperor was able leave his mark upon the city.

In the case of Hadrian, however, the legitimacy of his rule as was challenged from the very beginning of his reign. Born not into an imperial family, but adopted, and jeopardized by his advisors from the outset, he seemed to have some trepidation concerning fundamentally altering the space of the city of Rome. Evidence indicates that although Hadrian perhaps changed the face of the city in a way which was more evident than most other emperors, he did so in a way that emphasized the rule of previous emperors, not dilute it. This is evident from his treatment of the Pantheon, which he repaired in such a way as amplify the influence of Agrippa, under which it was originally constructed. Almost nearly reconstructed, Hadrian could have easily replaced the iconic lettering on the façade of the structure—M. AGGRIPA L.F. COS TERTIUM FECIT—with his own inscription. However, he replaced the wording on the monument's face.[168] Evidence indicates that during his reconstruction projects, he repeated such

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[166] Hendrix, John, "Palimpsest," *Roger Williams University School of Architecture, Art and Historic Preservation Faculty Publications*, 2011, 2.
[167] Peterson, Lauren Hackworth, "The Presence of *Damnatio Memoriae* in Roman Art," *Source: Notes in Roman Art*, 2011, 1.
[168] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 111.

actions towards other buildings, deliberately maintaining or replacing the dedicatory inscriptions of their authors.[169] This was a distinct break from the policy of previous emperors, particularly Domitian, who deliberately removed and replaced inscriptions on many Roman structures.[170]

If Hadrian maintained insecurities about making alterations within the city limits of Rome, he was less reserved, as outlined previously, concerning outlying cities. He clearly and deliberately took ownership of these cities, ensuring that his name was clearly identified with Roman imperial rule and attempting to endear himself to the local inhabitants. Whether this was an attempt to maintain the cohesion of the empire, mitigate the problems associated with the early conflicts of his rule, or to attempt to cement his legacy is unclear, and the truth most likely lies in some combination thereof. However, the suburban space with which Hadrian engaged clearly seems to be an attempt to exert directly his influence and preferences. If Rome was a palimpsest, then the suburban space within which he constructed his villa was a clean slate. It reflected clearly his preference for travel, his appreciation for Greek culture, and perhaps most importantly, outdid his predecessors in terms of scale and grandeur.

While the constraints are somewhat different in modern suburbs, the ability to exert influence more easily over suburban landscape than an urban one is still a factor. In a study of 990 modern American suburbs, Logan and Golden find that the older and more developed the suburb, especially when it comes to urban style infrastructure such as manufacturing, the lower the corresponding wealth of the community.[171] Similarly, when observing suburbs in the Boston,

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[169] Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London: The British Museum, 2008, 111.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Logan, John r. and Reid M. Golden, "Suburbs and Satellites, Two Decades of Change," *American Sociological Review*, 1986, 434.

MA, area, that wealth is similarly correlated with newer suburbs.[172] In addition Gober and Behr, in a 1982 article state that cities and suburbs, although closely interrelated and interdependent, are distinctly different place types.[173] They assert that modern suburbs in the United States are "more than just 'metropolitan leftovers,' and they are distinguishable from central cities."[174] It seems that the lack of infrastructure to muddy and limit the development of the wealthy in suburban space directs economic resources to newer, less impacted areas in which more leeway and self-determination in construction and spatial definition is feasible. The study of Hadrian's villa corroborates this. The ways in which Hadrian was able to leave his distinct imprint on the landscape was primarily by means of suburban space, and the ability to exert influence in the suburbs is decidedly easier.

[172] Logan, John r. and Reid M. Golden, "Suburbs and Satellites, Two Decades of Change," *American Sociological Review*, 1986, 433.
[173] Gober, Patricia and Michelle Behr, "Central Cities and Suburbs as Distinct Place Types: Myth or Fact?" *Economic Geography*, 1982, 371.
[174] Ibid.

Chapter 5:

Conclusion

The suburbs of the city of Rome were a space that is difficult to define in terms of its relationship to the city. Unlike modern suburbs, which have a modicum of definition due to the prevalence of municipal boundaries especially in the United States and elsewhere across the globe, Roman suburbs were simultaneously well-defined and nearly impossible to define. The presence of physical boundaries, such as the Aurelian Wall, give the illusion that the city had easily demarcated political and geographical boundaries. However, these devices fail to definitively demarcate suburban space for multiple reasons. Primarily, the fluidity and frequent change in the physical space encompassed by such boundaries make the line between urban and suburban space blurred. While the changing definition of the wall is doubtlessly a result of the expansion and growth of the city, it rendered space which was once suburban now urban, at least by technical definition. Such was the case in the tomb of Eurysaces the Baker, whose tomb was at once part of the urban fabric of Rome and formerly part of the suburban landscape. This fluidity makes the monument dwell in a conceptual space which is neither urban nor suburban, but decidedly liminal.

Furthermore, the use of geographical demarcations also breaks down when it comes to attempting to define exactly where the sphere of the Roman urban influence reached its extant. Considered in its entirety, the sphere of influence of the city of Rome extended far beyond its walls. Rome was supported by a vast network of aqueducts and roadways, and was supplied by a agricultural land which stretched well beyond its urban boundaries. Furthermore, the city's influence was not limited to infrastructure alone; places such as the Villa of Hadrian were clearly

distinct from Rome, but played a very clear role in its political culture, and, more fundamentally, could not exist without the infrastructure and population of the city itself.

This concept of liminality defines much of the nature of suburban Rome. Not only does it define the suburban space in terms of its geographic situation, but also in terms of the activities which occurred within it. The suburban associated with the city of Rome often enhanced the interaction between classes in a way that simultaneously made social hierarchy more evident and also allowed for the closer interaction between classes in a way which sometimes blurred that line.

In the case of the space of the Sallustian Garden, the quasi-public nature of the space ensured the intermingling of classes. However, the exclusion of the lower classes from all of the facilities of the garden, particularly the imperial residences, made it a space which was egalitarian, yet segregationist. Unlike the city's core, in which the urban fabric served as a mere backdrop for the interactions of all classes, suburban space was effective in mingling classes, but in a way which precluded some from the full enjoyment thereof.

This type of inter-class interaction was all the more evident at the Villa of Hadrian, the palatial space which was purely the domain of the imperial. The demarcations between the ruling elite and the lower classes was physical, with servants and attendants kept confined, below grown and out of sight. However, while the villa itself was directly under the sway of the emperor, the suburbs more broadly were under less of the sway of the emperor than the urban space itself. In this way the suburbs allowed for more pure forms of expression than did the city itself. This was the case both for the ruling class and the lower classes. Unconstrained by the legacies of previous imperial rulers, the Emperor Hadrian was able to more clearly express his personal preferences and establish his legacy in a way that was able to integrate aspects of other

cultures and do so in a way which was not nearly as politically reckless. While Rome was a palimpsest which required the erasing or modification of a former monument in order to establish a new one, however, the suburbs were a clean slate, which allowed for the imposition of a personal mark without compromising the status of a former one.

Furthermore, because the suburbs were not directly under imperial purview, nor were they occupied by the dense urban infrastructure of urban Rome, it also allowed those who were not necessarily at the top of the social structure to exert their influence. In the case of Eurysaces, a former slave and a bake shop proprietor was able to establish a unique, prominent and lasting monument within the city limits because of the open nature of suburban space and the fluctuations of the city boundaries.

Finally, while the concept of spectacle is integral to understanding the relationships between individuals and classes within the city of Rome, it is also a critical concept to apply to the suburbs. The objective to see and to be seen is critical in suburban space. The structure and ornamentation of the tomb of Eurysaces demonstrates the desire to be seen and remembered in a way that is uniquely present in Roman suburbs, and which is absent from modern suburban cemeteries.

This research has only scratched the surface of the suburban landscape of the city of Rome. However, the three case studies discussed here are illustrative of the enigmatic, liminal and malleable nature of the suburbs. The suburban space of Rome has certainly not been studied to the same extent as the urban space, and the exploration of the topic is a burgeoning field, especially in light of newer spatial theories. It is my hope that this work serves to cast light on some of the complex dynamics which arise when considering Roman suburbs within the context of class, space and political dynamics.

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