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THE SUBURBIUM OF ROME

The classic study of the historical development of a modern suburb has observed that it "is clearly less of a geographical expression than it is a state of mind".¹ Ancient terminology renders this particularly vivid for Rome: the noun *suburbium* is practically non-existent in literary Latin.² What we do find are the occasional abstraction, *suburbanitas*, and the common substantive use of the adjective referring above all to landed property, as in *suburbana* (*villa* understood) and *suburbanum* (*praedium*) or, much less often, *suburbanus* (*ager*). That is to say, the "suburb" of Rome is not an area but a concept with a very narrow and private significance. The concept, the attitude of mind, is of course that of a literate and very urban elite, and at first sight it has little to do with the economic bonds between city and territory, or with the various religious associations of the land adjacent to the city. The purpose of this paper is limited, then, to a survey of what this concept meant to the elite of Rome, rather than to an analysis of its historical reality. The two need not coincide.³

First, the problem of definition. On the face of it, a suburb is simply something adjacent to the *urbs*; however, beyond this it is clearly quite dependent on the city, it performs some of the city's functions, and it may be seen (and was seen in antiquity) as in some way a part of the city. On the other hand, the suburb equally clearly, at some indeterminate place, borders on or runs into true country, it shares most of the characteristics of the countryside, and to some Romans it was merely a special kind of countryside, *rus suburbanum*. It was always at Rome a place of ambiguity, a border region, and its physical limits (to begin with the most obvious) defy precise definition. In the case of Rome, there are too many possible boundaries for the city itself, some of them capable of shifting over time: the sacred boundary of the *pomerium*; the Servian or the Aurelian walls; the outer borders of the fourteen regions; a very obscure customs boundary; the first milestone on each road; the built-up area, *aedificia continentia*—each bore some terminal significance. No wonder then that in the Augustan peace Dionysius of Halicarnassus could observe with awe that no one knew how large the endless city was, or how far it extended, or when it stopped being city.⁴ At the outer extreme, the only sure boundary between *suburbium* and country, that is the juridically significant one-hundredth mile-

stone, obviously included a vast area which no one seriously considered to be suburban.⁵

Where geography fails, attitude can help. A very crude definition can be reached by simply charting on a map the use of the word "suburban" by ancient authors (irrespective of date), for the towns and territories directly or indirectly called suburban to Rome form a regular and cohesive region: Saxa Rubra, Fidenae, Nomentum, Ficulea, Tibur, Gabii, Praeneste, Tusculum, Bovillae, Aricia, Velitrae, Lanuvium, and Lavinium; with the Ager Pomptinus and Antium to the South.⁶ (Direct reference to any of these towns as suburban in themselves is very rare. Far more common is the citation of someone's suburban property at or near such-and-such a town, a distinction which is of course in itself a useful indication of attitude.) Practically speaking, the area thus defined is simply that of the modern Roman Campagna, the great undulating plain bounded on one side by the Tyrrhenian sea and on the other by a semi-circle of pre-Apennine ranges (Monti della Tolfa, Monti Sabatini, Monti Sabini, Monti Lepini). The crests of these ranges provide effective outer limits to the *suburbium* and its choicer areas, although river valleys, the barrier posed by the volcanic clump of the Alban Hills, and the coastal plain extending as far as Antium, make for an irregular and uncertain boundary. Despite these irregularities, an appropriate border is implicit in the geographer Strabo's description of Tusculum as lying on a ridge "adorned by the plantings and villas encircling it and particularly by those that extend below the city in the general direction of Rome"; the same, he adds, holds true for the foothills of the Alban Mount.⁷

The crucial determinant of the region is of course time: how quickly could one get to and from the city? "Urbis vicina iuvant facilesque recessus." Thus Columella recommended suburban property in general, and Pliny his maritime villa in particular, for the ease of getting there after a busy day in the city; *vicinitas urbis* was the first requirement in the search for a suburban property for Suetonius; it was felt worthy of remark that Augustus took not one day but two for the journey to Praeneste or Tibur.⁸ In short, a comfortable day's journey provides a rough limit, with the nature of terrain and roads making for great fluidity: very broadly speaking, a 20- to 25-mile radius from Rome.⁹

A rough inner boundary can also be established. *Hortus* in Latin is a garden; "horti" however, in the area of Rome, signifies not merely gardens but an estate near the city. Here one thinks immediately of the green belt closely hedging the urban centre, the famous pleasure-gardens of Caesar, Clodia, Lucullus, Sallust, Maecenas, and many lesser figures. It has been suggested that "horti" implies proximity to the city, and in fact most known

horti in the region of Rome lie immediately next to the city, that is, on the right bank of the Tiber, in the Campus Martius, on the Pincian, on the Esquiline, and on the Aventine.¹⁰ One could of course cite the smaller funeral gardens by the side of the great roads and byroads, or stray uses of the word elsewhere, as in Cicero's reference (*Ad Att.* 9.9.4) to some *hortuli* at (suburban) Lanuvium, but to a Roman the word would first raise an image of the urban green belt. Now the words "horti" and "suburbanum" can and naturally do overlap: these gardens were sub-urban.¹¹ However, the two ideas are often clearly distinguished in the minds of ancient authors, and most significantly we have several important passages which show a clear mental sequence suburb—*horti*—city (or the reverse).¹² Other connotations may have attached to "horti", such as relative smallness, perhaps absence of a villa, lack of serious agriculture, or a greater emphasis on pleasure and relaxation: the evidence is unclear and there may have been no consensus among the Romans to differentiate *horti* from suburban property in general. Yet it would have been generally agreed that the *horti* were strictly suburban but closer to the city than the true *suburbanum*.¹³ In short, they were the inner ring of the *suburbium*.

Within these rough geographical limits, the "suburb" remains very much an idea, more a matter of shared attitudes than of location. At the outset we must abandon conceptions of modern suburban life. Rapid public transit and tract housing are products of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, along with the notion that large numbers of people—and not just the rich—could live in one place and each day work in another some distance away. With the expansion of the city modern suburbs are to a much greater extent than before merely decentralized parts of the city. For this phenomenon the Victorians coined the sinister and for ancient purposes invalid word "suburbia", allegedly the plural of *suburbium*, and a word which has been said to suggest a picture of an "expressionless half-urban steppe".¹⁴ At the other extreme, and equally far removed from the Roman concept of the suburb, is the picture of the mediaeval suburb, the settlement outside the town walls of people who stood figuratively as well as literally on the margin of society, the home of inns, amusements, industries, foreigners, riots and disease. The closest parallels to Rome are images that fall chronologically between the two extremes, in the early modern period, particularly Rome from the sixteenth century onward, with its custom of *villeggiatura* on the very sites of the ancient suburb, and London of the later seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, as it slowly expanded to the north and the west. As with these in general, so it will appear with classical Rome: the idea of suburban life is above all an elitist one, and *suburbanitas* rests firmly on a foundation of wealth and leisure.¹⁵

The average Roman probably held a fairly consistent view of life in the suburb, or at least if he had no personal knowledge his literature certainly presented him with a consistent image, from the second century BC, when suburban life as such begins to emerge, up to the fifth century AD, when it is violently disrupted, though by no means destroyed. Three separate ideas can be traced through the literature of these six centuries, ideas expressed again and again in the same three words. First, and the most commonly mentioned, *salubritas*. One went to one's *suburbanum* to restore one's health or (even more often), when one was healthy, to avoid the dangers of the city. Regularly of course one retreated for the summer, the *aestivus secessus*. For coolness' sake, the seashore and the hillside were obviously preferred before all, but anywhere would do: the suburban countryside was simply more healthy than the crowded and unsanitary city.¹⁶ Second, the suburb offered *otium*, a place to think, to read, to converse, to write and to relax from the pressures of the city; while, on the other hand, it might afford a comfortable alternative to the duties and deprivations of true country life, such as the complaints of tenants or the lack of cultivated neighbors.¹⁷ The suburb offered *otium* but not necessarily *quies*, and literary society could flourish there. As Symmachus phrased it nicely, "I am in the country but I am not rustivating".¹⁸ And third, the suburb had *amoenitas*, beauty that delights, elegance with scenery. The *amoenitas* of a suburban villa is a subject markedly congenial to epistolographers, from Cicero to Gregory the Great, the classic description, detailed and loving, being provided by the younger Pliny for his Laurentine villa.¹⁹ Indeed, one letter writer could not resist describing the Christian paradise in terms of the terrestrial suburb as "*amoenissimum praedium, et urbanis conventatum et rusticis consitum*".²⁰

To state the obvious, what weaves these three strands together, and what distinguishes suburban *amoenitas*, *otium* and *salubritas* from any other variety, is simple proximity to the city: the qualities of the suburb, close yet separate, are defined and usually enhanced by those of the city. Two of these qualities stand out. First, the suburb above all signifies privacy in a time when even the well-off in Rome might lack opportunities for *salubritas*, *otium* and *amoenitas*. City houses were relatively small and crowded together, even the upper classes might only rent quarters (sometimes modest) within the confines of the city.²¹ The residence even of Augustus was deemed too small. According to Suetonius, whenever the emperor wished to be alone and uninterrupted he was forced to retire either to an attic in his house or to the suburban properties of one or other of his freedmen, while for longer periods he would often make for one of the (suburban) towns nearest to the city, Lanuvium, Praeneste or Tibur.²² The

suburb is depicted repeatedly as the place of privacy, offering private retreat, refuge, mourning, celebration, exile, even imprisonment: in a word, it filled a very urban need. As Martial put it, "You ask me, Linus, what profit does my land at Nomentum return to me? This it returns to me, Linus, that I don't see you."²³ A second implication of the suburban combination of *salubritas*, *otium* and *amoenitas*, and one connected with the sense of privacy, is a sense of impermanence and detachment (as will emerge). Part of the peculiar charm of *vicinitas* lay in the ease with which one could escape to the suburb from the city and in the ease of getting back into the city and city life.²⁴ Most of the upper-class inhabitants of the suburb were not natives of the towns in whose territories their villas lay. They lived in Rome; they came from, dominated, and retired to regions elsewhere; from the local scene we may look for detachment.

This conception of the suburb is clearly reflected in its physical development by the Romans. At the height of the empire the Campagna was filled with villas and their gardens and parks, these interspersed with the temples and groves of various cults, and it was covered by a fine net of roads and byroads, the borders of which (particularly near the city and towns) were lined with cemeteries, tombs and funerary gardens. This much is clear from archaeology, and the picture is supported by ancient literature.²⁵ In his description of the battle of Cynoscephalae (in Thessaly), Livy embroiders the account of Polybius to explain, vividly but anachronistically, the problems encountered by the opposing armies: "a great impediment to the action on both sides", he comments, "was a battleground covered with dense trees and gardens, as in suburban districts, and with its roads confined and in some cases quite blocked by walls." He is simply drawing on the Rome of Augustus.²⁶ On one extreme view, the suburb was a great enclosed park, enclosed by hook or by crook. Livy speaks of roads blocked even by walls, and a common legal problem apparently arose over the encroachment by private owners onto such hallowed places as the groves of cults and funerary plots. One writer on surveying grew quite upset over the plight of those areas reserved in the suburb for the burial of paupers and the punishment of criminals, "for from these places, because they are suburban, private owners are accustomed to usurp pieces without any reverence for religion and to join them to their *horti*."²⁷ Thus the private park threatened even public and sacred property.

As for private smallholders, Strabo records the virtual disappearance by the time of Augustus of several ancient Latin towns near Rome, which had become in his day either villages or the estates of private citizens, and the decline in numbers of the free citizenry of the Campagna seems to lie behind a common literary perception of Latium as *rus vacuum*.²⁸ To be

sure, many an independent municipality like Praeneste or Antium flourishes, and many a village or hamlet coalesces along the great consular roads,²⁹ but the contrast in literature between the populous days of yore and the calm of the enclosed Campagna is a theme so pervasive that we must accept a countryside perceived (at least) as largely in the hands of powerful *privati*, who entrusted the cultivation of their estates to tenant farmers and hired labourers or slaves. Thus we have the pardonable exaggerations of Cicero, claiming in a famous passage that the land of Praeneste is held by a few, or of Seneca, quoting as the measure of a truly rich man that he owns a suburban estate the size of which would arouse envy even in the wilds of Apulia, or of Martial, imagining the great landlords of Tibur and Praeneste looking down with amusement upon his friend's few acres (!) on the Janiculum. Yet on the Appian Way, no further than three miles from Rome and at the height of the Antonine Age, the estate of the Athenian consul and millionaire, Herodes Atticus, encompassed its own *lati fundi*, fields, vineyards, olives, orchards and pastures.³⁰ Outside of literature such huge suburban estates are an exception, but it must be emphasized that within the Roman empire the *suburbium* of Rome is unmatched for the density of its *villae rusticae*. Thus a survey still in progress has identified the remains of no fewer than 133 villas in the territory of Tibur (with another 34 in the upper and middle Anio valley) and 153 in that of Praeneste alone.³¹

It should follow that suburban land was not cheap, indeed that it was as expensive as any in the empire. Unfortunately the surviving figures for land values are so few and so disparate in date, location, and nature of property concerned, that they tell us little beyond the obvious, that it was expensive—in fact there is only one ancient passage giving both the size and the value of a suburban property.³² Naturally distinctions were drawn, some areas were more desirable than others. One could be on the margin: Catullus' friends, for instance, would say that his *suburbana villa* was at Tibur, but others less friendly might call it Sabine. A Veii simply did not have the cachet of a Tibur: summing up the evidence, a modern survey of the remains in the area concluded that the owners there in the early principate were of freedman stock, "well-to-do middle class busy acquiring property in what must have been at that time one of the relatively few areas near Rome where land was still easily available", and indeed almost no senators are attested in the area.³³ Nevertheless, the logic of *vicinitas urbis* demands generally high land prices. As nowhere else in the empire, Rome attracted wealth and men of wealth, and the political elite of that empire required more than a plain and perhaps rented roof over their heads when its members took up residence at the capital. In a florid passage

directed to just such a readership, the agronomist Columella extolled the virtues of suburban land over all others: "Now since civil ambition often calls many of us to Rome and having called us more often than not keeps us there, it follows that suburban property is the most advantageous, so that a man busied with daily affairs can easily get away after the business of the forum." Significantly, when Trajan insisted early in the second century that candidates for senatorial office have one third of their property in Italian land, Italian land prices shot up—especially those of suburban properties.³⁴ A man prepared to buy a villa at Tusculum or Tibur for the sake of *salubritas* and *aestivus secessus* did not stop to calculate when his investment would pay for itself: so said the millionaire Seneca, who knew.³⁵

What then of the suburban property market? Cicero offers some noteworthy anecdotes. His own beloved *Tusculanum* he had bought around 68 BC from the later notorious L. Vettius, who had acquired it from the dictator Sulla, who in turn acquired it from Q. Lutatius Catulus (*cos.* 102), that is, four owners in not much more than twenty years.³⁶ Similarly, he discusses another Tusculan villa, that owned by Caesar's agent and confidant, Cornelius Balbus: in addition to Balbus it had known at least four other owners in about fifty years, two of them Roman consuls, one of obscure background, and one a freedman.³⁷ And when in 45 Cicero was searching for land near Rome on which to build a shrine to his daughter Tullia, he considered no fewer than nine *horti*, all of them owned by senators, all either on the market or rumoured to be available.³⁸ Cicero, from whom so much of our evidence is derived, lived in a time of turmoil, it is true, but there is no reason to assume significantly less turnover in later and quieter periods. Two general propositions should be allowed. First, assuming a relatively low rate of succession within the ruling elite over the generations, and assuming that nowhere else in the empire was there such a concentration of landed property owned by the elite, the rate of turnover in the suburb should be the highest anywhere.³⁹ Second, there is a sharp distinction to be drawn between urban and suburban properties on one side and rural properties on the other. The suburb of Rome was simply not home for many. Deep and true sentiment is reserved for the home town and the ancestral acres, witness Cicero on Arpinum or Pliny on Comum, and there are good modern parallels for this.⁴⁰ When Trajan forced candidates to invest in Italian land and suburban prices shot up, Pliny observed that buyers actively soliciting property, and offering higher prices for it, had the effect of bringing even more land onto the market. This does not argue for great sentimentality, family tradition, or local ties.

Suburban land is then highly desirable, expensive, and easily transferred, as far as the elite is concerned. Its nature will inevitably affect that of the

society on it. First and most striking is the fact that, on the evidence available, the suburban landowner played hardly any local role. The various towns and cities of the Campagna, some of which, particularly Tibur and Praeneste with their great temples, were both rich and populous, played little part in his life.⁴¹ There are, to be sure, important exceptions. First, roughly speaking, the lower one's rank in the upper stratum of society, the more one developed or inherited municipal contacts: where villa society does overlap with town life in patronage or administration it tends to do so in the persons of the upwardly mobile, transplanted from Rome or elsewhere, or rising among the natives.⁴² Second, the local magnates who manage to rise into the governing elite at Rome maintain, as one would expect, their ties with the *patria*. Thus, in the late Republic and early Principate, the Fonteii of Tusculum, the Rubellii of Tibur, or the Acilii and Egrilii of Ostia continue to supply patrons, benefactors and even local magistrates. Yet, that said, the impression remains one of unusual indifference. Despite their obvious presence there, the suburb of Rome is one area where (before the late Empire, at least) Roman aristocrats seldom assume the customary functions of local grandees.⁴³ This relative silence fits well with the general literary record, that is, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny and Symmachus, who tell us so much about suburban life in their letters, have almost nothing to say about the life of the towns within whose territories their villas lay. And excluding those whose families actually came from those towns, there seems to be only one instance of the Roman elite actually possessing a *domus* in a suburban town, as distinct from a villa in its territory.⁴⁴ One's town house was of course in Rome if one had one, and this very idea, that a property in the territory of (say) Tibur could be suburban to Rome, rather diminishes the significance of Tibur itself. An explanation is again to be sought in the sense of impermanence and detachment. In his home province or region the Roman gentleman was enmeshed in a fine net of obligations to friends and clients, while if he were to cut any figure at Rome the demands of friendship and patronage would be even more constricting. The suburb was however neither city nor country, its ethos was avowedly one of leisure and privacy, hence a conspicuous lack of local ties.

Secondly, where the suburban landowners had little to do with local towns as such, they had a great deal to do with each other. The suburb was the place to enjoy the pleasures of true friendship, a friendship not to be confused with urban *amicitia*. At the beginning of Cicero's *De Oratore* (1.24) we meet the great orator of his age, L. Crassus, relaxing in his *Tusculanum* during the holidays in the late summer of 91 BC; there he is joined by his beloved father-in-law, the jurist Q. Mucius Scaevola, and his great friend and rival M. Antonius, and by other senators and names

of great weight at that time. In the course of two days they talk about the state of politics and the state of oratory, they dine and amble about the property, and they are joined by yet more distinguished friends and neighbours. Fictitious though the encounter is, the setting must respond to a reality recognizable by and agreeable to Cicero's audience: he certainly records similar real sojourns in his correspondence, and we can follow dozens of such visits among the genteel latter-day colonizers of Tusculum.⁴⁵ In this regard, the private *amoenitas* of one's suburban retreat, the art gallery, the library, the garden, has a particular social face as well; that is, they are meant not solely for one's own pleasure, they are meant to arouse the pleasure and admiration of a choice circle of visitors and neighbours. Symmachus gives the classic definition of this society: "iucundum otium cum familiaribus nostris in suburbano." And that the suburb was the place for friendly society is confirmed delightfully by the younger Pliny, who pretended to prefer his Tuscan villa to a suburban estate at Tibur, Praeneste and Tusculum precisely because it offered greater *otium*, that is, because people were not constantly dropping by from the next villa.⁴⁶

A third distinctive element in suburban social life is the presence, from the age of Augustus on, of the Imperial court. At some time or other in the first three centuries, sometimes over the entire period, we know of Imperial residences maintained near Tibur, Praeneste, Tusculum, Alba, Aricia, Velitrae, Lanuvium and Antium, and over in Etruria at Saxa Rubra, Forum Clodii, Lorium, Alsium and Centumcellae. Closer to town there are the great mansions of the first few miles of the roads out of Rome, and several of the most important *horti*, including those of Lucullus, Sallust, and Maecenas.⁴⁷ This pervasive suburban presence, comparable to the modern so-called "court suburb" and natural to the largest fortune in the empire, must have affected the surrounding society and economy, most notably in those areas beloved over the years by certain emperors, Domitian's Alba or Hadrian's Tibur.⁴⁸ One instance is suggestive, Hadrian's great establishment at Tibur. Initially an attraction for that emperor was doubtless that the region already gloried in a colony of Spanish aristocrats like himself before his accession; indeed he may have been one of them, and his imperial presence there later presumably attracted others. Not surprisingly, in and shortly after Hadrian's reign no fewer than eight Roman magnates, all of them consuls and at least four of them Spaniards, held either a local magistracy or a priesthood at the great temple of Hercules Victor.⁴⁹ This startling burst of municipal patriotism, unprecedented and largely unparalleled, would have considerable repercussions in the life of the town: it was doubtless touched off by the Imperial villa at the foot of the hill.

Finally, and not unconnected with this, there may be a relationship

between suburban life and social mobility, in effect mobility upward into the elite. One thinks of the paradigmatic merchant or professional man who makes his fortune, sinks much of it into a country place, perhaps continues to commute to the office or to oversee his business, and eventually retires to the life of a country gentleman: a modern phenomenon closely reflecting Cicero's classic statement: "Mercatura . . . si satiata quaestu vel contenta potius, ut saepe ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu se in agros possessionesque contulit . . ." ⁵⁰ Or compare Martial's edifying tale (12.72) of the formerly landless lawyer who retires from the city and his small-time practice, purchasing a tiny estate hidden out among the tombs, and who is now in danger of starving because suburban property does not produce much income. ⁵¹ But for those who could afford it a suburban property, lying conveniently near to both the capital city and the seashore, was ideal, and inscriptions amply confirm the connection between geographical and social mobility. Moreover, we know about the previous owners of Cicero's and Balbus' Tusculan villas precisely because certain neighbours had allegedly resented such upstarts buying up properties which had belonged to Roman aristocrats. Cicero's telling reply was to show that he, the equestrian-born lawyer from Arpinum, and Balbus, the Spanish millionaire, had been preceded in their titles by a mere country gentleman from Picenum and by a freedman. ⁵² One might note in addition that if the rising native of a city like Rome or Ostia—or even a boatman on the Tiber (Martial 10.85)—tended to buy land near the places he knew, the suburb of the largest city in the empire must have afforded one of the most heavily travelled routes of upward mobility.

What then did suburban society thus defined do on or with its property and, more particularly, what pursuits seem specially to flourish in the suburban climate or to acquire a distinctively suburban flavour?

While at his Tusculan villa one day, Cicero found that he needed to use certain books, including some commentaries on Aristotle, which he knew to be in the library of the young Lucullus (son of the famous general), so he went over to consult them, as was his custom. At Lucullus' villa he discovered the younger Cato surrounded by the works of Stoic authors. Cato informed him that he too was in residence at his Tusculan villa, since Rome was presently in the grip of the games, and he was preparing a course of study for his ward Lucullus. He and Cicero then fell into a learned conversation broken off only by nightfall, and that alleged conversation is recorded in the *De Finibus* (3.7-10, 4.80). Similarly, Cicero's *Topica* (1.1-6) are developed from a discussion with a jurist friend in his library at Tusculum, and the *De Divinatione* and aptly named *Tusculanae Disputationes* arise from leisurely strolls with friends through the villa's

grounds. In a word, the suburb was held to be the ideal setting for *otium litteratum*. ⁵³ Where Cicero specifies a setting for his rhetorical and philosophical discourses, eight are placed in or take their start from a suburban encounter, while two more are less clear but arguably suburban, one set at his pleasure villa at Cumae on the Bay of Naples, one at his ancestral Arpinum—and none in the city of Rome. ⁵⁴ Not to labour the point, these scenes are fictitious, and Cicero passed much of the time of Caesar's dictatorship at Tusculum, so that it was much on his mind, but his choice of setting must surely have been appreciated by his audience.

For *otium litteratum*, for the leisure to work at what was really important, that is composition, one did not retire to the territory of one's distant homeland, be it Venusia, Sulmo or Verona: that was rustication. Nor did one stay in Rome, if one could avoid it: there was too much *negotium* there. Rather the select few, the creators and men of culture, sought society that was both leisured and cultivated, and this could really be found in only two places in Italy, in the suburb of Rome and on the Bay of Naples. ⁵⁵ Here we must remember the very social nature of culture at Rome. The act of composition was intimately bound up with discussion and reading aloud—for this, suburban villa life, both relaxed and stimulating, was ideally suited. Two elements of this life are of considerable interest; they are mentioned here briefly as subjects worth further investigation. First, the "high culture" of the Roman world was obviously a completely urban culture, its literature the product of city life and city men. The country and its pursuits are seen inevitably through urban spectacles. Take for instance the powerful and pervasive rural idyll, conveyed by, but not confined to, the pastoral: the countryside as a place of happy innocence and true friendship, as a temporary and leisurely retreat, as a pleasant garden (the *locus amoenus*), and particularly as the anti-city, where the vices of urban life are tacitly or explicitly a topic of discourse. ⁵⁶ The pastoral ideal is neither truly rural nor truly urban, but an intimate binding of the two: in short, perhaps, suburban. ⁵⁷

Secondly, urban culture invaded the adjacent countryside physically, in the form of libraries and art galleries, the proper setting for *otium litteratum*. The suburb was a great showplace for the connoisseur: the real alternative to the display of great art in public at Rome was its display in private in the suburb, at one's magnificent villa and near one's choicest books. If you wanted to see art treasures, Cicero claimed, you had to go to Tusculum, and people went to Lucullus' villas just to see his picture galleries. ⁵⁸ An immense quantity of the art now housed in Roman museums actually derives from the ancient suburb. ⁵⁹

After culture, a second suburban pastime of the Roman elite was, not

surprisingly, horticulture, which one might assume would have a broader appeal. Amusing anecdotes abound, suggesting an interest often amounting to passion and reminiscent of the actions of the great *piscinarii*. Thus the orator Hortensius once urged Cicero to change places with him when they were pleading a case together: he had to get out to his Tusculan villa to water with wine a plane-tree he had planted there. Similarly, a century later, the orator Passienus Crispus displayed a quite bizarre passion for a certain beech-tree in a grove of Diana at Tusculum, which he was accustomed to kiss and embrace, to lie under, and to water with wine. Seneca indulged his costly love for viticulture at Nomentum, L. Vitellius won fame for importing the fig and the pistachio to Alba, A. Gabinius looted Cicero's Tusculan villa not only of the exile's art and furniture but of the trees as well.⁶⁰ Particularly telling is Martial's sketch of a parvenu imitating the essentials of aristocratic suburban style: where the great nobleman Torquatus (*cos.* AD 94) had a mansion at the fourth milestone, Otacilius bought a small field; where Torquatus had marble baths, Otacilius had a bath-tub; and where Torquatus laid out a grove of laurel, Otacilius planted one hundred chestnuts.⁶¹ The suburb gave urban man his garden, and the concept is intimately bound up with horticulture.⁶²

The significant element here is that suburban horticulture is the pastime of men of power. This has one striking result. To read impressions ancient and modern of the Campagna is to form a picture of one great parkland. Gardens, orchards, vineyards and parks, not to mention fishponds, game preserves and aviaries, require a great deal of water. It follows that water and water-rights play a conspicuous role in suburban life. The ancient sources emphasize how well-watered the suburb was, and several propertied authors show a keen eye for water supply.⁶³ In fact water was abused. In the early second century BC, Cato the Elder won great unpopularity for simply cutting off those who diverted public water unlawfully into their houses and gardens. In the first century the same problem was treated in a speech *De Aquis* by Cicero's wild young friend, M. Caelius Rufus.⁶⁴ Over a hundred years later again, the elder Pliny complained that two of the great aqueducts, Aqua Marcia and Aqua Virgo, were quite lost to the public because of the ambition and avarice which diverted them to the use of villas and suburban properties, and in the next generation Frontinus confirms that public aqueducts were actually brought to a standstill by private citizens just to water their *horti*.⁶⁵ As the magistrate in charge of the urban water supply and author of a monograph on the subject, Frontinus should have known. He further reports not only dealing with such wrongs daily, but constantly repairing the damage inflicted on the aqueducts by the *impotentia possessorum*, the unrestrained proprietors who built houses

and planted trees too close to the aqueducts, laid roads over them, and refused access for repairs.⁶⁶ Such complaints tally well with other impressions of parts of the Campagna falling into the hands of the few, and of private landowners encroaching upon public land. For the Roman elite, the cultivation of one's garden was not an act of retirement.

It follows that public life was in some ways attracted from the city into the suburb, whatever the private ideal may have been. Again, this is difficult to document. The role of the suburb could of course be quite formal, as the area where a governor reluctant to leave the centre of things might linger before taking up his province (witness M. Lepidus when caught up in the Ides of March), or where one returning from his province would stop, sometimes for months on end, waiting or hoping for a triumph. In the Imperial period the suburb as a threshold takes on a much clearer ceremonial aspect, as the area where a formal entrance into the capital commences, and where the exit ends.⁶⁷ Equally important, the suburb with its combination of privacy and proximity to the city is ideal for private transactions and even intrigue. The prime if rather extreme example is offered by Pompey the Great in the last decade of the Republic, whether he was operating from one of his *horti* next to Rome or from his beloved Alban villa.⁶⁸ In his suburban properties he could quietly take the advice of Cato or intrigue with Crassus, there he could distribute large bribes to the voters, there a crony could engineer a massive private loan to the king of Egypt.⁶⁹ Pompey's case was of course unique, but it is easy to imagine other politicians and businessmen using suburban privacy for the same purposes.

The emperors were Pompey's successors in this as in so much else, Augustus likewise retiring to the suburb. In good times and in bad, moreover, much of the normal business of the empire was conducted from the region around the city.⁷⁰ Intrigues and conspiracies should also follow the court, but such things are generally hidden from us under the Empire.⁷¹ One practice does however stand out, first observable in Tiberius' long and notorious *peregrinatio suburbana* around Rome, pointing the way to mutual distrust between ruler and ruled. The suburb becomes particularly important in time of trouble, a place out of immediate danger, from which one could either crush opposition or take flight. In 68, Nero retreated first to his Servilian *horti* to plan his escape, and he found refuge eventually in a freedman's *suburbanum* to the north of the city: he went no further, and he was long searched for before he was discovered. Commodus had the foresight to be in the suburb when the mob rose against his henchman Cleander, and after the conspiracy of Maternus he retired from Rome, either to his suburban villas or to more distant estates; similarly, after the

fall of Plautianus, Septimius Severus passed his days either in the suburb or in Campania, and Elagabalus waited hopefully in his *horti* for news of the death of Severus Alexander.⁷² For the emperors, suburban privacy had the extra value of safety.

The suburb is thus not only ambiguous, it is a paradox. In their pursuit of suburban health, suburban beauty, and suburban learned leisure, the rulers of Rome cannot help importing into the suburb their urban aesthetics, their urban avocations and, in the end, their urban affairs. Legislators and jurists accordingly seem almost to accept that the suburb was in fact part of the city.⁷³ Their peers might be loath to admit it. There are, to be sure, other historical suburbs hardly touched on here: the suburb of the tenacious smallholder and the tenant farmer revealed by survey and excavation; the suburb of town life in the independent centres of the Campagna, some flourishing, some ghost-ridden; above all the suburb of the dead, ringing the city and straggling out along the roads and byroads nearby, the tombs and cemeteries, pagan and then Christian, that drew a steady stream of the pious and the holiday-makers, and great crowds on the great festivals.⁷⁴ But there was only one *suburbium*, the rustic retreat of the urban elite. No other region was quite like it, but then no other region lay adjacent to the heart of the empire. In the late Republic, the election of a native son to high office at Rome would cause little stir among his fellow citizens at Tusculum: Tusculum was filled to bursting with ex-consuls.⁷⁵ But when a little hill town on the Samnite border seventy or eighty miles away produced a Roman magistrate, that was a great event for the town and even its neighbours. Why should Atina know none of the nobility of Rome so familiar to Tusculum? The answer was simple, and simply summed up by Cicero: it was *non tam suburbana*, not so close to Rome.⁷⁶

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NOTES

1. H.J. Dyos, *Victorian suburb: A study of the growth of Camberwell* (1961) 25, and chapter 1 in general.
2. Apparently the only classical use of the word *suburbium* is that of Cicero, *Phil.* 12.24. Otherwise I have found it only at *Schol. ad Iuvenalem* 4.7.
3. This paper is meant to be no more than an introduction to a subject for which there is a vast amount of information, much of it undigested. Two late Roman bureaucrats compiled a work, now lost, *De locis suburbanis vel diversis itineribus pergentium in suas regiones* (exiguous fragments collected in F. Blume et al., *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* I (1848) 347 f.). The only modern historical treatments have been those of the archaeologist G. Lugli, "Il suburbio

di Roma", *BCAR* 51 (1923) 3-52=his *Studi minori di topografia antica* (1965) 368-383; and of L. Quilici, "La Campagna romana come suburbio di Roma", *PP* 29 (1974) 410-438, and "La villa nel suburbio romano: problemi di studio e di inquadramento storico-topografico", *ArchClass* 31 (1979) 309-317. Of the immense amount of archaeological and topographical information there are several useful if out-of-date surveys: T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in classical times*² (1970), and his series of articles on "The classical topography of the Roman Campagna" in *PBSR* from 1 (1902) 125-285 to 5 (1910) 213-432; and G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna*, 4 vols. (1910-1926; revised and expanded edition in 7 volumes by L. Chiumenti and F. Bilancio (1979)) and more importantly his huge paper "Della Campagna romana nel medio evo" in almost every volume of *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* from 2 (1879) 1-35 to 30 (1907) 333-388. Much of this information will presumably be replaced by the volumes of *Forma Italiae* as they appear: see e.g., the splendid volume of L. Quilici, *Collatia (Forma Italiae I 10, Rome n.d.)*, and particularly the "Lettura storica del territorio" at 27-55. For a concise introduction to the major surviving remains, see F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (1981).

The period surveyed in this paper covers roughly the second century BC to the sixth AD, with necessarily heavy concentration on the years between Cicero and Tacitus. I must emphasize again that this is a broad introduction to the subject: I have therefore largely ignored variations within the region and changes over time.

4. Dion. Hal. 4.13.3-4. I am indebted for this reference to N. Purcell.

5. Yet Symmachus (*Epp.* 3.13.2) could pretend that Spoleto was suburban to Rome. The 100th milestone, from at least the later second century AD, marked the limit of the urban prefect's jurisdiction and of that of lesser officers, the *urbana dioecesis*, and had been used earlier for (e.g.) the boundary excluding *dediticii* from Rome. See J. Patsch, "Der hundertste Meilenstein", in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie. Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (1898) 3-19, discussing Rome's boundaries in general; R. Thomsen, *The Italic regions from Augustus to the Lombard invasions* (1947) 153-163; A. von Gerkan, "Grenzen und Grössen der vierzehn Regionen Roms," *BJ* 149 (1949) 5-65.

6. I select one reference for each: Ovid, *Fasti* 6.57 ff. assures Tibur, Praeneste, Bovillae, Aricia, Lanuvium and Lavinium; Martial 4.64.14 f., Saxa Rubra and Fidenae; Pliny, *NH* 14.50, Nomentum; Cicero, *Att.* 7.3.6 + 12.34.1, Ficulea; *Liber Magonis* (F. Blume et al., *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* I 349), Gabii; Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.98, Tusculum; Suetonius, *Aug.* 6.1, Velitrae; Martial 5.1.3-4, Antium; Pliny, *NH* 26.19, Ager Pomptinus. Note the virtual absence of Etruria in the literature: beyond the immediate vicinity of Rome it may have been thought less desirable (see below), yet the great roads into Etruria are just as lined with gardens, villas and imperial palaces as those on the other side of the Tiber (including, for that matter, the Via Ostiensis), and oblique arguments can show that the ancients considered them suburban. E.g., Edward Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980) 22 f.; or the villa of the Septimii at Veii (*HA Severus* 4.5 as emended by Hammond, with Statius, *Silvae* 4.5.55), the future emperor's only property in Italy.

7. Strabo 5.3.12 (Loeb translation, my italics). See the maps in Ashby, Quilici, etc. (n. 3 above). Generally speaking, the closer to Rome the denser the habitation: cf. T.W. Potter, *The changing landscape of southern Etruria* (1979) 120 ff.

8. Martial 6.43.9 (*urbis vicina* etc.); Columella 1.1.19; Pliny, *Epp.* 2.17.2 and 1.24; Suetonius, *Aug.* 82.1.

9. *FIRA*² 1.68.5, 104 ff.: *senatusconsultum* of 4 BC empowers the magistrate empanelling certain senatorial juries to select from those living in Rome or within 20 miles of the city.

10. For the notion that proximity to Rome distinguishes *horti* see D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's letters to Atticus* III (1968) 307, cf. *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 209. On the purpose, nature and location, P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains*² (1969).

11. E.g., Statius, *Silvae* 4.4.7 (*suburbani horti*), cf. *CIL* II 4332=*Inschr.* v. *Tarraco* 368 (*hortos coherentes sive suburbanum*).

12. Thus, Cicero, *Att.* 8.2.3 "non in suburbanis, non in hortis, non in ipsa urbe"; Cicero, *Phil.* 8.9 "aedis optimas, hortos, Tusculana, Albana"; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.53.6 "hortos . . . suburbana . . . agrorum spatiis . . . lato faenore" (q.v.); Ulpian, *Dig.* 49.4.1.9 "quod ad domum eius non venerit quodque in hortos non accesserit, et ulterius quod ad villam suburbanam;" and above all Nepos, *Att.* 14.3 "nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia, praeter Arretinum et Nomentanum, rusticum praedium" (a passage worth further thought).

13. One connotation of this proximity is certainly a heightened sense of refuge, a greater artificiality for those who could afford it, with the emphasis on pleasure and little hint of more serious occupations. Compare the outskirts of eighteenth-century London, where private parks nearest the city tended more to stables and greenhouses than to livestock and crops, farms or timber. "They are ornamental gardens, suburban playgrounds for men-about-town. Their charms are rustic, not rural" (H.C. Prince, in J.T. Coppock and H.C. Prince, *Greater London* (1964) 343). The same distinction should apply between (say) Lucullus' *horti* and his *Tusculanum*.

14. Dyos, *op. cit.* (n. 1) 21.

15. I have found the following particularly illuminating: Dyos, *op. cit.* 19-50; F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead. Building of a borough, 1650-1964* (1974) 1-131; L. Stone and J.C.F. Stone, "Country houses and their owners in Hertfordshire, 1540-1879", in W.O. Aydelotte et al., *The dimensions of quantitative research in history* (1972) 56-123; L. Stone, "The residential development in the West End of London in the seventeenth century," in B.C. Malament (ed.), *After the Reformation. Essays in honor of J.H. Hexter* (1980) 167-212; D.R. Coffin, *The villa in the life of Renaissance Rome* (1979) 7-60; J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et vie sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du xvi^e siècle* (1959).

16. E.g., Seneca, *Epp.* 104.1: "in Nomentanum meum fugi—quid putas? urbem? immo febrem et quidem subreptem", cf. "protinus mutatam valetudinem sensi" and *Ben.* 4.12.3 (n. 35, below); or Catullus 44 on his *villa suburbana*: "malamque pectore expuli tussim". *Salubritas* of the suburb is acclaimed from at least Cicero's Cato (*Cicero, Rep.* 1) to Symmachus (*Epp.* 2.22.1, cf. 3.50, 9.83).

17. E.g., Juvenal 3.190 ff., contrasting the quiet of Praeneste, Volsinii, Gabii

and Tibur with Rome; Martial 6.43, "Nomentani . . . otia ruris", cf. 12.57; Strabo 5.3.5, Antium as the retreat of Rome's rulers. Scipio and Laelius relaxed at Laurentum (Cicero, *De Orat.* 2.22), while Symmachus enjoyed its *otium* five centuries later (*Epp.* 4.44). Cf. J. Summerson on *Georgian London* (1946) 255: "The essence of suburban life is the townsman's deliberate pursuit of health and relaxation."

18. *Epp.* 3.82.

19. *Epp.* 2.17. *Amoenitas* is noted also from at least the day of Sulla (Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 133) to that of Cassiodorus (*Var.* 4.51.2).

20. Ps.-Jerome, *Epp.* 6, *Ad amicum aegrotum* 2 (*PL* 30.83B). I owe this reference to Peter Brown.

21. B.W. Frier, *Landlord and tenant in Imperial Rome* (1980) 39-47. Note Suetonius, *Tib.* 35.2: a senator who waited in his *horti* until 1 July, when rents in Rome went down. Particularly suggestive (and not noted by Frier) are the many over-confident Republicans who, before Pharsalus, sent to Rome to *rent* houses appropriate for praetors and consuls (Plutarch, *Caesar* 42.2): that is to say, they presumably did not own appropriate property in the city.

22. *Aug.* 72.2.

23. 2.38.

24. Implicit elsewhere, cited explicitly as a pleasure at Terence, *Eun.* 971-973.

25. Cf. the works cited in n. 3 above.

26. Livy 33.6.7, with the comment of J. Briscoe *ad loc.* A very similar situation in the suburb of Rome at Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.82.

27. Agennius Urbicus, in F. Blume et al., *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* I 88 and 86.

28. Strabo 5.3.2; Lucan 7.391; Cicero, *Planc.* 23; Jerome, *Epp.* 127.8: all standard references. See above all P.A. Brunt, *Italian manpower* (1971) 345-350 for discussion. For the archaeologist's view of "a persistent tendency towards the absorption of smallholdings into larger estates", especially near Rome, see G.D.B. Jones, *PBSR* n.s. 18 (1963) 146 ff., and compare A. Kahane et al., *PBSR* n.s. 23 (1968) 151 ff. See the informative survey by L. Quilici of settlements in the countryside, at *PP* 29 (1974) 425-430.

30. Respectively, Cicero, *Leg. Agr.* 2.78; Seneca, *Epp.* 87.7; Martial 4.64.31 ff. (cf. 1.85: slaves, flocks, produce); *IGRR* I 194.1.50 ff., 2.9 ff., 20, 23 f. Suburban estates of 1000 iugera at Cicero, *Att.* 13.31.4 and Varro, *RR* 2.3.10. In late antiquity, the Imperial palace *ad duas lauros* on the via Labicana purportedly covered a vast area: *LP* 1.183 D, cf. *JDAI (R)* 72 (1957) 45. Compare Coffin (n. 15 above) 369: the growth of Renaissance *villeggiatura* has a similar effect, larger estates driving out smaller.

31. The material for Latium is to be published by M.-A. Tomei, to whom I am indebted for showing me some preliminary results.

32. Pliny, *NH* 14.48. At *NH* 14.50, Pliny is unique in claiming that prices in suburban areas were low (*nota vilitas*), but the text is troublesome and the sense does not seem to fit the context. Contrast Columella, recommending suburban land to his readers above all other land as being easy to oversee, and readers of Martial will recall that one did not expect a profit from one's *suburbanum*.

33. Catullus 44; A. Kahane et al. (n. 28 above) 153-157.

34. Columella 1.1.19 (Loeb translation); Pliny, *Epp.* 6.19.1
35. Seneca, *Ben.* 4.12.3: the point of the remark is not that an invalid cares for nothing more than health, not even money, but rather that suburban villas were bought for their beneficial qualities, not for serious agriculture, hence one paid no regard to profit. Tibur had precisely the same attractions as Hampstead would have, with the same results: "The slopes gave advantages of drainage, water supply, and fresh air which the wealthier sort were prepared to pay for, thus driving property values beyond the reach of the lower ranks" (F.M.L. Thompson (n. 15 above) 73).
36. Pliny, *NH* 22.12; Cicero, *Att.* 4.5.2.
37. *Pro Balbo* 56.
38. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's letters to Atticus V* (1966) 404-413.
39. For low succession rate among the senatorial order, at least, see K. Hopkins and G. Burton, in K. Hopkins, *Death and renewal* (1983) 31-200.
40. Cicero, *Leg.* 2.3-5; Pliny, *Epp.* 7.11.5 and 2.15.2, explicitly excluding ancestral estates from those for sale to a friend. For rapid turnover in antiquity: E. Rawson, "The Ciceronian aristocracy and its properties", in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman property* (1976) 85-102; with important modifications by S. Treggiari, "Sentiment and property: some Roman attitudes", in A. Parel and T. Flanagan (ed.), *Theories of property* (1979) 53-85. The phenomenon of clinging to family land in the country while easily acquiring and discarding property near the city is observable in early modern London: L. Stone, "Residential development" (n. 15 above) 195. For sale, resale and exchange in Renaissance Rome, see Coffin (n. 15 above) 59: "The desire to seek the most beneficial locations for *villeggiatura* created a confusing game of imusical chairs'"
41. On the central importance of the shrines of Latium: G. Bodei Giglioli, "Pecunia fanatica. L'incidenza economica dei tempi Laziali", *RSI* 89 (1977) 33-76.
42. Note in this respect the important paper by N. Purcell, "The *apparitores*: a study in social mobility", *PBSR* 51 (1983) 125-173, esp. 161 ff.
43. This is very difficult to quantify without a full analysis of the evidence. Take for example, however, the convenient lists provided by W. Eck, "Die Präsenz senatorischer Familien in den Städten des Imperium Romanum bis zum späten 3. Jahrhundert", in W. Eck et al., *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (1980) 283-322. List Ia gives examples of senators holding municipal office in Italy, IIa examples of non-magisterial activity. To take each item without further discussion, there are 34 instances of such presence in suburban towns; of these 17 items are instantly recognizable as concerning native gentry, 8 more can be excluded as a very special case (n. 49 below), and 3 are to all intents anonymous. Given the extraordinarily high density of senators in the region, their local showing is particularly poor. This will have to be developed elsewhere. (My impression is that local activity increased under the later Empire: perhaps a result of the Roman aristocracy's losing its Mediterranean role.)
44. Cicero, *Att.* 9.9.4, 13.47a.1 (Antium): sold by Cicero to Lepidus.
45. For example, from Cicero's letters to Atticus in the summer of 45: "commodum discesseras heri cum Trebatius venit, paulo post Curtius, hic salutandi causa, sed mansit invitatus. Trebatium nobiscum habemus. hodie mane Dolabella.

- multus sermo ad multum diem" (13.9); "de Varrone loquebamur: lupus in fabula. venit enim ad me. . . paulo post C. Capito cum T. Carrinate" (13.33a); "fuit apud me Lamia post discessum tuum. . ." (13.45).
46. Symmachus, *Epp.* 2.57.1; Pliny 5.6.45 ("nemo accersitor ex proximo"). If Cicero is historically faithful at *Rep.* 1.14, 17, 18, such gatherings occurred already in the mid-second century BC.
47. Recorded by O. Hirschfeld, "Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten", *Klio* 2 (1902) 55-70=his *Kleine Schriften* (1913) 528-544. There is no complete modern collection of the archaeological record.
48. J.H. D'Arms, *Commerce and social standing in ancient Rome* (1981) 95 f., emphasizes the effect of the presence or absence of the imperial court on social and economic life around the Bay of Naples, drawing a parallel with the rise and decline of the châteaux of the Loire valley. For comparison there is also the court suburb of "Imperial Kensington", a village with not only great suburban mansions and parks but a royal palace acting as a magnet, both to rural aristocrats needing a place near town and to London citizens on the rise: D.A. Reeder, "A theatre of suburbs. Some patterns of development in West London, 1801-1911", in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The study of urban history* (1968) 253 ff.
49. *Inscr. It.* 4.1.98, 109, 113, 115, 126, 127, 128, 129 (et al.). On the Spanish colony, R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958) 602.
50. *De Officiis* 1.150.
51. Note also the article by N. Purcell on the *apparitores* (n. 42).
52. References in nn. 36 and 37. Similar resentment at Plutarch, *Pompeius* 40.8 and Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 133, both against freedmen.
53. On the concept of *otium*, literary and otherwise: J.-M. André, *L'otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine des origines à l'époque augustéenne* (1966). At *Epp.* 1.24, the younger Pliny, looking out for a suburban farm for Suetonius, lists as one of a scholar's needs enough land for enjoyment but not distraction.
54. Suburban: *Topica*, *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *De Divinatione*, *De Republica*, *De Finibus* (the last two books), *De Amicitia*; and possibly *De Natura Deorum* and *De Senectute*.
55. On the latter: J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (1970).
56. R. Poggioli, *The oaten flute. Essays on pastoral poetry and the pastoral ideal* (1975) 1-41; T.G. Rosenmeyer, *The green cabinet. Theocritus and the European pastoral lyric* (1969). Note D.M. Halperin, *Before pastoral: Theocritus and the ancient tradition of bucolic poetry* (1983) 61-64, quoting L. Marx, *The machine in the garden* (1964) 22: "Ideal pasture has two vulnerable borders: one separates it from Rome, the other from the encroaching marshland Living in an oasis of rural pleasure, he (Tityrus) enjoys the best of both worlds—the sophisticated order of art and the simple spontaneity of nature."
57. Most of Rome's major poets, it might be noted, owned property in the suburb, for which they exhibit a warm, if urbane, fondness. Of the leading lights: Terence, Catullus, Horace, Tibullus, Ovid, Persius, Statius, Martial, possibly Juvenal. We know of no properties belonging to Plautus or Lucretius; Vergil had a farm near Nola.

58. Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.126; Varro, *RR* 1.2.10; cf. Pliny, *NH* 36.23, 115, *et al.*
59. A statement necessarily vague, but true: the provenances of the art work accumulated over the centuries in the existing collections in Rome have never been collected and analyzed to form a picture of ancient taste. Impressions can be formed from R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, 4 vols. (1902-1912), covering the years 1000-1605; and H. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*⁴, ed. H. Speier, 4 vols. (1963-1972). Brief remarks at L. Quilici, *PP* 29 (1974) 433; C. C. Vermeule, *Greek sculpture and Roman taste* (1977) 47 f., 65-72.
60. Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.13.3; Pliny, *NH* 16.242; Seneca, *Epp.* 104; Columella 3.33; Pliny, *NH* 14.51 and 15.83; Cicero, *De Domo* 62.
61. Martial 10.79.
62. The suburb was of course renowned for both staple produce and delicacies: e.g. *CIL* VI 33840 (*colonus hortorum olitoriorum qui sunt via Ostiensi*) and Varro, *RR* 1.16.3. (profits from suburban violet and rose gardens), respectively.
63. Strabo 5.3.11; Pliny, *NH* 31.42, etc. Note Cicero, *Att.* 5.12.3: "eo sis animo quo soles esse de aqua."
64. Plutarch, *Cato* 19.1; Frontinus, *Aq.* 2.76.
65. Pliny, *NH* 31.42; Frontinus 2.75, cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.43.
66. 2.126.
67. Another subject worth investigation, with considerable evidence. Early examples at Dio 56.1.1, 56.31.2. Cf. Coffin (n. 15 above) 149 ff., for Renaissance Rome.
68. In the end, he sat with his troops in the suburb and thus won the senate's loyalty, says Dio (41.2.1 and 3.3), even summoning it to meet there, and (in Caesar's accusation, *BC* 1.85.8) he ran the state from the gates of the city.
69. Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 48.1; Cicero, *Att.* 4.11.1; Plutarch, *Pompeius* 44.4; Cicero, *Rab. Post.* 6; Plutarch, *Cicero* 31.2 f. (an extreme instance of seeking favour).
70. Much evidence is collected by F. Millar, *The emperor in the Roman world* (1977) 22-27.
71. Dio 53.19, but note a couple of cases of tampering with suburban troops: Suetonius, *Galba* 12.3; Dio 79.4.6.
72. Suetonius, *Tib.* 72.1; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.47.5; Dio 58.21.1 and 24.1; Suetonius, *Nero* 47, Dio 63.27.3, 72.13.4; Herodian 1.11.5, 3.13.1; *HA Elag.* 13.5 and 14.2.
73. *FIRA*² 1.68. (4 BC, see n. 9 above); *Dig.* 32.41.6 (Scaevola decides that property at Gades included a *suburbana adiacens possessio*); *Dig.* 33.9.4.4 (Paul decides whether "at home" includes *intra continentia* or just *intra murum*). Compare Cicero, *Planc.* 22, contrasting rustic virtue with *artificium simulationis vel suburbanum vel etiam urbanum*.
74. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman world* (1971), for a convenient introduction. For the Christian presence, L. Reekmans, "L'implantation monumentale chrétienne dans la zone suburbaine de Rome du iv^e au ix^e siècle", *RAC* 44 (1968) 173-207; and for its *urban* significance, P. Brown, *The cult of the saints. Its rise and function in Latin Christianity* (1981) 42-49.

75. Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 19. Cicero's point is that Tusculum has more consular families than all the other *municipia* put together, as he says at the beginning of the passage, while Atina of course has none: native sons rise because of proximity to the capital in the former. Yet he is *also* saying that the inhabitants of Tusculum are blasé *quia refertum est municipium consularibus*, which can only mean that they see consulars of all kinds daily, that is the *suburbani*, for the simple reason that in 54 BC there were no known consulars of Tusculan origin.

76. My thanks for helpful comment from N. Purcell and, again, for the patient and thoughtful criticism of Professor Badian.