3

LOCAL IDENTITY: NEIGHBOURS AND NEIGHBOURHOODS

The terms 'neighbours' and 'neighbourhood' are used frequently in any discussion of the modern city. The city is often viewed as composed of a series of local communities, each with its own identity, which are centred upon a particular neighbourhood. In this conception of the city, each neighbourhood is spatially defined and perceived as a separate entity. However, the term 'neighbourhood', like 'community', is notorious for the variety of meanings attached to it (Bulmer 1986: 17). Some definition of the terminology used in this chapter is necessary. Neighbours are simply defined as those people who live in close proximity to one another. In contrast, a neighbourhood is 'an effectively defined terrain or locality inhabited by neighbours' (Bulmer 1986: 21). This suggests that 'the word neighbourhood has two general connotations: physical proximity to a given object of attention, and intimacy of association among people living in close proximity to one another' (Hawley 1968: 73 quoted in Bulmer 1986: 19). Bert Lott (2004: 18–24) has examined the possibility of the *vici* in Rome corresponding to the North American concept of 'defended neighbourhoods', which he in the end rejects in favour of a meaning of neighbourhood being construed as a 'contrived community' with limited actual cohesion (Lott 2004: 23). The problem of definition defeats the usefulness of either of these terms. The very difficulty of competing notions of neighbourhood, defined not just institutionally via the local government and worship at crossroad shrines in the *vici*, needs to include the division of space and access to key services. These ideas of neighbourhoods and neighbours are examined in this chapter to investigate the possibilities of identifying spatial divisions across the city.

'Neighbourhood' is a term that usually refers to a subset of the city and is identified by a name of a district, such as Kilburn in London within the larger institutional division of Brent. Yet such institutional divisions of the city might compete with others: local identity based on the proximity to a topographical feature, such as Queen's Park, or even basic amenities such as stations in the public transport system. In contrast, the word 'neighbour' is associated with those acquaintances and friends known to a person, as well as those unknown, who live in close proximity to that person's home (Porteous

1977: 68–89). Such concepts were not unfamiliar to those living in the Roman world. The word *vicus* (ward) referred to the institutional nature of a neighbourhood of the city, and those living in that *vicus* were termed *vicani.* This is not to be confused with the term *vicini*, which refers to neighbours (Mouritsen 1990: 146–7). Some names of groups which appear in the electoral notices of Pompeii (Forenses, Campanienses, Salinienses, *Urbulanenses*) have been associated, by modern scholars, with the *vici* of the city (*CIL* 4.783, Forenses, *CIL* 4.470, 480, Campanienses, *CIL* 4.128, Salinienses, *CIL* 4.7667, 7676, 7706, 7747, Urbulanenses = F21–24, F61). Three of these names were also names for three of the gates of the city: the Porta Campana, now Porta di Nola, the Porta Saliniensis, now Porta di Ercolano, and the Porta Urbulanenses, now Porta di Sarno (Castrén 1975: 80; Mouritsen 1988: 67–8). This might suggest that the *vici* were named after the gates of the city. However, it is unlikely that we have a full sample of all the names of the *vici* from our surviving evidence. The correspondence between the names of the gates and the *vici* should not be overstated. The terms cannot be pinned down to any cohesive geographical or social unit, because our evidence is composed of only six electoral notices in four streets (Castrén 1975: 80–2 associates the *vici* with electoral districts and attempts to delimit them on rather spurious grounds). It is rather the historical context of the division of Pompeii into *vici* that provides us with the evidence, which begins to address the question of neighbourhood and local identity (see Lott 2004: 12–18). When the colony had been set up under Sulla, all the trappings of Roman culture had been grafted on to the existing city. These included the local cult of the *Lares Compitales*, and a division of the city into *vici*, local neighbourhoods, with two magistrates being selected for each *vicus* (*CIL* 4.60 = E62 gives a list of *magistri vici et compiti* for 47/46 BC). It is a reasonable assumption that this division of the city into *vici* responded to or, at least, bore some relationship to the system in Rome. Other cities in Italy, for example Rimini (*CIL* 11.377, 379, 404, 418, 419, 421, 6378), were divided into *vici*, and some, such as Puteoli, were also configured into *vici* and *regiones* (Camodeca 1977). What is fundamentally different between the situation in Rome and that of Pompeii, however, is the sheer scale of the division of space and population into their constituent *vici*. Rome with a population verging on 1 million was subdivided into 265 *vici*, whereas the other cities of Italy would appear to have been divided into between five and seven *vici* (Camodeca 1977: 90). Puteoli would seem to have followed the lead of Rome rather more closely than Pompeii (Camodeca 1977: 92). By analysing the relatively abundant literary and epigraphic evidence from the city of Rome, we can begin to gain a broader understanding of the local divisions of the city, which offers us a model from which to measure the degree of conformity or diversity found at Pompeii.

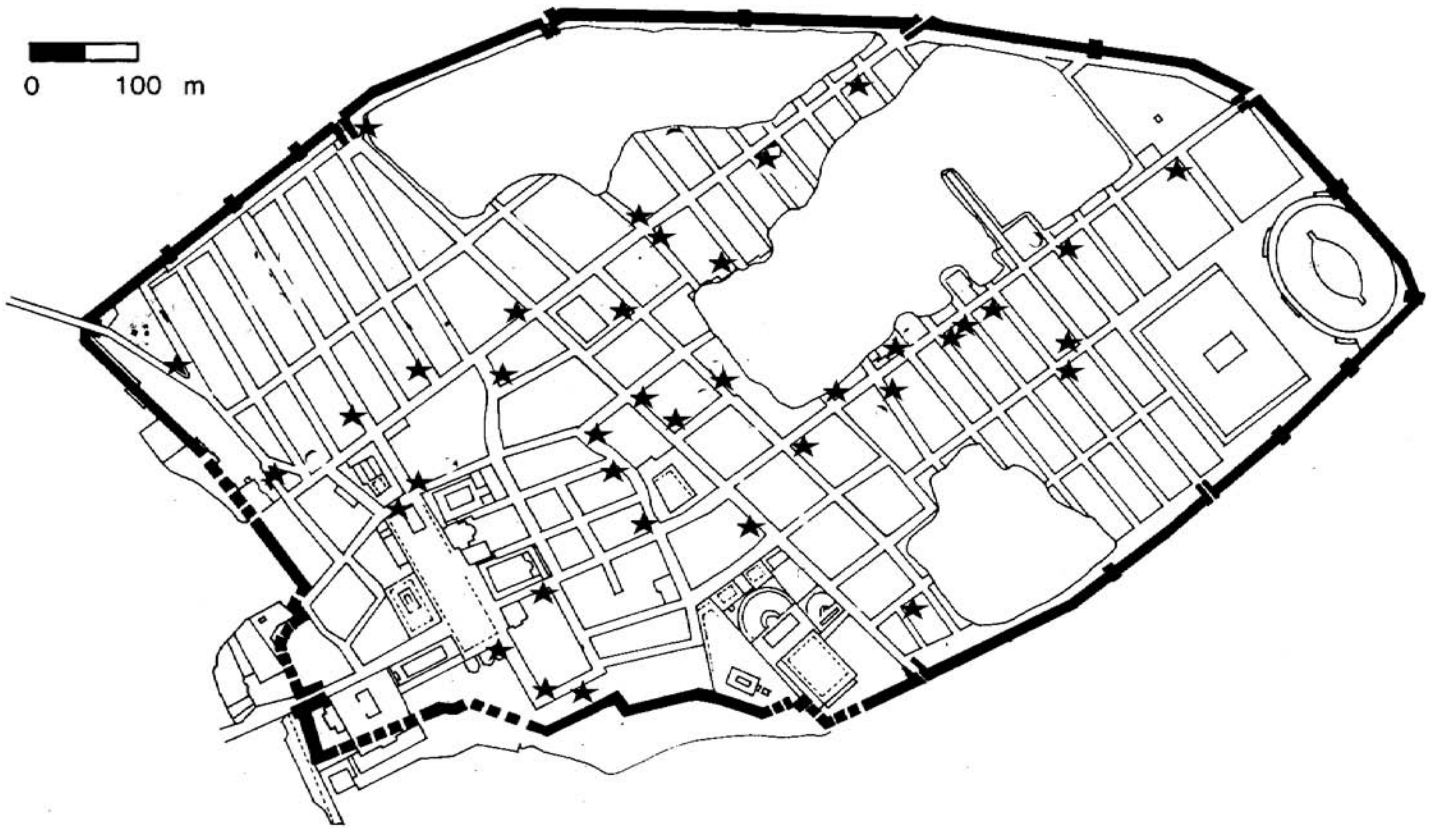
The city of Rome was divided into a number of local units known as *vici*, each with its own pair of magistrates and cult of the *Lares Compitales* located

at key crossroads (on *vici* in Rome see Flambard 1977 and 1981; Laurence 1991 and now Lott 2004 for discussion and listing of evidence for late republic and early empire). It was at the shrines of the *Lares Compitales* that the *magistri vici* celebrated festivals such as the *Compitalia*. Thus each inhabitant of the city was a member of a *vicus*, which had magistrates and its own local cult of the *Lares Compitales.* This organisation would have provided each individual inhabitant with a sense of identity and place in the city. The *vici* played an important part in politics, and were utilised by Publius Clodius for the organisation of violent demonstrations in the 50s BC (Vanderbroeck 1987; Lott 2004: 51–60). The administrative division of Rome underwent a fundamental review under Augustus: in 7 BC, the city was divided into fourteen *regiones*, which replaced the four existing *regiones* (Suet., *Aug.* 30). These *regiones* were utilised for organising the administration of the city (Robinson 1991: 9–13). Further, according to Suetonius, Augustus divided the city into *vici* and magistrates were selected annually by lot in each *vicus* (Suet., *Aug.* 30; Dio 55.8 notes that officials had two lictors: Liv. 31.4.5). This is strange: *vici* had existed in Rome prior to this date (e.g. Cic., *Dom.* 54). It would appear that Augustus was altering the spatial configuration of the *vici* to form a new structure that would replace the existing *vici* (contra Lott 2004: 84–98). Later in the same year, Augustus gave the *magistri vici* the images of the *Lares Augusti.* This is known from the excavation of a structure associated with the *magistri vici* close to the Porticus Aemilia (Mancini 1935; Degrassi 1935, 1947; Lott 2004: 91–6, Fig.7a–c). The excavation uncovered a double-sided slab giving details of the annual calendar, a list of consuls from 43 BC, and a list of *magistri vici* from 7 BC, specifically stating that those of 7 BC were the first *magistri vici.* It was to these magistrates that Augustus had given the images of the *Lares Augusti.* The *Lares Augusti* were not a new cult: an inscription refers to their existence in 59 BC (*ILLRP* 200). Not surprisingly, under Augustus they took on a larger role. These *Lares Augusti* were to be placed in the new shrines of the *vici*. Thus, in effect, the new Augustan *vici* associated with the *Lares Augusti* overlie the older *vici* associated with the *Lares Compitales*. It should be stressed that the *Lares Compitales* continued to exist in the city (Suet., *Aug.* 31 refers to the Augustan revival of *Ludi Compitales*). The census for AD 73 recorded 265 of them (Plin., *N.H.* 3.66). The revived cult of the *Lares Augusti* eventually overtook the cult of the *Lares Compitales*. Also, the original division of Rome into *vici* was forgotten in favour of the Augustan division of the city into *regiones* and *vici* (Suet., *Aug.* 30). This was a new division of the city into *vici* and *regiones* and, in consequence, the new shrines did not always coincide with the extant shrines of the *Lares Compitales* (contra Lott 2004: 101). In Augustan Rome, local identity was centred upon the new division of the city into *vici* and the new cult of the *Lares Augusti*.

If we can identify any evidence that such social processes occurred in Pompeii, we can begin to understand the spatial division of the city that formed the basis for an inhabitant's local identity. Epigraphic evidence for

the *vici* of Pompeii is not abundant. A single inscription refers to a list of *magistri vici et compiti* for the year 47 or 46 BC (*CIL* 4.60 = E62). This would suggest that Pompeii, like Rome, was divided into *vici*, with magistrates who oversaw the shrines of the *compita* (crossroads) in the republic. Evidence for a reorganisation of this structure, in 7 BC, is derived from a small number of inscriptions referring to the *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* (*CIL* 10.924, 814, 853, 1042, 1074 = F97, D70, D1, F98, D8; Mouritsen 1988: 94; Castrén 1975: 275–6). We know that the first *ministri* of this *pagus* were established in 7 BC, the same year that the *magistri vici* were set up in Rome (*CIL* 10.924 = F97). Epigraphic evidence also establishes that this *pagus* had *magistri Augusti*, as well as *ministri Augusti* (*CIL* 10.814, 853, 1042, 1074 = F97, D70, D1, F98, D8). I think we may assume that these were established in 7 BC. An epitaph found on a tomb outside the Porta Herculensis (*CIL* 10.1042 = F98) was set up to M. Arrius Diomedes, a *magister* in the *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus.* Underneath the inscription were two carved *fasces* representing the emblems of office. Significantly, in Rome, the *magistri vici* were permitted to have two lictors carrying *fasces* (Dio 55.8; Liv. 31.4.5). It would seem that in Pompeii these *magistri Augusti* also had the *fasces* carried before them as emblems of their office. Therefore, we have evidence for the reorganisation or establishment of the *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* in 7 BC. This would have been a division of the city's territory close to Pompeii. The *pagus* is well represented epigraphically, unlike other *pagi* and *vici* of Pompeii (but see De Franciscis 1976). However, given the nature of the evidence for the *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* and how it mirrors the reorganisation of the *vici* at Rome, I think we can infer that a similar reorganisation of the *vici* and the other *pagi* of Pompeii did occur in 7 BC.

This reorganisation of the *vici* should be reflected in the archaeological remains of Pompeii. There are a number of altars found at the crossroads of streets in Pompeii (see Map 3.1 and Plate 3.1). The majority of these altars include paintings of the *Lares* above them (van Andringa 2000 provides a full catalogue of remains; see also Spinazzola 1953: 163–85; Fröhlich 1991). They may also include scenes of sacrifice and images of other gods and serpents (many of the paintings have now faded, and we rely upon earlier accounts for their description: Mau 1899: 233–6; Fiorelli 1875: 81, 82, 108, 175, 214, 249, 273, 303, 324, 343; *NS* 1911: 417–24). The distribution pattern of these altars in the city raises the question of whether the altar was at the centre of a *vicus.* If so, some of these *vici* would be extremely small units of only a few households. More likely, since most of the altars were sited on the major through-routes of the city, they may have been the markers of a boundary between two *vici.* For example, those along Via dell'Abbondanza would have been visible to anyone entering the city at Porta di Sarno as they moved towards the forum. These altars may have defined the linear perimeter between one *vicus* to the south and another *vicus* to the north of Via dell'Abbondanza. The electoral notices mentioning the *Urbulanenses* all appear on the north side of Via



Map 3.1 Location of street shrines

Plate 3.1 Street shrine at the north-west corner of *Insula* 9.8

dell'Abbondanza (*CIL* 4.7676 at 3.4.1; *CIL* 4.7706 at 3.4.3; *CIL* 4.7747 = F61 at 3.6.1). There is also a very fragmentary list of magistrates from the *vicus Urbulanenses* at 9.7.1 (*CIL* 4.7807; see Jongman 1988: 304–6, which should be read with the critique by Mouritsen 1990). None of the altars of the *Lares* from Pompeii included an image of the Genius of Augustus (Mau 1899: 233; Fishwick 1995: 18–19). Therefore, it is possible that these altars were dedicated to the *Lares Compitales* in the late republic. It should be noted that some of the altars had fallen into disuse. For example, the altar at the south-east corner of *Insula* 9.4 was incorporated into the rear wall of the Central Baths. Other altars may have been removed, which might explain the uneven distribution of altars in the city. In the Augustan period, in Rome, the *magistri vici* had been presented with two images of the *Lares Augusti*. These images would appear to have been kept in a central shrine, like that excavated close to the Porticus Aemilia (Mancini 1935). In effect, at Rome, the altars of the *Lares Compitales* were overshadowed by the centralised cult of the *Lares Augusti*. In Pompeii, the structure at 6.1.13 is of a similar nature to that found in Rome near the Porticus Aemilia (Fiorelli 1875: 81; Degrassi 1935; Mancini 1935). There are two other structures that can also be associated with this cult (6.8.14 and 8.4.24, Fiorelli 1875: 122, 343; Mau 1899: 235). The *Lares Augusti* did not replace the *Lares Compitales*. However, in the first century AD, there

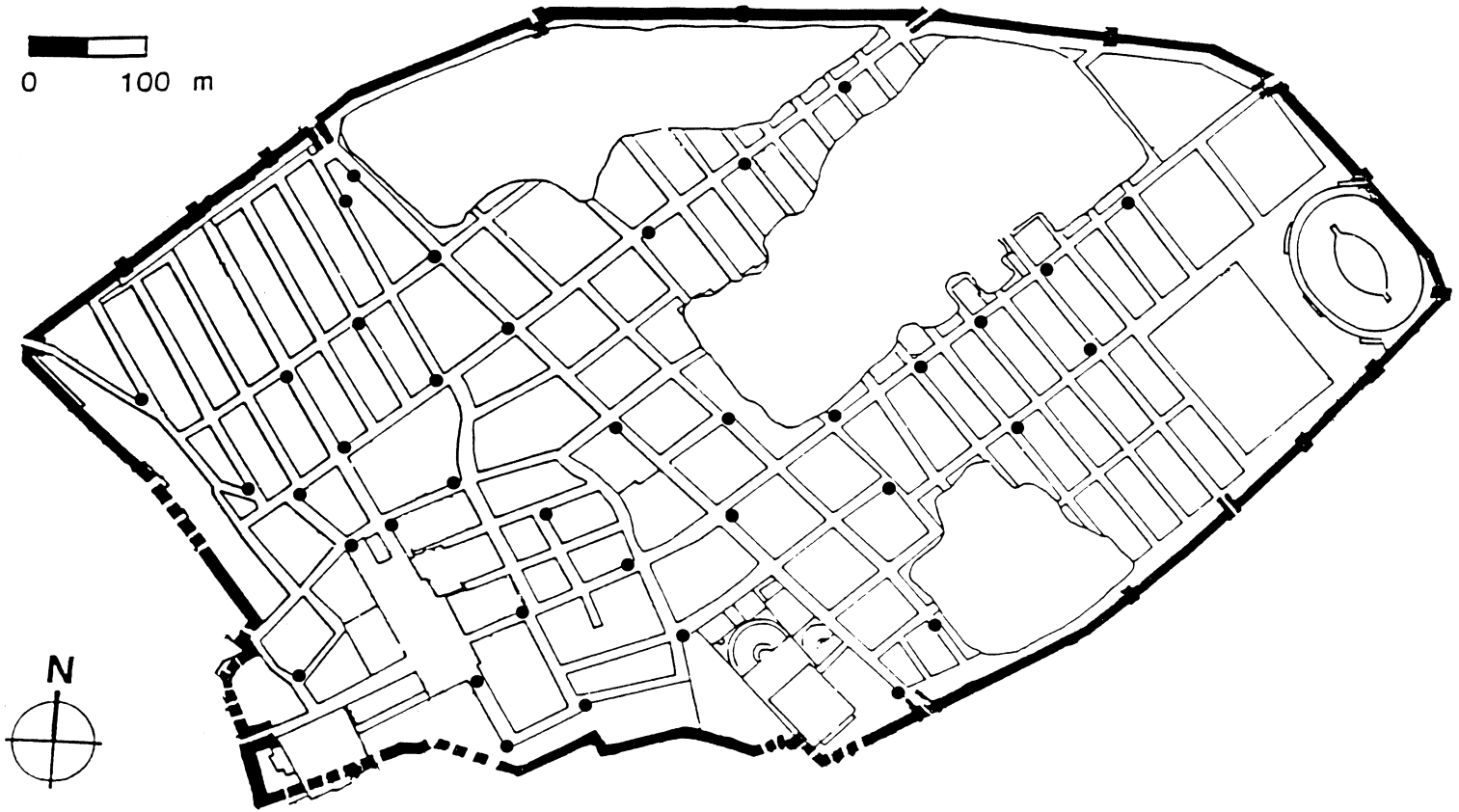
was a tendency for people to associate more strongly with the *Lares Augusti* rather than the *Lares Compitales*, which may have caused some altars of the *Lares Compitales* to have been neglected or even removed. Therefore, in Pompeii, we are seeing this process of transition, in which the identity of the inhabitants of each *vicus* became concentrated upon the centralised shrine of the *Lares Augusti* rather than the altars of the *Lares Compitales* that marked the boundaries of the pre-Augustan *vici* of their ancestors. This would suggest that in Augustan Pompeii, the shape of urban space was fundamentally altered with respect to the *vici* and the inhabitants' local identity.

Neighbourhoods can also be defined through an examination of the provision of public fountains (Plate 3.2; Jansen 1991; Nishida 1991: 91–8; Eschebach 1979; Eschebach and Schäfer 1983; Mygind 1917 and 1921 provide detailed evidence). These fountains would have been used by people in close proximity to them and provided a point of contact between neighbours (Map 3.2). The fountains are considered to be Augustan in date (Richardson 1988: 51–63; Zanker 1988a: 38–40), and were associated with the building of Pompeii's aqueduct. Unlike aqueducts elsewhere, Pompeii's supply was built to supply high-quality drinking water and water for display in houses, including private bathing facilities, rather than to supply water to new sets of public

Plate 3.2 A fountain in Via della Fortuna

baths (Coulton 1987: 82; Jansen 2001; de Haan 2001). Also, the aqueduct would have provided for the existing demands for water: for the baths, private houses and public supplies. This replaced an earlier system utilising wells and cisterns in the city (see Richardson 1988: 51–3 for wells), as can be seen graphically at a crossroads in Via delle Consolare (Plate 3.3). The deep well behind the fountain was filled up with a deposit that included pottery, lamps and other items. This evidence provided an Augustan date for the fill. As the well had been replaced by the fountain, we can assume that the fountain and, by inference, the aqueduct are Augustan (Richardson 1988: 56; *NS* 1910: 563–7). This suggests either that something was fundamentally wrong with the water supply from wells or that there was a new demand for good-quality water that led the city of Pompeii to undertake the vast expense of building an aqueduct. There was a cultural demand for good clean aqueduct-borne water in Augustan Italy. Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 8) has a long discussion about the supply of water to cities and, in particular, drinking water. Vitruvius is quite specific that water from the plains and low-lying regions was of poor quality. However, sources in the mountains and, especially, in forests away from the sun were more suitable (Vitr. 1.7). Later, another author, Frontinus,

Plate 3.3 An Augustan fountain at the junction of Via delle Consolare and Vicolo di Narciso



Map 3.2 Distribution of fountains

was preoccupied with the provision of clear drinking water to the people of Rome. He is emphatic that good-quality water should be reserved for drinking, whereas poor-quality water was more suitable for the baths, fulling and other uses (Front., *Aqu.* 2.92). In Augustus' reign the supply of water to the city of Rome had increased by 78 per cent according to Frontinus' figures (Front., *Aqu.* 2.65–71). The Augustan date of Pompeii's aqueduct may suggest that, as with many other public-building projects in Pompeii at this time, we are seeing a desire to imitate developments in Rome and provide good-quality drinking water (compare Front., *Aqu.* 1.24).

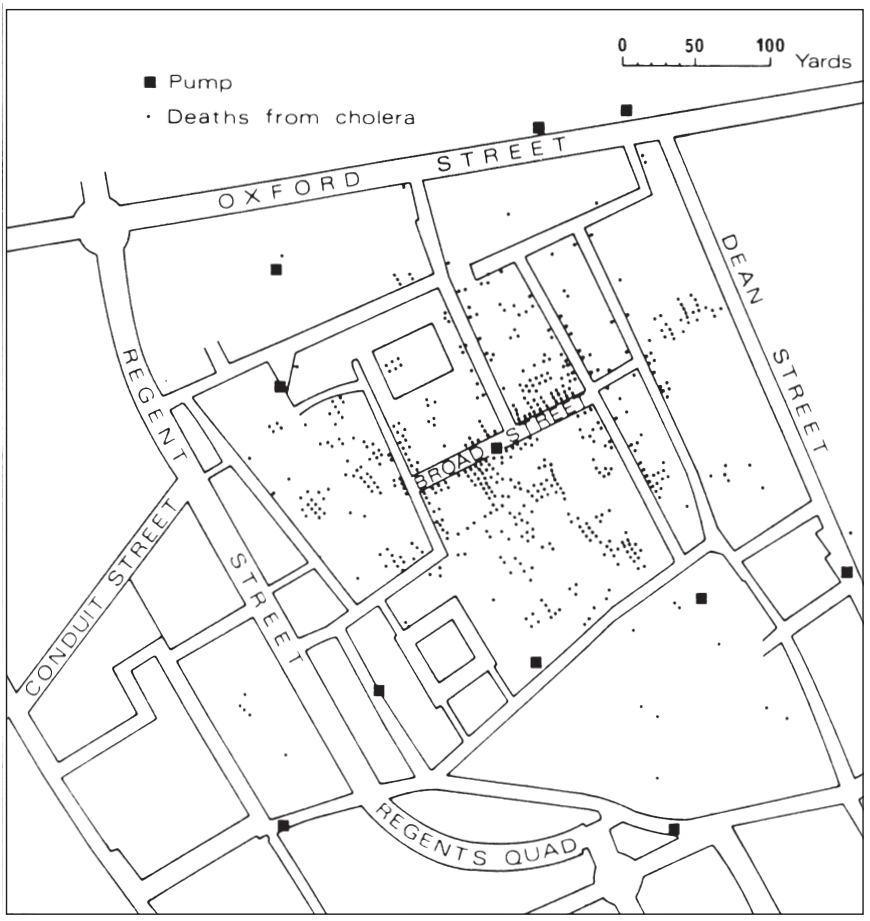
The supply of water to Pompeii is strikingly similar to Vitruvius' description of how it should be done (8.6). The water arrived in the city at a *castellum* (reservoir) at the highest point in the city (Plate 3.4). In the *castellum* the water was divided into three, with one of these divisions receiving significantly more water; water left the *castellum* in three large pipes. Vitruvius suggests (8.6.2) that the central pipe, which received more water, should be for the pools and fountains of the city; a second pipe was for the baths, which provided the city with revenue; and a third pipe provided water to private users who would pay for its use. Clearly, Vitruvius considered that the supply of water to fountains and pools should be at least one-third or even

Plate 3.4 The *castellum* at Porta Vesuvio

half of the total amount of water delivered to the city by the aqueduct. This suggests that many people in the Roman cities of the first century AD utilised a public supply of water (in Petr., *Sat.* 70 slaves carried water in *amphorae* in Trimalchio's house. It is unclear whether they drew the water from a public or private fountain. Trevor Hodge 2002: 304–5 sees the supply as adequate for the population level). In Pompeii, many of the houses had their own internal water supply (Jansen 2001 for preliminary survey), but this may have been focused on display rather than use. However, this supply might not have fulfilled all their needs for water and, even where a house had its own supply, water may have also been collected from a public fountain.

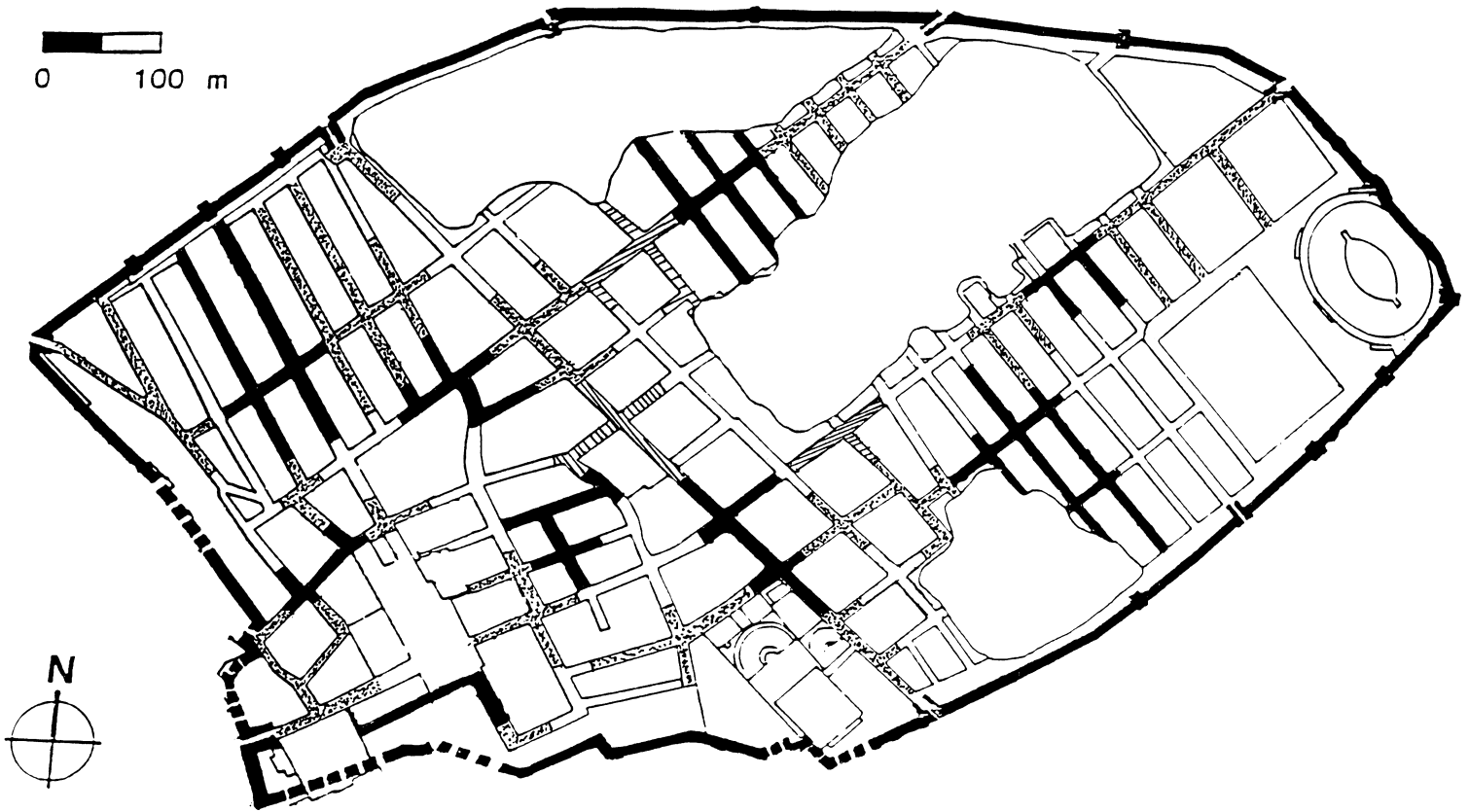
To turn to the spatial distribution of fountains in Pompeii, these were nearly always located at a street junction. Very few were located to supersede known sites of deep wells. What is most striking about the location of both fountains and water towers is the way in which they caused obstruction in certain streets. In some cases they even prevented access by wheeled traffic, and the fountain in Via delle Consolare obscured an altar of the *Lares Compitales*. The engineer who established the public fountains faced restrictions in their locations. Where there was space, they were located close to local shrines. However, in the narrower streets, they were placed in a manner that least impeded movement through the streets. In some cases, the fountain actually blocked the street, because the fountains were located so that they did not encroach upon private property (see Ling and Ling 2005: 173–4 for discussion of examples). This may suggest that their location was not sympathetic to the existing patterns of social activity and water collection. Indeed, the establishment of public fountains may have altered the existing pattern of social activity at a local level within the city.

People utilising a public water supply tend to draw their water from the nearest source, particularly if water in the city is of a standard quality. This can be illustrated with reference to Snow's study of an outbreak of cholera in Soho, London, in 1854. There were 500 fatalities in a period of ten days. Snow succeeded in tracing the source of the outbreak to a single pump in Broad Street. His method of locating it was simple: he plotted the mortalities on a map (see Map 3.3). This provided him with the spatial distribution of cholera victims, which was clustered around the pump in Broad Street (Snow 1965: 38–55; Pelling 1978). For our purposes, Snow's distribution map of fatalities from cholera provides an expected pattern of use of a water supply. Use was localised, with a number of people travelling to Broad Street from further afield to collect water, because the Broad Street pump delivered good-tasting water, unlike the pump in Carnaby Street, which no one used (Snow 1965: 46). In the case of Pompeii, such a discrepancy should not arise, because all fountains were supplied with water of the same quality, from the *castellum* of the aqueduct. If anything, the pattern of use should be more localised. To reconstruct the pattern of use for the fountains of Pompeii, each fountain was plotted on a base map; then the distance between each fountain and



Map 3.3 John Snow's map of the Broad Street, London, cholera outbreak (1854)

the next was measured: the mid point of this distance was seen to be the edge of the area associated with those drawing water from a specific fountain. The assumption was that a person used the nearest fountain. This process was repeated for all fountains and was plotted as Map 3.4. The differently shaded areas on the map represent the local areas that utilised each fountain. The local pattern of water collection is similar to Snow's pattern of fatalities from cholera in 1854. Most people in Pompeii lived within 80 metres of a fountain. The local areas that used individual fountains would have been relatively small, with a number of exceptions to the south-east of the city. There were fewer fountains in this area of lower-density settlement, which might suggest that the density of fountains reflects the public demand for water in the city. Therefore, from the distribution map a series of very localised areas were established, where the inhabitants drew water from the same fountain.



Map 3.4 Neighbourhoods in Pompeii based on distribution of fountains

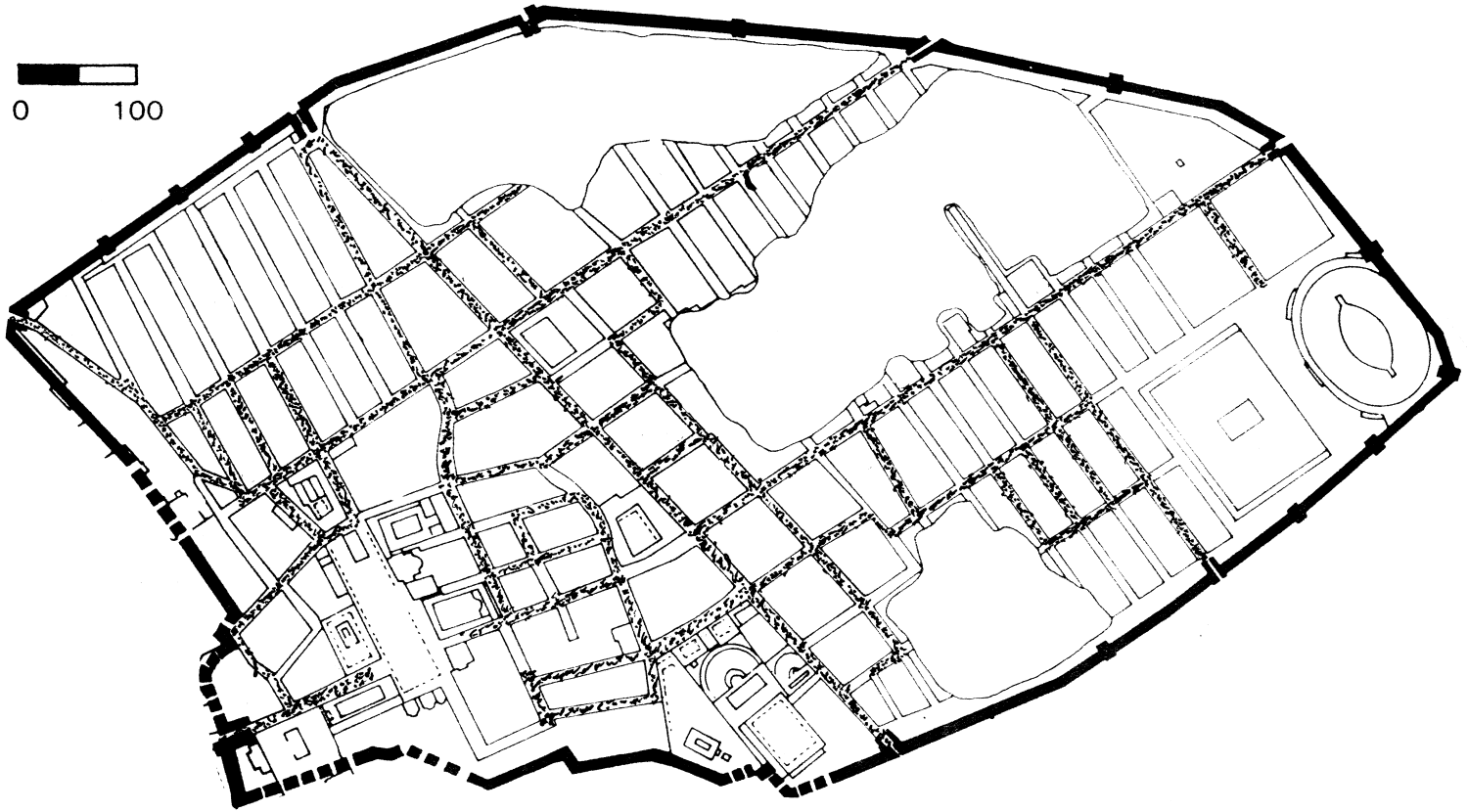
These areas may correspond to the localised neighbourhoods in the city of Pompeii. This pattern of local divisions in the city would have been established by the manner in which the fountains were originally distributed. The pattern of neighbourhoods derived in this manner could be seen to have competed with the institutional neighbourhoods formed around the worship of the *Lares Augusti*, and the *vici* with their magistrates who policed violations of the public water supply in the streets of the city.

Another feature of the neighbourhoods of Pompeii was the ability to influence or direct the flow of traffic. Many of the streets were too narrow for two vehicles to pass and others would appear to have been closed to wheeled traffic altogether. Tsujimura (1991) identified thirty-five cases where access to a street had been blocked off within Pompeii. The locations of these interventions highlighted an interesting pattern. Access to the forum was blocked off from any form of wheeled access with the exception of the streets entering from the north. The amphitheatre and Large Palaestra, in the south-eastern part of the city, was accessed via a single street from Via dell'Abbondanza with the other five streets blocked. More than half of the streets leading to the south of Via dell'Abbondanza into *Regiones* 1 and 2 were blocked off to wheeled traffic. The overall effect of these interventions in the south-eastern part of the city was to create two north–south through-routes focused on the Porta di Nocera and Porta di Stabia with a north-east to south-west route running along Via dell'Abbondanza from Porta di Sarno to the junction with Via di Stabia. In addition there was another north-east to south-west route linking Via di Nocera with Via di Stabia (Map 3.5). The blocking of Via dell'Abbondanza to the west of the junction with Via di Stabia may have caused this second north-east to south-west route to gain greater importance as a traffic artery that connected *Regiones* 1 and 2 directly to the heart of the city in *Regio* 7. The blocking of streets in the south-west of the city was not confined to access into and from the forum: many of the *insulae* in *Regio* 8 were effectively isolated from the street network through the blocking off of streets to traffic from Via dell'Abbondanza. Not only was *Regio* 7 at the very centre of the city isolated from access to the forum, but the blocking of three other streets created a limited number of traffic routes connecting the region to Via di Stabia to the east and Via della Fortuna to the north. In contrast, *Regio* 9 focused on the north–south route would seem to have integrated the traffic of the city and could be seen to be the point at which traffic from the Porta di Nocera, Porta di Sarno, Porta di Vesuvio and Porta di Nola naturally coalesced. But, even here, the construction of the Central Baths was associated with the closure of streets, which would have disrupted the flow of traffic through the area or relocated that traffic to the major through-routes of the city. The north-western sector of the city, associated with *Regio* 6 and the borders of *Regio* 7, was defined by two traffic routes leading to Porta di Vesuvio and another leading to Porta di Ercolano, which were bisected by two traffic routes running north-east to south-west. The blockage of

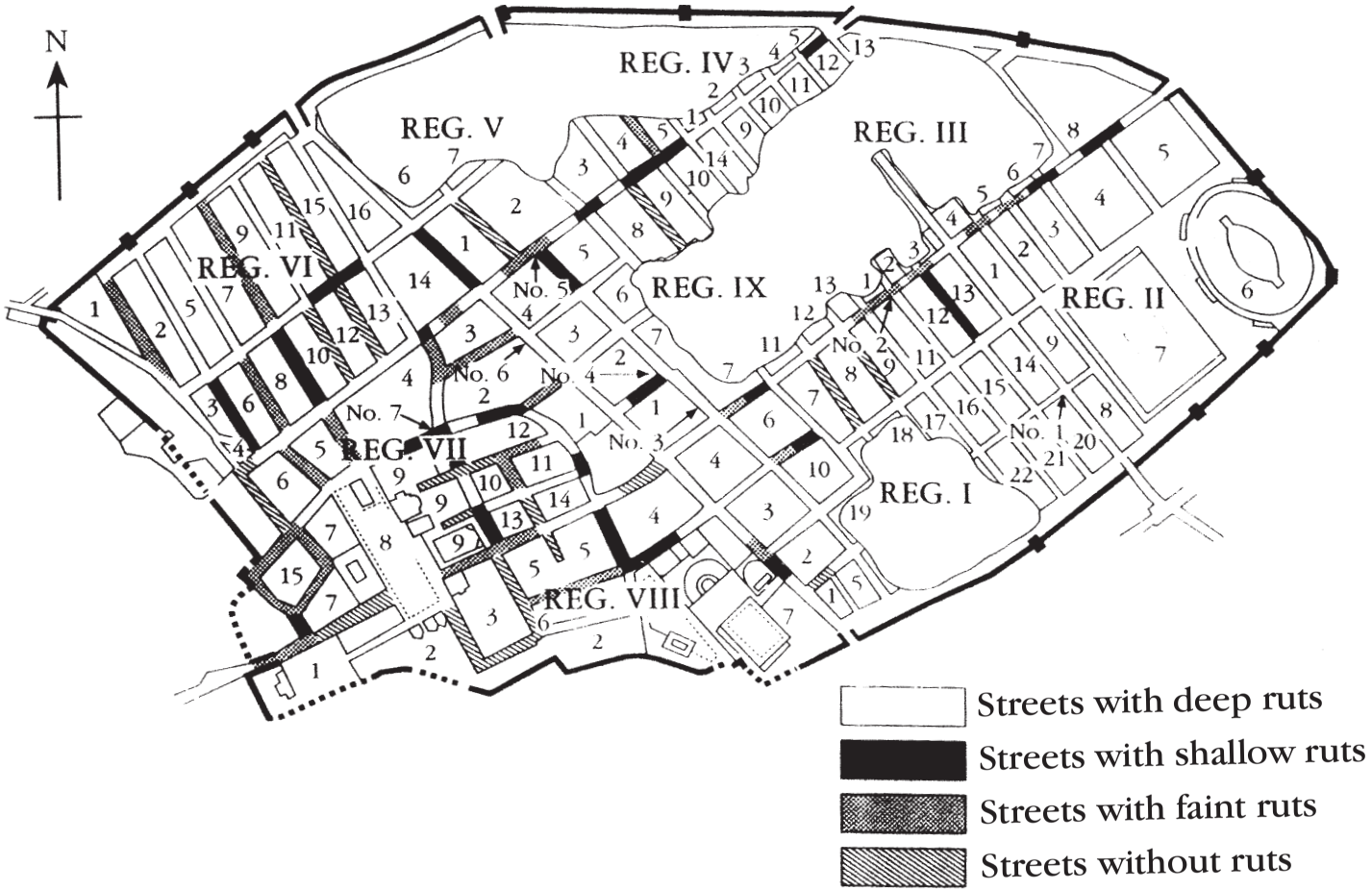
Map 3.5 The blocking of streets to wheeled traffic

streets can be seen to have effectively cut down the access between these routes (Map 3.6). The question remains: who was responsible for the blocking of streets? The aediles were responsible for the repair and maintenance of public streets and public buildings. Hence, we might suggest that the blocking of streets leading to major public buildings – the forum, amphitheatre and Large Palaestra, and the intersection close to the Stabian Baths (Wallace-Hadrill 1995), and the streets associated with the Central Baths – may have been actions sanctioned by them at a city-wide level. In contrast, the blockage of streets leading to the south of Via dell'Abbondanza between Via di Stabia and Via di Nocera would seem to have been the action of local interventions to prevent the movement of traffic down certain side streets. Some of these streets were even closed by gates and can be seen to have been private as opposed to public property (e.g. street between *Insulae* 1.6 and 1.7; *NSc.* 1927: 5). The blocking of streets in this way can be seen to reconfigure the street grid into streets that were integrated into the traffic system and those that were isolated from it (Map 3.6). This pattern is confirmed by Tsujimura's (1991) survey of wheel ruts caused by the incidence of traffic across the city (Map 3.7): the streets showing the greatest connectivity were those with the highest degrees of wear (note that there is a high degree of missing data from *Regiones* 1 and 2). It needs to be stated that the pattern of wear could also be reflecting the level of repair and intervention by the aediles in the replacement of paving. However, what is demonstrated is that there were streets that were integrated into the traffic system and areas of the street grid that were isolated from it as a consequence of the blocking of streets. Not surprisingly, the greatest degree of integration was on the through-routes leading to the gates of the city (note that wheeled access via Porta Marina was not feasible due to the gradient involved). The areas most isolated from the traffic arteries lay to the south-west and south-east of the city. The junction of Via di Stabia/Vicolo di Tesmo with Via dell'Abbondanza and with Via di Nola/Via della Fortuna would seem to have been the heart of the traffic system and integrated the system as a whole, but was isolated from the south-western section of the city by the blocking of Via dell'Abbondanza on the south-west side of the junction with Via di Stabia. *Regio* 9 would seem to have been the heart of the city and the most integrated with all the through-routes of the city, and the flow of traffic through this *regio* was not disrupted by the blocking of streets leading on to Via dell'Abbondanza, in stark contrast to the neighbouring *regiones* (1, 3, 4, 6, 7).

The evidence of electoral notices or *programmata* that were placed on the façades of houses and public buildings such as the Large Palaestra, provides a further clue to understanding the competing concepts of neighbourhood in Pompeii. Henrik Mouritsen (1988: 47–58), in a systematic study of the evidence, highlighted first how the evidence in *Regiones* 6, 7 and 8 is recorded haphazardly (on the role of *programmata* in elections see the current debate: Biundo 1996 and 2003, Mouritsen 1999). However, from



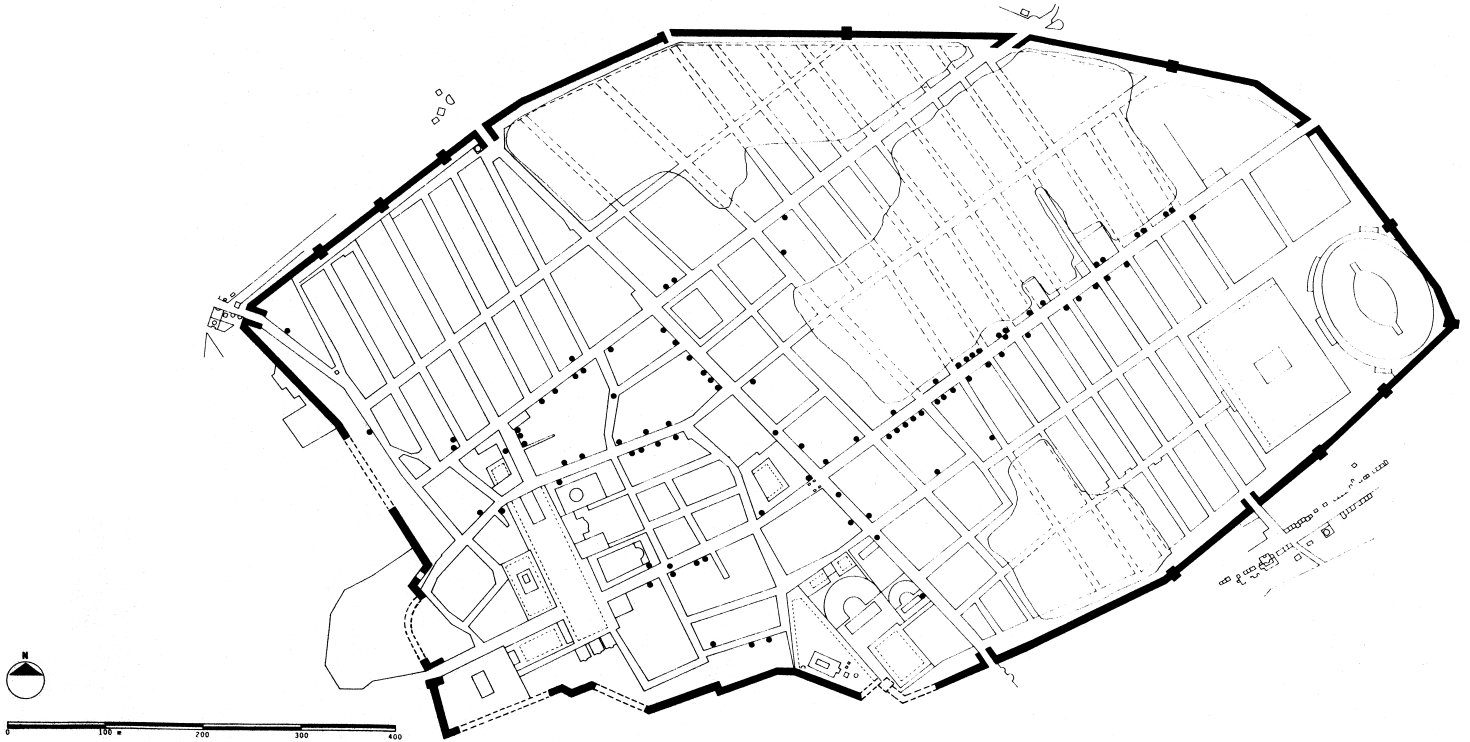
Map 3.6 Connected streets (shaded) and disconnected streets (unshaded)



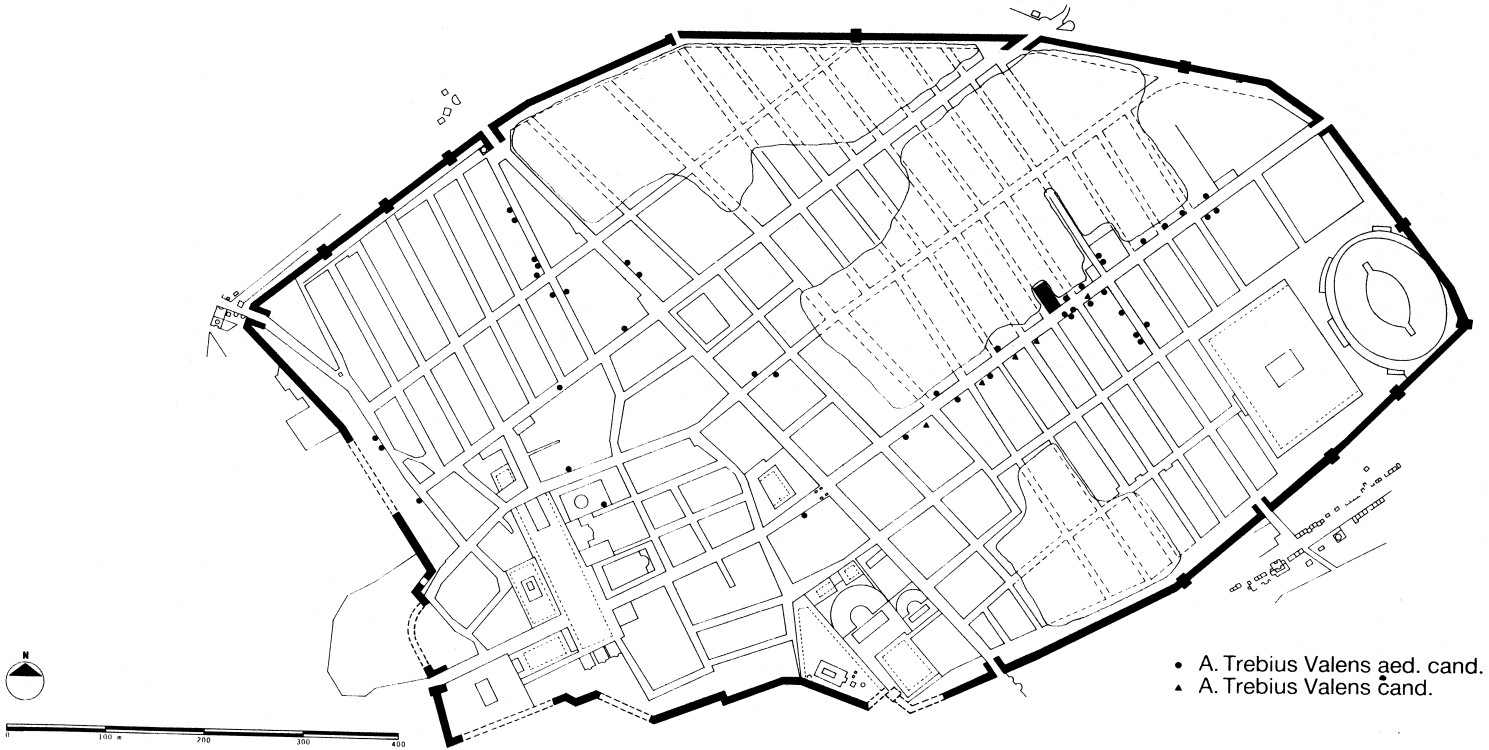
Map 3.7 Streets and depth of wheel ruts

the rest of the evidence, it was possible for Mouritsen to define patterns of placement of the surviving *programmata* for individual candidates. This view should perhaps be amended to highlight the fact that the recorded *programmata* often survived in place year after year or were covered over by repainting of the façade of the house. Hence, what we see in the *programmata* of Pompeii is the preservation of some notices over a longer period. However, Mouritsen found within this evidence a normative pattern across the data, which was reflected also in the support of the candidate C. Cuspius Pansa (Map 3.8). In this case, the electoral notices were placed along the major through-routes of the city and were concentrated around their intersection: Via dell'Abbondanza, Via di Stabia, Via degli Augustali and Via della Fortuna. In contrast, Mouritsen found that the notices of a number of other candidates concentrated close to their place of residence in the city. For example, the house of A. Trebius Valens was located on the north side of Via dell'Abbondanza (3.2.1; Map 3.9). Mouritsen (1988: 56, on the basis of Cic., *Mur.* 73) suggests that the basis for the patterning was to win the vote in his own local constituency or *tribules*. Regardless of whether the shrines of the *Lares* positioned along Via dell'Abbondanza marked the centre or the boundary of *vici* (see above), the electoral notices of A. Trebius Valens cross over such institutional divisions and create a larger neighbourhood that extends not only down Via dell'Abbondanza, but also into Via di Nocera. Where electoral notices do not appear is in the side streets near Trebius Valens' house, and these were often closed to traffic (see above). Hence, the posting of notices was conducted with reference to visibility, and the decision to post notices would seem to lie with the candidate and his sign writers (Franklin 1978), rather than being a reflection of the support gained from the occupier or owner of a house. The view of neighbourhood seen here is centred on the house and the major roads linking it to the centre of the city, the amphitheatre and Large Palaestra. What is clear also is that the local magistrates of the *vici* or the aediles of the city did not regard the writing of electoral notices or other written material on façades of houses and public buildings to be out of keeping with the order of the city (Mouritsen 1988: 59).

There are a number of electoral notices in which the *vicini* or neighbours recommend candidates for office (Mouritsen 1988: 176). Mouritsen (1988: 67) has pointed out that there are thirty-two in total, which represent 7 per cent of all such recommendations. In the eight cases where a candidate's house can be identified with certainty, there appears to be some correlation between the place of a candidate's residence and the recommendation of that candidate by his *vicini*. However, only one commendation by *vicini* was posted close to a candidate's residence (Mouritsen 1988: 19). Therefore, the limited nature of the evidence of electoral notices referring to *vicini* does not enable us to define any particular local area with any certainty. However, the recommendation of a candidate by the *vicini* does highlight the fact that there was



Map 3.8 Locations of C. Cuspius Pansa's *programmata*



Map 3.9 Locations of A. Trebius Valens' *programmata*

a common identity amongst neighbours that was appealed to. These electoral notices play upon the loyalty of neighbours to act in unison. It should be noted that within the overall pattern of electoral notices, relatively few mention *vicini*, just as relatively few include named individuals.

Another feature of the electoral notices is the commendation of candidates by women as well as men. For the overall pattern of the election, these women did not vote and the number of notices is relatively small (Mouritsen 1988: 60–9), but there is an importance for our understanding of the nature of neighbourhoods. Women were involved in the formation of local opinion about candidates (Savunen 1997: 13–47; Chiavia 2002; Bernstein 1988). Liisa Savunen (1997: 17) points out that the average patterning of support (in named, rather than anonymous, commendations) was by ten men, two women and two groups (of professionals or other persons with a common interest). The electoral notices commending Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus demonstrate the nature of this pattern: one hundred commendations were anonymous, thirty were by men, nine by women and fourteen by groups of people (Savunen 1997: Table 2). Of those candidates not supported by women, Savunen found that they were also supported by very few named men (on average two) and very few named groups (on average 0.6, Savunen 1997: 22). Where supporters were named, the presence of women was significant. This is particularly so in the case of the candidature of Gaius Julius Polybius: eight named men, six named women, three groups and sixteen anonymous commendations (Savunen 1997: 39). This would suggest that the role of women in elections should not simply be dismissed out of hand. Although women were excluded from voting, their presence in electoral commendations, written in the same format as that of male *rogatores*, indicates a role or interconnection between the candidates and women across the city – an important connection between such humble persons as Caprasia, the innkeeper, and Gaius Julius Polybius: a neighbour and member of the *ordo* of decurions (see Savunen 1997 for further examples and discussion). What this implies is that within the neighbourhoods of Pompeii, there was an interaction between the elite candidates and their neighbours, both male and female (compare Cic., *Mur.* 73 for Rome in the republic). James Franklin (1986) in a piece of analysis of the graffiti, *programmata* and an advertisement for A. Suettius Certus' gladiatorial games, located near the shrine of the *Lares* at the junction of Via degli Augustali and Vicolo del Lupanare, integrates the three strands of evidence to suggest that the named individuals found in electoral notices were also prominent individuals from the locality. What we see at this location is the integration of neighbourhood competition in elections, in sexual boasts and insults that can make a linkage between the sacred site of the altar at this intersection and the large brothel located at the next street intersection to the south.

At Pompeii, we can identify competing conceptions of local identity: the institutional neighbourhoods that emerge with two magistrates and a focus

on the religious worship at the crossroad shrines of the city; the collective activity of drawing water from the public fountains that created a structural division of the city into smaller cohesive units; the structure of neighbourhoods reconfigured via the blocking of streets to wheeled traffic; and finally the manifestation of neighbourhood found in the electoral notices that provides us with a wider perspective of human interaction locally within the city. Pompeii was not large enough to produce neighbourhoods as separate places or defended communities. Most of the manifestations of neighbourhood occurred in the streets with the highest incidence of activity and traffic (as we will see in Chapter 6). These were the streets in which local identity was paraded to others, rather than the secluded side streets. However, due to the sheer competition for use of space, the shrines of the *Lares* were often sited on the side streets close to the junction with the major routes of the city. Hence, the façade or space for display along the major streets of the city was extended at the crossroads to include the side streets, even if the latter were closed to traffic, and were isolated from the flow of people and goods through the city (for further discussion see Chapter 6). A further concept of locale can be identified by the provision of public water fountains, or their absence in the case of the area close to the amphitheatre and Large Palaestra. These competing conceptions of neighbourhood did not always fit neatly on to each other, and the boundaries could be seen to have been reconfigured according to the context in which a person spoke of neighbourhood.